

Musical Gentrification

Popular Music, Distinction and Social Mobility

EDITED BY **PETTER DYNDALH**, **SIDSEL KARLSEN** AND **RUTH WRIGHT**



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Musical Gentrification

Musical Gentrification is an exploration of the role of popular music in processes of socio-cultural inclusion and exclusion in a variety of contexts. Twelve chapters by international scholars reveal how cultural objects of relatively lower status, in this case popular musics, are made objects of acquisition by subjects or institutions of higher social status, thereby playing an important role in social elevation, mobility and distinction. The phenomenon of musical gentrification is approached from a variety of angles: theoretically, methodologically and with reference to a number of key issues in popular music, from class, gender and ethnicity to cultural consumption, activism, hegemony and musical agency. Drawing on a wide range of case studies, empirical examples and ethnographic data, this is a valuable study for scholars and researchers of Music Education, Ethnomusicology, Cultural Studies and Cultural Sociology.

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1 Musical gentrification and socio-cultural diversities

An analytical approach towards popular music expansion in egalitarian societies

Petter Dyndahl, Sidsel Karlsen and Ruth Wright

Background and broader ecology: how and why musical gentrification?

The aim of this book is to explore the role of music with regard to social dynamics and processes of cultural inclusion and exclusion through the concept of musical gentrification. Our investigation of these phenomena pays special attention to the expanding role that popular music plays, and has played, in the listening habits of people of all kinds as well as in a variety of educational contexts, and the function that this expansion may have in creating paths of social mobility or distinction in societies which deem themselves egalitarian. Most of our cases, or chapters, are set in Norway, and can be linked to one particular research project (see more on this below), conducted by an international group of researchers between 2013 and 2017. As such, Norway can be seen to provide a particularly interesting site of investigation with respect to the topics at hand, for reasons that are connected both to the country's historical development as well as to its contemporary political, economic and socio-cultural situation. Thus, in the following, we will aim to unpack some of this ecology in order to provide the reader with the material needed to form an understanding of the societal backdrop pertaining to most of the examples, occurrences and experiences rendered throughout this book. Since the major part of Norway's industrial development and consequent economic growth has happened in the period that stretches from the end of World War II until today, this will constitute our era of interest.

From the beginning of the post-war period, Norway has been endowed with some extraordinarily beneficial conditions for society-building which have allowed for positive social change, favourable growth and development, enhancement of social mobility and a minimum of social inequalities. Several factors have contributed in this regard, among them a decades-long period of relative political stability, the dominant social democracy ideology underpinning and enabling the welfare state and, not least, the extremely advantageous economic situation following from the discovery of oil and natural gas in the North Sea in the late 1960s. One of the most evident consequences of Norway's

flourishing as a nation-state has been the substantial educational explosion that has taken place over the past 70 years, not only in science and technology but also in the humanities and the arts. Given that compulsory school education has been ensured for all citizens, and also that higher education is overall free of charge, the steeper and more traditional social hierarchies have, at least seemingly, been evened out. However, as sociological research conducted during the last decade has shown, upward social mobility in Norway is currently decreasing and patterns of social reproduction have once more gained a strong hold, not least with respect to participation in higher education and entrance into the more prestigious professions (see Hansen, 2011; Hjellbrekke & Korsnes, 2014).

Art, culture and creativity, including music, is a mandatory area of knowledge in Norwegian kindergarten teacher education. Music is hence supposed to be already a part of Norwegians' day-to-day activities in kindergarten, which is accessible to a large part of the population, since, in 2019, 91.8 per cent of the children between one and five years of age attended this form of day-care institution (Statistics Norway, 2019a). In schools, the music subject is compulsory in Norwegian primary and lower secondary education. Thus, it is the place where all children presumably attend music education, regardless of their social background and cultural interests. As for music schooling beyond compulsory education, there exists a wide-ranging availability of upper-secondary-school programmes in music, dance and drama. Furthermore, at the tertiary level, several universities and university colleges offer musicology programmes and various forms of musician and music teacher education. In addition to the institutionalised musical socialisation and education happening within kindergartens and schools, including higher education, Norwegian society is expected to provide easy access to extracurricular or leisure time music and arts education for children and youth. The country's current legislation maintains that each municipality is required to provide its inhabitants with low-fee music and arts schools targeting this particular group. Consequently, in 2018, 13.2 per cent of the 6–15-year-olds in Norway attended municipality-run schools of music and performing arts (Statistics Norway, 2019b). However, in addition to the somewhat limited participation in the first place, research has shown that these schools have a skewed recruitment basis, both in terms of the students' socio-economic (Gustavsen & Hjellbrekke, 2009) and ethnic (Bjørnsen, 2012; Kleppe, 2013) backgrounds.

Despite such inequalities and diversities, the Norwegian public, media and even some research reports (e.g., Sakslid, Skarpenes, & Hestholm, 2018) tend to praise what are perceived as minor economic and social differences, pervasive middle-class values and a set of common cultural references, based among other things on the so-called "extended notion of culture" which encompasses a wide range of activities that span both traditional high and low culture, as well as sports and amateur activities within many different areas. Another factor that contributes to this picture is, as mentioned at the outset of this chapter, that popular music has gained a far more central position than was previously the case; it is now considered to be "legitimate culture" in Norwegian music

education, cultural policy and media, as well as in the public sphere. This may appear as a democratising and inclusive feature of late modern social and cultural development. However, as we will argue throughout the rest of this chapter and book, such an understanding may also be viewed as quite simplistic. Building on a conflict-oriented perspective, also as regards relatively egalitarian societies, we believe, with Bourdieu, that the social significance of music and culture is still constituted in and through differences and inequalities. Thus, when influential voices claim that we share interests and values, it might rather be a signal that the conflicts and contradictions are downplayed and now operate at a more subtle level. This is precisely where the concept of musical gentrification offers a valid lens through which to focus, analyse and discuss contemporary “battles of culture”—not only in Norwegian society—but wherever similar phenomena arise. The remaining chapters of this book will, in various ways, attempt to provide suggestions as to how this can be done.

Musical gentrification: from metaphor to concept

As far as we have ascertained, the first time the term “musical gentrification” was used in a scholarly context was in a chapter published in 2013 (Dyndahl, 2013). However, this occurrence fits into a longer and broader tradition of employing the old class concept of the *gentry* as a point of departure for academic theorising and analysis. The gentry was originally a social class whose wealth was large enough that they could avoid working with their hands for a living. As described by Strype (1822) and Radulescu and Truelove (2005), from the late medieval period to the Elizabethan era in England, it was ranked just below the nobility and above the yeomanry. Also, during this period, the gentry increased significantly in number and came to be the most important class in society. Transferred to today’s context, the term seems to refer, generally, to the “upper or ruling class” (The Merriam-Webster.com Dictionary, s.d.) or to be used as a synonym for “the highest class in a society” (The Merriam-Webster.com Thesaurus, s.d.). It is within such an understanding that Glass (1963) added the suffix *-fication* (from the Latin *ficare*: to make), and coined the concept of *gentrification*, which refers to the contemporary phenomenon of investment in and renovation of homes and businesses in deteriorating areas, in order to make these neighbourhoods attractive to today’s affluent gentry or middle-to-upper-class people. Correspondingly, these processes often result in the displacement of earlier, usually poorer, residents. By abstracting Glass’ human and urban geographical understanding of the neighbourhood into the idea of “symbolic neighbourhoods”, Halnon and Cohen (2006) later opened the way for a more figurative and metaphorical use of the term. The main source of inspiration for formulating the concept of musical gentrification, however, was Peterson and Kern (1996), who put forward some possible dominant-class ways of relating to popular culture in the following assertion: “One recurrent strategy is to define popular culture as brutish and something to be suppressed or avoided [...] another is to *gentrify* elements of popular culture and incorporate them into the

dominant status-group culture” (1996, p. 906, our emphasis). In retrospect, however, one may say that all the above influences can be traced in the first comprehensive attempt to formulate a definition of musical gentrification:

On these grounds, and in the given theoretical context, we refer to musical gentrification as complex processes with both inclusionary and exclusionary outcomes, by which musics, musical practices, and musical cultures of relatively lower status are made to be objects of acquisition by subjects who inhabit higher or more powerful positions. As with the examples borrowed from urban geography and described above, these processes strongly contribute to changing the characteristics of particular musical communities as well as the musics, practices, and cultures that are subjected to gentrification.

(Dyndahl, Karlsen, Skårberg, & Nielsen, 2014, p. 54)

As with Bourdieu’s (2011) concept of cultural capital, one could claim that musical gentrification is, in one way, a metaphor. In the case of Bourdieu, the source domain of the metaphor is the capital concept of the material economy, while the target domain is the symbolic—or cultural—economy, of which he develops an analytical concept. Regarding musical gentrification, the source is urban life and its material and symbolic economies, and the target is the specific field of music within the cultural-economic domain. Tuck and Yang (2012), however, caution against viewing incidents of cultural appropriation in a metaphorical way, since this might potentially gloss over actions and aspects that are materially harmful. Their timely warning is primarily related to decolonisation, and to the troublesome habit of turning the harsh realities of colonialism into metaphors for other, incommensurable problems in society. This can be observed for example in “[t]he easy adoption of decolonizing discourse by educational advocacy and scholarship, evidenced by the increasing number of calls to ‘decolonize our schools,’ or use ‘decolonizing methods,’ or, ‘decolonize student thinking’” (Tuck & Yang, 2012, p. 1), thus indirectly making colonialism more innocent than it is. Notwithstanding this important reminder, as scholars writing within the humanities and the social sciences, it is almost impossible to avoid the use of metaphors as such. The key is, we believe, on the one hand, to use metaphors that are *not* incommensurable—or completely out of tune—with their source, which is neither the case with cultural capital nor with musical gentrification. On the other hand, we are of the opinion that it is vital to acknowledge the importance of the actual and intentional use of language and metaphor under specific circumstances and with reference to specific phenomena. Metaphors are always metaphors in a context.

The contextual or situated intention behind Bourdieu’s coining of “cultural capital” is based on this concept being more than just a metaphor; to be considered the holder of such capital requires actual knowledge and understanding, as well as the mastery of a variety of codes. A similar intention can be said to be behind the development of the notion of musical gentrification. Our ambition has

been to turn the metaphor into a critical, analytical concept; this can perhaps also be understood as the overarching objective of the entire book. According to Kant (1819), in order to create *a posteriori* concepts, “one must thus be able to compare, reflect and abstract, for these three logical operations of the understanding are essential and general conditions of generating any concept whatever” (Kant, 1819, §6). In the ongoing conceptualisation of musical gentrification all three of these acts or operations have been, and still are, effective: the comparison of different mental images to one another is necessary to create the metaphor; the reflection on mental imagery and how different representations can be comprehended requires knowledge, skill and awareness; and the abstraction of everything else that deviates from it is essential to the articulation of the concept itself. However, this book’s further interpretation of the concept of musical gentrification will, in addition, pursue the Bourdieusian critique of the Kantian judgement of taste, thereby promoting a distinct critical orientation towards “pure” perceptions of aesthetics, and of music in particular. The foremost evidence that musical gentrification has developed from being a metaphor to becoming a concept lies perhaps in the fact that it adds fresh content and new dimensions precisely to Bourdieu’s concept of capital, within a recontextualisation of time and space.

The musical gentrification project: origins and facts

The research project “Musical gentrification and socio-cultural diversities”, from which most of the chapters in this book originate, commenced in 2013 following a successful grant application to the Research Council of Norway (see Inland Norway University of Applied Sciences, n.d.b). It was awarded four years of funding under the council’s scheme for independent open-call projects, FRIPRO. With professor Petter Dyndahl as the project manager, and also as the main thinker behind the ideas underpinning the project as such, the project was located at what was then known as Hedmark University College (HUC; now Inland Norway University of Applied Sciences), and with the Norwegian Academy of Music (NMH) as a partner institution. In addition to Dyndahl (working at HUC), three senior researchers were engaged from the very beginning, namely professors Sidsel Karlsen (HUC, now NMH), Siw Graabræk Nielsen (NMH) and Odd Skårberg (HUC). Within the first year of the project, Stian Vestby was employed as a PhD student, and Mariko Hara as a postdoctoral researcher, both with HUC as their institutional affiliation.

From the onset, the project had a clear sociological ambition; namely, to examine the impact that music has on social change and processes of inclusion and exclusion. Avoiding a simplistic understanding of such processes, it was acknowledged both that music-related inclusion and exclusion may in fact happen at one and the same time, holding some people back while simultaneously helping others’ mobility, and also that inclusion—or the gentrification-related uptake—of some forms of music would require other musics to be tabooed in order to maintain hierarchy or an “order of distinction”. In this sense,

its strong Bourdieusian foundation was visible through its conceptualisations and focus of inquiry, and the links to music sociology, particularly the contributions developed by Peterson through the explorations of cultural omnivores/univores, were also present from the start. What was similarly clear was the division of the main research task into three different sub-projects: one involving all the senior researchers in a diachronic exploration of how the phenomenon of musical gentrification would be manifested through the institutionalisation of popular music in Norwegian music academia, and two sub-projects investigating the same phenomenon synchronically, as present at one particular state-funded country music festival (the PhD project) and as intertwined with the entrepreneurial strategies employed by musicians with immigrant backgrounds (the postdoctoral project) respectively. Although the areas of investigation and some of the methodological strategies and theoretical tools were outlined in the initial project description, the researchers responsible for each sub-project were endowed with both the freedom and the responsibility to map out the more detailed operationalisation and further theorisation of their respective tasks. The resulting richness of perspectives and findings can be viewed throughout this book.

Throughout the funding period, the project members were active in disseminating their work in a wide range of arenas. Quite early on, in June 2013, the project's home institution, HUC, successfully hosted the International Symposium on the Sociology of Music Education, which provided fertile ground for discussions and for bringing the ideas behind the Musical Gentrification project to the attention of international scholars. The collaborative work with the visiting researchers of the project, Dr Ylva Hofvander Trulsson of Lund University in Sweden and Professor Ruth Wright of Western University in Canada, furthered this important process of internationalisation. The list of publications (see Inland Norway University of Applied Sciences, n.d.c) shows that the project members over the years have delivered a large number of contributions, most of them to scientific journals, books and conferences, but also in various popular dissemination formats. The latter has in particular been the work of Vestby, whose PhD thesis, entitled *Folkelige og distingverte fellesskap: Gentrifisering av countrykultur i Norge—en festivalstudie* (Popular and distinguished communities: Gentrification of country music culture in Norway—a festival study; see Vestby, 2017), was not only successfully defended in 2017; it also attracted huge interest from Norwegian national media and led to numerous public appearances of different kinds.

Although the concept of musical gentrification, as utilised in the above-mentioned project description, was originally coined by Dyndahl (see above), he and all the researchers involved in the Musical Gentrification project have continued to expand its potential meanings and areas of applicability. One important manifestation of this development was Dyndahl's keynote address at the Research in Music Education (RIME) conference in 2019. Another was the award of a second Research Council of Norway grant in 2017 for a four-year follow-up project in which new areas of musical gentrification will be explored.

This research project, named “The social dynamics of musical upbringing and schooling in the Norwegian welfare state” (DYNAMUS), will investigate music’s impact on social change and inclusion/exclusion in children’s media-musical realities, compulsory-school music education and extracurricular music education (see Inland Norway University of Applied Sciences, n.d.a).¹ In a similar way that working with the concept of musical gentrification has spurred the primary researchers involved to seek out new challenges, we hope that this book will inspire music scholars internationally to employ this theoretical tool and expand on its potential.

Scope and structure of the book

The chapters in this book draw largely on the Norwegian perspective, with useful external perspectives from European and North American authors, but the issues with which they deal are global and international. The concept of musical gentrification from which the research project birthing this book arose, and in which it is operationalised, is similarly global in applicability. The studies reported on in this book, and the amplifying perspectives provided by others, speak to matters of the utmost importance relating to “the politics of culture and aesthetics, for music education and research and for people’s agency in society, culture, education and their personal lives” (Dyndahl, this volume). These are weighty matters indeed, particularly when viewed against the current socio-political landscape of decreasing social and political agency, the death of culture in education and the increasingly bleak outlook experienced by many, especially the young, when regarding their personal futures in an increasing number of countries.

The book presents new and intriguing theoretical and methodological concepts and insights into the fields of culture, music, education and sociology to name but some. The concept of musical gentrification provides an important lens through which to analyse and reveal the operations of hegemony in many spheres including those of class, taste, generation, ethnicity, gender and sexuality. Moreover, it reveals the exclusionary and marginalising effects of these operations in fields throughout society such as the academy, contemporary popular culture and the professional lives of musicians. The methodologies developed to operationalise this concept and to conduct the scholarly reflexivity advocated by Bourdieu and intensified in this work are vital to the development of new languages of description within the fields of sociology and cultural studies to name but a few. They may prove to be a vital link in the continuing work to expose and resist hegemony and social polarisation wherever it occurs.

In Chapter 2 Dyndahl expands on the concept of musical gentrification to further consider its explanatory power in relation to the symbolic economy, in which music plays such an important role, as identified by Bourdieu. He demonstrates how musical gentrification may enable a more nuanced understanding of social positioning in the late modern cultural world, providing fascinating insight into the workings of hegemony in and through contemporary popular culture.

This perspective allows the enactment of exclusion and marginalisation within purportedly inclusive popular culture practices, moreover, these practices are the very ones the excluded population may originally have claimed as their own. He makes important observations for music education concerning the alienation from and suspicion of education that may consequently result.

Karlsen, Hara, Vestby, Dyndahl, Nielsen and Skårberg, in Chapter 3, provide further insight into the methods and methodologies used to operationalise the musical gentrification concept in the three different empirical research studies that formed the Musical Gentrification project. Applying the concept in both quantitative and ethnographic methodologies within the scope of what Karlsen et al. define as “middle range theory ... a form of sociological theorising which is slightly less abstract and in itself closer to the empirical world” than sociological grand theory such as that of Bourdieu, on which their work draws, the researchers show the flexibility and applicability of this concept to a range of current topics. These include the academisation of popular music, and the workings of musical gentrification in two very different fields: a Norwegian country music festival and migrant musicians labouring to build new careers as musicians in their new country. They also demonstrate important new developments in reflexive methodology and multiple layers of researcher reflexivity, including that termed by Bourdieu “epistemic reflexivity” (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992).

Chapter 4 presents empirical detail from one of the two sub-studies originating from the Musical Gentrification project. Here, Vestby discusses his research into musical gentrification and the workings of symbolic violence within country music. In particular, he considers “what types of country music represent whom and the consequences of these relationships”. His conclusion concerning the inescapability of class cultural domination gives great credence to the enduring applicability of Bourdieu’s macro-theoretical work as a sociological explanatory framework and the importance of its continued operationalisation and adaptation to new empirical fields such as that represented in this book.

Ingeborg Lunde Vestad and Dyndahl in Chapter 5 apply a micro-level sociological analysis to a conversation between the parents of two young girls, as they discuss the music their children listen to—their “musical parenting” as these authors term it. The authors here demonstrate the micro-analytical use of the concepts of aesthetic cosmopolitanism, cultural omnivorousness and musical gentrification observing “a series of micro-moments of gentrification” granting increased status to what would previously have been termed lowbrow music.

The issues of gentrification, hegemony, activism and anarchy are considered in relation to higher education in popular music in Chapter 6. Wright suggests that the findings of the Musical Gentrification project indicate the need to continue to understand and address how inequality, exploitation and suffering may be reflected in societal engagement with music, and in this instance in particular with popular music in higher music education. Given the Musical Gentrification project’s demonstration of the apparent ability of hegemony to co-opt and mutate even anti-hegemonic projects, she suggests that anarchic non-systemic projects of resistance may be one possible future avenue.

Chapter 7 sees Skårberg and Karlsen considering the ways in which musical gentrification can be seen to have operated on and in jazz in Norway during the 1960s and 1970s, elevating it from an entertainment genre to the status of art music. The corresponding exclusionary features demonstrate well the displacing effects of musical gentrification.

Chapter 8 explores a concept termed “genderfication” in higher music education in Norway by the author Nielsen. Drawing on the Musical Gentrification project’s quantitative study of all graduate theses written in music between 1912 and 2012 she conducts a macro analysis showing the strongly gendered nature of popular music scholarship in this country. Extending Bourdieu’s work on masculine domination, she considers the intertwining effects of genderfication and gentrification on popular culture.

Chapter 9 takes this further by exploring in a very personal, moving and effective chapter the workings of the hierarchisation of class, taste, gender and sexuality at a micro level in the life of the author as a musician and scholar. Employing theoretical tools of *routinisation* and *musical agency* Karlsen illustrates the mechanics of hegemony as experienced through the enforcement of the forms of hierarchisation detected in the musical gentrification project in her own life.

Chapter 10 contributes a North American perspective to the evolving debate in the book by considering the effects of class, power and culture on the lives of poor rural Americans through the lens of enclosure and abjection in American school music. In this chapter, Vincent Bates considers the complex ways in which country music has been enclosed, included in and excluded from the music classrooms of North America and brings a useful international perspective to the book, demonstrating parallel yet somewhat different phenomena as compared to those in Norway.

The final chapter of the book considers data from another of the sub-projects of the Musical Gentrification project. Through an examination of the lives of musicians with immigrant backgrounds in Norway, using the concept of musical pathways, Hara discusses the gentrifying effects of state funding on these professional musicians’ practices. The chapter casts light on how funding allows the assimilation and gentrification of musics of the less powerful, sometimes resulting in stereotyping of music and musicians and the pigeonholing of performers.

As a concluding reflection, professor Nick Prior, whose own academic work is deeply connected to popular music, cultural theory and Bourdieu, shares his ideas about how the book expands on its Bourdieusian heritage and comprises a significant contribution, both with respect to how it (mostly) reports from a specific geographical, cultural and socio-economic location—Norway—but also in terms of introducing a new theoretical concept—precise enough to capture a very tangible phenomenon in contemporary culture, but still open enough to invite new interpretations and modes of use. As editors, we would very much like to encourage such lines of action and call for further explorations of the potentials of the concept of musical gentrification.

Note

- 1 This new project was first led by Karlsen, but since her move to NMH in August 2018, the project management has been conducted by Dyndahl.

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2 Musical gentrification

Strategy for social positioning in late modern culture

Petter Dyndahl

Introduction

The denial of lower, coarse, vulgar, venal, servile—in a word, natural—enjoyment, which constitutes the sacred sphere of culture, implies an affirmation of the superiority of those who can be satisfied with the sublimated, refined, disinterested, gratuitous, distinguished pleasures forever closed to the profane. That is why art and cultural consumption are predisposed, consciously and deliberately or not, to fulfil a social function of legitimating social differences.

(Bourdieu, 1984, p. 7)

This chapter rests on the premise that there exists a symbolic economy next to the material one. Within the symbolic, or cultural, economy, Bourdieu (1984, p. 18ff.) asserted, based upon his comprehensive empirical research on the state of French culture and society in the 1960s, that music represents one of the most important negotiations of the social world. This argument has been reinforced by similar studies conducted four decades later in Denmark (Faber, Prieur, Rosenlund & Skjøtt-Larsen, 2012) and in the United Kingdom, indicating that “music is the most clearly separated of all our cultural fields.... It is the most divided, contentious, cultural field of any that we examine and is central to our concern with probing contemporary cultural dynamics and tensions” (Bennett et al., 2009, p. 75). However, among musicians, fans, music educators and even researchers, there is a prevalent, self-sufficient conception that music and music education are invariably of benefit to both self-realisation and social inclusion.¹ Critical of this view, Hesmondhalgh (2008) argued that such an assumption must rest on an overly optimistic—though paradoxical—understanding. This implies that music, on the one hand, is considered crucial for beneficial social and individual development, while on the other hand, it is seen as totally unaffected by disadvantageous factors:

The dominant conception rightly emphasises the social nature of music and of self-identity, but 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)

If music and music education are so essential for the individual and the community as indicated by their cultural significance, they cannot only have positive outcomes but must necessarily also be connected to undesirable social and historical processes, which is the perception pursued in this chapter.

However, the ways in which music's social functions are reflected culturally are likely to change over time. Nowadays, rather than consuming only high culture, members of the privileged and dominant classes tend to consume much of what would have previously been dismissed as low culture. This seems to be a global phenomenon, although it is led by the Western world. Still, it has been most clearly expressed in the Nordic countries, at least regarding the variety of fields within which it unfolds. For example, there has been a strong tendency in Scandinavia from the 1970s onwards to expand the repertoires and resources of music as an educational subject or an academic field as well as an area for support and funding from cultural authorities, organisations and institutions. Herein, many popular music genres have gained considerable educational, curricular and institutional status. In this context, the objective of this current piece of writing is to discuss these phenomena in light of the concept of *musical gentrification*. First, however, there is a need to locate the term in relation to comparable concepts. Accordingly, since popular culture now seems to be attractive for most social groups and classes worldwide, it makes sense to start with a musical sociological contribution that is particularly concerned with the global prevalence popular music has gained in today's society.

Aesthetic cosmopolitanism and the process of *pop-rockisation*

The global proliferation of popular culture is reflected in Regev's (2013) concept of *aesthetic cosmopolitanism*. Using this expression, Regev discussed what he described as the global *pop-rockisation* of music in terms of the exponential growth of pop-rock styles and the hybrid tendency within pop-rock music to merge and fuse with other styles and genres. This was paired with a general trend among musicians and producers to adopt and implement creative practices associated with pop-rock, thus making pop-rock aesthetics a dominant global force in today's music. Building on Hebdige's (1990, p. 20) statement that, in late modernity, "everybody is more or less cosmopolitan", Regev developed the notion of aesthetic cosmopolitanism. Pop-rock is a prime instance in the sense that this extensive and diversified field of popular music forms a common ground in which different social groupings around the world increasingly share aesthetic perceptions, expressive forms and cultural practices. Hence, aesthetic cosmopolitanism points at the gradual formation of the world culture into a single interconnected entity:

While in the past national cultural uniqueness was organised around the principle of striving towards totally different expressive forms and stylistic elements, with expressive isomorphism it becomes organised around proximity, similitude, and overlap of art forms and stylistic elements between nations.

(Regev, 2013, p. 11f.)

As a description of the contemporary status, aesthetic cosmopolitanism and the pervasive pop-rockisation of music cultures obviously dominate the music market and the media, but this can also be witnessed in cultural policies, public rituals and educational institutions.

Theoretically, Regev built primarily on Latour (2005) and his actor-network theory, which implies that everything in the social and natural worlds exists in constantly shifting networks of relationship, leaving nothing outside. Regev applied this approach to what he denoted as sonic embodiment and materiality, which can be understood as a material presence of music anchored in and with resonance in the body. In this respect, Regev (2013, p. 177) emphasised in particular the concept of *actants*,² or objects that mediate “new ways of experiencing the body, new styles of consciousness and modes of embodiment, new designs of the public musical sphere”. This has relevance to the perception of recording, production and playback technologies in addition to the sound of musical instruments. Other important building blocks include *institutionalised patterns of cultural value*, indicating what art forms, stylistic elements and aesthetic idioms should be adopted in order to count as candidates for recognition, participation and parity in the innovative frontiers of world culture. *Expressive isomorphism* is the process through which national and/or ethnic uniqueness is standardised so that the expressive cultures of various different nations, or of prominent social sectors within them, come to consist of similar—although not identical—expressive forms, stylistic elements and aesthetic idioms (Regev, 2013, p. 9ff.). However, it is important, in this context, to recognise that these processes not only comprise different cultures but also various music forms, genres and styles that are increasingly inclined to relate to popular music idioms and aesthetics.

The notions of institutionalised patterns of cultural value and expressive isomorphism together provide a conceptual framework for a general sociological understanding of aesthetic cosmopolitanism, which may be seen in accordance with Bourdieu’s dual understanding of the social role of culture. This, according to Regev’s (2013) interpretation, is

a theory of distinction and cultural capital ... and a theory of the fields of art.... The theory of distinction outlines the role of cultural capital in the production and maintenance of inequality, superiority, and prestige. The theory of the cultural field delineates the social dynamic of struggles and changes in fields of cultural production, whereby new forms and styles gain legitimacy and recognition, while the old ones either decline or retain their dominant, consecrated position.

(p. 12)

However, Regev argued that Bourdieu's own work seemed to be limited to older types of cultural capital based on traditional high art and its institutional fields. Correspondingly, Bourdieu lacked a nuanced apparatus to interpret fine distinctions and trends within popular culture, including changes in its status, according to Regev. While this is true from a contemporary viewpoint, based on Bourdieu's theoretical universe, one can examine whether his concepts might still work to construe the new meanings of popular music. At least, substantial attempts to update and provide renewed vigour to the Bourdieusian terminology have been made.

Distinctions in the field of music

Bourdieu's (2011) concept of cultural capital has proven highly productive in interpreting distinctions and relations between high and low culture since the 1960s, but it has also served as a general conceptual tool to analyse the economy of symbolic goods. Cultural capital appears in the various guises of embodied, objectified or institutionalised properties which gain value when they are exchanged or converted into other forms of capital, for example, economic and social ones. Although these relationships have changed and continue to change throughout history, Bourdieu's division of capital into different forms points to a prevailing cultural circuit that connects institutions, specific cultural artefacts and individual agents in particular ways. This means that cultural capital should be designated in terms of objects and practices that are approved by the education system, which may then be brought into play by privileged classes as a strategy of inheritance by the next generation. In this sense, the sociology of culture is inextricable from the sociology of education, and vice versa. For example, higher music education and research was for a long time almost exclusively occupied by highbrow art. One might say that it thus fulfilled the requirements of Western arts and education institutions as well as their users and audiences. Low culture, of which popular music was a part, had maintained a certain autonomy from cultural and educational policies, and it was instead managed by the commercial market and the media.

The composition of economic, social and cultural capital tells us about taste, lifestyle and value dispositions. But in addition, the accumulation of capital determines the status of individuals and groups in a social space. The social space is divided into social fields, such as business, academia and arts communities (Bourdieu, 1993). The field is a dynamic network of relationships between social agents battling for power over a territory that is also their common ground. Thus, a cultural field is an area where agents, groups and institutions fight for influence and hegemony over cultural capital that they value based on different interests. What characterises the different social fields is that they have developed their own field-specific forms of capital, which are applicable to the particular field in question. In his time, Bourdieu (1984, p. 7) pointed out the contradiction between the "lower, coarse, vulgar, venal, servile enjoyment" and "the sublimated, refined, disinterested, gratuitous, distinguished

pleasures” to define the social significance of art and culture, including music. Although such contradictions can change through the years, within a conflictive theoretical perspective like Bourdieu’s, the social significance of art and culture will still be constituted by differences. It is the totality of various forms of music; ways of perceiving and ascribing meaning to the music; and music in its materiality, organisation and institutions, which together constitute the field of music, with its diversities, differences and contradictions (Østerberg & Bjørnerem, 2017). However, not just any area can be a field. A field is a social system that requires specialists, institutions and acknowledged value hierarchies. This allows one to speak of a cultural field, an educational field and a music field as well as about specific fields subsumed under existing ones, such as the fields of classical music and/or popular music.

However, to update and refine the picture further, both highbrow and lowbrow cultural forms can now be detected on the micro or sub-level, among other places in the complex contemporary music field. Regarding popular music, Frith (1996) argued that we make sense of and respond to this music much in the same way as art music. When listening to it, we make aesthetic assessments of whether it is good or bad, but we also make use of our musical experiences to construct ourselves socially:

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 judgement. Making music isn’t a way of expressing ideas, it is a way of living them.

(Frith, 1996, p. 111, emphasis in original)

The social construction and positioning within the field of popular culture is precisely what Thornton (1995) aimed to capture by introducing the notion of sub-cultural capital. She claimed that limited attention has been paid to these in-field distinctive processes and asserted that:

High culture is generally conceived in terms of aesthetic values, hierarchies and canons, while popular culture is portrayed as a curiously flat folk culture.... consumers of popular culture have been depicted as discerning, with definite likes and dislikes, but these tastes are rarely charted systematically as ranked standards.

(Thornton, 1995, p. 8)

Based on her study of social and cultural distinctions within the British dance music club scene, Thornton argued that it is possible to observe subspecies of capital operating in the terrain of youth culture and in other groups on the edge of the traditional high/low dichotomy. She also stated that “hipness” is a high-status form of subcultural capital that can be converted into a variety of popular culture roles and occupations.

At the individual level, people seem to have a remarkable ability to understand and accept their place in the social structure, both regarding the social space and cultural (sub)field. From Bourdieu's point of view, this is not about rational insights but rather embodied social structures—as they are regulated by social class, gender, ethnicity, age and so on—which are continuously reproduced through habits, preferences and tastes developed during a formative period in life, such as growing up in a specific environment.³ The idea of *habitus* expresses this composition of individual lifestyles, values, dispositions and expectations, which are strongly associated with and conditioned by particular social groups. For Bourdieu (1990), habitus is seen as an incorporated system of distinctive perception and evaluation of socially situated properties and practices:

For a habitus structured according to the very structures of the social world in which it functions, each property (a pattern of speech, a way of dressing, a bodily hexis, an educational title, a dwelling-place, etc.) is perceived in its relations to other properties, therefore in its positional, distinctive value, and it is through this distinctive distance, this difference, this distinction, which is observed only by the seasoned observer, that the homologous position of the bearer of this property in the space of social positions shows itself. All of this is exactly encapsulated in the expression “that looks” (“*ça fait ...*”: “that looks petty-bourgeois”, “that looks yuppie”, “that looks intellectual”, etc.) which serves to locate a position in social space through a stance taken in symbolic space.

(p. 113)

Obviously, this can be applied to music as well: “that looks” may well be replaced with “that sounds” (“that sounds posh”, “that sounds redneck”, “that sounds middle-of-the-road”, “that sounds hipster”, “that sounds geek”, etc.), still serving to locate positions in social space through stances taken in symbolic—in this case, sonic—space.

The omnivorisation of musical taste

In the wake of Bourdieu, there have been a number of sociological studies that have attempted to investigate whether the distribution of high and low capital has changed over time in terms of form and content. An important contribution was made by Peterson and his collaborators, who reported that openness to diversity was beginning to replace exclusive preference for high culture as a means of class distinction, based on two sociological studies conducted in 1982 and 1992, which focused on cultural consumption and taste in the US (Peterson, 1992; Peterson & Kern 1996; Peterson & Simkus, 1992). The new element was that from a certain point in time—which coincided with late modernity, according to Regev—what would previously have been dismissed as low culture could also accumulate high cultural capital. Peterson labelled the phenomenon of

expanded taste as *cultural omnivorousness*, and suggested that middle-to-upper-class taste did not necessarily assume an elitist form, but high status since then has become associated with a preference for, and participation in, a broad range of cultural genres and practices. This corresponds well with the widespread notion that in late or postmodern culture, an aptitude for sampling and (re)mixing cultural forms is encouraged.

Furthermore, in the 1990s, Peterson argued that an omnivorous taste was replacing the highbrow one as a central criterion for classifying elitist cultural habits and styles of consumption. In many ways, it seemed like an open-minded and inclusive attitude towards cultural consumption across social hierarchies had spread within the privileged classes and thus also to cultural and educational institutions:

Dominant status groups have regularly defined popular culture in ways that fit their own interests and have worked to render harmless subordinate status-group cultures.... One recurrent strategy is to define popular culture as brutish and something to be suppressed or avoided ... another is to gentrify elements of popular culture and incorporate them into the dominant status-group culture.... Our data suggest a major shift from the former strategy to the latter strategy of status group politics.

(Peterson & Kern, 1996, p. 906)

Furthermore, in the title of his 1992 article, “Understanding Audience Segmentation: From Elite and Mass to Omnivore and Univore”, Peterson indicated that omnivorous consumption was matched by a correspondingly univorous cultural diet among those with little education and low cultural capital, thus turning Bourdieu’s hierarchical model—with the “univore snob” at the pyramid’s top—upside-down. However, the omnivore–univore thesis has been criticised because the cultural univore appears to be a category which is close to impossible to locate empirically (e.g., Atkinson, 2011; Purhonen, Gronow, & Rahkonen, 2010). Nevertheless, many sociologists still seem to find the notion of omnivorousness fruitful, but they leave the univore “slob” (Peterson, 1992, p. 252) to dwindle more or less into oblivion.

However, no one can be omnivorous in a literal sense. In that connection, Bryson (1996) pointed out that omnivorous cultural consumers demonstrate limitations in their preferences. Peterson (2005) also later realised this fact:

At its root, omnivorousness refers to choosing a large number of distinctive tastes or activities. Strictly “omni” means “all,” but in practice as operationalized, a respondent may choose considerably fewer than all the choices available within a survey questionnaire or interview protocol and still be counted as an omnivore. In its earliest formulation, omnivorousness was contrasted with highbrow snobbery and to be counted as an omnivore one had to like classical music and opera.... The focus was on those who participated in and had a taste for the fine arts who also consumed all sorts of

non-elite goods and activities ... or at least showed an openness to appreciating all ... this confounds the omnivorousness of tastes with the taste for highbrow forms, and, following the lead of Bryson (1996) and others since, it seems wisest not to bind breadth and brow-level together by definition, but to see omnivorousness as a measure of the breadth of taste and cultural consumption, allowing its link to status to be definitionally open.

(p. 263f.)

Moreover, in a comprehensive study of the organisation of cultural practices in the UK, which replicated Bourdieu's (1984) methodology and research design from *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, Bennett et al. (2009, p. 92) complicated the impression that knowing about and participating in a wide repertoire of cultural practices itself represents a new badge of distinction. First, their research showed that although "many people range across genres", there are still certain genre boundaries that cannot easily be crossed. For instance, heavy metal and country music are genres that are intensely disliked by many people who are otherwise open-minded in their musical tastes. Besides, although van Eijck (2001) found that members from higher status groups tended to be more omnivorous than those from lower groups, he concluded that these new omnivores represented only a specific fraction of the higher status groups. He denoted this group as the new middle class, who realise that in today's society, being eclectic in musical preference is often regarded as a status symbol.

Second, according to Bennett et al.'s (2009) study, the demographic variable that divides the different levels of omnivorousness seems to be age rather than class; younger respondents reported liking more musical genres than older participants. However, Reeves (2016) argued that the age-period-cohort effects on the rise of the omnivore remain an understudied area in cultural sociology. He proposed that Bourdieu's account of the habitus suggests that it can be usefully framed as a class-based cohort effect that is responsive to age and period effects.

Third, the omnivores might not be as voracious as thought at first glance, but instead they concentrate their patterns of cultural consumption around "cognate musical forms" (Bennett et al., 2009, p. 77), such as opera, classical music and jazz (in other words, musics without a direct musical genre kinship). Nevertheless, the preferred forms possess somewhat similar cultural status in their respective fields and within the social space of lifestyles that provide hierarchies of high and low culture. Vestby (2017) refined this concept further into *culturally related music genres*, which distinguishes between being musical omnivores with culturally *related* orientations and musical omnivores with cultural *trans-boundary* orientations, rather than between univores and omnivores.⁴

Fourth and finally, Bennett et al. (2009) found that a preference for classical music still seems to be strongly associated with elite groups of society. However, a few music education scholars (e.g., Jorgensen, 2003; Nielsen, 2010) have suggested that classical music is marginalised nowadays. Notwithstanding, according to Bennett et al. (2009, p. 93), although elite group members also exhibit clear omnivorous tendencies in their musical tastes, what above all differentiates

them from the other participants is that their musical interests, regardless of genre, are expressed through a certain knowledgeable and educated “limited enthusiasm” rather than through passionate connoisseurship or devoted fandom.

Consequently, as indicated above, even though *what* one is engaged in no longer seems to be so crucial, it is still of great importance *how* one exercises one’s commitment. These clarifications elaborate on the concept of cultural omnivorousness in an important manner. It is still the distanced, aestheticising and intertextual approach to works and practices of art that constitutes the appropriate dominant class mode of cultural consumption, analogous to the distinguished behaviour described by Bourdieu (1984), which thereby contributes to the consecration of new forms and styles and, in turn, makes it possible to accumulate cultural capital. However, since the elite’s cultural consumption now includes a wider range of styles and genres than it did previously, distinctions between what provides high and low capital must be expressed in more subtle ways. For example, in order to be distinguished, one should exhibit a selective, aesthetic approach to vernacular and popular cultural forms and not indulge in consumption for the sake of consumption (Peterson & Kern, 1996). Thus, one should appear to be inclusive and exclusive at the same time, which is a challenging task indeed.

Musical gentrification

As quoted in the previous section, Peterson and Kern (1996) used the verb *gentrify* to illustrate how elements of popular culture have been incorporated into the dominant status-group culture. Also, Halnon and Cohen (2006) applied gentrification as a metaphor for how low culture has been included in the dominant culture, demonstrating how gentrification processes are applicable to *symbolic neighbourhoods* in popular culture. They delineated how three symbolic neighbourhoods of lower-class masculinity—i.e., muscles, motorcycles and tattoos—have been transformed from lower to middle-class distinction. In addition, they showed how cultural objects and expressions are not only incorporated but also changed and adapted to new purposes and contexts. Thus, properties and practices are made more exclusive, a process that tends to make them impracticable for the original possessors of the culture being gentrified.

However, to start from the beginning, Glass (1963) was the very first to employ the term gentrification for academic purposes when she examined how middle-class residents began to settle in low-income and working-class areas in London, thereby raising both the standard and the status of the properties and the neighbourhood. Simultaneously, many of the original residents were forced to move out: “Once this process of ‘gentrification’ starts in a district it goes on rapidly until all or most of the original working-class occupiers are displaced and the whole social character of the district is changed” (Glass, 1963, p. xviii). The term gentrification originates from the word *gentry*, which in late medieval English denoted the wellborn and well-bred social class of the landed aristocracy or the minor aristocracy, whose income emanated from extensive

landholdings. However, when used in colloquial language and political discourse today, gentrification seems to mean urban renewal, which may involve mainly positive associations, such as the stabilisation of declining areas, increased property values, reduced vacancy rates, a better social mix, improved prospects for further development and rehabilitation of property using both private and public funding (Atkinson & Bridge, 2005, p. 5). In this sense, gentrification tends to be identical with the revitalisation of a neighbourhood. However, one should bear in mind that gentrification is also a process by which higher-income households tend to displace lower-income ones, thereby changing the specific nature of the local community. For this reason, Marcuse (1985) underscored that it is crucial not to omit or forget that displacement is at the core of gentrification. Actually, a number of different types of displacement, abandonment or marginalisation can be identified, such as physical displacement when one is forced to leave home by the new owners, economic displacement when buying or renting property becomes unaffordable, exclusionary displacement or abandonment when the total number of homes is reduced because smaller flats are merged into larger ones and lastly, cultural marginalisation or displacement when one feels alienated from an altered neighbourhood that once was familiar. Hence, just as the above-discussed notion of cultural omnivorousness can be interpreted as consisting of both inclusionary and exclusionary elements, it seems obvious that the concept of gentrification also comprises attractive as well as repelling forces.

Much like urban gentrification, *musical gentrification* is predisposed to involve processes of both inclusion and exclusion. The idea implies a symbolic relocation from the field of urban studies to that of the cultural and sociological study of music. Thus, the metaphor may serve to illustrate and examine analogous tendencies to the above in various socio-cultural fields of music, where musics that originally held lower social, cultural and aesthetic status become objects of socio-aesthetic interest and symbolic investment from cultural agents who possess higher status, partly as a result of the ubiquitous processes of aesthetic cosmopolitanism and cultural omnivorousness described above. Musical gentrification occurs in different domains. Obvious examples are when vernacular and popular musics are invaded by artists, educators and researchers, with aestheticisation, institutionalisation and academisation as results. As part of these processes, what characterises the original musical traditions and cultures—now being gentrified—may be disturbed, and some of the social and cultural ties to the musical cultures in question can be weakened or even broken for some of the earlier cultural practitioners. With this basis, musical gentrification has been defined as:

Complex processes with both inclusionary and exclusionary outcomes, by which musics, musical practices, and musical cultures of relatively lower status are made to be objects of acquisition by subjects who inhabit higher or more powerful positions. As with the examples borrowed from urban geography ... these processes strongly contribute to changing the

characteristics of particular musical communities as well as the musics, practices, and cultures that are subjected to gentrification.

(Dyndahl, Karlsen, Skårberg & Nielsen, 2014, p. 54)

The relationship between musical gentrification and cultural omnivorousness may seem intimate, as gentrification can be said to provide necessary arenas or social fields within which omnivorousness may be exercised according to the need to accumulate and exchange cultural capital in a new and differentiated, but still distinguished, manner. Furthermore, in relation to one of sociology's fundamental dichotomies—the complementary opposites of structure and agency—at first glance, the two concepts should be placed on either side. Omnivorousness is related to agency, and gentrification is most adjacent to structure. However, in line with Bourdieu's social theory, these two aspects are always interlinked and should be understood by means of their mutually dependent relationship. Thus, Bourdieu aimed to overcome the structure/agency dichotomy, and the notion of *habitus* is central to those aims.

However, in their explanation of the emergence of cultural omnivorousness, Peterson and Kern (1996) seemed to lean more toward Becker's (1982) concept of *art worlds* than toward structural and power-related circumstances constructing and regulating the subject. They argued that during the latter half of the twentieth century

[i]t became increasingly obvious that the quality of art did not inhere in the work itself, but in the evaluations made by the art world ... and that expressions of all sorts from around the world are open to aesthetic appropriation (Becker, 1982). This is the aesthetic basis of the shift from the elitist exclusive snob to the elitist inclusive omnivore.

(Peterson & Kern, 1996, p. 905)

Additionally, when describing the structural changes that led to the omnivorous expansion of cultural consumption, Peterson and Kern (1996, p. 905) mostly focused on rising standards of living, social class mobility, geographical migration, broader education and the more accessible presentation of the arts via media. These are all plausible explanations, but they lack some of Bourdieu's conflicting views on society, according to which contradictions and opposites are seen as meaning-making, indicating—as mentioned above—that the social significance of art and culture is constituted of differences.⁵ Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992) argued for the implementation of a radical doubt, claiming that constructing a qualified understanding should, first and foremost, involve breaking with prevailing perceptions. Thus, according to the Bourdieusian approach, powerful symbolic hierarchies are established, and societal symbolic power is able to exercise its effect by means of differences. By way of example, the forms of capital—both economic and cultural—are defined as scarce resources that individuals, groups and classes fight for, which constitutes the very dynamics of society. Moreover, these dynamics are relationally organised in the sense that

high or low positions in society are always defined in relation to each other; for someone to have high status, someone else must have low. In order for a lifestyle to be interpreted as distinguished or highbrow, another must be regarded as ordinary or lowbrow. The basis for such distinctive valuations is that different social classes possess their respective “systems of classification” (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 7), which are embodied in habitus. Habitus is thus strongly regulated by structural conditions. That being said, habitus also holds an enabling, agentic capacity, which opens the way for a practical concept of strategy, and this *practical sense* might be regarded as Bourdieu’s (1977) expression of agency.⁶ Through a practical sense of how the power relations within an interaction are symbolically configured, agents can adapt their contributions strategically in order to position themselves—or their ideas, arguments, aesthetic preferences, etc.—favourably within the discourse. In this context, it is relevant to point out that Bourdieu and Passeron (1977) attributed a certain relative autonomy to social fields such as art and education.

Furthermore, it should be noted that when applying the two dimensions of capital volume (high/low) and capital composition (economic/cultural) in order to make the connections between social positions and lifestyles visible within the spatial framework of the diagrams of *Distinction*, Bourdieu (1984, p. 122f.) also implied a third axis, namely a “time-dimension referring to trajectories: the social agents’ history of stability or mobility related to the system of social positions” (Priour & Savage, 2011, p. 572). This could imply that in late modern society, with the prospect of lifelong education and shifting profession, with the evolution of a normative mindset emphasising changing rather than staying values, with increasing globalisation and migration and with the rapid development of media and technology, the formative period of habitus may be significantly extended beyond childhood, thereby refining the practical sense to sophistication, not least when it comes to symbolic domains like the dynamic field of music.

The notion of musical gentrification implies ambitions to incorporate the above complex insights (i.e., linking structure and agency as well as diachronic and synchronic perspectives) in an overall concept. However, this does not mean that the concept can encompass anything that has been labelled cultural omnivorousness and/or aesthetic cosmopolitanism. On the contrary, the concept of musical gentrification may provide a more specific angle to power relations and historical dimensions concerning social differentiation within the fields of music and its policies, education and research. As stated in the above precursory definition, what is included and excluded, as well as the changes that the gentrification imposes on the music and its practices, are essential dimensions of the concept. Moreover, musical gentrification is particularly associated with the changes in the systems of classification, which imply that time-honoured hegemonies are set aside, while new, subtle distinctions—apparently disturbing the traditional balance between high and low culture—gain momentum. Compared with the concepts of aesthetic cosmopolitanism and cultural omnivorousness, the process of change will be of greatest focus for musical gentrification. What dispositions

are expressed in the search for types of music that can accumulate new cultural capital? How is this practical sense developed? How is it implemented strategically? These questions also refer to agents—individuals and/or institutions—who assume the role of musical gentrifiers as well as the symbolic power they exert. A substantial portion of the research that has thus far been carried out within this conceptual framework has been concerned with Norwegian music academia and how the disposition as gentrifier has been performed by various agents within this field.

In the Norwegian academic context, Hansen, Andersen, Flemmen and Ljunggren (2014) argued that professors and other academic staff members in effect influence not only what are legitimate research objects or legitimate educational content but also who and what should be admitted to high-status rank outside of academia. As such, they argued that professors in particular, represent a kind of cultural academic elite who exert the power to define and introduce new phenomena and objects of interest within their own fields, in academia and beyond. By putting capital at the centre, Ljunggren (2014) claimed that for something to function as cultural capital, it must be legitimised somewhere; someone must vouch for its quality. Again, the cultural elite in academia, the professors, will have the greatest classification power over what should count as legitimate cultural capital. They also have the power to influence what should be researched and how to define and control the contents of education and to regulate access to high positions in academia. In this way, they manage the academic institutions' systems of classification, which Regev (2013) denoted as institutionalised patterns of cultural value.

Within the arts, the power of definition might work even more strongly. For instance, Hovden and Knapskog (2014, p. 56) maintained that being a recognised arts professor implies that one is

clearly better placed than others to influence what types of art and which artistic artefacts are acknowledged (or at least presented) as valuable and their chance of being seen and produced, that is, to be cultural tastemakers and gatekeepers, tastekeepers.

With respect to music academia and higher music education, this means that music professors may act as tastekeepers, and in some cases as gentrifiers, with regards to how musical gentrification is enacted in legitimate ways within their field and to which musical genres and styles are considered appropriate for elevation and institutionalisation in academia (see Dyndahl, 2015a). This is how the symbolic economy works in society and culture as a whole and, on a smaller scale, in the university. This is also one way in which the gentrification of popular music takes place as processes of academisation and institutionalisation.

The gentrification of popular music in higher music education and research

In an academic context, it would probably be most common to think that the expansion of popular music genres and styles in higher music education would be initiated from below; from the budding academics—the students—who experience that their music tastes and interests are not appreciated in academia. To some extent, there was some pressure from a minor fraction of Scandinavian music students from the 1970s onwards. However, in line with the arguments stated in the previous paragraph, it is interesting to note that younger professors or professors-to-be contributed greatly to opening the academic doors for jazz, popular music, folk and vernacular music in the Nordic countries, seeing themselves as activists against the conservative establishment of higher music education and research (Dyndahl, 2015a). Although it may at first glance appear as somewhat surprising that an activist base that aims to better understand and help to improve situations of inequality, marginalisation and oppression might also serve as a power base from which to achieve and maintain a new academic hegemony, it is nevertheless a striking example of one of the paradoxes of musical gentrification: whoever has developed a practical sense of what is possible to gentrify at a given time within a given social field will also be able to reap the benefits in the form of cultural capital.

However, it is important to emphasise that this should not be seen as a deliberate, cynical action but as the symbolic, economic logic that the university as an institution and its individual agents are subject to (Bourdieu, 1988), which is embodied in habitus, and the disposition to evolve a practical sense or strategic action ability. Also worth remembering is that the outcome of musical gentrification is just as paradoxical as the idea, and that power—according to Foucault (2001)—is not only repressive but also productive:

This form of power that applies itself to immediate everyday life categorizes the individual, marks him by his own individuality, attaches him to his own identity, imposes a law of truth on him that he must recognize and others have to recognize in him. It is a form of power that makes individuals subjects. There are two meanings of the word “subject”: subject to someone else by control and dependence, and tied to his own identity by a conscience or self-knowledge. Both meanings suggest a form of power that subjugates and makes subject to.

(p. 331)

When music academia gradually opened up to students with backgrounds from jazz, rock and the like, it also welcomed groups and communities who had long been marginalised or excluded from higher music education and legitimate culture. And when some of these students eventually entered postgraduate programmes, they were likely to follow their research interests in the direction of jazz and popular music, ensuring that popular music gained a foothold in higher music education and research.

However, all such efforts cannot necessarily be described as musical gentrification. Obviously, a general expansion or replacement of systems of classification has been initiated, but as this process gains momentum, we can speak about a certain normalisation of popular music's presence in terms of what Regev (2013) called expressive isomorphism. Yet, many major and minor battles have been and are still being fought in many institutions as well as in many fields or sub-fields. Musical gentrification, however, is primarily associated with actions "that are socially distinguished from the commonplace, which we might think of as a type of *marking* that creates a magical boundary between insiders and outsiders, often sanctioned by an actual enclosure" (Bourdieu, 1996, p. 102, emphasis in original). The effect becomes somewhat less when everyone has become a cultural omnivore or aesthetic cosmopolitan.

Thus, from the perspectives provided by the research project *Musical Gentrification and Socio-Cultural Diversities*,⁷ it was most interesting to examine how the gentrification of various popular musical genres and styles has taken place in Norwegian higher music education (i.e., which genres have been institutionalised and which have not [or have but only to a minor extent] and the role of gentrifiers in these processes) (Dyndahl, Karlsen, Nielsen & Skårberg, 2017). However, to get close enough to the empirical material to be able to discuss it in terms of musical gentrification, the research group explored when, how, why and what kind of popular music has been included in Norwegian higher education and research by examining the entire corpus of master's theses and doctoral dissertations approved in any academic discipline of music throughout the century from 1912 to 2012. The results of the study indicated, in short, that after the first entrance of a thesis focusing on popular music occurred in 1974, an ever-increasing proportion of theses have been related to popular music, reaching about 40 per cent of the total amount by the end of the investigated period. With this outcome, one could believe that higher music education is democratised once and for all, and that all kinds of music are now included in Norwegian higher music education. Certainly, in comparison to the overall dominant position Western classical music had previously, an inclusive expansion has obviously taken place.

However, in the same way as urban gentrification is exercised by people with higher status than those who originally inhabited the neighbourhoods that become objects of new attraction, and therefore tend to expel the original residents, musical gentrification also has exclusionary or marginalising effects. This is expressed in several ways. First of all, not all popular music styles are attractive enough to be gentrified. Instead, new, academic genre hierarchies within popular music appear to have arisen. Esteemed forms of jazz, rock and pop are thus very well represented in the overall academic picture. At the opposite end of the scale we find, for example, punk rock, country music and Scandinavian dance band music. The latter is not represented in the material whatsoever. Notwithstanding this fact, this is a widespread music genre and cultural practice, especially in Norway and Sweden, but it is often interpreted as a stereotype of working-class and/or rural culture and lifestyle and has been kept outside of

music education, music research and the media in general. Master's students and potential music researchers apparently do not wish to be associated with musics that render such unquestionable low cultural affiliation (see also Dyndahl, 2016).

However, as previously stated, musical gentrification is not just about what is included or excluded. Equally important is how it is done. By using sufficiently sophisticated theory and conceptual apparatuses, it seems that almost any music—with a few exceptions—can be lifted up to legitimate culture and provide opportunities for reaping benefits, in this case, academic capital. In this way, one can also say that gentrification changes the music that is exposed to it, just as the former working-class homes and neighbourhoods are transformed by middle- and upper-class habitus in urban gentrification. In other words, this serves as an example of academics' efforts to accumulate cultural capital according to the structural norms and values set or constantly reset within dynamic systems of classification (see also Dyndahl, 2015a, 2019, p. 22f.). Regarding the individual and institutional roles of gentrifiers, the results materialise differences in and between academic institutions and educational programmes (Dyndahl, Karlsen, Nielsen & Skårberg, 2018) as well as gender differences when it comes to power and significance for the musical gentrification (see Nielsen and Dyndahl, in press).⁸

All in all, a field has emerged that has gradually opened itself up to other musics, music practices and music cultures than those stemming from the Western art music tradition, and some of these instances are now implemented within an academic domain of relatively high status. In this respect, the gentrification of popular music in higher Norwegian music education and research has contributed to changing the system of classification in this particular field.

Conclusion

Based on the previous sections, the concept of musical gentrification may now be described as holding the potential to address both the destabilisation and restabilisation of social positions as well as systems of classification in education, culture and society. First, musical gentrification denotes processes for incorporation of popular culture elements into the dominant status-group culture. Second, these processes tend to be strategically selective in the sense that there will be something and someone marginalised, omitted or excluded. Third, the gentrified musical objects and expressions are not only included but are also changed and adapted to the new purposes and contexts. This may involve alterations that are so extensive that some of the social and cultural ties to the musical cultures in question can be weakened or broken for the first-hand cultural practitioners. Thus, musical gentrification presupposes differences as a dynamic force of power in society and culture, maintaining and redefining hierarchies of hegemony. However, although power makes individuals subject to someone else by control and suppression, it may also afford empowerment. In this context, musical gentrification is executed by gentrifiers, who have developed an agentic disposition or practical strategy to sense what is capable of gentrification at a

given time within a given social field and who will thus be able to benefit from it.

Disposition is a key concept in Bourdieu's work. It can be conceived as a sense of the game or—more precisely—as a skill that is partly conscious and rational but that is also partly an intuitive, practical mastery of social fields and systems of classification which appears to be spontaneously expressed. However, the dispositions are conditioned responses to the social world formed over years, and it follows that the individual habitus is always a mix of multiple engagements in the social world throughout the person's life.⁹ Further, since the social fields are put into practice through the agency of the individuals, no social field or system of classification can be completely stable, but instead it is possible to adapt or alter them according to specific initiatives and interests. In other words, the concept of the practical sense holds the potential to connect the poles of the dichotomy between structure and agency.

The practical sense is rooted in habitus, which is formed throughout a person's life. Thus, "referring to trajectories: the social agents' history of stability or mobility related to the system of social positions" (Prieur & Savage, 2011, p. 572) is necessary to see in light of the characteristics of late modern development of society and culture. Sociologists like Bauman (2000) and Beck, Giddens and Lash (1994) argued that in late modernity, a liquid or reflexive modernisation process is occurring. This means that while in classical or high modernity, the concept of modernity was defined in opposition to traditionalism, in late modernity the concept tends to be more or less self-referring. This is one of the reasons why both highbrow and lowbrow cultural forms can now be detected on a sub-level or more specific level within social space (Frith, 1996; Thornton, 1995) than what Bourdieu (1984) maintained with his opposition between high and low culture to denote the consecrated classical versus the vulgar popular culture. This adds a historical basis for justifying the notion of musical gentrification as a concept that may hold the potential to address new distinctions and consecrations within the field of popular music (i.e., between its different genres, styles and modes of expression rather than between the popular and traditional cultural systems of classification and sets of values).

Notwithstanding, although musical gentrification can operate as a nuanced conceptual device for popular genres, subgenres, styles and sub-styles, it is primarily a cultural sociological concept. Its strength lies therefore in saying something relevant about music's social and cultural significance and not in expounding the ontologies of music or investigating in-depth sophisticated ways of interacting aesthetically with musical matters and materials. However, Frith's (1996) demand to understand popular music in its composite socio-cultural *and* aesthetic whole implies an ontological approach to music, emphasising precisely that music is both an aesthetic and a socio-cultural matter. But to pursue this further, the concept of musical gentrification must be complemented by other theoretical contributions. Prior (2013), in this regard, asked whether Bourdieusian claims about social stratification and music consumption are still relevant and whether they are sophisticated enough to deal with the specific ways that

people interact with musical forms. Thus, he called for developing “something like a ‘post-Bourdieuian’ sociology more faithful to music’s material properties” (Prior, 2013, p. 181), pointing out theoretical contributions from DeNora (1999, 2000, 2004), Hennion (1999, 2007, 2008) and Born (2010). Nevertheless, considered from the theoretical perspective constituted by musical gentrification, such contributions must not be incompatible with the concept’s specific sociological approach, which aims to see social and institutional structures as well as cultural and individual agencies in context. Here, Regev’s (2013, p. 177) proposal to develop the actor-network theory to a notion of sonic embodiment and material presence represents an interesting outline, illuminating actants as material-semiotic elements that mediate “new ways of experiencing the body, new styles of consciousness and modes of embodiment, new designs of the public musical sphere”. Another idea could be to develop a discursive approach that might capture discourses *in* music as well as discourses *on* music, as Folkestad (2017) advocated. This would enable the understanding that music itself might be regarded as a discourse, as musical discursive actions and activities, including the formation of musical identities. That way, both Frith’s dual perspective on music and Bourdieu’s interconnection between structure and agency could be consolidated.

However, such contributions to the development of theory are beyond the scope of this chapter, which has attempted to address the significance of the concept of musical gentrification for the understanding of social positioning in late modern culture. In sum, this has explained that what seems like inclusive and democratising tendencies may in subtle ways mean that inclusion takes place only in specific forms and under certain conditions, through which some groups and classes gain higher status and power while others are still marginalised or excluded. Furthermore, this time they could be excluded by means of what was originally their own culture, which due to the processes of musical gentrification, has changed in character and been adopted by a new audience. This may lead to particular classes and groups experiencing school and education as less relevant, leading to suspicion of social groups and cultural institutions that have deprived or closed access to one’s culture. Ultimately, this might create a breeding ground for contempt for the cultural elite (Ljunggren, 2014) and a rejection of knowledge, education and research that could threaten the knowledge society and the welfare state. Therefore, it is hoped that the insights provided by the concept of musical gentrification may have implications for the politics of culture and aesthetics, for music education and research and for people’s agency in society, culture, education and their personal lives.

Notes

- 1 Of course, there are music education scholars who oppose such a view, such as Philpott (2012) and Boeskov (2019), but they are relatively few.
- 2 Latour borrowed the notion of actants from Greimas (1983), for whom it referred to integral structural elements around which narratives, such as storytelling, revolve.

- 3 For a further discussion on the significance of parenting for the formation of habitus, see Vestad and Dyndahl, this volume.
- 4 See also Vestby, this volume.
- 5 This is probably where Bourdieu exhibits the closest kinship with Saussure and Derrida (see Dyndahl, 2015b, p. 33ff.).
- 6 For an idiosyncratic perspective on the relationship between musical gentrification and agency, see Karlsen, this volume.
- 7 For more details about the research project and the research group, see the opening chapter of this volume.
- 8 For a detailed discussion of gender-related issues concerning musical gentrification, see Nielsen, this volume.
- 9 Lahire (2003, p. 329) emphasised that dispositions are not just general and homogeneous by nature, but “that social agents have developed a broad array of dispositions, each of which owes its availability, composition, and force to the socialization process in which it was acquired”.

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3 Exploring the phenomenon of musical gentrification

Methods and methodologies

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Introduction

One of the main characteristics of research and of scientific conduct, whether it is theoretically or empirically inclined, is rigour connected to the definition of concepts and to the materialisation of such concepts into philosophical or empirical realities. Even though a particular concept might be adequately defined, its operationalisation might occur in different ways due to dissimilarities in theoretical or material contextualisations. As for the concept central to this book, namely musical gentrification, it is coined by the research group, by which it is developed, in the following way:

we refer to musical gentrification as complex processes with both inclusionary and exclusionary outcomes, by which musics, musical practices, and musical cultures of relatively lower status are made to be objects of acquisition by subjects who inhabit higher or more powerful positions.

(Dyndahl, Karlsen, Skårberg, & Nielsen, 2014, p. 54;
see also Dyndahl, this volume)

Furthermore, it is situated within a sociological frame, drawing on grand and middle-range theory borrowed from contributors such as Bourdieu (1984, 1990, 1986/2011) and Peterson (1992; see also Peterson & Kern, 1996; Peterson & Simkus, 1992). Still, as such, the definition carries little information about what, in each particular case, would count as, say, a process, inclusion or exclusion. Nor does it establish an exact frame for conceptualising what might constitute a musical genre, practice or culture. These concepts, which are all necessary for coining the central one, need to be worked out in relation to particular projects, cases and contexts in order to grasp, and be able to scientifically explore, the phenomenon of musical gentrification.

In this chapter, we aim to show how musical gentrification has been operationalised in three different, but interlinked research projects using similar, but not quite identical, theoretical frameworks, and investigating the phenomenon in vastly different contexts and through a variety of methodological approaches and types of data. In the first example, musical gentrification is explored in music academia and higher music education through a quantitative approach in which

the data are comprised of a large number of academic theses. The second example shows how ethnography can be used for approaching the phenomenon of musical gentrification in a data-rich and somewhat unruly field, namely a country music festival. Third, the focus is moved towards how an ethnographic design might aid the researcher in exploring signs and patterns of musical gentrification in the stories and observed conduct of musicians with immigrant backgrounds related to the efforts of creating a professional career in their new country of domicile. Each of these examples or cases comes with a rich methodological description of links between theory and approaches, data and assumptions, and a case-specific account of what, in *this* particular research project, came to be defined as the actual signs that processes of musical gentrification had indeed taken place. However, before delving into the specificities of the three examples, the topic of operationalisation will be explored from a more general point of view.

From middle-range theory to methodological tools: challenges of operationalisation

According to Søndergaard (2005), researchers who work with “complex-sensitive types of thinking—e.g. cultural analytical, narrative, discourse analytical, constructionist or poststructuralist theories and methods” (p. 235, our translation) are often left to themselves when it comes to finding strategies and constructing tools for analysing their empirical material. In other words, “the researcher [has] to find her/his own way: poststructuralist-inspired empirical analysis is not something that can be acquired as a sort of technique” (Søndergaard, 2002, p. 187). This task is not an easy one, and requires both thorough knowledge of the theories that make up the theoretical framework of the research project at hand, as well as rigorous understanding of how “theoretical concepts can be ‘translated’ into the practical researcher reality and thereby function as useful instruments in the methods-related work” (Karlsen, 2011, p. 162, our translation). Such work, and its related challenges, is also central to researchers working within the field of sociology, whether they operate on the basis of so-called grand theory (Mills, 1959), or build their frameworks from contributions developed within the middle-range theoretical sphere (Merton, 1968).

Reinvigorating the structure/agency debate, Martin and Dennis (2010, pp. 5–9) claim that working with sociological grand theory from an empirical angle is next to pointless, among other things, because it is practically impossible to demonstrate the existence of social structures. Rather, they find “[t]he proper focus of sociological attention” (p. 15) to be that of “the human world of everyday experience, a world which is neither ‘macro’ nor ‘micro’ and [which] cannot be captured analytically by the dualism of ‘structure’ and ‘agency’ (or by attempts to ‘link’ them)” (p. 15). Despite this critique, several scholars, also within the field of cultural sociology, continue to strive to explore the connections between the macro structural level and the micro-level everyday actions of individuals or groups of people. Some of these researchers do so through a

Bourdieuian framework (see Bennett et al., 2009; Faber, Prieur, Rosenlund & Skjøtt-Larsen, 2012), which is also partly underlying the Musical Gentrification project around which much of this book is built, and some even aim to replicate the methodology and the means of empirical operationalisation originally utilised for collecting the data on which Bourdieu's seminal work, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (1984), was based. Pondering the challenges of such operationalisation, Bennett et al. (2009) point to how, for example, a questionnaire meant to map the cultural tastes of a large number of participants in the UK might function so as to measure only the engagement with so-called legitimate culture, mainly due to the researchers being situated in the middle class and taking their own understanding of culture as a point of departure for developing categories. Engaging in qualitative interview work later on in the project, these same researchers discovered that individuals who, based on the questionnaire results, seemed "culturally disengaged [were] not to be seen as 'socially excluded' or somehow devoid of social interaction of various kinds" (Bennett et al., 2009, p. 59). Rather, they were busy participating in a myriad of more informal cultural and social activities that the questionnaire did not tap into. While giving the more general reminder that triangulation of methods might be needed in order to have valid results from sociological research, this example also shows how researcher reflexivity constitutes a significant premise for sound operationalisation of theoretical concepts. If "cultural taste" is understood as an individual's total range of preferences for, and engagement with, various cultural artefacts and expressions, researchers need to be well aware of their own cultural habitus in order to be able to look beyond their own immediate and often limited understanding when aiming to map such taste. Similar experiences with researcher bias were reported by Faber et al. (2012) who aimed to conduct a Bourdieu-inspired study of social and cultural differentiation in one particular town in Denmark. They write:

Many of the questions, which we had taken great care to formulate in a neutral and non-value-laden way in the survey, still missed the target. It cannot be denied that the questions were conceived in an academic context, and that we, as researchers, enquired from a specific position in social space.

(p. 69, our translation)

As with the UK study (Bennett et al., 2009), the Danish researchers found this phenomenon to influence, in particular and in a negative way, the data collection among the participants categorised as belonging to "the lower [social] classes" (Faber et al., 2012, p. 69).

The Danish and UK researchers' grappling with finding suitable methodological solutions within the field of cultural sociology might be understood as struggles to operationalise grand theory—a highly abstract theorising of the organisation of the social world—which is one possible way of characterising Bourdieu's work (Walther, 2014, p. 7). In their case, the operationalisation

consisted of one step mainly, namely, the translation from theoretical concepts and into practical research tools, as already mentioned above. In the context of our project, this process of translation has contained yet another step, since we have mainly been occupied with utilising, and also constructing, what might be viewed as middle-range theory; in other words a form of sociological theorising which is slightly less abstract and in itself closer to the empirical world. Since Bourdieu's work still forms a backdrop for our project, the first step has consisted of a translation (or perhaps rather a bridging) of grand theory concepts, such as "cultural capital", "habitus" and "social class" (Bourdieu, 1984) into the middle-range theoretical notions of "cultural omnivorousness" (Peterson, 1992; Peterson & Kern, 1996) and "musical gentrification" (Dyndahl et al., 2014). Secondly, our next step has been to operationalise musical gentrification so that it makes sense and can be used for the purpose of collecting, producing and constructing research data of various kinds and in various social and cultural contexts. As Sønnergaard (2002) reminds us, there is no one way to go about such processes, and prescriptive models or universal techniques for how to do it simply do not exist. Rather, researchers must find their own way through this theoretical-empirical landscape—learning as they go, and also from each other, in and through collaborative efforts. This calls for even more complex layers of researcher reflexivity than exemplified above, and also for developing reflexive methodologies (Alvesson & Skoldberg, 2000). In the following, we will exemplify three such processes and attempts, all characterised by individual as well as collective learning, by explaining the routes of operationalisation connected to each of the three Musical Gentrification sub-projects: one conducted by four senior researchers (Petter Dyndahl, Sidsel Karlsen, Siw Graabræk Nielsen and Odd Skårberg), one PhD project (conducted by Stian Vestby), and finally one sub-project conducted by a postdoctoral researcher (Mariko Hara).

Musical gentrification and academisation: a quantitative approach

In the context of the senior researcher sub-project, the process of musical gentrification was explored as one happening within Norwegian music academia and higher music education, and further characterised by this field's uptake of various forms of popular music. Since the wish was to map this phenomenon historically and trace its development diachronically, some form of register data was considered necessary. The data sources that were seen as most suitable were written and published academic works, in other words master's and doctoral theses produced within music academia in Norway. With respect to hegemony, Western classical music and the scholars writing about it were understood as inhabiting historically the most powerful positions of this field, and popular music and its proponents and writers were considered the main challengers, the ones to gradually contest the music academia status quo. The research interest not only covered the process of dominance contestation per se, it was also directed towards the patterns of inclusion/exclusion that happened due to the

gentrification itself. In other words: which popular music styles and genres “made it” into music academia, and which did not?

As a consequence of the above, in this particular sub-project, the phenomenon of “musical practice” was operationalised as “writing academic texts about music”. One could of course argue that popular music would also enter music academia in other ways, through being taught, played and practiced by teachers and students who were involved in the educational programmes offered within this particular part of academia. However, for mapping *this* development accurately and to have a full overview of how it happened in a national perspective, the researchers would have to interview an infinite number of people, and rely on their memories of events that occurred within a time-span of over 40 years. They would also have to consider the fact that the process happened in different ways and at different speed in various parts of the country. Hence, for the investigation of the full national scope of academia musical gentrification, the thesis data was considered the most appropriate.¹

Working with register data first requires that a register exists. This was not the situation with the music academia theses, so one of the first challenges faced by the group of researchers was to establish one. This part of the work was guided by questions like “how to map relevant educational programmes?”, “how and where to receive knowledge about relevant theses?”, “how to set up the register?”, and “what categories of information to include?”

The selection of educational programmes was made on the background of the research group members’ professional knowledge and experience, both regarding what existed historically and in a contemporary perspective, and also which programmes could be understood as belonging to the field of music academia. Programmes within in all ten different music conservatoires, universities and university colleges were included, spanning the fields of musicology, ethnomusicology, music education, music therapy, music technology and music performance, as well as their respective subdivisions (see Dyndahl, Karlsen, Nielsen, & Skårberg, 2017). Some of these institutions and programmes had kept lists of published theses throughout their years of existence, others had not. Consequently, having an overview of the total span of works required extensive efforts from the researchers involved, digging into library catalogues, making calls to librarians and other people who would possess information about the local theses produced, and working in libraries all over the country, going through microfiche versions and physically existing copies of theses, to register and in other ways map them. All in all, 1,695 theses were detected and catalogued, and they were categorised according to a range of different variables such as year of publication, publishing institution, study programme affiliation, author and supervisor gender, scientific discipline and musical style/genre, before the data was inserted into SPSS² and analysed statistically. The latter category was the one that caused the most trouble and which proved to be the most difficult to operationalise, especially the part of it that was most pertinent to the investigation, namely the categorisation of popular music.

Since both inclusion *and* exclusion of popular music was on the research agenda, the researchers involved had to work from an abductive (Alvesson & Sköldbberg, 2000) point of view, categorising what existed in the data and at the same time imagining what “could have been”, in order to have an overview of what was left out. This demanded a deductive point of departure, considering the many discussions on categorisations of musical genres and styles within the field of musicology (see Dyndahl et al., 2017, pp. 441–443), and at the same time, the work had to be performed inductively, navigating quite fuzzy borders of classification and also interpreting authors’ not-always-clear-cut descriptions of the musical genres and styles present in their thesis.

Following the observations of Brackett (2016), the researchers found that it was not enough to focus on “*what* constitutes the contents of a musical category” (p. 6); the emphasis also needed to be “on *how* a particular idea of a category emerges and stabilizes momentarily (if at all) in the course of being accepted across a range of discourses and institutions” (p. 6), especially since the data and phenomenon explored stretched out in time and spanned several decades. In the end, the researcher team settled for the following set of popular music categories:

early jazz; mainstream jazz; modern/contemporary jazz; Tin Pan Alley/musical; traditional and cabaret songs; folk/singer-songwriter; country music; Scandinavian dance band music; blues; rock and roll; rock; hard rock/prog rock; punk rock; heavy metal/black metal; pop; alternative pop/rock; funk; hip-hop; contemporary R&B; electronic dance music; world music; “rhythmic music” and a residual category, designated as miscellaneous.

(Dyndahl et al., 2017, p. 443)

Reaching the point where the (qualitative) descriptions of musics in the 1,695 theses could be converted into and analysed as statistical data required substantial and multi-layered processes of hermeneutical work, which should serve as a reminder that clear-cut distinctions between qualitative and quantitative research rarely exist.

As is evident from the above, the research group engaged in extensive discussions in order to build up the thesis register as well as the spectrum of generic and stylistic categories, and in this work, they drew both on prior generic knowledge of the musical fields in question, acquired through professional experience, and a range of tools borrowed from the musicological discipline. In this way, they implemented what Bourdieu calls a “reflexive sociology” (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). An important methodological point in this regard, is that the researchers in a field are also agents within the exact same field. Consequently, a thorough study of the academic field must therefore be made part of the actual research and thus a part of the researchers’ self-reflection. Bourdieu and Wacquant’s (1992) notion of “epistemic reflexivity” locates this hermeneutic insight and responsibility with the researchers, who inevitably will impregnate the research object with their pre-understanding in a social and cultural context.

Further, they describe three areas where individual researchers should problematise hidden conditions that might influence and restrict a research project: first, the researcher's social positioning may have a bearing on what is perceived as key research questions and methods. Second, the academic position and authority one possesses will most likely constitute an analytical framework. Finally, the researcher might stage the field of research so that it becomes a representation of appropriate phenomena instead of taking an interest in the genuine problems at stake.

The participants of the senior researcher sub-project have been part of Norwegian higher music education since the late 1970s; first as students, later as professors. This allows for a privileged insight into the field in the exact same period that the processes of popular music gentrification have taken place. It also facilitates the ability to detect and discuss music education and research as power-saturated social practices. Thus, it forms an essential prerequisite for constructing the empirical material into data, in the ways described above. As a consequence, the group never considered outsourcing this time-consuming work to research assistants. On the other hand, this situation means that the senior researchers faced a challenging test in terms of epistemic reflexivity, a test that can only be passed through employing a satisfactory level of meta-reflexivity with respect to the methodological practices conducted.

Researching unruly festival contexts: ethnographic case study and musical gentrification

In the PhD sub-project, one particular country music festival, and its cultural and political surroundings, constituted the site for exploration of the musical gentrification phenomenon. The festival, named the Norwegian Country Meeting (*Norsk Countrytreff* in Norwegian, hereafter abbreviated to NCT), was the first of its kind to receive funding directly from the state, through a special subsidy directed towards elite music festivals in Norway. Hence, the phenomenon of musical gentrification was, in this particular case, operationalised both in terms of a lowbrow music festival's inclusion into "the elite league", and with respect to the intra-festival inclusion/exclusion and hierarchisation of particular country music styles. The subsidy hegemony, challenged by NCT, was seen to belong to more established music festivals featuring highbrow (or less lowbrow) musics, such as Western classical music, jazz, rock, folk music and world music. The intra-festival musical hegemony, on the other hand, was not so clear-cut and had to be explored through extensive fieldwork. For this purpose, an ethnographic approach was chosen. In the following, the routes of operationalisation carved out in the fieldwork part of this sub-project will be described, and "musical practice" will hence be understood as "attending a (country) music festival".

Across disciplines, ethnographers are often well versed in dealing with unruly research contexts, meaning social sites of investigation not always conforming to either the researcher's plans and preparations, or to cultural codes and social regularities. The PhD project described here was no exception. Once a year,

NCT forms a complex site of live events, real-time practices and fluid communication across social situations and fields. As a consequence, the overall ethnographic design applied multiple methods of data collection and analysis, including field observations, qualitative interviews, a quantitative survey and archive searches, as well as various forms of textual and statistical analysis. In order to capture the musical hierarchisation and thereby the gentrification happening within the borders of NCT, it was conceptualised as a socio-symbolic space. This required a further concretisation and operationalisation of areas of particular interest to the investigation. Building from knowledge constructed through previous festival studies, three focus areas can be identified, namely *festival time*, *festival place* and *festival space*. These dimensions all carry their own methodological challenges, which will be discussed below.

Festival time

Falassi (1987) characterises festivals as something extraordinary and ritualistic. During festivals, “daily [ordinary] time is modified by a gradual or sudden interruption that introduces ‘time out of time’, a special temporal dimension devoted to special activities” (p. 4). The autonomy of festival time hence allows for various conjugated “mythical narratives or musical scores” (p. 4) to happen on their own sacralised and experiential terms. Such a stance poses several opportunities and constraints for festival ethnographers who aim to map the specificities of (country) music festival attendees’ experiences of this temporally condensed ritual.

The methodological challenges in this regard manifested most clearly as an ethical imperative not to interrupt or distort audience’s deep ritual involvement while observing festival life and music events. According to Angrosino (2007, pp. 17, 33), field ethnographers must often find ways to balance the courage to approach informants against the respectful *savoir faire* of non-approach. Although being a public and generally joyful event, NCT also allowed for intruding into people’s private spheres, especially when attendees listened or danced to music. The time of these activities, characterised by strong musical engagement (see Karlsen, 2014), was interpreted as “sacred” or “time out of time” by the observing researcher, who strived not to interfere and to keep a respectful distance. Nevertheless, access to audience’s real-time experiences of the events was necessary for understanding the social organisation of the festival, and at times where musical activities were somewhat toned down, approach was easier and for the most part welcome.

Festival place

The various places that together constitute NCT cover considerable physical distance and feature quite different geographical, cultural, topographical and meteorological characteristics. For a researcher engaged in participant observation and the survey method, this setting is truly unruly and a potential source of

frustration and fatigue. Still, place variety forms a palette of potential meaningfulness for the audience, and as such it is part of what constructs the socio-symbolic festival space, as Quinn (2013) rightly reminds us: “[Festivals] constitute arenas where local knowledge is produced and reproduced; where the history, cultural inheritance and social structures, which distinguish one place from another, are revised, rejected or recreated” (p. 47).

Local knowledge, traditions and conditions can be a strong source of identification for people. NCT is located at Norway’s rural West Coast—a picturesque agricultural area surrounded by mountains, lakes, streams and fjords. The small farming communities that surround the festival’s main outdoor arena cover considerable distance and altitude. The main arena itself functions as a site for horse breeding throughout the year. Historically, it has been a site for folk music-making, and for the past 20-some years for live country music, featuring international and Norwegian acts. The aesthetic functions of the festival’s main arena outdoor spectacle, or “cowboy carnival” (Vestby, 2017), are thus strengthened by the surrounding rural environment and cultural expressions. Contrastingly, two of the festival concerts are held in the largest town of the neighbouring municipality, at a modern cultural centre and a museum. Representing “sit-down-and-listen” types of events, these sites address quite another type of audience *habitus* (Bourdieu, 1984), which was also underlined by the musical repertoire chosen, featuring “chamber country music”. Travelling between the different venues by car, often in a speedy manner on narrow roads, the researcher had plenty of opportunities to reflect on the symbolic meaning (and implicit hierarchisation) of the various places, and to engage in epistemic reflexivity, the “[o]bjectivation of the relation of the sociologist to his or her object [of investigation]” (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 259). Arriving at the venues, the focus quickly shifted from such reflection to field practicalities and interactive listening, for instance.

Festival space

If festival *place* is interpreted in terms of geographical and physical location and distance, festival *space* might be viewed as the discursive abstraction of that very same location and distance. Moreover, in a sociological perspective, time and tempo differences relating to “rivalling” festival venues and activities can be seen in conjunction with classed tastes and lifestyle differences. Indeed, the plurality of aesthetic forms and social functions at NCT reflected certain corresponding class attributes, homologies or *habitus* forms (Bourdieu, 1984); in other words, *internal* differences across audience segments that served symbolic purposes in maintaining an *external* social hierarchy. For example, statistical analysis showed that audience members at NCT’s main outdoor arenas earned less and had less education than audiences attending the indoor (chamber) concerts. Correspondingly, observations, interviews and textual analysis revealed that various forms of “social” and “bodily listening” seemed to be more preferred at the bigger live music arenas than at the distinguished indoor venues, in

which forms of “disinterested” or “deep listening” seemed to be the proper form of attendance (see Vestby, 2017, 2019).

Turner (1982) describes the signifying festival situation in this way: “Each kind of ritual, ceremony, or festival comes to be coupled with special types of attire, music, dance, food and drink, ‘properties’, modes of staging and presentation, physical and cultural environment, and, often, masks, body-painting, head-gear, furniture, and shrines” (p. 12). With respect to NCT, the aforementioned “rivalling” venues featured to some degree mutually exclusive attire, music, drinks, modes of performance, and “shrines” that evoked certain identities and social class affiliations, most notably those of the Norwegian upper or cultural middle class as opposed to the working class. During the three years of NCT fieldwork, the festival repeatedly offered this conflict-laden diversity so characteristic of country music culture on both sides of the Atlantic (see e.g., Ching, 2001; Hubbs, 2014; Solli, 2006). Thus, to ensure an empirically sound operationalisation of musical gentrification within this particular sub-project, the inclusion and exclusion taking place at NCT had to be explored and understood both at the micro level of musical practice, as given account of above, and at the society macro level considering larger patterns of hegemonic power and hierarchical structures. Within the context of this research monograph, the latter aspect is further elaborated in Vestby, this volume (see also Vestby, 2017, 2019).

Career paths of migrant musicians: musical gentrification managed from the “inside”

The postdoctoral researcher sub-project featured the Norwegian (professional) music scene as its site of investigation, and the musical gentrification phenomenon was understood as migrant musicians’ entrepreneurial strategies to approach, and subsequently enter into, this particular field. Consequently, the exploration did not proceed through musical genre or style predominantly, although such musical features were certainly tightly interwoven with the social dynamics of the music scene. Rather, the musicians with various immigrant backgrounds (hereafter “musicians”) were seen as non-hegemonic actors or participants in Norwegian professional music life, whose career paths and inbound career movements (including the musics they played, created and brought) constituted the act or phenomenon of musical gentrification in itself. How hegemony was composed or understood in this particular case, in terms of actors, institutions and musics, became a matter of interest for the empirical investigation, and for the purpose of exploring the chosen site and its dynamics from the point of view of the involved musicians, an ethnographic design was chosen. Also, in this sub-project, “musical practice” came to be understood through one of its more everyday-like connotations (as opposed to in the previous two sub-projects), namely as “enacted (professional) musicianship”.

Overall design

As mentioned above, the study highlighted musicians' entrepreneurial efforts of developing career pathways in their host country (Norway), and in particular the socio-aesthetic negotiations and cultivations of their musicianship that were performed in order to increase social mobility. An ethnographic approach was indispensable to enhance an understanding of these activities, developments and processes, and to be able to capture the phenomenon "in action" as a particular instance of musical gentrification. The latter implied exploring the musicians' understanding of the meanings of music, both as appropriated by individual actors (DeNora, 2007) and as an inherently social force (Small, 1998). It also meant looking into the social reality of the participants' lives as musicians in Norway, including their day-to-day, often hidden, musical practices (Becker, 1982; Finnegan, 2007).

The one-year plus data collection involved interviews and participant observation of relevant events, as well as a complimentary ethnographic study of the wider music scene involving migrant musicians in the Oslo capital area. The latter was done through examining written material (online or in magazines), attending general music festivals with migrant musicians' participation and additional meetings with organisers and state-funded organisations working with migrant musicians. The study participants were recruited through organisations that had solid networks involving musicians with immigrant backgrounds. The strategic building of a list with potential participants was supplemented by a snowball sampling strategy as the data collection started, since many of the musicians contacted and interviewed were happy to introduce the researcher to their friends, colleagues and collaborators.

In all, 12 musicians of different ages, gender, background and stages of their career were interviewed. In addition, interviews were conducted with two musicians of Norwegian origin who collaborated with musicians with an immigrant background, and two staff members of relevant organisations, all either living in Oslo or visible/active in the Oslo music scene. The interviews covered the musicians' views and experiences of their (professional) musical life in Norway as well as their musical backgrounds, biographies, career pathways before and after migration, daily musical engagements, collaborators and plans and ambitions. As musicians' career trajectories constituted a main research interest, additional interviews were conducted with the participants who seemed to have major changes in their music careers during the 6 to 12 months after the initial interviews.

As part of the ethnographic design, the researcher undertook participatory observation of musical events that her interviewees were involved in during the data collection period. Presence at these music-making events was seen as crucial, since musical experiences are always corporeal and multisensory (Finnegan, 2003; Seeger, 2008; Shelemay, 2008). It also allowed the researcher to observe the patterns and combinations of available resources that affected individual ways of aesthetic expression. In keeping with grounded theory

conventions (Charmaz, 1995, pp. 32–33), this approach also allowed for exploring how the musicians experienced and negotiated cultural difference and how their social relations and identities were mediated (Wise & Velayutham, 2009) through the process of developing and enacting their music-related skills. Overall, the researcher was able to collect “thick descriptions” (Geertz, 1999) that touched upon a wide range of issues relevant to the musicians’ lives and experiences in and of Norway.

Adapted methods and the characteristics of the data

The strategic sampling described above was developed a) in response to the research task and b) to accommodate the researcher’s own situation at the time as a newly arrived researcher in Norway. The characteristics of the data obtained were impacted by these conditions, which is important to acknowledge and reflect upon.

First of all, the 12 informants with immigrant backgrounds were all based in the Oslo area. All of them had been actively engaged in various music scenes in and out of Norway at the time the study began (September 2014). However, their exact levels of engagement, roles in the music scenes and career stages varied. Given the fact that Oslo has the largest music scene in Norway, with several sub-scenes involving a large number of musicians with an immigrant background, the research project gravitated towards Oslo-based musicians. Oslo is also the place where organisations working with such musicians are located. This proved to be another reason for focusing on Oslo, as the evolving research showed that these organisations often acted as gatekeepers.

Except for one musician who was contacted through the researcher’s personal network and another who emerged as a result of snowball sampling, the participants finally chosen were suggested by three local organisations: Samspill International Music Network (a state-funded mediator working to connect musicians with an immigrant background with various local musical fields), Oslo Extra Large (a division of Oslo municipality working on issues related to integration and diversity) and the Inland Norway University of Applied Sciences (the host institution for the research project). The connection between the participating musicians and these organisations implied that the musicians were to some extent developing their career paths in collaboration with these organisations. Hence, it could be argued that such state and organisational involvement constitutes a form of musical gentrification in itself, albeit one that is embraced by the musicians (see further discussions of this phenomenon in Hara, this volume). The musicians’ connections to these organisations seemed to indicate that they used (or attempted to use) increased opportunities that such musical gentrification brought along to further their own careers. However, as gatekeepers, these organisations also became part of the hegemonic structures that the musicians encountered, since the organisations and the people working within them could, at least partly, regulate the musicians’ inclusion or exclusion into the Norwegian music scene.

Initial contacts with potential informants, as well as actual interviews, were conducted solely in English. This was due to the researcher being a newly arrived migrant herself, who could not yet speak Norwegian. Consequently, the participants were people who were happy to collaborate in English, and they, and by extension the collected data, could potentially have had different characteristics if the researcher was local. On the other hand, during the analysis and interpretation of the rich qualitative data on the musicians' career paths, the researcher's own experience of migration became a valuable asset and was sometimes used to mirror and contrast (Easterby-Smith & Malina, 1999) this data. As such, the similarity in experience helped to achieve a better, and more in-depth, understanding of the quality of the career paths as a socio-aesthetic negotiation and cultivation passage, or as will be further discussed in Hara (this volume) as musical gentrification phenomena managed from the "inside".

Some reflexive afterthoughts

Reiterating what Faber et al. (2012) remind us, namely that we all explore the world "from a specific position in social space" (p. 69), this chapter functions to articulate such space on behalf of the six researchers involved in the Musical Gentrification project. As such, it also forms a part of the group's constantly re-occurring attempts to engage in epistemic reflexivity (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992), attempts that during the project period of almost five years often manifested themselves in quite lengthy research group meetings where the focus of the conversation would range from heavily theorised discussions to the exchange of memories from the participants' years of studying music, down to the telling of jokes and amusing anecdotes relating to many years of experience with and in the fields explored. While for some, these latter activities might not count as research at all, for this particular group, such conversations became an indispensable part of executing a particular kind of rigour, namely a "rigour of reflexivity" (see Kallio, in press) connected to social positionality (which for all group members had also shifted considerably through the years), and to eliciting knowledge about how such positionality was woven into the research problems posed, the operationalisations made and the solutions found during the course of the project. Rigour, then, found its way into the very communal gatherings of the researchers (which, in themselves, could be fairly boisterous events), and became a core part of the group's joint (social) work. Consequently, while all the three sub-projects can be understood and read independently of each other, they may also be viewed as deeply intertwined, and so are the understandings and reflexivities of the individual researchers involved.

Notes

- 1 Based on findings in the thesis data, the researchers later interviewed ten of the professors most active as popular music supervisors; however, the interview data was not yet analysed when this particular chapter was written.

2 SPSS (or, more correctly, IBM SPSS[®] Statistics) is software used to conduct statistical analysis.

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4 Musical gentrification and the (un)democratisation of culture

Symbolic violence in country music discourse

Stian Vestby

Introduction

Ever since the introduction of cowboy, country and western music to broad post-World War II Norwegian audiences, starting from the late 1940s, various aesthetic expressions within the wide country music genre have recurrently been subject to intense debate and negotiation (Solli, 2006; Vestby, 2017, 2019). These conflicts bear similarities to the seemingly constant surfacing of discursive country music rivalry in the US (Ching, 2001; Hubbs, 2014)—the home of commercial country and Americana music. Although music, in general, is often considered beneficial and positive, the field of country music quintessentially exemplifies discursive animosity, social exclusion and everyday hardship as common functions and effects of music. As noted by Hesmondhalgh (2008), in academia, music is largely viewed as inherently democratic and a positive resource for the individual. Such ideas, however, “downplay various ways in which music may become implicated in some less pleasant and even disturbing features of modern life” (p. 6), for instance, in processes of status competition and social positioning. To the general public, including fans of country music, the negativity connected with music might be concealed in many sub-fields, as the positivity paradigm clearly extends into the wider social world. Still, the effects of socio-aesthetic stigmatisation and exclusion have unquestionably been felt and experienced across musical fields and national boundaries. The field of music may thus be seen as autocratic and hegemonic rather than democratic and harmonious. Within this field, positive and optimistic musical engagement for some may incite negative and pessimistic feelings and situations for others.

Processes of “musical gentrification” are generally characterised by upper-middle-class and elite investment in traditionally devalued musical forms (Dyndahl, Karlsen, Nielsen, & Skårberg, 2014). The gentrification of musical expressions and cultures may seem appealing at first, but this notion implies issues of power and dominance. Historically, both in the US and Europe, many working-class and lower-middle-class country fans have suffered from widespread discrimination and bigotry. The music they love has repeatedly been considered invaluable or unworthy of support by members of the cultural and political elites. Therefore, what happens when the educated, resourceful and hip start showing interest in the

low culture of the less privileged classes? As with urban gentrification (Glass, 1963; Marcuse, 1985), musical gentrification implies a take-over, whereby the original inhabitants of a social field—traditional fans and musicians—are put under pressure. On one hand, gentrification means gaining a higher status and inclusion in the legitimate culture. On the other hand, it may cause restricted access or exclusion for those at the lower end of the social hierarchy. Hence, the theory of musical gentrification provides an access point to disclose and understand certain structural processes related to the sociological ambivalence of musical inclusion and exclusion as well as aspects of positivity and negativity.

In the current decade, country music has been on the receiving end of increased exposure and attention in Norway, for instance, with regards to live performances. The rural music festival, the Norwegian Country Meeting (*Norsk Countrytreff* in Norwegian, abbreviated to NCT) and the urban country music club and record label, Die With Your Boots On (abbreviated to DWYBO), each represents key stakeholders and concert arenas in the contemporary field of Norwegian country music. However, as cultural operators, they exercise their respective aims and ambitions, resources and responsibilities in distinct and differentiated ways. While the festival has been partly bound up by structural policies and regional expectations, the club has operated with a higher level of autonomy and has had more power in defining what counts as legitimate country music in Norway. Starting from a Bourdieusian analytic perspective, in this chapter, I examine *what types of country music represent whom and the consequences of these relationships*. The analysis and discussion build on data from an ethnographic PhD study (Vestby, 2017) centred on the dynamics between the cultural politics of democratic cultural policy and the structural implications of musical gentrification.

Background

Commercial country music originated in the southern United States in the 1920s and constitutes a broad musical genre which encompasses a variety of sub-styles and expressive forms, e.g., honky-tonk, bluegrass, countrypolitan, outlaw country and bro-country. Country music has traditionally been frowned upon as the music of the working class. Malone (2002), however, argues that, historically, it has been the music of “working people”, i.e., North Americans—chiefly from the southern regions—from many professions traversing social stratification lines. Peterson (1997) advances a similar standpoint and defines country music as a “commercial market form ‘in the middle’” (p. 7), periodically shifting between various “hard-core” and “soft-shell” expressions that resonate with different social groups in the US. Ching (2001) and Hubbs (2014) focus specifically on the low status of much country music and the US middle class’ aversion to it. Other theorists and historians (e.g., Fox, 2004; Tichi, 1994) have, somewhat differently, “‘elevated’ [country] into art” (Peterson, 1997, p. 7).

In a Bourdieusian sense, country music is both included and excluded from the legitimate culture of the middle and upper classes, themselves rich in cultural

capital. My study, supported by previous research on Norwegian country music culture (Solli, 2006), shows that this also applies to the current Norwegian socio-cultural condition. Indeed, in recent years, there has been a revitalisation of country music in Norway, as the genre is experiencing increased media exposure as well as attention and investment from individual, collective and institutional stakeholders. For instance, nowadays, country and Americana music can often be heard on mainstream music shows on Norwegian television and on the national public broadcaster's weekly radio show *Kåbbåi*,¹ hosted by the acclaimed singer-songwriter Malin Pettersen. At the same time, a new and hip urban country scene has emerged in and around the aforementioned Oslo club, DWYBO, and other live venues, record labels and music associations. Here, young artists and fans celebrate the old and new heroes and heroines of legitimate country music, such as legends Hank Williams, Waylon Jennings, Willie Nelson and Dolly Parton, as well as contemporary artists, such as Kacey Musgraves, Sturgill Simpson and Jason Isbell. Concurrently, many emerging Norwegian artists write and perform original country and bluegrass music as part of what may be called “omnivorous” or “cosmopolitan” creative projects. Preceding these developments is the impact of the movie *O Brother, Where Art Thou?* (Cohen & Cohen, 2000). This movie and its soundtrack, put together and produced by T Bone Burnett, led to the revitalisation of traditional old-time and early commercial country music in the US (Malone & Neal, 1968/2010)—a phenomenon that also spread to Scandinavia and Norway and many other corners of the world.

The Norwegian government's appointment of a “hub festival” for the country genre in Norway—which involves the inclusion of NCT in an exclusive funding scheme for leading artistic festivals intended to represent different but equally valued genres across the high/low divide in arts and culture—also contributed to a sense of recognition and revitalisation for many stakeholders. This initiative can be interpreted as part of a political ideology and a set of policy measures often referred to as the “democratisation of culture”—a way of (operationalising cultural policy in many Western countries (Mangset, 2018). Following this credo, over the past decades, the Norwegian government has instrumentally advocated the dissemination of high culture/quality art to the masses; gradually opened up the scope of what is actually considered culture, or at least part of the domain of cultural policy, and correspondingly expanded a variety of funding schemes to include previously devalued and unprioritised forms of popular music and related activities (Brandstad, 2002; Henningsen, 2015). From the democratic perspectives of openness, tolerance, equality and learning, such developments are likely deemed positive.

Symbolic violence, cultural omnivorousness and distinction

The effect of symbolic domination (sexual, ethnic, cultural, linguistic, etc.) is exerted not in the pure logic of knowing consciousnesses but in the obscurity of the dispositions of habitus ...

(Bourdieu, 1997/2000, p. 170)

In Bourdieu's ontological model of the interrelated social positioning of agents or groups (classes) of agents, *habitus*, "capital", "field" and *doxa* represent key concepts. A fifth concept, that of "symbolic violence", which is of particular relevance to the subsequent analysis, also weaves into his theoretical fabric. First, the various dispositions and schemas of perception that constitute an agent's *habitus* and "embodied cultural capital" are homologous to the class structure and the sociological expectations underpinning specific behaviour or ways of interacting with, say, cultural expressions (Bourdieu, 1972/1977, 1979/2010, 1997/2000). The situated cultural practices that agents engage in thus involve competences and resources that can pass as legitimate in a social arena or field according to its *doxa* (orthodoxy)—a repertoire of expectations and beliefs which is silently decided by the most powerful agents, e.g., "cultural tastemakers and gatekeepers, *tastekeepers*" (Hovden & Knapskog, 2014, p. 56, emphasis in original), of a given field. Social fields can be separated into various sub-fields across society, including "fields of power" inhabited by particularly influential agents (Bourdieu, 1983/1993).

Furthermore, in Bourdieu's theory (1997/2000, 1998/2002), powerful and dominating agents can achieve "symbolic capital"—a form of distinguished recognition—and perform "symbolic violence" on subordinate agents in the field. Bourdieu (1998/2002) asserts that symbolic violence is "a gentle violence, imperceptible and invisible even to its victims" (p. 1). He labels it an "extraordinarily ordinary social relation" (p. 2). Instances of symbolic violence occur, in other words, as an effect of the naturalised social order and according to the silently working, field-specific *doxa* of expected cultural practice. As such, symbolic violence is used as a discursive tool by dominating agents to coerce and suppress dominated agents. Agents rich in cultural and symbolic capital can, thus, easily gain access to and exert influence in a field, while those with limited resources and devalued capacities may be deprived of opportunities and participation. Such mechanisms contribute to upholding systems of hierarchical social positions.

Peterson and Kern (1996) show how "omnivorous taste" became a dominant form of cultural capital and, consequently, an instrument of symbolic violence in North America. Empirically, members of privileged social classes were no longer "cultural univores" with limited tastes. Rather, they had become more tolerant and open to cultural or aesthetic diversity. The elitist or snobbish preference for country music is one example used by Peterson and Kern to explain how traditional low or vulgar culture had been "gentri[fied] ... into the dominant status-group culture" (p. 906). Over the years, much sociological research has served to back up, question and nuance the rise of the "cultural omnivore" as an empirical phenomenon increasingly found across classes and other social groups in the Western world (e.g., Bennett et al., 2009; Gripsrud, Hovden, & Moe, 2011; Peterson, 2005; Vestby, 2017).

Institutions such as music festivals and national governments can also be labelled "omnivorous" or "cosmopolitan", given that they adopt relatively inclusive and non-discriminatory repertoires and policies. Music and arts festivals are,

for instance, viewed as large cosmopolitan events that provide normative and experiential spaces for open and accommodating values, repertoires and modes of consumption (Bennett, Taylor, & Woodward, 2014; see also Szerszynski & Urry, 2002). Solli (2006) addresses cosmopolitanism as a feature of Norwegian cultural policy and shows that country music was not previously part of such an institutional outlook, although jazz was. As indicated above, in recent years, initiatives have been taken to come to terms with genre-chauvinism and expand the cosmopolitan or omnivorous profile of Norwegian cultural policy by including country music in an exclusive funding scheme. However, in line with the notions of musical gentrification and symbolic violence, particularly powerful cultural operators—“gentrifiers”—need to set appropriate taste or quality standards that function as *doxic* prescriptions so that such socio-symbolic gentrification processes “provide necessary arenas or social fields for omnivorousness to be exercised according to the need to accumulate and exchange cultural capital in new, differentiated, yet distinguished ways” (Dyndahl et al., 2014, p. 53). Without distinction (cf. Bourdieu, 1979/2010), there is perhaps political democracy, but apparently no cultural democracy can, as concluded in this chapter, be free of distinction. Thus, it seems fair to ask whether a democratic cultural policy should almost exclusively engage influential tastekeepers in the performance of symbolic violence through quality judgements.

A descriptive juxtaposition of texts and practices

This chapter represents an extension of my ethnographic PhD research centred on NCT and its status as the hub festival for country music in Norway. The present text presents and reflects on selected data stemming from observations, interviews, survey questionnaires and archive searches carried out between 2013 and 2015. The aim is to highlight significant contrasts between the rural country music festival and the urban club scene, shedding light on certain dynamics between cultural democracy initiatives and their antipodes. As such, this chapter provides a critical case study of processes and phenomena that have numerous international counterparts.

While I have been actively present as a researcher in the festival setting for several years, it is important to stress that, to a lesser degree, I have observed and engaged with artists, fans and facilitators in the club setting. Rather than using the term ethnography to describe the field methodology and analytic character of the present chapter, I opt to label it a descriptive juxtaposition of texts and practices, mixed in scope and nature.

Music has the potential to touch people in powerful ways, both positive and negative. The reader of this chapter should keep in mind that I do not consider the (country) music of the upper classes as inferior to the (country) music of the lower classes. Thus, engaging in “epistemic reflexivity” (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992) and maintaining ethical balance while comparing two contesting cultural agents, such as NCT and DWYBO, remains an important ideal, although one that is subordinate to the analytic unravelling of power imbalances and symbolic

violence in the Norwegian field of country music and the nation's democratic cultural policy.

The festival case

The Norwegian Country Meeting has taken place annually for more than 20 years. For an equally long period of time, the central government granted hub status to a few selected, leading festivals within their genres or fields, with NCT as the final addition in 2012. On one hand, this funding scheme—abolished in 2017—provided permanent economic support to hub festival organisers. On the other hand, guarantees of support involved fulfilment of the hub mission and criteria anchored in Norwegian cultural policy, for instance, regarding artistic quality, innovation and audience development (Norwegian Ministry of Culture and Church Affairs, 2008). NCT, located in the small countryside village of Breim on Norway's West Coast, has thus been distinguished by its unique political position compared to other country music festivals in Norway.

Country music has been popular at the grassroots level in Norway for more than half a century, and there are many reasons for its popularity. Some of the core values and themes in country music from the US, such as family, roots, nostalgia for the simple life, love and loss (Malone & Neal, 1968/2010), resonate well in other cultures. Several of the research interviewees come from rural areas near the coast. They report that life in such farming communities often has a touch of that very same simplicity and seriousness (interviews, January 14, January 15, March 5, 2015). Country music is believed to represent life as it is. Thus, it is often perceived as genuine/authentic music. As such, “real country” (Fox, 2004) and “hard-core” (Peterson, 1995/2004) country music become useful devices of distinction. If the music appears overly polished and commercial, i.e., as “soft-shell” country music (Peterson, 1995/2004), it is no longer genuine and is thus unable to represent real life for many people.

Several successful early and contemporary Norwegian country music artists have managed to nurture and maintain a sense of realness in their music. Sticking to the hard, rustic sound, with twangy steel and Telecaster guitars, the occasional fiddle or banjo, bands such as Vassendgutane (the Water-End Boys) and Gunslingers also employ local twang in the words and nasal singing styles characteristic of much country music (Mann, 2008). They typically sing in distinct dialects from remote mountain valleys and coastal areas, evoking a recognisable hillbilly factor. Additionally, some bands on the bluegrass scene progressively mix in traditional Norwegian folk music and lyrics, while others play more conventional bluegrass music in English. Nationally, these scenes are relatively small. They are highly contested and fortified by persistent urban/rural, hip/redneck and high/low cultural dichotomies, which seem to prevail also in the US and elsewhere.

From 2012 to 2015, the country music hub festival featured artists of all the above-mentioned kinds and many more. Stylistically, line-ups have included Americana, bluegrass, Cajun, classic country, country folk, country pop, country

rock, gospel, honky-tonk, Norwegian party country, old-time, outlaw country, rockabilly, singer-songwriter, Tex-Mex and traditional country. Despite significant diversity in terms of country styles, the majority of performers at the festival have had a primary orientation towards hard-core expressions (cf. Peterson, 1995/2004). Conversely, middle-of-the-road soft-shell country music has largely been excluded from the hub festival. One notable exception is the Bellamy Brothers, who played at the festival in 2013 to the disgust of certain omnivorous arbiters of the legitimate country taste: “Bellamy Brothers headlining a country festival in 2013 is equivalent to Smokie headlining Øya [Norway’s largest and internationally most distinguished rock festival]” (Skjeklesæther in Meisingset, 2013, my translation). This and similar critiques point to the lack of good taste and quality competence in both the NCT organisation and their festival audience, who are largely described as uneducated hillbillies and drunken rednecks with low moral standards and a noticeable disinterest in quality country music (Kvalshaug, 2011a, 2011b; Meisingset, 2013; Pettersen, 2014). It is possible to interpret these utterances as acts of symbolic violence directed at a rural festival format and traditional fans. This form of naturalised violence appears to be based on rigid authenticity and quality standards that favour musical innovation and originality over recognisability and conservatism—criteria that can also be found in central cultural policy prescriptions for hub institutions (Norwegian Ministry of Culture and Church Affairs, 2008) as well as in affiliated festival assessments (Arts Council Norway, 2014). Thus, symbolic domination works conjunctively on society’s individual and structural levels.

Conversely, musical expressions regarded by tastekeepers (Hovden & Knapskog, 2014) in the field of power (Bourdieu, 1983/1993) as unfit and negative for a hub festival within the country genre can be viewed as fit and positive by audiences, artists and organisers within the field of country music experiences at NCT. Below, I provide a set of empirical examples of instances of symbolic violence, positivity and negativity manifested in this particular subfield of country music and in country music discourse in general.

A male NCT audience informant, Eirik, is no self-proclaimed musical omnivore: “[My taste is] undoubtedly pretty restricted. There’s both country and western”, he says ironically (interview, January 14, 2015, my translation). Mainstream country pop, such as Shania Twain and Garth Brooks, is usually not his thing. Classic country, honky-tonk and Scandinavian dance band music are, however, among his favourites. Eirik emphasised three quality criteria that he employs in listening processes, namely, pronounced rhythm, distinct instruments/voice and clear lyrical performance:

Dolly Parton and “Coat of Many Colors” is likely one of the highlights. That crystal-clear voice ... you can nearly hear the nuances in every letter of the words. I think that’s great.... And then there has to be good musicians playing the different instruments. I am not a musician myself, so I don’t know if it’s that guitar or the other playing and so on. But it has to sound good ... the instruments have to stand out distinctly from the music. And

then there has to be a rhythm I can, in a way, feel that I can hang on to. So music without a rhythm—a kind of clear, somewhat pronounced rhythm—has less appeal to me.

(Interview, January 14, 2015, my translation)

The quote underscores conscious processes of positive musical assessment and enjoyment that are beneficial for the regulation of the self (cf. Hesmondhalgh, 2008). At the 2015 festival, Eirik engaged in a similar “deep listening” practice (Vestby, 2017, 2019) during the indoor and outdoor concerts with the Desert Rose Band, the John Jorgenson Bluegrass Band and Rhonda Vincent & the Rage, among others. One female informant, Hilde, shared the same mode of listening in mainly private and solitary settings. In the public festival setting, however, she favoured a more collective form of “bodily listening” (Vestby, 2017, 2019; interview, January 15, 2015). Typically, this mode is set into motion by large audience groups through sing-along, dancing, drinking, kissing, etc., during festival concerts with Norwegian party country and country rock bands, such as Vassendgutane, Gunslingers and Hellbillies. Such events may appear “carnavalesque”—i.e., popular, vulgar, subversive and grotesque—but they carry positive and sublime socio-aesthetic attributes and functions anchored in popular truths, cultural recognition and the marginal identities of fans and devotees (cf. Bakhtin, 1965/1984; Vestby, 2017, 2019).

By contrast, a third informant, Bjørn, did not attend large outdoor events at NCT 2015. Consciously avoiding the working-class country music spectacle and party atmosphere in front of the main stage, he picked a single distinguished indoor concert format called *Blågras* (Bluegrass). This concept is part of a series of NCT festival concerts arranged outside the main arena. Among the festival participants, *Blågras* attendees have the highest level of education and appear to be a homogenous upper-middle-class audience in the Norwegian context. Moreover, *Blågras* is a “sit-down-and-listen” type of event where some of the roots of country music are juxtaposed and celebrated, often through the use of refined hybrid or crossover musical expressions mediating Anglo-American and Scandinavian folk or old-time music and various forms of modern country music. The concept was established in direct response to central hub-status criteria, specifically those related to artistic quality and innovation (Norwegian Ministry of Culture and Church Affairs, 2008). These criteria reflect quality standards that echo omnivorous middle-class taste, as Bjørn himself implies in his critique of the present national right-wing government: “They cut down on the support and want everything to pay for itself... The terms for niche-oriented cultural workers are not good at all, and we need them to see some development in this field” (interview, January 20, 2015, my translation).

By attending and embracing *Blågras*, which he sees as a positive development at NCT and as something of higher value, Bjørn signals a certain negativity directed at other festival activities and audience segments. In line with Jarness (2014), he might be said to partake in a process of “non-formal social closure” (p. 244, my translation) with regards to specific festival events and audiences on

the micro level of cultural practice. However, the government exercises “formal social closure” (p. 243, my translation) by privileging selected cultural festivals and institutions over others in the macro structure. Regardless of the particular form of social closure, they both involve ambivalent functions of symbolic capital and violence in processes of musical gentrification and status competition. In contrast to the democratic intentions of cultural policy, my data suggest that a class divide involving divergent communities of participants was strengthened at the country festival, in light of the hub status.

In 2014, on behalf of the Ministry of Culture, Arts Council Norway (ACN) assessed the artistic achievements and level of NCT as a hub festival. Even if the aforementioned party country bands and *Blågras* concept received mild recognition in the report, ACN’s general critique pointed to an over-emphasis on “traditionally anchored expressions” and a parallel under-emphasis on “contemporary and novel artists” (Arts Council Norway, 2014, p. 6, my translation), with the result that NCT “does not contribute to increasing the interest in or understanding of the country genre in Norway but, rather, to upholding certain prejudices and stereotypes that over time have become attached to the genre” (p. 8, my translation).

In the assessment process, the inclusion of the more experimental, innovative and up-to-date country music expressions, often referred to as Americana, was not deemed satisfactory in the hub festival’s programme schedules. Contributing to ACN’s assessment upon invitation, the Norwegian Americana Forum (NAF) called for a designated stage for Americana artists. One festival representative uttered a different opinion by connecting their strategy to audience development and hinting at potential learning outcomes for main stage audiences:

I believe it’s more important that we include it [Americana] as part of the larger festival and make it visible. This way, one will reach a much bigger audience than if we established yet another [designated] stage for it, as it [Americana] is so hard to define for regular people.... [P]rojects like *Blågras* or fully innovative projects have been of greater value to us than creating stages for existing sub-genres that we [already] include in the festival.

(Interview, March 4, 2015, my translation)

ACN acts independently at so-called “arm’s length” from the delegating authorities; however, their assessment was not completed at “arm’s length” from some of country music’s key gentrifiers and legitimising agents in Norway, such as NAF and other tastekeepers (see also Vestby, 2017, 2019). These agents contribute towards setting expert standards of artistic quality on which Norway’s cultural policy on aesthetic or expressive forms rests, although the foundation of these standards in the *doxic* tastes of the upper-middle class and cultural elite is naturalised and largely concealed. Representing elite agents in the Norwegian cultural field, ACN and affiliated stakeholders can thus be said to enact symbolic violence on the peripheral country music festival by discrediting popular tastes

and, consequently, restraining the socio-democratic conversation and the influence of the general public. Recalling Eirik's layperson quality criteria (pronounced rhythm, distinct instruments/voice and clear lyrical performance), these would likely contribute to democratising cultural policy if they were recognised alongside the elite criteria of musical innovation and originality.

The club case

"Give the money to a club" was the title of an article written by cultural critic and country fan Vidar Kvalshaug (2011a, my translation) prior to the selection of a national hub for country music. His suggestion was that hub-status funds should instead go to a club, implicitly, an urban concert venue, following in the footsteps of Oslo's legendary Cruise Café, where top international and innovative country artists used to perform for a respectful and interested audience. Following the closure of Cruise Café, the aforementioned NAF occasionally hosted club concerts—and, for the first time in 2019, a festival named Interstate 19: Oslo Americana Weekend—featuring credible singer-songwriters, bluegrass and country music acts. In a conversation, the Norwegian country artist Jonas Aasen and his American counterpart Justin Townes Earle addressed some of the central opposites in the field of Norwegian country music:

Aasen: [I]t seems as if there is some sort of country music/Americana wave sweeping across the country and that there are a lot of unknown skilled artists playing with the genre these days ... Before, country music could be perceived as "redneck", as something present at caravan festivals with dance bands and such, while now, it has become a bit more accepted.

Earle: I've been at several of those festivals. The Americana genre has made it all more accessible for people.... [In the cities you'd find] the guys standing with a whiskey in the bar, and there, one could talk about *good country*, so there's been an upswing for many years. Both in Scandinavia and everywhere else, it seems as if it just grows and grows.

(Aasen, 2015, my translation, emphasis added)

The above quotations reflect the values and discursive positions of Aasen and Earle in relation to legitimate country music culture. In their conversation, the urban vs. rural, hip vs. redneck, Americana vs. country and good vs. bad music dichotomies are accentuated mostly in favour of the initial element of each pair. The dialogue implicates that country—or rather *good country* or country music in the guise of Americana—is the subject of musical gentrification, accompanied by *doxic* yet gentle symbolic violence in contemporary Western societies.

The club and later also a record label *Die With Your Boots On* was established in Oslo in 2012. As it appears, it was initiated as a hipster project, initially filling an empty niche in the local club market: "We are interested in music, not only country music. But on a city and nightlife scene where everybody's a DJ and people know a lot, country was a niche with some room left", a

representative of the club stated in an interview in the urban magazine *Natt & Dag* (Night & Day) (Roshauw, 2014, my translation). While the hipster movement is frequently presented as cosmopolitan (Szerszynski & Urry, 2002) and omnivorous (Peterson & Kern, 1996), though at the same time a superficial and ignorant fad, the organisers of DWYBO appear as sincere and knowledgeable arbiters of legitimate country taste, despite their ironic distance or semblance of disinterest. The tastekeepers of country music widely applaud contemporary artists within the genre, such as Kacey Musgraves, Daniel Romano and Sturgill Simpson, who have all either been booked for or otherwise affiliated with DWYBO's events and activities. To date, these artists have not yet appeared at any of the rural Norwegian country music festivals, including the hub festival NCT.

In sharp contrast to the hub status of NCT, the DWYBO crew declared that "Our club is not a damn democracy project!" (Roshauw, 2014, my translation). This utterance arguably highlights the exclusivity and elitist orientation of many urban country music agents and supporters. Placed in an esoteric milieu, the club organisers also signal in-depth familiarity with and knowledge of music:

[C]ountry music can easily relate to R&B and hip-hop—it is shameless, direct and honest in a somewhat foolish way, but it works and has a party attitude.... [These genres] follow some of the same formulas and communicate in fairly equal ways—the feelings are *out here*.... [I]t is both an altogether genuine joy over good songs, but then there is also something which is completely shameless and ridiculous. It's a gliding scale. But first and foremost, it is fucking cool.... We include a great fucking deal when it comes to genres, from old country, new credible country, to bro-country.

(Roshauw, 2014, my translation, emphasis in original)

The above citations manifest legitimate, omnivorous forms of cultural capital expressed through an ability to see common cultural traits across musically divergent genres. As such, they may be interpreted as "cognate musical forms" (Bennett et al., 2009) or "culturally related music genres" (Vestby, 2017), i.e., genres and expressions with no direct musical kinship but with similar status in symbolic space, such as some forms of country music and hip-hop. In the power field of country music, in adding the up-to-date programming of this particular club, it is evident that the organisers' insights into and ironic distance to various popular music expressions represent valuable field-specific cultural capital. Indeed, it seems as if the broad aesthetic knowledge and cosmopolitan flexibility expressed by the young men behind DWYBO were success factors in building the concept; in providing the genre and local country music scene with a young, hip and educated audience and, furthermore, in securing them autonomous status as trendsetters and tastekeepers in the Norwegian field of country music.

Urban omnivores, such as the DWYBO crew, are thus in a position where they can legitimately and publicly flash their culturally capitalised musical knowledge and preferences in hip cultural environments. Additionally, they

exercise symbolic power and enact symbolic violence by providing possibilities and accrediting field-specific capital to some aspiring artists while keeping the doors closed to others. By way of symbolic domination, these and other resourceful musical gentrifiers might completely sideline the traditional redneck, country festivalgoer and organiser, as well as mainstream and conventional rural bands and artists, by booking and representing credible performers, such as US Grammy winner Sturgill Simpson and Norwegian Grammy (*Spellemann*) winner Signe Marie Rustad, by respectfully celebrating the aesthetic pre-eminence of Waylon Jennings and other outlaws and by providing young, hip and educated audiences with arenas for playful indulgence in guilty pleasures, such as Shania Twain and Luke Bryan.

The cultural politics of cultural policy

In the introduction, I presented the central problem area of this chapter: *what types of country music represent whom and the consequences of these relationships*. A study of Texan country music culture contained the following central claim, which I see as valid in the Norwegian context: “[The] premise here is not that (some) country music is ‘working-class’. It is that (some) working class culture is ‘country’” (Fox, 2004, p. 31). Correspondingly, (some) middle class and elite culture may also be “country”. The valued artists and expressions might sometimes be the same at rural festivals and in urban clubs. In terms of cultural capital, the distinguishing factor is what audiences and other stakeholders do with the country music in question and with whom they do it, whether it is within the field of musical experiences at NCT or DWYBO or in larger social fields.

With regards to DWYBO, their artistic profile and activities are uninhibited by the prescriptions bestowed upon them by a democratic or instrumental cultural policy. In a strictly hypothetical scenario, would DWYBO have wanted the money and hub status had they been offered? For reasons accounted for above, it is at least obvious that they do not need it to gain legitimacy and secure a dominant position in the field of power.

Country music festivals, such as NCT, are generally important for a number of reasons, which naturally also apply to other festival types worldwide. Audiences can listen to their favourite music and discover new artists; they can socialise with friends and family; they can momentarily get a break from their everyday doings; and they can work as volunteers in communion with others. All these positive factors, some of which have been described above, are partly overshadowed by a recurring negative focus and accusations of bad music, bad quality standards and bad practices from various distinguished agents in overlapping fields. In *Distinction* (1979/2010), Bourdieu states that “tastes are perhaps first and foremost distastes, disgust provoked by horror or visceral intolerance (‘sick-making’) of the tastes of others” (p. 49). This certainly rings true in the field of country music, and it has probably made the task of the hub festival even tougher. Musical gentrification processes may contribute to changing the

original culture, including the rules of the game for members of that culture. Thus, the gentrification of country music may contribute even further to casting already peripheral quality country artists and their working-class followers into the shadows of official, legitimate culture, as various urban stakeholders with middle class or elite backgrounds—rich in cultural and educational capital—take possession by way of symbolic violence, creative innovation and/or omnivorisation (cf. Dyndahl et al., 2014).

At the time of writing, I was listening to “Angeleno” (Outlaw, Cooder & Cooder, 2015), the award-winning debut album of the American country music artist Sam Outlaw. This artist played at the Oslo club John Dee in 2016 and received excellent reviews from urban tastekeepers in the Norwegian country music field. In 2017, Outlaw performed at rural NCT. This is perhaps the one booking during the festival’s hub-status years that was most pleasing to the defenders of legitimate country taste. However, the inclusion of this particular artist on NCT’s programme was announced at a time when the festival had removed its most distinguished concert formats, e.g., *Blågras*, and when the hub status was no longer a topic in the Norwegian public sphere. The funding scheme, although still in operation in 2017, was gradually phased out, and shortly thereafter, it was replaced with a new and, allegedly, more dynamic funding model for music festivals (Vestby, 2017). Whether this indicates that NCT would have been best off without the hub status in the first place, or that they developed as a result of hard work and being under scrutiny as a hub festival for half a decade, the answer would probably still be marked by sociological ambivalence. The gap between urban elite twang and rural grassroots twang seems vast to the point of insoluble conflict in the Norwegian context.

Possibly the most democratic and sympathetic thing for a rural and popular country music festival, such as NCT, to do is to put hip and credible country artists on the main stage and on the adjacent small stage alongside the mainstream and traditional acts. Following the 2017 booking of Sam Outlaw, Dylan Earl’s and Emmylou Harris’ performances at the festival in 2018 and 2019, respectively, also echoed this point. However, in the case of (country) music, democratic cultural policies are likely to be lost between good instrumental intentions and *doxic* prescriptions imbedded in the legitimate tastes and practices of the culturally affluent and privileged classes. Regardless of time and place, initiatives aimed at democratising culture and relativising cultural hierarchies seem largely unable to escape the forms of socio-symbolic domination inherent in the class structure (see also Mangset, 2018).

Note

1 *Kåbbåi* translates to “cowboy”. While the word is conventionally spelled “cowboy” in Norwegian, this particular translation captures how the majority of Norwegians pronounce the word “cowboy”. In addition, *kåbbåi* may signify various humorous, hip, redneck and self-conscious affiliations pertinent to specific social fields.

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5 Musical gentrification, parenting and children's media music

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Preamble

Already in the 1982 book *The Disappearance of Childhood*, Neil Postman argued that there was no longer such a thing as a traditional children's song to be observed in the media. To a certain degree, this position corresponds to research showing that from the 1970s to the 1990s, the traditional children's repertoire, especially in media music tailored to and praised by child audiences, was largely replaced with pop music for kids (Dyndahl & Vestad, 2017). This process strongly resembles musical gentrification (Dyndahl, Karlsen, Skårberg, & Nielsen, 2014; Dyndahl, Karlsen, Nielsen & Skårberg, 2017) in the sense that public broadcasting institutions began to present to their child audiences not only what used to be considered legitimate culture, but also what was earlier dismissed as low culture. It is, therefore, interesting to discuss whether this situation has led to omnivorous children's cultures provided with a multitude of musical genres and possibilities. Alternatively, childhood and children's culture may be increasingly monitored by a number of authorities, gatekeepers and tastemakers such as parents, kindergarten, school, the media and the public sphere to—among other purposes—negotiate and define in more hidden or subtler ways the notion of childhood and the appropriate children's musical canon (see also Vestad & Dyndahl, 2017).

In this chapter, we discuss these tendencies by analysing ethnographically generated qualitative data from a family setting. The data feature an especially rich discussion between a mother and a father in which legitimization of children's music is at stake. Between them, the parents guard and negotiate fine-tuned distinctions. While their construction of musical parenthood involves an overarching aim to provide their children with music good *for* children, the parents' measures of quality are drawn from a highly complex mix of class-related taste discourses, personal identity work, childhood memories and considerations of their children's best interests. To grasp the totality of such negotiations in one chapter is hardly possible. Here, we seek to scratch the surface of contemporary children's music culture and musical socialisation by applying and testing the fruitfulness of the concepts of aesthetic cosmopolitanism, cultural omnivorousness and musical gentrification as analytical tools.

Negotiating musical parenting

Two underlying premises of this book are, first, the existence of a cultural economy in which “music represents the most radical and most absolute form of the negotiation of the world, and especially the social world” (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 19). Second, Bourdieu (1977) claimed that people develop a practical sense of how the power relations within interactions are symbolically configured. By means of this sense, people can position themselves positively within discourses (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977). For this chapter, these perspectives contain two important points of departure. People engage actively in the cultural economy available in their social surroundings to achieve certain goals, and music’s cultural economy, derived from the composite of its aesthetic features and socio-cultural aspects (cf. Frith, 1996), is a powerful domain for negotiating the social world. Moving to studies of childhood and early childhood education, Nordin-Hultman (2004) referenced Foucault to argue that children are created in pedagogical settings, which may be interpreted as the processes in which children understand themselves by using the resources provided in their surroundings (see also Vestad, 2013).

In this chapter, we delve into the socio-aesthetic interpretive resources related to music offered to children. Our chapter thus deals with the subtlety of one of children’s most important informal learning arenas of music: the family home. Lareau (2011) argued that social class strongly influences parenting styles and described concerted cultivation as a parenting style in which middle- and upper-class values are heavily embedded and invested. It fosters talent and encourages choosing organised activities that equip sons and daughters for middle- and upper-class life. In contrast, Reay (2017) showed how far working-class parenting fails to achieve social mobility for children in neo-liberal societies’ educational institutions.

Our empirical data reveal that the musical repertoires selected by the parents on behalf of their children is about choosing genres and particular tunes, but at the same time, the parents’ negotiations of repertoires are heavily embedded in a more general discourse of childhood and parenthood. Moreover, the parents base their construction of musical parenthood on what they each see as their own—and their partner’s—individual musical identifications and preferences, as well as their memories of musical preferences from childhood and youth and beliefs about what is good for their children. Thus, the parents’ evaluations are both socio-cultural and aesthetic (cf. Frith, 1996). We argue that in these in-field distinctive processes, the parents work with the available cultural economy to sort out their joint musical parenting and simultaneously to adequately and favourably position themselves within and in relation to broader discourses of childhood and child rearing. Overall, we witness and scrutinise a case of the construction of middle- to upper-class musical parenting.

Empirical vignettes

The excerpts at hand, which call for an investigation of the complex fabric of the socio-aesthetic interpretive resources available in a family's musical life, are drawn from a semi-structured, qualitative interview focusing on how children use phonograms in their everyday life. The interview was one of nine conducted with families with young children. The families were lent a video recorder and asked to record everything involving music that happened in their home over the course of one week. The interviews were based on watching the recordings together with each family and focused on what was going on in the various recorded events. In some cases, the conversation with the parents included their more general reflections on children's music (see Vestad, 2013).

This particular interview conducted with the parents of five- and seven-year-old girls living in a wealthy suburb on the outskirts of a Norwegian city is distinguished from the others by the parents' broad musical taste, more nuanced gaze on the music of their home and eloquent verbal dealings with music in the interview. Music is not their profession or the subject of their academic degrees but is described as an indispensable ingredient of their lives, filling their days from morning until night as they listen to music, sing children's songs together, watch music on television and go to concerts. During the interview, we are seated in the family's living room, and as the video plays, the children bodily and verbally confirm and complement their actions and talk on screen. The mother and father observe their children with interest and comment on what is going on in the recording. For the purpose of this chapter, the transcription of the interview, combined with written fieldnotes, forms the basis for the following three empirical vignettes. For each vignette, a short analysis is provided.

Vignette I

It turns out that the parents come from contrasting musical backgrounds. The father explains that his family owned "two records". His tone of voice is slightly mocking at this point, signalling that he is distancing himself from his family's record collection: a small selection of Norwegian and Swedish hit singles from the 1960s, a record with Ella Fitzgerald (his tone of voice becomes a little less mocking when he mentions this record) and one record of American big band music; possibly, it was a record of Glenn Miller, his wife assists him. From the mother's family background, no specific records are revealed, but both parents agree that her childhood and youth were permeated with music. She was bottle-fed on the songs of Norwegian author-singer-songwriter and children's radio host, Alf Prøysen. In her teens, her favourite bands became The Beatles and ABBA, which were listened to by a lot of teenagers at the time. She also experienced music as a way of creating her own space, particularly using jazz music and the music of U2. "She was way above average interested in music for being a girl", her husband explains, continuing: "She could join a quiz competition and beat the guys

who knew everything!" "Yes, when I was young", the mother agrees but then says that she must admit to not properly keeping up with this interest in her adult life. She introduced her husband to contemporary avant-garde music. They enjoy the works of Alfred Schnittke, Igor Stravinsky and "even Arne Nordheim", they remark. Their children are not all that enthusiastic about this kind of music, although the elder daughter had a thing for Johann Strauss's "An der schönen blauen Donau". The fact that some people like to go to classical concerts is treated with a touch of irony by the father when at a later point in the interview, he describes going to classical concerts as a highbrow activity, accompanied by slightly ironic laughter.

In this section of the interview, the parents play out several discourses about music, position their individual musical selves and establish themselves as a team in musical parenting. Musical genres, social aspects and knowledge are used as resources in their positioning. The records of Ella Fitzgerald and Glenn Miller serve as legitimising currency, and the mother tentatively positions the father as a "knower" in the family's musical discourse. However, the mother's broader musical background and knowledge are acknowledged as connoisseurship, which distinguishes her in the family setting. They even faintly flirt with the prodigy discourse by remarking on her young age. The wife's connoisseurship is underscored by pointing out that she is an insider to traditional children's songs and that she introduced the husband to contemporary avant-garde music. In this excerpt, the parents bring out what they consider to be the best in each other as musical parents, making use of the long-established discourses of what constitutes high-class taste and ways of practicing it, especially the distinctions of contemporary art music. However, it remains unclear whether the husband's ironic remarks and laughter about going to classical concerts are meant to make a distinction between the general classical audience and the parents' joint interest in the avant-garde repertoire or between classical music and popular music genres and practices. The husband's sympathies and position in the family music discourse thus also remain ambiguous.

Vignette II

After becoming a mother herself, the wife rediscovered the music of her own childhood. In the video recording, the girls sing some songs as they go to bed at night: "Julekveldsvisa" (a Christmas Eve song of which the five year-old knows all the verses), "Haren uti gresset" ("The Hare in the Grass", which the seven year-old teaches the five year-old), "Byssan lull" (an onomatopoeic lullaby the children sing together) and "So, ro, lillemann" ("Calm Now, Little Baby", which the children ask their mother to sing). The father explains that "Byssan lull" is special and important as he sang that lullaby "every day for a whole year" for each of the girls when they were babies. He again confirms that he does not have a rich reservoir of children's music from which to draw as the mother does, and he remarks

with humour but with an earnest undertone that he is not allowed to listen to the music of his liking in the house. The mother agrees that their musical tastes differ. "Well, I drive 15 minutes to work and back every day, and then I listen to my music", the father continues. "I have stagnated a bit in the 70s [with] Neil Young, Deep Purple, Led Zeppelin and Black Sabbath. And I also like Pink Floyd and Dimmu Borgir", he explains. The daughters are introduced to their father's taste of music in the car. "It is an old kind of rock music, a very strange kind of rock music", the seven-year-old comments but smiles with more than a hint of pride.

The way in which the mother explicitly draws upon the musical repertoire of her childhood when she has her own children confirms earlier sociological studies on cultural transference in family settings (Wetlesen, 2000). The father participates in the singing practices and underscores the personal importance of "Byssan lull". However, there is a different spark in the conversation when he talks about the rock music of the 1970s and the new, heavier genres he enjoys. These kinds of music remain at the outer boundaries of the family's musical repertoire—his indulgence in them is confined to the car—although the seven-year-old daughter confirms it with an acknowledging smile.

Vignette III

The parents hold it as important that music is treated as more than background sound. They consider really engaging with music to be healthy for the brain as well as the emotions. They argue that classical music provides more subtle nuances of emotion, while through the bass guitar, rock music affords a firm pulse that "goes right through your body". The rock music to which the father listens is mentioned as an example of music that helps vent frustration (which he illustrates by shaking his arms and screaming "aargh") and gets the adrenalin pumping. All of these are important musical experiences, they stress. The parents comment, seemingly unregretful and with a hint of irony, that they have "missed out" a bit on hip-hop so far. Neither do they listen to much Scandinavian dance band music. A third category of music treated with resentment is what they describe as "commercial children's music", which they argue is often poorly produced. "I am not very fond of child stars", the father explains. "[And] the newer children's music", the mother adds. The father continues, "I am not so keen on children's music produced for children and children's music by children... I would like them [his daughters] to move on beyond that very quickly and start to listen to real music.... That other music [for children] is just commercial". The mother comments, "Well, pop music is commercial, too". Nevertheless, they agree that they prefer that their daughters listen to "the real stuff" (pop and rock music produced for grown-up audiences and youth) rather than music produced for children. They, therefore, provide their children with music by artists such as The Beatles, ABBA, Michael

Jackson and The Rolling Stones. The mother reflects that hip-hop, child stars and commercial children's music often introduce teenage themes too soon. However, the family enjoys some contemporary children's music, such as music performed by Norwegian artist Maj Britt Andersen and the duo Knutsen & Ludvigsen. The parents describe their lyrics as "fun and intelligent" and Andersen's performances of traditional children's songs as musically up to date and nice. Maj Britt Andersen's (2006) album Onger er rare [Kids Are Weird] is mentioned as a good example in this respect. The parents conclude that they would like to offer their children the real stuff: emotionally, cognitively, musically/aesthetically and, with regards to themes, including intelligent humour. The mother, though, also makes a point to not be a strict gatekeeper and exercise censorship. The parents would like the children to become conscious individuals with a critical sense and ability to make their own choices. "But if they do not become conscious music listeners, that's alright, too", the mother sums up.

The term "music for children" may mean a number of things. It may designate music produced and marketed to child audiences. However, taking into consideration that children have a say in what music they like and choose to listen to, the term may also be used to designate just that: music enjoyed by children regardless of whom it is originally produced for (see Vestad, 2013). These parents provide a wide array of music genres to their children and introduce them to a variety of musical practices within their negotiated boundaries. A discourse of commercialism is drawn upon in their legitimation of children's music in relation to themes, artists' images and the quality of music. The characteristics of "fun and intelligent" are treated as signs of good quality that equip children for life by developing their brains and emotional competencies, which stand out as crucial assets of social and developmental benefits in the parents' discussion of repertoire.

One might add that in the case of Andersen, the music may be described as the work of a pop music singer-songwriter based on re-wrappings of Prøysen's songs for children, which points to pop-rock as a lingua franca of children's music (Regev, 2013). In the following sections, we analyse and discuss in more detail the construction of musical parenting in these excerpts based on the sociological concepts of aesthetic cosmopolitanism, cultural omnivorousness and musical gentrification.

Musical parenting and family culture in light of sociological concepts

The lingua franca of today's global music

Regev (2013) proposed the concept of aesthetic cosmopolitanism to illuminate the extensive, ongoing pop-rockisation of music as pop-rock aesthetics become the dominant global force in today's music. They form a common reference

through which different people and groups around the world share aesthetic perceptions, expressive forms and cultural practices (see Dyndahl, this volume). While Regev (2013) focused on the time–space dimension of aesthetic cosmopolitanism, we believe that in this context, it is reasonable to apply an analogous mindset to intergenerational relationships as today, pop-rockisation has established a distinct common ground for children, adolescents, adults and the elderly in musical perceptions, expressions and references.

However, this fact does not mean that one can no longer distinguish between music for different age groups or that particular music for children no longer exists. What it does mean is that there is no longer a one-to-one relationship between a musical genre or style and an age or generation. This situation is to a certain degree consistent with Corsaro's (2005, pp. 26f.) argument that children always take part in two cultures—children's and adults'—that are intricately interwoven in different ways. Based on these empirical vignettes, this argument, however, needs further refinement: the production of family culture can be described as a process in which the parents' and the children's musical cultures are woven together (cf. Rasmussen, 2001). The children contribute to the family culture by confirming the repertoire of other family members, for instance when they acknowledge the “strange” rock music to which the father listens in the car and eagerly sing the lullabies of previous generations. Whatever the reasons for the parents' differences in taste, their children experience a broader musical range than if the parents' tastes did not differ. In sum, taking a closer look at the family's musical culture, one of its significant features is that it consists of a conglomerate of musics and practices. These musics and practices are carefully negotiated and fit in with the family life, and the result is a distinguishable *family music culture*.

It is safe to say that an important feature of this family's music culture is the presence of pop-rock music. Supported by Regev (2013), one might argue that pop-rock constitutes the current lingua franca of global music today, not the least for children. In addition, Rasmussen (2001) argued that this situation has resulted from the technologisation of children's culture through the media's presence in everyday life and from the de-traditionalisation and differentiation of childhood, with flexible, dynamic relationships between children and adults operating in many different areas such as at home, in institutions, in leisure activities and the media. Hence, pop-rock might also be described as the lingua franca for the family interviewed; it is a musical discourse consisting of repertoires and practices the family members share across generations. A consequence of pop-rock's status is that it is difficult to position one's parenting as unique according to socio-cultural standards by the means of pop-rock. Indeed, at first glance, it is not pop-rock music that is used for this purpose in these excerpts. The distinctions are made by drawing on the power of the discourse of Western classical music, even the principal hierarchical distinction of avant-garde music. Moreover, the presentation of traditional children's songs to the children, their intimate knowledge of this repertoire and the use of traditional lullabies as aesthetic-functional devices are more obvious distinctions of the parenting

discourse than the distinctions connected to pop-rock music. At a societal level, pop-rock for children is an integral part of children's media culture and virtually every radio and television programme produced for and broadcast to child audiences (see also Vestad, 2016). At first glance, what is at stake in pop-rock music is adherence to the mainstream and letting the children occupy themselves with the pop-rock music offered by the media, although the parents do not necessarily find that this kind of music is of good quality. The parents strategically and favourably position themselves in relation to what they hold to be the hegemonic parenting discourse. To deny children's music in the family home is considered to be too strict as it would deprive the children from joining their friends' common culture—namely, the children's cultural musical lingua franca “spoken” by children of all classes and virtually all cultural backgrounds.

However, taking a closer look at the lingua franca of pop-rock in these excerpts shows that subtle distinctions are made in the parents' ongoing legitimation of children's music. One critical point is what is described as commercial music. Following the father's outburst regarding commercial children's music he thinks is better avoided, the mother somewhat hesitantly adds a contrasting remark: “Well, pop music is commercial, too”. Her remark introduces distinctions within “commercial music”, or—as you will—pop-rock. Their subsequent distinctions are about the emotional value of music. This focus is in line with the middle-class focus in child-rearing on emotionally capacitating children (Stefansen & Aarseth, 2011). The rock music to which the father listens in the car helps him vent frustration and release adrenaline, while classical music enables acknowledging finer sentiments and more nuanced emotional repertoires, the parents argue. Such potentials are seldom found in children's music, the parents feel. Further distinctions concern the intelligence of musical production and consumption. The parents want to offer their children music with intelligent humour, which they believe enhances children's experience of pleasure as well as their cognitive capacities. Music should have an edge and “something more” to it, they find. Equally important, re-wrappings of older children's repertoire need to be aesthetically pleasing, intellectually stimulating and somewhat updated, the parents argue.

Moreover, distinctions are based on what is considered suitable for children. The parents specifically mention hip-hop, Scandinavian dance band music and commercial children's music. Hip-hop and some children's music, according to the parents, tend to bring teenage life and adulthood into children's lives too soon through themes considered to be irrelevant to children and artists with sexualised appearances and explicit lyrics. Protecting children from Scandinavian dance band music is quite another cup of tea. This music culture is widespread in Scandinavia and has strong intergenerational appeal but is predominantly considered to be unambiguously lowbrow (see Dyndahl, 2016; Dyndahl et al., 2015). What is at stake here is most likely protecting the children from indisputably “bad taste” that could devalue their potential cultural capital. Thus, the distinctions the parents make in the children's accumulation of capital, which determines the children's status as individuals and their own status as parents in

the social space, contribute to the constitution of the family culture. However, it is clear that these distinctions are not only about *what kind* of music they choose but also *how* music is used. The functions music serves for children—but also in the parenting style—are essential to their distinctions.

The way in which these parents argue has clear similarities with the ideological content of the middle- to upper-class parenting style of concerted cultivation described by Lareau (2011). The child is in focus, and even music listened to during leisure time in the home to promote relaxation and enjoyment virtually always has thought behind it, gently serving the aim to equip children for life. Last but not least, the accumulation of capital clearly concerns knowing and appreciating a broad range of genres. This point calls for looking further into musical omnivorousness and musical gentrification, which are dealt with in the next section.

Shifting hierarchies of cultural status

Although limited, our data have features that call into question how broad taste functions as a musical parenthood strategy and, moreover, how this strategy may be class related. If it is true that the extensive expansion of genres—as also evidenced in the children’s music market and media services (Dyndahl & Vestad, 2017)—not only provides greater and more varied choice but can also lead to new status hierarchies, then children’s musical cultures should be explored through sociological lenses that focus on music’s changing importance for and within various social groups and classes and their positions in society. From this perspective, such development processes corroborate cultural omnivorousness (Peterson, 1992; Peterson & Kern, 1996) and indicate how the hierarchical relationships between the dominated and dominant tastes were reconstituted in new ways towards the end of the last century. The concept of cultural omnivorousness implies that the preference for a broad variety of aesthetic genres and styles seems to be the new hegemonic form that constitutes the tastes of both the dominant social groups (Dyndahl et al., 2014) and the younger generations (Bennett et al., 2009). Vestad’s (2013, 2014) research also suggested that certain kinds of musical omnivorousness attributed to—or enacted on behalf of—the children stand at the top of the taste hierarchy among Norwegian parents and kindergarten staff and in close relationship with particular notions of children’s best interests. Although musical omnivores may now find themselves at the top of the cultural hierarchy, their position is due to more than their wide-ranging cultural ingestion. Equally important are the ways in which they perform their consumption patterns, as already touched upon in the previous section. A certain intellectually-oriented aesthetic approach to the works and practices of the arts still appears to provide the most cultural capital, analogous to the distinguished behaviour described by Bourdieu (1984) several decades ago. This attitude, however, does not contradict that such an approach also represents a particular embodied habitus, a notion referring to the composition of individual lifestyles, values, dispositions and expectations.

A crucial question thus is how habitus is created and developed in the complex interplay of agentic and structural dynamics that also come into play in the construction of parenthood. In this context, subjectivation and socialisation, as well as parenting, must be seen as cultivation processes and practices complying with standardised distinctions arising from the specific values of cultural capital promoted, in this case, by particular musics, thereby both (re)creating and maintaining the social anatomy of taste. According to Bourdieu (1990), this is a matter not of rational choice but rather of embodied social dispositions—related to class, gender, ethnicity and age—formed by habits, preferences and tastes developed over a substantial period of time, such as growing up in a particular family in a particular society at a particular time. The notion of habitus must also largely relate to musical features and sonic conditions. Moreover, music is a key element in children's culture as well as culture in general, so children should be understood not as passive recipients of culture but as active social agents who contribute to the construction of the community of which they are part, as well as to the constitution of their subjectivities. Similarly, there must be a structural response or compliance with the apparently individual agency that habitus also directs towards contemporary and future society.

We assume that structural and institutional trends and patterns that respond to such orientations develop gradually in society. As recorded, since the late 1970s, a strong tendency in Norway, Scandinavia and most Western countries has resulted in many popular music genres and subgenres gaining increased status in both education and society in general. This tendency, along with similar trends in children's music, makes apparent the association with the concept of musical gentrification.

However, whether it is meaningful to explore children's culture and parental negotiations of family musical culture through the concepts of omnivorous taste and musical gentrification remains to be seen. As discussed, though, the parents interviewed demonstrate broad taste and make distinctions based on the contemporary parenting discourse, as well as their own tastes and preferences, much in line with the earlier point that the cultural economy of music is derived from the composite of its aesthetic features and socio-cultural aspects (cf. Frith, 1996). Regarding cultural omnivorousness, however, Bryson (1996) argued that even presumably omnivorous cultural consumers demonstrate limitations in their preferences, an objection also taken seriously by Peterson (2005). As quoted fully in Dyndahl, this volume, Peterson (2005) asserted that in the practice of omnivorousness, a person may use fewer choices than are available, although omnivorousness used to be seen as a contrast to "highbrow snobbery"; that is, one had to like classical music and opera to be an omnivore: "the focus was on those who participated in and had a taste for the fine arts who also consumed all sorts of non-elite goods and activities [...], or at least showed an openness to appreciating all" (Peterson, 2005, p. 263f.). In the interviewed family, the mother is constructed as the one knowledgeable about music, and in a sense, she runs the children's music in their home. The parents emphasise that the mother was bottle-fed on the national "canon" of traditional children's music, and in her

teens, she created her “own space” with carefully selected rock and jazz. The mother is the primary bearer of the classical music tradition in the family, and moreover, she challenges the safe repertoire of this genre with her fondness for contemporary avant-garde music. She is constituted as a connoisseur. In light of the concepts discussed in this chapter, the legitimation of her status draws heavily on the cultural economy of the Western art music tradition but also on her deep knowledge of a wide breadth of genres. Through the focus on classical music, the mother’s omnivorousness is constituted very much as in Peterson’s (1992) earliest formulations, as quoted: she cultivates the fine arts *in addition* to consuming all sorts of non-elite goods and activities and showing openness. She gains status from this position.

We have established that the family negotiations lead to the inclusion of some musics and the exclusion of others in a subtle, strategically applied cultural economy. The question remains whether we can understand what happens in the family’s conversation as a series of micro-moments of gentrification in which cultural capital is accumulated and exchanged so as to ascribe higher value to lower-status music. Exploring the family’s negotiations through the concept of musical gentrification prompts another interesting discussion on which of the two parents holds a more powerful position. On one hand, the mother is constituted as the most powerful musical agent in the family, partly as she draws on the symbolic value of classical music. On the other hand, the father constitutes himself as inhabiting the subversive identity of a rock music lover despite his wife’s attempt to constitute his status by drawing on the same symbolic values that constitute her own status. In a setting with pop-rock as the lingua franca, the father’s position is also quite powerful. Which of the two is stronger remains ambiguous; it is legitimate to ask whether the subversive (pop-rock) has become the *doxa* and—vice versa—whether the powerful cultural capital traditionally ensured by classical music has become significantly less dominant. Is it the status of classical music carried mostly by the mother that allows for the gentrification of pop-rock in the family repertoire? Or is it pop-rock’s present status carried mostly by the father that allows for an updated reformulation of cultural omnivorousness? Is classical music as levelled as any music because it now seems “wisest not to bind breadth and brow-level together by definition, but to see omnivorousness as a measure of the breadth of taste and cultural consumption, allowing its link to status to be definitionally open” (Peterson, 2005, p. 263f.)? In this context, it may also make sense to incorporate van Eijck’s (2001) description of “the new middle class” who sense that, in today’s society, having an eclectic musical taste provides the highest status. Traditional children’s music, on one hand, seems to work as a separate cultural economy of parenthood, gaining value by its representations of roots and traditions that vouch for its quality for children. On the other hand, this repertoire is also subjected to distinctions particularly within pop-rock music, including distinctions regarding tasteful re-wrappings of traditional children’s songs.

Notwithstanding, the accumulation and exchange of cultural capital destabilises the symbolic economic system. In these family negotiations, what we

witness may be described as the intersection of two or three distinct cultural capitals and symbolic economies, and the precipitate of bringing them together is *connoisseurship*. What really matters is the way the family uses music, and the least common denominator of connoisseurship is an informed reflexivity, sincere love for and knowledge of music. Unresolved conflicts and contradictions between the parents' tastes remain, but from both of their positions—each privileged in its own way—the parents together reconstitute a powerful discourse of an omnivorous taste in intelligent music that can be used for fun. The status ascribed and distinctions made in the family perspective cannot be isolated from the fact that the parents are negotiating musical parenting. When objects change status, they do so as artefacts in complex systems of evaluation. For these parents, the overarching structural asset that keeps the parenting project together seems to be the aim to equip their children for life, including enabling them to handle the complexity and subtle distinctions of the cultural world.

Closing remarks

This book refers to several sources of theoretical and empirical research, indicating that certain late modern phenomena can be interpreted in terms of musical gentrification, cultural omnivorousness and aesthetic cosmopolitanism. One, therefore, must assume that these concepts constitute some prerequisites for educational and cultural practices—in this case, for musical parenting and children's culture, in particular, within the context of media music for children. Furthermore, as an analytical tool, the concept of musical gentrification may provide some insights into how the cultural capital of music is applied and negotiated in the micro-practices of everyday life such as parenting practices and, moreover, how individuals in real-life settings draw on symbolic capital provided by the overarching structural levels to position themselves within the discourse in question. Applied on the micro level of society, musical gentrification thus might point to how the actions of individual agents fuel, maintain and reconstitute the structural and institutional levels. In addition, the concept of gentrification involves a particular focus on the shifting status of popular musics, so it nuances the concept of cultural omnivorousness. The latter term is often used to show that the most influential taste has expanded to include popular music, but to a lesser extent, this term also sheds light on the (sub)genre and stylistic expansions and the social and cultural distinction processes taking place within popular music itself.

In this particular case, we discuss how popular music's omnipresence affects parenting, family culture and children's culture in terms of both content and forms of communication. Moreover, the interviewed family's social class affiliation also constitutes a significant precondition. The family's upper-middle-class status, in particular, gives the mother's omnivorous taste considerable weight. In this connection, Bennett et al. (2009) established that the status of classical music is especially strong among the upper classes. Despite this fact, we find that the father's relatively closer association with the musical gentrification

processes that have strongly elevated the status of popular music challenges this long-established position of status. However, not all popular music genres and styles possess this power. The genre-specific distinctions within popular music itself, indicated by the concept of musical gentrification, turn out to also have great significance for the family's music culture. So, what about the children and their culture in this setting? Every parent's and child's life project is necessarily exercised in a class-specific context. The interviewed children obviously have a wide repertoire of different musics available, implying that the image of late modern childhood definitely has more colours than the monochrome sketch Postman (1982) made decades ago.

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6 Gentrification, hegemony, activism and anarchy

How these concepts may inform the field of higher popular music education

Ruth Wright

Introduction

Dyndahl, Karlsen, Skårberg and Nielsen's Musical Gentrification project (2014 ff.) has demonstrated gentrification processes occurring alongside the academisation of popular music in higher music education in Norway. The Musical Gentrification project's findings fall into three main categories: first, they demonstrate that the academic gentrification of musics is not an egalitarian process. Certain popular musics appear to have more societal status than others and have been more readily accepted into the academy. Others—more “lowbrow” musics—have been excluded.

Second, the project has found support for Peterson's (1992), and Peterson and Kern's (1996) concept of the shift from the highbrow snob, interested only in consuming elite culture, to the cultural omnivore, widely sampling culture to demonstrate breadth and discernment. Evidence of an increasing breadth of popular music genres present across the academic field of music education is an indicator of this.

Third, the project highlights important issues related to structure, agency, gender, power and elitism in relation to the gentrification and academisation of popular music in higher education. Men dominate academic work produced in the more “credible” genres of popular music, and also dominate thesis supervision. There are also structural implications interconnecting with this gender domination, as these dominating men work in dominating institutions in the field. Karlsen (this volume) suggests that the academisation of popular music has not led to any democratic or anti-hegemonic effects but has reinforced or strengthened possibly pre-existing social hierarchies.

This study therefore highlights important issues of exclusion and social injustice in the field of higher music education. Nor are the findings empty of resonance with many of us who work in higher education in music around the rest of the world. This suggests that the project's results have interest for and applicability to a much wider geographical field than Norway alone. Indeed, Norway's status as one of the early adopters of popular music in education, alongside the increasing globalisation of education and concomitant global spread of neo-liberal template educational models rife with injustice and inequality, suggests

that the findings may represent a harbinger of what is yet to come in this field in the rest of the world, unless the field acts to counter such injustices.

Injustice, exclusion and popular music education

The researchers behind the Musical Gentrification project claim, citing the work of Hesmondhalgh (2008), that the issues they identify, as very briefly summarised above, run counter to the twenty-first-century discourse of social justice and inclusion prevalent in support of music education generally and popular music education in particular:

The dominant conception rightly emphasises the social nature of music and of self-identity, but 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 in Dyndahl, 2015, p. 16)

Indeed, the authors have highlighted an area of important exploration in the field and one that has perhaps been downplayed in recent music education scholarship, as the benefits of popular music education have been advocated and researched. In sociology and cultural studies, it has long been recognised that one of the principal arenas in which the creation and battle over deep divisions and inequalities in capitalist societies takes place *is* music. Popular culture including popular music is the site of intense contestation and negotiation between the interests of dominant and subordinate social groups (Storey, 2003). The field of music education has been cognisant of the persistence of these battles, even as popular culture has been (somewhat grudgingly in many cases) incorporated into the classroom. Indeed, early discussions concerning whether popular music should be incorporated into music education revolved around just these issues, among others. Early English language scholarship in the field such as that in Britain of Swanwick in his 1968 book *Popular Music and the Teacher*, and Vulliamy and Lee's (1982) *Pop, Rock and Ethnic Music in Schools* began to support the idea of popular music in schools. Heated sociological and philosophical arguments soon arose however between Swanwick (1984), Vulliamy (1977) and Vulliamy and Shepherd (1984) concerning the independence of meaning and importance of enculturation when working with these musics in education (see Wright, 2017b). These arguments endured and developed to include questions of musical autonomy (Clayton, Herbert, & Middleton, 2003; DeNora, 2000, 2003; Elliott, 1995; Goehr, 1992; Green, 2006) and of the musical authenticity and subcultural legitimacy of popular music culture when introduced into formal schooling settings (Green, 2006; Vulliamy 1977).

Green's (2001, 2008) work demonstrated that it was important not only that popular music be brought into schools but also that authentic pedagogy be used alongside authentic popular content in these respects. After some considerable

success in gaining entry of popular music in schools however, my own writing alongside that of others, (Wright, 2017a, 2017b) has highlighted the fragility of any democratic gains made by introduction of popular musical culture into schools in the early twenty-first century. Similarly, the ease of erosion of any ground gained in this battle can be witnessed in neo-liberal government educational policies enshrined in documents such as, for example, the revised National Curriculum for Music in England which has reverted to a predominantly musical appreciation model based on a canon of Western art masterworks.

It can be seen therefore that popular music in education is as much a systemic arena for the creation and battle over deep divisions and inequalities in society as is music per se. One of the ways in which sociologists such as Bourdieu, Gramsci, Dyndahl and colleagues studying music and culture have analysed and reflected upon the imbrication of popular culture in negative social processes is through the development of concepts such as hegemony, musical gentrification and the socially dominating and stratifying effects of music as cultural capital. It is with these concepts that this next section of the chapter concerns itself.

Hegemony and popular music education

In his writings on hegemony, Italian Marxist thinker Antonio Gramsci (1975/1992, 1977) was attempting to understand why the *populus* in capitalist political systems would tolerate conditions of gross economic and social inequality without rising in revolt. The concept of hegemony was developed to explain this as: “[A] *condition in process* in which a dominant class (in alliance with other classes or class fractions) does not merely *rule* a society but *leads* it through the exercise of ‘moral and intellectual leadership’” (Gramsci, 1998, p. 210, in Storey, 2003, n.p, italics in original). In this process, the interests of the dominant social group are “universalised” as the interests of the whole society (Storey, 2003). This happens by a mechanism in which education and culture are heavily involved, as identified by Bourdieu, whereby the values, *including cultural tastes* (importantly to our own interests in the present context), of the dominant group become accepted as inherently superior, as naturally better, legitimately so, and therefore general societal “buy in” is obtained to their innate superiority. As Storey (2003) asserts

In this sense, hegemony is used to suggest a society in which, despite oppression and exploitation, there is a high degree of “consensus”; a society in which subordinate groups and classes appear to actively support and subscribe to values, ideals, objectives, cultural and political meanings, which “incorporate” them into the prevailing structures of power.

(n.p.)

In this way, Gramsci suggests that societal conflict is confined and controlled.

In terms of higher music education, it is the societal *management* of people’s engagements with music, negative as they may be on occasions, through hege-

mony that prevents revolt, or at least a shift of power balance away from the interests of the dominant social group. The question then follows: how is this management achieved?

Since the introduction of the concept of hegemony into the field of cultural studies in the 1970s it has revolutionised the thinking about popular culture and politics, popular culture being reconceived as “a key site for the production and reproduction of hegemony” (Storey, 2003, n.p.). Crucial to the current consideration of the entry of popular music into higher education, I believe, is the contention that hegemony is a process that is under continuous maintenance by dominant sections of society and that this maintenance involves a process of negotiation and the granting of concessions to lower portions of society. We see this in Dyndahl et al.’s demonstration of the process in Norway of the carefully regulated control of certain higher-brow forms of popular music into academia; those acceptable to the cultural omnivore. We also see the barring of the way to lower cultural forms of popular music, those less in sympathy with the culturally omnivorous interests of the dominant social group. Enough concessions are made to allow hegemony to be maintained but not so many that the power balance shifts away from the interests of the dominant group. This demonstrates Hewison’s (2014, p. 219) point that: “Culture is a social process, in constant self-generation”.

Storey (2003) exemplifies a process strikingly similar to the one discovered by the Musical Gentrification project with respect to the British control of its Caribbean colonies through the imposition of British culture and the English language. The linguistic result was not universal speaking of English but rather the creation of a new language, a hybrid form in which the dominant element was English but the language itself was not English. It was a negotiated language arrived at by concessions between the two, with new stresses, rhythms and meanings, some words dropped and some added, neither imposed from above nor arising freely from below. It was the product of a hegemonic struggle between two language cultures, one dominant and one subordinate, says Storey (2003), “involving both ‘resistance’ and ‘incorporation’” (n.p.).

Storey uses this example to support his assertion that hegemony is not merely domination from above, as implied by the frequently used term “dominant ideology” which implies that all struggle is squeezed to death under the weight of imposition from above. Nor is hegemony the opposite of “another word for liberal consensus in which positions circulate in liberal plurality” (n.p.). Rather, “[h]egemony is a particular kind of consensus, one in which there is an active and ongoing struggle to win support, through strategies of ‘moral and intellectual leadership’ for the continued rule of the dominant class” (Storey, 2003, n.p.).

In a similar way, Storey recounts the way in which the rethinking of popular culture caused in the British school in the 1970s by the introduction of Gramscian theory was brought into reconsideration and relationship by two previously contradictory schools of thought. First, there was the view of popular culture as imposed by capitalist culture industries, for profit, and ideologically manipulative, or popular culture as structure. Second, there was the view of popular culture as arising from below spontaneously as an authentic folk, working-class

or “vox pop” culture, or popular culture as agency. The introduction of Gramscian theory into this debate produced a middle ground in which popular culture could be conceptualised as neither structurally imposed and manipulated nor agentically produced and authentic but as something negotiated, the result of a “compromise equilibrium” [Gramsci] (Storey, 2003, p. 163).

The clothing of Dolly Parton in Butlerian rhetoric to enter academia, as identified by the Musical Gentrification project (Dyndahl, Karlsen, Nielsen, & Skårberg, 2017), might be a musical example of such negotiated language. It is perhaps not surprising therefore that the close examination of the entry of popular music into higher education in Norway should also unmask the workings of hegemony in this sphere. As Strinati (1995) observes, returning to the observations of Hesmondhalgh earlier:

Pop culture and the mass media are subject to the production, reproduction and transformation of hegemony through the institution of civil society which cover the areas of cultural production and consumption. Hegemony operates culturally and ideologically through the institutions of civil society ... which ... include education, the family, the church, the mass media, popular culture, etc.

(pp. 168–169)

Key to the actions of hegemony in the sphere of higher music education may be the actions of different types of intellectuals.

Traditional and organic intellectuals and higher music education

According to Gramsci, there are two social categories of intellectuals—traditional and organic. The first type is a group separated from the masses, who “therefore assert[ed] the primacy of autonomous reason” (Fontana, 2002, p. 25). Whereas the second are a group of intellectuals arising from within their class who therefore “understand(s) reason and thought as emerging from within the life of the people” (Fontana, 2002, p. 25). Gramsci sees hegemony as shaped by these “organic intellectuals”:

The capitalist entrepreneur [for example] creates alongside himself the industrial technician, the specialist in political economy, the organisers of a new culture, of a new legal system, etc.

(Gramsci, 1998, p. 212 in Storey, 2003, n.p.)

As Storey suggests, organic intellectuals are deputised by the dominant group to “secure and sustain its hegemony” (Storey, 2003, n.p.). We see in the work of Dyndahl et al. (2017) the ways in which organic intellectuals, representatives or organisers of a new musical culture, infiltrated the traditional culture within academia in higher music education to introduce new genres from popular

culture into the Nordic field. We also see these intellectuals exercising one of the two functions of hegemony—to lead, through, for example, supervision of theses and control of acceptable topics of such work. We see the key popular music academics in Norwegian Higher Music Education becoming leaders in their own right, as Gramsci asserts would be the case within his theory of hegemony (1975/1992). As Fontana (2002) states: “Thus a group or class becomes hegemonic as it exercises intellectual and moral leadership over other groups in society in such a manner that the latter become ‘allies’ and ‘associates’ of the former”. Growing clusters of scholars around key academics leading the study of specific genres and types of popular musics might suggest that this has happened in the three leading institutions in Norway where higher popular music education is concentrated. These influential professors would then be the organic intellectuals in their field in this nation-state. Nor do these agents only have a singular function. Storey describes the way in which Althusser has extended Gramsci’s concept of the organic intellectual from an individual role to a collective one; that of collective agents of the state or “collective organic intellectuals—the so-called ‘ideological state apparatuses’” (Storey, 2003, n.p.). Amongst these are numbered education, television and the culture industries. Representing the ideological state apparatus of higher music education in the field of popular music, the collective power of this small number of influential academics, these leading organic intellectuals, may exercise a considerable influence upon the field of higher music education, and indeed music education more generally. This may be particularly relevant to our consideration of the action of hegemony on popular music in higher education. Dyndahl and colleagues’ (2017) comments on the roles of these academics as tastekeepers and arbiters of culture are of note here, implying a steering role for these leading academics in shaping their field and its content.

There is however a further, more sinister, aspect to this which, while not explicitly stated, is perhaps implicit in the data and, certainly, in Karlsen’s comment, reiterated above, that little has changed in terms of radical transformations of established hegemonies. Storey (2003) suggests that the field of culture is marked, when viewed from hegemony theory, by conflicts to “articulate, disarticulate, and rearticulate cultural texts and practices for particular ideologies, particular politics” (p. 610). Referring to Hall (1985) he reminds us that a text is never ideologically neutral, that meaning is socially produced through practice, the “world has to be *made to mean*” (p. 34). The same cultural text or practice or happening can be ascribed multiple meanings however and therefore it is constantly both a battleground and the result of a battle. This brings us to the second role of the deputised hegemonic leaders according to Gramsci, which is to dominate subordinate social groups: “On the other hand, opposed to leadership is domination, which is the exercise of coercion or ‘armed force’ over other groups” (Fontana, 2002, n.p.). It would appear that once established in academia and having gained a certain amount of cultural dominance themselves, the organic intellectuals who had introduced new forms of popular culture to academia then became deputies of the dominant social group in acting as

tastekeepers. In this role, they appear to have exercised dominance in controlling the genres that were accepted for study in the field of Higher Music Education in their institutions and in developing a body of scholars around themselves who studied similar or related genres to themselves. It is not possible to argue definitively from the data that the introduction of other (lower) popular culture forms into academia had to arise from institutions and/or to some extent programmes (music education and music therapy) other than the main institutions and their musicology programmes. It does however present itself as a plausible argument, given that the Musical Gentrification project data found that the musicology programs at two dominant Norwegian universities control the field in the production of theses in the more gentrified genres of popular music, sometimes so much so that work in a specific genre can only be found in one of these universities, whereas the conservatoire institution mainly produces theses in the miscellaneous category (Dyndahl et al., 2017). This latter group of theses predominantly originate from the music education and therapy programmes and are frequently supervised by women.

The entry of women scholars into this area of academia appears to be a particular instance of the hegemonic effects of musical gentrification, in this instance, exercised as masculine domination.¹ The data from the Musical Gentrification project indicate that women have been required to exercise peripheral and marginal routes to gain entry to the field, such as the supervision of theses in music education and therapy with implicit popular music content rather than explicit focus, or academic work in less legitimated areas of popular music such as world music, country music, heavy/black metal and similar, less mainstream genres. Such paths might indicate their need to negotiate ways around a marked degree of resistance and male dominance in the higher status and more strongly established areas of Higher Music Education in Norwegian academia. It is not possible to tell from the data why the theses produced or supervised by the majority of women are in peripheral disciplines or “soft” or miscellaneous genres (not within the major “schools” of popular music scholarship led by the key intellectuals in the field). The fact that they *are*, however, must speak to some domination of the field by male organic intellectuals and to some exclusion experienced by women.

Scholars (Abramo, 2009, 2011a, 2011b; Björck, 2010; Green, 1997; Tobias, 2014; Whiteley, 2000) have remarked for some considerable time that music education is heteronormative. Parkinson and Smith (2015) observe that this is even more the case in popular music education. “According to normative understandings of authenticity, some might argue that to be authentically gendered in popular music is to be masculine” (p. 110). Indeed, Smith (2015) has demonstrated a white male hegemony permeating the entire institutional structure of Higher Popular Music Education by analysis of one such institution. Parkinson and Smith (2015, p. 111) conclude that: “Higher Popular Music Education privileges the masculine and the male as a product of its history in Western civilization, which has routinely subjugated women”. This position places substantial initial structural societal obstacles in the path of women seeking to enter the field

of Higher Popular Music Education and Dyndahl et al.'s data appear to confirm that they have indeed been encountered by the female academics in Norway.

Similarly, the Musical Gentrification project data found that only three new genres of popular music scholarship found their entry to the field in this institution and that the larger part of the popular music theses originated from the "satellite" music education and music therapy programmes at this institution (Dyndahl et al., 2017). In terms of institutional resistance and cultural dominance, one might hazard a guess that in the case of the conservatoire institution this might suggest some evidence for dominance and resistance from the traditional intellectuals and guardians of the traditional genres in this context. The picture presented therefore of the success of organic intellectuals at entering the field in this particular institution would appear to be rather different.

Hegemony and activism in higher popular music education

The notion of music as capital wielded in a battle for cultural dominance is reflected in Dyndahl's (2015) paper in the Finnish Journal of Music Education, where he discusses the ways in which the introduction of popular musics into academia in the Nordic countries may be seen as forms of academic activism, attempting to break down the hegemony of existing musical canons in higher music education to grant wider access to students. He also discusses however, the ways in which the existing institutional structures have acted to reshape and recontextualise the knowledge introduced to change its nature. As Dyndahl (2015, p. 23) states:

A concrete example of how this works in higher music education can be witnessed in Olsson's (1993) study of what happened when jazz, pop, rock and folk music were included as new elements in the Swedish music teacher education programme SÄMUS in the 1970s, while the traditional teaching methods, objectives and assessment criteria of the classical conservatory tradition still regulated the field of higher music education as such, and thus pushed the new genres into pre-existing values, forms and practices.

Dyndahl suggests, with reference to examples from Norwegian higher music education, that the same could be true of activist approaches to the introduction of popular music into Nordic higher music education. Positioning students who previously would have been unable to enter the academy to study music in higher education prior to the introduction of popular music into the curriculum as victims of disadvantage or discrimination, Dyndahl suggests that the entry of such musics in academia was an instance of activism involving reforms and changes in higher music education which granted such students access. Dyndahl (2015) proceeds to show however, with reference to particular hybrid forms of Norwegian dance music still effectively excluded from the academy, how "an activist base that aims to better understand and ultimately overcome situations of inequality, marginalisation and oppression, also serves as a power base from

which to achieve and maintain a new academic hegemony” (p. 24). I have attempted above to explain this in terms of Gramsci’s dual functions of hegemony in leading and dominating. As Dyndahl states, this should not be surprising because the establishment of something as cultural capital requires its location somewhere in society where someone can vouch for its worth, usually those with the most cultural capital. In academia, according to Dyndahl, the holders of this capital are the professors, who hold the greatest classificatory power over determining what is cultural capital, and serve as gatekeepers to research, curriculum and appointment to academic position. This gatekeeping mechanism is analysed by Dyndahl as showing how musical gentrification operates with both inclusionary and exclusionary effects. I have also commented on this above with analysis of these gatekeepers through a Gramscian frame as organic intellectuals.

As Apple (2013) observed, Gramsci (1975/1992) argued that one of the tasks of a truly counter-hegemonic education was not to discard “elite knowledge but to reconstruct it in form and content so that it might serve genuinely progressive social needs” (p. 42). Dyndahl et al. (2017ff.) could be said to demonstrate the extent to which agents in Norwegian higher music education achieved success in this respect. It appears from their studies in the Musical Gentrification project however, that attempts to reconstruct elite knowledge in Norwegian music education and to bring it into more proximity to the culture of “lower” cultural strata, by incorporating into its elements of popular culture, have not served Gramsci’s hoped-for ends—i.e., to reconstruct elite knowledge and act as counter-hegemonic education. The processes of resistance, incorporation and negotiation have resulted in a compromise equilibrium in the field where certain popular music genres are gentrified and accepted and others are still excluded, certain voices are heard, and others are silenced. Hegemony has still won the day while appearing, as it is wont, to make concessions to the field.

The findings of the Musical Gentrification project represent an object lesson in the problems that may be encountered when attempting counter-hegemonic activism. Both Dyndahl (2015) and Karlsen (this volume) identify herein paradoxes innate in academic activism in introducing popular music into higher music education, standing at once in critical relation to reificatory practices also involved in their production and reproduction. Organic intellectuals function on the one hand as activists to introduce new “hip” content into arts curricula, such as popular music, destined to reconstruct the form and content of elite musical knowledge so that it may serve genuinely progressive social needs, as described by Apple above. The secret trick of hegemony however determines that as soon as these academics achieve position and rank within institutions, their new position awards them power. As Bourdieu (1984, p. 6) so famously stated, “taste classifies and it classifies the classifier”. This Janus-like inward and outward facing classificatory role, in couple with the societal power afforded by university rank and position, locates the former activist agent, the organic intellectual, as a deputy of hegemony. He (and it is *he* in this instance) becomes, as we have seen above, a new tastekeeper and arbiter of culture, a new agent of domination.

The paradox identified by Dyndahl between academic activism as counter-hegemonic action and academic activism as hegemonic dominance, involved in the production and reproduction of class and taste boundaries and distinctions, is an interesting illustration of some of the problems associated with counter-hegemony as discussed by Canadian sociologist, political scientist and activist Richard Day. Day (2004) argues that the problem inherent in this circular process is something he terms the “hegemony of hegemony”. Defining his concept of the “hegemony of hegemony” as: “the commonsensical assumption that meaningful social change—and social order itself—can only be achieved through the deployment of universalizing hierarchical forms” (p. 717), Day makes some comments that align interestingly with the quotation of Hesmondhalgh (2008) cited by Dyndahl in relation to music education and quoted by me at the beginning of this chapter. I will proceed to discuss these in the section that follows.

Anarchy, anti-hegemony and popular music in higher music education

I have suggested that the work of the Musical Gentrification project and their predecessors in studying culture and its complex relationships with societal injustice, inequality and exclusion, and the particularly grimy involvement of education in this process, have demonstrated that our species’ engagements with music are not consistently positive. This does not detract from the message however that we need to continue to understand and address how inequality, exploitation and suffering may be reflected in societal engagement with music, and in this instance in particular with popular music in higher music education.

Day has suggested that anarchist alternatives to counter-hegemony may be more effective in engendering positive social change in favour of inclusion and social justice. Drawing on Day’s (2005) thesis refuting the “hegemony of hegemony”, I would like to conclude this chapter by considering the issues raised by the Musical Gentrification project from this anarchist perspective. These are important considerations. Especially for those of us researching and writing in the North American context, where popular music is still, in comparison to the Norwegian context within which Dyndahl’s research occurs, in earlier stages in entering higher music education.

Raymond Williams, in his seminal book in the field of cultural studies, *The Long Revolution* (1961), observed that advances towards social equity were “continually and variously opposed by explicit reaction and by the pressure of habitual forms and ideas” (p. x). The Musical Gentrification project seems to exemplify that this still happens in the twenty-first century. It appears that our best efforts to confront hegemonic actions in culture and society and to change them in and through education have been confounded repeatedly. This appeared to be an inescapable theoretical puzzle until I came across the work of Canadian sociologist and political scientist Richard Day (2004, 2005). Day suggests that there may be problems inherent in working from within “the *logic of hegemony*”

which may frustrate attempts to counter the effects of hegemony. Day (2004) describes this as an assumption that change in the social world, and indeed maintenance of order therein, is reliant upon the change of, and is predicated upon, the existence of “universalizing hierarchical forms” (p. 717) such as the nation and world state. Day describes this as a “universalizing conception of social change” (p. 717) and suggests that this imposes upon reform attempts a “hegemony of hegemony”.

In a chapter in the book *Coming of Age: Teaching and Learning Popular Music in Academia* (Rodriguez, 2017) arising from the Ann Arbor Symposium VI on learning and teaching popular music in higher education, I suggested that:

It is here perhaps that we have to be careful when we attempt to advance notions of popular music education as a means of social justice. There is, advises Day, the possibility that in attempting to counter hegemony by working for macro level social change, radical new forms of activism or in our case of popular music education may become engulfed by dominant societal forces and turned into new “universalizing hierarchical forms” lacking the reformative power of their original initiative. Indeed, one does not have to think for too long to identify instances within music education of just this. It is indeed how neoliberalism works, engulfing and assimilating the radical and transforming it for its own ends.

(Wright, 2017a, pp. 46–47)

It appears that Dyndahl’s study (2015) has provided evidence to support this assertion in the Nordic higher music education context, and it is not only at the level of the nation-state that one needs to think of universalising hierarchical forms. One can follow the analogy to the level of the university or possibly even the university faculty. Here we have ample evidence from the Musical Gentrification project to demonstrate how an attempt to counter hegemony by introducing popular music genres into higher music education, intended as a radical new form of activism, could be said to have become engulfed by dominant societal forces and turned into a new “universalising hierarchical form” within the faculty, lacking the reformative power of its original initiative. It is interesting perhaps that the places from the Musical Gentrification project’s study in which this seems to have happened most noticeably appear to be those two institutions where popular music has become most strongly established as a musicological field.

Day proposes that the “logic of hegemony”—the idea that the only way to defeat hegemony is by directly attacking it—has been shown to be false, not only by the successes of a long standing tradition of affinity-based direct action, but also by the achievements of some well-known activist events in the early twenty-first century. What Day suggests as a solution to the problems of hegemony in his book *Gramsci is Dead: Anarchist Currents in the Newest Social Movements* (2005) is an approach founded in a theoretical position of anti-hegemony. He does so “by articulating how a non-reformist, non-revolutionary

politics can in fact lead to progressive social change that responds to the needs and aspirations of disparate identities without attempting to subsume them under a common project” (p. 10). He suggests therefore that there may be potential for further destabilisation of the hegemony of hegemony in such “non-hegemonic forms of radical social change” (p. 10).

Such initiatives are then seen as operating under what Day terms a “logic of affinity” (2004, p. 11). Day introduces this term as an explanation for the potential of alternative non-hegemonic modes of action that might achieve radical social change. This he claims as a provisional definition of the logic of affinity—“it is that which always already undermines hegemony” (Day, 2004, p. 717). Such actions do not begin from an intention to counter hegemony; indeed, they do not acknowledge hegemony, producing alternative forms of engagement that work “alongside” current practices as affinity projects, always already undermining hegemony. As such they may embody what Raymond Williams (1973) referred to as a different “logic of struggle”.

Day (2004) explains that this is perhaps a more likely way to defeat hegemony than previous counter-hegemonic action. He describes it as “cross[ing] the fantasy” (p. 733) to a form of action that does not “reproduce the conditions of its own emergence” (p. 733). It necessitates giving up expectation of “a non-dominating response from structures of domination” and instead “inventing a response that precludes the necessity of the demand and thereby breaks out of the loop of the endless perpetuation of desire for emancipation” (p. 733). Instead of battling against hegemonic structures, such responses merely act differently to them but in coexistence with them.

What might a different logic of struggle look like in higher music education for popular music? Is such a thing even possible within a societal institution such as a university or conservatoire? Is it possible to frustrate societal hegemonic forces in such settings by operating within a logic of affinity rather than a logic of hegemony? Can multiple affinity projects operate in parallel horizontally rather than vertically such that they always already undermine hegemony? Or, is crossing this particular fantasy doomed to failure in societal institutions of cultural production and reproduction? This theoretical stance poses some interesting questions for the future study of popular music in higher education. The answers to these questions might indicate whether, at least as far as culture is concerned, it is possible for humanity to break out of “the loop of the endless perpetuation of desire for emancipation” (Day, 2004, p. 733).

Day, as previously discussed, suggests that anti-hegemonic action, originating from a logic of affinity, rather than one of engagement and attack, may represent such a difference. This would require that academics and activists in this field do not deliberately engage with and act to counter hegemony, but rather that they produce alternative forms of engagement that work “alongside” current practices as affinity projects, always already undermining hegemony. What such alternative forms of engagement might look like is interesting indeed. I ask above whether such a thing is even possible within a societal institution such as a university or conservatoire, and whether it is possible to frustrate societal

hegemonic forces in such settings by operating within a logic of affinity rather than a logic of hegemony. I would have to conclude that the evidence produced by the Musical Gentrification project raises serious doubts in this respect. The strength of hegemony in engulfing and absorbing new activist practices and content in Higher Popular Music Education, as demonstrated in the Nordic context, must give pause to those elsewhere seeking to shift distributive patterns of injustice in Higher Music Education through introduction of popular musics. Perhaps therefore we need to look to alternative structures; new unconventional forms of Higher Music Education, appealing to a new, unconventional music student body, designed as affinity projects, operating in parallel and not in competition with each other and established Higher Music Education, to achieve these goals.

Perhaps multiple affinity projects such as this operating in parallel horizontally rather than in competition vertically alongside existing Higher Music Education might have the potential to undermine hegemony. It appears to me that development of a variety of new forms of Higher Popular Music Education might be the only way to avoid the creation of new “universalising hierarchical forms”. It would then also be important, in the spirit of Day’s theory, for such bodies to remain small in scale and to resist amalgamation and incorporation into any larger body, as that is where hegemony appears to grasp its chance to co-opt and mutate anti-hegemonic projects. How this might work within current conceptualisations of higher education as profit-generating businesses is, however, obviously problematic. Indeed, this theoretical stance poses many interesting questions for the future of popular music in higher education. My answers to these questions are not intended as formulae to provide solutions but only as examples of possible thought directions. They pose as many questions as they solve. The ways in which we choose to answer these and other questions arising from the Musical Gentrification project however might indicate whether, at least as far as Higher Popular Music Education is concerned, it is possible for humanity to break out of “the loop of the endless perpetuation of desire for emancipation” (Day, 2004, p. 733).

Note

1 See also Nielsen, this volume, for a detailed discussion of gender-related issues concerning musical gentrification.

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7 Changing rhythms, ideas and status in jazz

The case of the Norwegian jazz forum in the 1960s

Odd Skårberg and Sidsel Karlsen

Conflict, prestige and values in jazz: traces of musical gentrification

Jazz history, and particularly that of North America, reveals that jazz has, at regular intervals, been an arena for the expression of deep conflicts and vast differences of opinion. Often, such conflicts have concerned the changing and evolution of certain musical styles, yet they have also been connected to the values underlying decisions about how and why jazz should be constructed as a historical presentation. A key example of such a conflict is to be found in the significant shift from swing to bebop that occurred in the 1940s, which has been described as a transformation that took jazz from the level of entertainment music to that of art (Gendron, 1995). Using this process of transformation as their battleground and employing platitudes and various discourses of aesthetics as their weapons, several musical fronts sought to establish dominion over the very concept and meaning of jazz. Three parties in particular participated in this conflict: the Dixieland revival traditionalists, the swing enthusiasts of the 1930s and the young avant-garde bebop modernists. According to Gendron (1995), these parties fought over “a grouping of concepts, distinctions, oppositions, rhetorical ploys, and allowable inferences, which as a whole fixed the limits within which inquiries concerning the aesthetics of jazz could take place” (p. 34). In retrospect, it is very clear that bebop won this particular battle. This is also evidenced by how bebop was later written into and described in the history of jazz. As jazz historian Scott DeVeaux (1999) points out, with the establishment of bebop, a divide was created in jazz as a musical genre and in jazz history alike. Before bebop, jazz was associated with dancing and entertainment; it was perceived as commercial popular music, the kind of music that would achieve high rankings on the record charts. After bebop, jazz attained the status of art music, requiring a receptive listener rather than a dancing crowd.

In Norway, similar ideas about the prestige of jazz and its artistic potential can be found in the writings of some newspaper music journalists from as early as the 1950s. One example, taken from the Bergen-located *Morgenposten*, shows a quite explicit distinction made between jazz and rock and roll, elevating the former to the level of art:

Rock and roll is a descendant of jazz—a kind of musical changeling—a way to cultivate the most unfortunate elements of bad jazz, caused by a systematic removal of the musical values that at times are capable of lifting jazz up to the level of becoming an artistic expression.¹

(Quoted in Stendahl & Bergh, 1997, p. 281)

Drawing on DeVeaux, Dyndahl (2015) points out that conflicts similar to those surrounding bebop are often centred around the concept of musical authenticity not as an inherent property of music but as a construct attributed to specific genres and practices (see Moore, 2002). Returning to the newspaper quotation above, the journalist's rhetoric can be interpreted as an attempt to establish rock and roll as an inauthentic musical enemy, while jazz is perceived as imbued with artistic and musical authenticity. In a single sentence, the writer quite elegantly lifts jazz out of the popular music dump, separates it from its less refined offspring and raises it to the prestigious halls of "Art" itself. This is musical gentrification in action, happening right in front of our eyes. Jazz, formerly a music of "relatively lower status" (Dyndahl, Karlsen, Skårberg, & Nielsen, 2014, p. 54), is made available, through the means of linguistic elevation, as an object of legitimate acquisition "by subjects who inhabit higher or more powerful positions [than do its former audience]" (p. 54)—namely, the music journalist and his like. This process has "both inclusionary and exclusionary outcomes" (p. 54): jazz is let into Parnassus, while rock and roll is disgracefully disposed of. Moreover, we know from other sources that this process of elevation changes the music and its culture. Jazz is now more a medium for aesthetic contemplation than it is for joyous bodily engagement; it has been "subjected to gentrification" (p. 54).

Processes of musical gentrification do not, of course, happen through one-time events or singular textual utterances, such as that referred to above. Rather, they proceed through long periods of time and are acted out in many different arenas simultaneously through a multitude of discursive statements. In the following, employing a "historical, narrative framework" (Morgan-Fleming, Riegle, & Fryer, 2007, p. 86), we attempt to reconstruct stories of what can be understood to be musical gentrification-like or -related occurrences in Norwegian jazz and in the Norwegian jazz field in the 1960s and 1970s. We draw heavily on data gathered through a study conducted at the University of Oslo (2005–2008) in close collaboration with the Norwegian Jazz Archives (see Skårberg, 2007, 2012) which encompasses interviews with jazz musicians, journalists and music producers as well as the analysis of a range of music, films, television programs and documents pertaining to the topic and time period. We begin at a point in time when Norwegian jazz was decidedly "uncool", examining how it evolved to produce internationally renowned avant-garde musicians such as Jan Garbarek, Karin Krog and Jon Christensen. We also follow the establishment and expansion of the Norwegian Jazz Forum, an arena within which much of this development happened or to which it was at least connected.

New jazz, new institutional needs: from decent to cutting edge

In the autumn of 1963, the first Norwegian long play (LP) jazz record was produced, titled “Metropol Jazz—Jazz Sounds from Norway”. This was not a recording of the “best” Norwegian jazz groups; instead, the intention was to provide a fairly representative selection of what was performed on the Norwegian jazz scene at the time. The LP featured about 50 musicians divided into 11 groups, playing different styles such as swing, Dixieland and modern mainstream jazz. The main mover and shaker in Norwegian jazz during this period, Johs Bergh, wrote the record’s liner note, describing the Norwegian jazz scene as not quite up to par when compared to the most important jazz-delivering countries of Europe. He added, however, that Norway owned a handful of hard-working jazz musicians that could be considered a “good European standard” (Bergh, 1963). At the same time, he admitted that the album would hardly alter jazz history.

Bergh’s statement shows that he possessed great knowledge of the state of jazz internationally and that he was in a position to make judgements and produce distinctions concerning jazz as played in Norway. Through being actively involved in the national jazz scene in various ways—among other things, as a jazz magazine editor and festival organiser—he had achieved the positions of both connoisseur and tastekeeper, and he was a respected and dedicated jazz spokesman both inside and outside Norway. Moreover, he and other jazz fans were well aware of the new tendencies in American jazz that became visible at the turn of the 1960s and which also reached Norway.

In 1962, the Norwegian jazz audience had the opportunity to experience avant-garde jazz for the first time (Stendahl, 2010, p. 74). Pianist and free jazz protagonist Cecil Taylor started his Scandinavian tour in Oslo, together with his trio. During a week’s engagement at a jazz club, the audience was presented with music in which the form, periodicity, metre and pulse appeared to be more or less absent—or at least hard to recognise. There were many confused faces in the audience, and some even left the club in protest (Hultin, 1998, pp. 141–142). Jazz journalist Randi Hultin, who was present and who regularly invited the band to her home, writes that Taylor was generally sceptical towards his audience and quickly realised that his music was perceived as too avant-garde.

In his discussion of free jazz, Pressing (2002) links the music to a variety of aspects that can be used to explain what was at stake during Taylor’s Oslo tour, both in a musical and a sociological sense. Pressing reminds us that free jazz, which in many ways can be understood to carry on the aesthetics of bebop, may be regarded as a culmination of the drive for individual creativity, a radicalisation of the scope of the musical materials of jazz, a collection of statements by salient individual groups and a movement shaped by extra-musical forces of political, cultural, racial and spiritual liberation (p. 202). As mentioned earlier, jazz had previously served as entertainment and commercial popular music, and the introduction of novel sub-styles had often occurred through the popular

songs and musical styles of earlier jazz eras. Free jazz did not follow this pattern and was hence perceived as outrageous by many people. According to Pressing, the change in both music and function stimulated an institutional shift as well. Free jazz simply had to move on to other venues: “When its [jazz’s] expressions become too novel, its social functions are subverted: the music loses viability as a club music and has to move into the concert hall, alternative multi-stylistic venues or obscurity” (Pressing, 2002, p. 203).

A similar development happened in Norway as well. In 1965, three years after Cecil Taylor’s visit, the Norwegian Jazz Forum was established. One of the organisation’s stated goals was to arrange jazz concerts in “proper” concert settings, and it was led by the young avant-garde jazz musician Karin Krog. The ambition was to move jazz away from smoky clubs and present the music in more elevated contexts, “the way other ‘serious’ music was presented” (Stendahl, 2010, p. 400).

Tastekeepers and entrepreneurs: moving house and moving upwards

Dyndahl, Karlsen, Nielsen and Skårberg (2017) discuss the agents in higher music education in terms of the concept of “tastekeepers”. With respect to music academia, this implies that music professors and supervisors may act as regulating forces with regard to how musical genres and styles are considered appropriate to elevate and institutionalise through processes of musical gentrification. Moving such an understanding to the Norwegian jazz scene, during the 1960s, many tastekeepers were involved in various ways: some operated in newspapers and jazz magazines, while others became institutional entrepreneurs. What characterised the latter was that they were typically “insiders”; they were individuals who, by virtue of being acknowledged jazz performers or connoisseurs, held honoured positions in the field. They were also consciously strategic with respect to enhancing the social standing or status of jazz.

Generally, Barth (1994) points out that successful entrepreneurs not only see the potential of moving goods from one place to another place (metaphorically as well as physically) but they are also driven by an urge to make some sort of profit from such a move, be it money, cultural capital or prestige. He further claims the following:

The information produced through such actions will cause that the ideas that people have had up until then about the relative value of the goods are to be proven as inaccurate in the sense that other possibilities for exchange are opened, and it may reasonably be expected to produce re-evaluation and modifications of both categorization and value orientation. In other words, it changes the cultural assumptions that determine people’s social behaviour, and in this way, entrepreneurship is a significant source of cultural and social change.

(Barth, 1994, p. 80)

At the point in time when the Norwegian Jazz Forum was founded, many jazz clubs struggled to maintain regular operation. In other words, the relative value of jazz was quite low. This downturn has been explained as having many possible causes, including young people being hijacked by popular music, jazz itself changing from being dance music to “intellectual” avant-garde and the rebellious image of jazz being overtaken by rock (Stendahl, 2010, pp. 331–338). All these aspects seem valid as explanations for the decline in club activity, yet none of them can account for the *rise* in and re-evaluation of the value of jazz that happened from 1965 onwards as a result of the entrepreneurial work connected to the Norwegian Jazz Forum.

As mentioned above, the initiative to form the organisation came from Karin Krog, who was already an established and highly acknowledged jazz singer. Soon after its establishment, the forum initiated a concert series at the Munch Museum in Oslo, which from 1968 was moved to the Henie Onstad Art Centre. Both these locations were prestigious art venues, the latter particularly renowned for its exhibitions of avant-garde visual arts. In an interview, Krog explains that starting the concert series was “a virtue of necessity, because we had to have a place to do our things”. Prior to this, the mainstream jazz clubs offered only limited opportunities to perform, and for Krog and like-minded musicians, this situation required action:

KROG: So, then we thought, why not get the music *out* of the clubs and *into* the concert hall?

INTERVIEWER: This was probably quite a new idea in 1965?

KROG: It was unusual then and it is unusual to this day to the Norwegian people. One has some difficulties going to a *jazz concert*, one would prefer to enter the pub—this is a strange thing. Anyhow, it meant that we held some serious concerts in the concert hall in the Munch Museum, which was new and very nice, with a really good grand piano and stuff like that. But we had *no* economic support at that time, so we just played for the door and made the most of it. I think we eventually received something [economic support]; we applied for some money to give a concert with a commissioned musical work.

In addition to providing an actual room for performance, when jazz moved into the art galleries through the work of the Norwegian Jazz Forum, this also improved its cultural value, as indicated above. It is possible to detect such an effect even in the advance review of the opening concert. The Oslo-based newspaper *Aftenposten* wrote the following:

Through high-quality concerts in a cultivated environment, jazz will now have the same intellectual status as other modern music. This requires, obviously, that the musicians involved will have to come up with a thoroughly well-prepared program that is appealing to the kind of audience that buy their ticket to become familiar with new musical puzzles.

(Septim, 1965)

This quotation clearly shows that the moves effectuated by the Norwegian Jazz Forum were about more, or at least *achieved* more, than just transporting jazz from the clubs into new concert venues. From the very first moment, it was evident that this initiative was also seen as causing a positive shift in the social and cultural status of the music and its performers. Again, the processes of musical gentrification were in motion.

Jazz and modernist art music: carefully approaching omnivorousness?

In 1962, the Norwegian composer, critic and educator Finn Mortensen found Cecil Taylor's free jazz interesting. He and other Norwegian composers were fascinated, or at least charmed, by Taylor's eruptive style, with its huge shifts in dynamics and tempo (Nesheim, 2001, p. 248). Mortensen's own stylistic development started with a neo-classical influence in his earliest works, moved to employing the use of the twelve-tone technique in the late 1950s and later shifted towards using serialism as his main compositional method. Given Mortensen's modernist musical starting points, Taylor's music was perhaps less shocking to him than it was to many other people, as it in some ways bridged to his own composition practices. Mortensen was so enthusiastic, in fact, that he presented Taylor's music in a radio programme featured by the Norwegian Broadcasting Corporation. He was also interviewed in the corporation's magazine and asked if he was fond of jazz in general. He replied that jazz was an interesting form of music but that "it may be a bit limiting to listen to jazz in the long run" (Mortensen quoted in Nesheim, 2001, p. 248). With Taylor, however, something else was at play because "he had invented a new type of jazz", which, according to Mortensen, was mistakenly referred to as "twelve tone jazz" among the pundits in Oslo. Nevertheless, Mortensen emphasised that Taylor was "very inspired by Stockhausen and is educated from a music conservatory in New York. In addition, Taylor has an absolutely fabulous piano technique" (p. 248).

Can such a minor anecdote about an interaction-in-the-margins between two radically different music fields in Norway in 1962 tell us something about evolution of omnivorous tastes? Undoubtedly, Mortensen's statements testify a habit of using a set of assessment criteria rooted in his own European art music tradition. This shows in his references to Taylor's conservatory education, his modernist inspiration and instrumental technique. Mortensen was clearly attracted to Taylor's music, constructed within stylistic boundaries very different from those he preferred to use when composing his own music, but does this make him a musical omnivore in a wider sense? Or, is it perhaps true that because the two musical styles in question share an overarching characteristic—namely, that they are avant-garde styles—they must be considered "cognate musical forms" (Bennett et al., 2009, p. 77) that are located in close proximity to one another in social space? If so, Mortensen's approach could be explained as carefully approaching a limited form of omnivorousness from a

culturally safe and elevated position. Tastekeeper as he was within his own field at that time, even such a cautious step could potentially have had gentrifying effects.

Omnivores from within: the manifold of jazz itself

In 1967 (see Bergh, 1967), the Norwegian Jazz Forum was mentioned in an article in the national journal *Jazznytt* as an organisation that had thus far arranged 12 public concerts, as well as a series of school concerts. In addition, they had received a grant from the Norwegian Cultural Fund to commission a work from a young Norwegian jazz musician and composer, Egil Kapstad.

The archival work shows that during its early years, the forum seems to have been open to including most jazz played on a professional level in Norway, not only the avant-garde expressions. Still, the forum was, of course, guarded by significant tastekeepers, even though concerts included a wide variety of styles, from Dixieland to free jazz and everything in between: swing, bebop, hard bop, modal jazz and mainstream jazz. Drawing once again on Bennett et al.'s (2009) notion of cognate musical forms, it might be possible to claim that the insiders of the Norwegian Jazz Forum, as well as its audience, experienced at least a short-range omnivorousness, understood as musical plurality *within* the field of jazz as a whole. Jazz was no longer *one* particular type of music but now appeared as a cumulative genre with a great variety of sub-styles, which again had characteristics or functions that could place them in relation to each other as “cognate”. While cultural or musical omnivorousness in itself can be understood as an elevated form of appreciation (see e.g., Peterson & Kern, 1996)—and, as such, as carrying possibilities for gentrification—other forces worked alongside this. A fragile link already existed between modernism and free jazz through the expressed interest of the composer Finn Mortensen. When the Norwegian Jazz Forum moved to the Henie Onstad Art Centre, the link to modernist art was, without doubt, reinforced.

The Henie Onstad Art Centre: radical shifts and “free space” aesthetics

The Henie Onstad Art Centre opened in 1968, located just outside of Oslo. It was built around the private modern visual art collection of famous figure skater and Hollywood actress Sonja Henie and her husband Niels Onstad, but it aimed to be a gathering and meeting place for all modern art, including music. The museum leadership worked actively to employ a coordinator of music events, and in 1969, one of the pioneers of modernist music, Karlheinz Stockhausen, held a seminar there on “intuitive music”. As mentioned, one year prior to this, in 1968, the Norwegian Jazz Forum had negotiated an agreement with the centre allowing for a series of concerts to be put on with Norwegian performers of modernist and avant-garde jazz. These concerts, named “Samklang” (Unison), became the venue for a certain kind of musical jazz-related activism, hitherto

unknown to the Norwegian audience. The events could go on for hours, with musicians interacting and playing in uninterrupted improvisational “happenings”.

What happened, musically, at the Henie Onstad Art Centre was anchored in the wider cultural climate of the 1960s. For the young, up-and-coming musicians who chose to perform there, the extended concerts provided an opportunity to express their musical ideas, fully and radically. In an interview, jazz drummer Jon Christensen revealed that the leadership was very positive about the jazz events:

We were given *carte blanche* out there [at the art centre] ... [the performances developed] into becoming incredibly long multimedia performances ... bands in the grand hall and some musicians placed around the hallway, in the elevator. And then, there would be dancing, and movies, and pictures on the walls, at the same time as all of this was happening.

Unfortunately, few of the musical events that took place at the Henie Onstad Art Centre were documented for posterity. Some newspaper critiques exist though, including, among others, modernist composer Arne Nordheim’s review of Arild Boman’s work “Sabeltanntigern” (The sabre-toothed tiger). The piece was written for a jazz octet along with computer-generated sounds, and Nordheim, who was an electroacoustic music pioneer himself, was euphoric:

The boundaries are crushed every day. Areas of experience move and slide into each other, new expressions are detached, rise to the surface, become independent and circle around until they are gathered, kneaded and worked out by a distinct and temperamental talent. We are moving in times of *huge* possibilities and should therefore beware of the signs from people who no longer bother to think compliantly.

(Nordheim, 1968)

When interviewed in 2007, Boman, the composer of the work reviewed, said that the events held at the Henie Onstad Art Centre often generated questions, both among the musicians and among the audience, of an almost ontological nature: What is music? Who or what is the audience? How do we move on in developing new forms of music? And how do we view music in a larger societal perspective? The danger, however, Boman claimed, was that the modernist ambitions sometimes deteriorated into incomprehensible surrealism.

The Norwegian sociologist Dag Østerberg (2001) writes on phenomena in modern twentieth-century art in a way that may be employed to explore what happened at the Henie Onstad Art Centre. He claims that, at some point, a divide occurred between the field of modern art in general and what he names an art characterised by “free space” aesthetics. Both these fields contained incomprehensible modernist expressions, but “free space” art evolved into an aesthetic playground that became “independent in relation to social and cultural

functions such as representation, upbringing, the ‘recreation’ of the population, and transmission of traditions et cetera” (Østerberg, 2008, p. 12). He further holds that the surrealist movement, with its aim to defeat a realistic understanding of life and remove anything that would obstruct or interfere with humans’ wish or ability to use their imagination in revolutionary ways, formed the backdrop of “free space” aesthetics. However, instead of conquering reality, this rebellious art form became an autonomous enclosure. In other words, avant-garde art reached a point of providing asylum or protection—a space appeared where artists could create their works relatively undisturbed from society at large.

If the jazz events at the Henie Onstad Art Centre are to be understood in these terms, as providing room for “free space” aesthetics, it is possible to claim that it represented a considerable step up the social ladder for jazz music and its proponents in Norway, at least at that particular time. Bourdieu (1984) reminds us that serious play like this is the privilege of the upper class, as its members have been able “to maintain for a long time, sometimes a whole lifetime, a child’s relation to the world” (p. 54), and he explicitly links avant-garde tastes to the elite. Some decades later, Bennett et al. (2009) have trouble detecting “a strong *avant-garde*” (p. 173) at all, nor do they “see a consistent set of strongly defined elite positions” (p. 173). However, given that the events discussed in this article took place in the 1960s, and assuming that the means of social distinction in Norway at that time somewhat resembled the ones present in Bourdieu’s France, it seems safe to say that the Henie Onstad Art Centre—and the room for “free space” jazz developed there—afforded the genre a form of social mobility, albeit time-, context- and perhaps even location-specific. Although experimentally avant-garde on the art centre stage, some of the participating jazz musicians may, however, have again stepped outside the aesthetic playground as soon as they left the building to travel back to more conventional venues and concerts in Oslo.

Musical power and prestige from the outside: rites of recognition

Regardless of whether one considers the avant-garde jazz performances at the Henie Onstad Art Centre to have been an elite phenomenon or not, the question remains: what was behind such a willingness to push musical and cultural boundaries in Norway in the late 1960s? Undoubtedly, the Norwegian Jazz Forum played an important role, conducting its entrepreneurial activities with great success. Through these efforts, jazz in Norway was brought to new scenes, and the field was enabled to present the world with innovative musical ideas. But such a local and national enterprise depends on international impulses as well, to amalgamate and disseminate the ideas created with and among new musicians and audiences. Such amalgamation is precisely what jazz affords because, throughout its history, it has moved within the intersections of musical categorisation, has absorbed impulses from both high and low culture, art music and

folk music, and today appears as a worldwide network of a variety of constellations, what has been referred to as the “polyspora” (Johnson, 2002) of jazz. Consequently, the movements and networks created in Norwegian jazz from the early 1960s onwards must be seen in the light of the emergence of a complex transcultural modernity that enabled, both literally and in a musical sense, the musicians to cross boundaries and thus create jazz and jazz-related music with many different localities and intersecting origins (Skårberg, 2007, 2012).

As mentioned, Cecil Taylor was influential in giving the Norwegian jazz field a first glimpse of what modern avant-garde jazz could sound like in 1962. Still, a small number of concerts, given by a single musician within a short period of time, can hardly lead to lasting changes in a jazz community. Taylor’s visit was important, but it does not yield sufficient explanatory power to allow for an understanding of the development of the music presented by Norwegian jazz musicians at the Henie Onstad Art Centre some years later. To better delineate the occurrence of this particular phenomenon and the external forces that might have spurred it into existence, we will briefly describe the role that George Russell played in maintaining close connections to some of the key musicians who performed at the art centre venue.

Jazz pianist, music theorist, composer and conductor George Russell was a representative of the American jazz movement the Third Stream, which took hold in the 1950s (Brubeck, 2002). The main ideology of this movement was connected to realising the assumed musical potential in unifying jazz and classical music. The idea was never to put elements from the two fields together in a coarse or inorganic way. Rather, one wanted to reconcile the musical, cultural and handicraft dimensions vital to both fields, such as improvisation, a sense of swing and the uptake of a wide horizon of impulses. In retrospect, it is evident that “The Birth of the Third Stream”, the title of a seminal recording made in 1957, was not so much a birth of a new jazz style as it was an incentive for a new type of jazz musician. This new musician was able to perform complex written music and at the same time deliver typical jazz traits, connected to improvisation, phrasing, et cetera. Brubeck (2002, p. 195) points to “complete instrumentalists”, such as Keith Jarrett and Wynton Marsalis, as musicians who, despite having very different approaches to jazz, would fulfil the criteria of the “broad-spectrum” type of performers that the Third Stream generation had in mind. One could perhaps even claim that this movement was looking for omnivorous musicians—musicians who feel at home in more genres than one.

Russell had worked with a number of important United States-based jazz players in the 1940s and 1950s, including Dizzie Gillespie and Bill Evans, but when he arrived in Europe in 1965, it was as a rather disappointed musician. In Scandinavia, however, his music was met with enthusiasm (Thomsen, 2003), and a generation of young, upcoming jazz musicians gathered around him. Among them were Jan Garbarek and Terje Rypdal, who both played in his ensembles and participated in recording his often-intricate music. In an interview, Garbarek recalls the difficulties of performing Russell’s works, which were experienced as layered and consisting of several strata:

[There were] different musical spheres that happened at the same time, and which the musicians often felt it could be weird to engage with, alongside two or three others [spheres]. But when we entered the control room and heard it in stereo, things happened everywhere and [they] were somehow connected, different kinds of things that nevertheless belonged together.

It is on this basis that Russell's significance for Scandinavian jazz must be understood. He was present in the field for quite a long period of time and introduced a new musical universe that many young musicians were eager to join. In addition, his experience working within the American jazz scene afforded him a kind of status and authority that was stimulating for Scandinavian jazz musicians. Given his many resources, he was able to manoeuvre outside much of the prevailing jazz and gently push young Norwegian musicians in a similar direction. Above all, he provided a kind of validation, both on collective and individual levels. Jan Garbarek describes the first time he received appreciation from Russell as a rite of initiation and of recognition:

It is a very important moment. To be seen by such a guy; it means to be initiated into the tribe as a man, in a way. It is a rite of passage. Everybody has such moments in life, and this was one of mine.

Undergoing such rites, Norwegian jazz musicians came to see themselves as entrepreneurs and innovators in jazz, equipped with the agency to change the field and enhance its status. In this sense, they can be compared to the organic intellectuals mentioned in Wright's chapter in this anthology: they became the legitimate organisers of a new musical culture.

Concluding remarks

Was Norwegian jazz gentrified through the events that took place in the 1960s, and which are described above? Or, to pose the question in another way: was what happened in and around the Norwegian Jazz Forum in the 1960s part of elevating the social and cultural status of jazz in Norway? Without being able to establish causality, we can say that our quantitative data from the larger Musical Gentrification project show a strong correlation and that the answer to this question is most likely "yes". Looking into the statistics based on the categorisation of 1,695 music theses (see Karlsen et al., this volume), we find that not only are modern/contemporary jazz and mainstream jazz the first popular music styles to become topics for thesis writing (in 1974 and 1975, respectively) but they are also the two single styles with the largest number of theses attached to them (Dyndahl et al., 2017, pp. 446–447). The authors concluded that, overall, "there seems to be a large interest in jazz—modern or contemporary jazz constituting the by far most academized styles" (p. 446). Moreover, we know from other sources that jazz and jazz pedagogy were institutionalised as part of higher music education from the early 1970s onwards (see Dyndahl, 2015; Tønsberg, 2007, 2013).

In this chapter, however, our aim has not been to prove a connection between the events of the 1960s and the obvious and very visible academia-related gentrification that we know happened a few years later. Instead, we have aimed, through historical accounts of various kinds and interviews with musicians who *were there*, to reconstruct and narrate the stories of many of the occurrences—big and small—that went into changing the rhythms, ideas and, ultimately, status of jazz, through musical gentrification-like or -related processes in Norway over one decade. As Dyndahl (2015) reminds us, such social mobility on the part of a specific type of music does not happen unless someone with more cultural capital can vouch for its worth. Above, we identify several such “someones”, both in the form of individuals and institutions. First, the modernist composers Finn Mortensen and Arne Nordheim in their own ways let the public know that they appreciated experimental jazz. Mortensen later went on to become the first professor of composition in Norway, and Nordheim had at that point recently been the chairman of the association for contemporary classical music, *Ny Musikk* (New Music; the Norwegian branch of the International Society for Contemporary Music [ISCM]). Clearly, they were both in a position to classify and make distinctions from a highbrow point of view, as gentrifying tastekeepers.

Second, both the Munch Museum and the Henie Onstad Art Centre were prestigious venues, vested with cultural (and economic) capital from the state apparatus and the art world. For these institutions’ boards to open up the doors to avant-garde jazz musicians meant, at the same time, to lend some of their prominence. Third, even though George Russell was perhaps beyond the peak of his career when he came to Scandinavia, there were few people who could match his experience gained from the American jazz scene. Hence, he could effectively work as a legitimiser for the quality of Norwegian jazz. Even more importantly, he held the power to inspire young musicians to be artistically and musically courageous. Finally, there were entrepreneurial forces in and around the Norwegian Jazz Forum who had a nose for how to make profit (see Barth, 1994)—in this case, in the form of cultural capital and positioning—from what happened around them in society. Perhaps this was the single most important aspect in lifting Norwegian jazz out of the entertainment category and making it an object “of acquisition by subjects who inhabit[ed] higher or more powerful positions” (Dyndahl et al., 2014, p. 54) as art music.

Stendahl (2010, p. 402) sums up the activity of the forum as having raised the awareness of jazz as “serious” music, providing Norwegian jazz musicians with self-esteem and lifting jazz into a position where it could receive financial support from significant funding bodies. When the Norwegian Jazz Forum closed in 1969, it had contributed in major ways to enhancing jazz and raising jazz performers’ prestige and confidence. Jazz was now on the verge of being included in the highbrow cultural academic world in Norway. That such a process of social–musical mobility must also have carried with it conflicts (see e.g., Gendron, 1995; Dyndahl, 2015) and exclusionary outcomes is quite evident. This, however, will have to be the topic of another article.

Note

1 All translations from Norwegian to English are made by the authors.

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8 Musical gentrification and “genderfication” in higher music education

Siw Graabræk Nielsen

Introduction

Music education has a long history of producing and reproducing gendered practices as described by Green (1997) in her seminal book on the role of education in relation to music and gender. However, it was not until the 1960s that interest in this topic became noticeable within music education research (Trollinger, 1994), and from the end of the last century, there has been a rapidly growing interest in gender studies related to music education (Carter, 2014). The rationale for this development seems to be based on a growing awareness on emphasising democracy in future music education and the importance of securing access to equal educational possibilities and resources for *all* students regardless of gender (or social class) (Wright, 2010, p. 263).

This chapter explores the relation between musical gentrification and gender issues in higher music education. The processes of *musical gentrification* describe how musics, musical practices, and musical cultures of relatively lower status are heightened in status by being made objects of acquisition by persons who inhabit higher or more powerful positions (Dyndahl et al., 2014, p. 54; see also Dyndahl, this volume). Based on an extensive survey of all master’s and PhD theses written in music academia in Norway, from the first thesis in 1912 and until 2012, the chapter presents findings regarding how the uptake of popular music in Norwegian music academia is shown to be strongly gendered. In other words, it looks into the aspects of gender visible in the extensive survey mentioned above, or what can be termed the *genderfication* of popular music academisation in Norway.

The empirical exploration is conducted against a theoretical backdrop building on Bourdieu’s theories of masculine domination, and, in particular, on his ideas on how this phenomenon is manifested in the educational field. Within this world of ideas, social order is always considered as gendered, and masculine domination is a normalised situation (Bourdieu, 2002, p. 94f.). In addition, Bourdieu’s (1986/2011) notions of cultural capital and habitus explicates how social structures and hierarchies regulate the quest for status and the positioning of students and professors in education. Thus, the framework offers an opportunity to look at Norwegian music academia as a particular social space/field in

which gender relations and hierarchies are produced, and to describe how this genderfication is intertwined with processes of musical gentrification. Among the structural forces found is a considerable masculine domination of certain topics and areas; in particular, the academia uptake of popular music seems to be strongly influenced by patriarchal hierarchies of gender. Hence, this chapter also discusses what implications the gendered (and gender-imbalanced) division of musics and central research topics have on the institutional level, and also what power female music professors might have to influence the field of higher music education.

Genderfication and masculine domination

In the following, I will look into how gender relations and hierarchies are produced in Norwegian music academia, starting by elaborating on the concept of *genderfication* that originated as a term in urban studies of renewal processes of deprived city areas (e.g., urban gentrification). Then, building on Bourdieu's theories of masculine domination in the educational field, I will move on to discuss how hegemonic gendered divisions between subjects and career paths may be produced by soft or brutal elimination processes, respectively, as well as by constructing hegemonic gendered norms through rites and collective expectations in music academia.

Genderfication in (urban) renewal processes: the case of Rotterdam

In urban studies, the concept of genderfication refers to “the production of space for different gender relations” (van den Berg, 2011, p. 2), and this process is closely tied to the understanding of urban gentrification. For example, van den Berg (2011) describes how genderfication and gentrification are two sides of the same coin, referring to studies of women in professional jobs:

Gentrification coincided with the increase of women in professional jobs and therefore women gaining access to the financial resources to buy properties in the inner city (Smith, 1996; Bondi, 1999). In addition to economic and political restructuring, social changes that led more women into high earning professions do seem to have had an impact on the *form* of gentrification processes (Smith, 1996). Gentrification is thus a process at the intersection of gender and class.

(van den Berg, 2011, p. 8)

This intersection of gender and class is demonstrated in van den Berg's (2012, p. 153) study of urban renewal processes in Rotterdam where *gender bending* in the form of establishing a feminine image of inner city areas was used to upgrade the areas' class position. Van den Berg found that Rotterdam's marketing strategy was to make “bourgeois, feminine inhabitants that ‘lounges’ in ‘cocktail bars’ [...] replace the ‘rough’ men who worked in the harbour” (2012).

Similarly, this was also a means of upgrading neighbourhoods to districts appropriate for the middle class, but in a “distinctly gendered form and [...] using gendered strategies” (van den Berg, 2011, p. 14). In the context of van den Berg’s study, genderfication then became a notion used to describe “the gender dynamics in the strategies of the city to change its gender composition” (p. 15). In the educational field constituted by music academia, the concept of genderfication could tentatively be used to refer to the production of gender norms and gendered divisions within this specific social space, which also unfolds hierarchies of “high” and “low” culture. In Bourdieu’s (2002, p. 94f.) theory of masculine domination, the social order of an educational field is always considered to be gendered, and the same field will also reveal a gendered division between subjects and career paths.

Gendered division: the soft and brutal elimination

Describing how the gendered division is unfolded in the French educational field, Bourdieu introduces the concepts of “soft” and “brutal” elimination, which might also prove useful in other, similar contexts. Analysing the reforms of the French school system, which started in the 1950s and through which all children were entitled to upper-secondary education, Bourdieu (1996, p. 161) uses *soft* elimination to show how, through a number of seemingly democratic reforms where children of all social classes received access to the same educational qualifications, lower-class children became victims of a *delayed* social elimination which in fact was effectuated *through* this prolonged schooling. This happened because the children’s appropriated institutionalised form of cultural capital “in the form of educational qualification” (Bourdieu, 1986/2011, p. 82) was devaluated as the children of lower social classes did not achieve the expected social status that such educational qualifications had previously resulted in (Bourdieu, 1996, p. 162). That is, the children of lower classes were not able to “exchange” or “convert” their cultural capital into the expected value of symbolic or economic capital after completed schooling (Faber, Prieur, Rosenlund, & Skjøtt-Larsen, 2012). Bourdieu further points out that in the period “leading up to the displaced elimination, the institution [was] inhabited by the future excluded”, (1996, p. 161, my translation). This *soft* elimination contrasts with the *brutal* form of elimination in that the former does not deny children of lower classes access to educational qualifications (p. 162). Instead, the elimination is performed continuously *within* the educational system by introducing individualised choices between apparently equivalent subjects and disciplines (e.g., the choice of a second language). However, these choices also entail covert consequences which may result in different forms of acquired educational qualifications and competences, and later on, in different and socially stratified academic opportunities and career paths (Bourdieu, 1996, p. 162f.). The *brutal* elimination operates through denying children of lower classes access to educational qualifications by the use of entrance examinations that apparently focus exclusively on chosen behaviours and competences (Bourdieu, 1996, p. 160).

Consequently, through the operation of other regulating forces, such as an individual's habitus, lower-class students may imperceptibly eliminate themselves through choosing educational paths that imply a "sense of their place", marked by social class (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 131). In line with this, Layton (2006) discusses how we, regulated by this embodied form of cultural capital—our habitus—make "normative unconscious" choices in order to stay comfortable and avoid the bodily experienced discomfort: what she calls "the heebie-jeebies" of "stepping out of place" habitus-wise.

From the former, it follows that, when entering or residing within an educational field, the individual agent's dispositions encounter a hierarchical system of positions, among other things, in the form of different academic routes (Faber et al., 2012). Some of these encounters may challenge the individual agent's habitus and the experienced discomfort may work as an inertial force in this field (Aarseth, Layton, & Nielsen, 2016). The strength of this experienced discomfort may also be understood in an intergenerational perspective, as a person's habitus "always remains marked by its earliest conditions of acquisition", such as social class (Bourdieu, 1986/2011, p. 84). Hansen (2011, p. 184) found that social inequality in higher education in Norway may be due to social class-related choices which students make from upper-secondary school and onwards. These choices are not only related to their parents' position in society, but also to the grandparents' social class. For example, a student with high upper-secondary school grades is more likely to enrol in the kind of education that qualifies for elite-class positions if the student's parents and grandfathers are part of the same elite (e.g., professor, medical doctor, business leader). Similarly, a student with equivalent grades, but whose parents and grandfathers originate from lower social classes may choose educational programs in line with his or her class background (e.g., teacher, nurse, social worker). This *soft(er)* elimination within academia relating to "conflicts in the habitus" that "either impede or motivate desires for change" unfolds in so-called class journeys in relation to socio-economic mobility (Aarseth et al., 2016, p. 148), but are also intersected with gender.

In music academia in Norway, the brutal elimination of prohibiting female students from having access to higher music education is history, as there is now a gender balance within higher music education at bachelor and master's levels (Borgen et al., 2010; Dyndahl, Karlsen, Nielsen, & Skårberg, 2017). Still, soft elimination processes might (still) operate in this field insofar as some musics are vested with higher (masculine) status as well as hegemonic gendered norms capable of inclusion and exclusion.

Gendered norms: rites and collective expectations constructing gendered high and low status

So, how are hegemonic and gendered norms constructed in an educational field such as music academia? According to Bourdieu (1996), symbolic power is exercised through rites and collective expectations in the encounters between a

person’s dispositions and predispositions within the educational field. The rites institute established divisions—such as the gendered division (p. 29)—and thus make manifest to an individual who he or she is through the (subjectification) processes of “becoming who you are” (p. 32). The power of such rites—their social “magic”, so to speak—lies in their acting on the representation of reality as they categorise and legitimise knowledge, and draw boundaries always succeeding “in creating discontinuous of any continuous” (Bourdieu, 1996, p. 30). Hence, manifesting who you are also signifies gendered norms:

“Collective expectations”, positive or negative, through the subjective expectations that they impose, tend to inscribe themselves in bodies in the form of permanent dispositions. Thus, by virtue of the universal law of the adjustment of expectations to chances, aspirations to possibilities, prolonged and invisibly diminished experience that is sexually characterized through and through tends, by discouraging it, to undermine even the inclination to perform acts that are not expected of women—without them even being denied to them.

(Bourdieu, 2002, p. 61)

Consequently, the “trick” of such expectations is that they reinforce hegemony by categorising legitimate choices and “non-encouraging” female students from choosing certain subjects (Bourdieu, 2002, p. 94). Or, as in the study underlying this chapter, the expectations “non-encourage” female students from gentrifying (popular) music genres and also from selecting other male-dominated research topics for their research work and academic theses. By conveying “the do’s and do not’s” differently to female and male students, the rites and collective expectations help in constructing and reconstructing gendered norms within music academia. In addition, gendered norms are also produced through the exercise of “the double standard” (Bourdieu, 2002, p. 60) according to which the performance of similar/same tasks is assigned high(er) or low(er) status depending on whether they are performed by men or women:

Not only can a man stoop without degrading himself to certain tasks that are socially defined as inferior (not least because it is unthinkable that a man should perform them), but the same tasks may be noble and difficult, when performed by men, or insignificant and imperceptible, easy and futile, when performed by women.

(Bourdieu, 2002, p. 60)

Through these processes, a sense of masculinity as a kind of “nobility” is established in the educational field (Bourdieu, 2002, p. 56), and male students are allowed to differentiate themselves from female students by *how* they go about exercising tasks “inasmuch as it is based on a form of recognition of domination, [that] tends to reinforce the established relation of symbolic domination” (Bourdieu, 2002, p. 59). As Dyndahl et al. (2017) ask: under such circumstances,

can female students within higher music education expect teachers and supervisors to encourage them to challenge the *doxa* of music education research in their master's and PhD research work? If so, this would require of teachers and supervisors that they overcome a possible "fear of feminisation" of music academia. With such challenges in mind, Bourdieu (2002) writes:

The most striking example of this *permanence in and through change* is the fact that positions which become feminized are either already devalued (the majority of semi-skilled workers are women or immigrants) or declining, their devaluation being intensified, in a snowball effect, by desertion of the men which it helped to induce.

(p. 91)

Even the expectations of feminisation of a profession may devalue its occupational prestige and attractiveness, and as such "the interest in occupations is still influenced by the gendered nature of the job" (Crawley, 2014, p. 7). Such devaluation continues, despite the fact that the social effect of gender bias in perceptions of occupational prestige has changed during the last 20 years (see e.g., Crawley, 2014). As a consequence, through its inbuilt processes of musical gentrification, music academia does not only produce a social space for affluent and omnivorous users; within the same space it also produces specific and gender-hegemonic collective expectations which largely determine men and women's career paths and possibilities.

The gendered uptake of popular music in Norway: findings from the larger research project

Looking into the entire corpus of academic theses ($N=1,695$) written in the field of Norwegian music academia (see Dyndahl, Karlsen & Wright, and Karlsen et al., this volume, for more details on the study), how did the uptake of popular music into legitimate research objects in music academia appear to be gendered? Three main strands of analysis were adopted, in order to: a) explore significant differences between the field of popular music and those of other musical genres and topics; b) find out how the statistically significantly gendered topics are distributed, time-wise, throughout the investigated period; and c) look into the gender composition of relations between authors and supervisors across the data.

As noted above, the first strand of analysis implied exploring differences between the field of popular music and those of other musical genres (and topics). Although Dyndahl et al. (2017) found an overall gender balance between female- (827 theses, 48.8 per cent) and male-authored theses (866 theses, 51.1 per cent), they also found that among the 404 *popular-music theses*, male authors were far more present than female ones (male=255 (63.1 per cent); female = 149 (36.9 per cent), although no tests were carried out at the time to determine the potential statistical significance of this difference.

In later tests, however, the male dominance in the authorship of theses in popular music genres was proved to be significant ($X^2=77.7$, $df=44$, $p<0.001$) (see Table 8.1). Other genres included, such as contemporary music, non-Western classical music, folk music, band music and religious music, were also male dominated in terms of thesis numbers, but tests revealed no statistical significance. Furthermore, both Western classical music and choir music featured more *female* than male authors, but with a statistical significance present only with respect to Western classical music ($X^2=6.7$, $df=2$, $p<0.05$). However, among theses with themes categorised as “music and media”, “children’s musical culture” and “pedagogical and therapeutical music forms and uses”, significant gender differences in authorship were found (see Table 8.1). For example, in theses concerning “music and media” male authors predominated ($X^2=39.6$, $df=12$, $p<0.05$), while theses regarding “children’s musical culture” ($X^2=14.7$, $df=2$, $p<0.05$) and “pedagogical and therapeutical music forms and uses” ($X^2=49.9$, $df=12$, $p<0.001$) were predominantly written by women.

The findings above suggest that Norwegian music academia in general has few gender-neutral grounds, and that male and female students choose different paths, subjects and genres when conducting research in music academia. Of interest next is how the significantly gendered topics are distributed, timewise, throughout the investigated period (i.e., the second strand of analysis). In other words, have these differences been visible already from quite early on, or have these differences evolved over time?

Concerning the gendered differences in authorship within the category of Western classical music, male authors dominate the picture from the first thesis

Table 8.1 Chi square tests of the relationships between gender and music genre or gender and research topics

<i>Music genre and research topics</i>	<i>Female-authored theses</i>	<i>Male-authored theses</i>	<i>F- test (Chi2)</i>
Popular music	149	255	$X^2=77.7$, $df=44$, $p<0.001$
Western classical music	249	214	$X^2=6.7$, $df=2$, $p<0.05$
Contemporary music	83	91	N.S.
Non-Western classical music	5	7	N.S.
Folk music	65	81	N.S.
Band music	14	16	N.S.
Choir music	32	18	N.S.
Religious music	42	48	N.S.
Non-Western folk music	18	21	N.S.
Music and media	56	91	$X^2=39.6$, $df=12$, $p<0.05$
Children’s musical culture	27	6	$X^2=14.7$, $df=2$, $p<0.05$
Pedagogical and therapeutical music forms and uses		77	$X^2=49.9$, $df=12$, $p<0.001$

in 1928 and until 1983. During this period, 83 male-authored theses on this topic were published, but only 33 theses authored by females. Then, a shift in gender dominance seems to have occurred. In 1984, a relatively high number of both male- and female-authored theses on Western classical music were published (a total of 16; 8 theses for each gender). From then onwards (1984 to 2012) the number of female-authored theses increased, while the number of male-authored theses decreased (224 by female authors, 139 by male authors) (see Figure 8.1).

Similar developments of female dominance can be found in other categories. For example, from the first thesis published in 1965 with a topic categorised as “pedagogical and therapeutical music forms and uses” and until 1997, male authors dominated this particular area (male authors: 43/female authors: 31). Then, from 1997 and until 2012, the number of female authors increased while the opposite was true for male authors (female authors: 89/male authors: 32). This suggests that in choosing to write theses on Western classical music and on “pedagogical and therapeutical music forms and uses”, female authors have not taken the roles of pioneers or gentrifiers.

In contrast, with regard to the unfolding of male dominance within popular music, Figure 8.2 shows how the theses in this category have been dominated by male authors from 1981 and onwards, with only a few exceptions. Overall, this pattern demonstrates the construction of a space for specific hegemonic gendered notions in music academia throughout a period of 30 years, and it also shows the male authors as the gentrifying pioneers.

Lastly, although significantly more theses in “music and media” were written by men than by women during the investigated period, Figure 8.3 shows how this dominance developed in particular from 2000 onwards.

During the period from 2000 to 2012, 70 male-authored theses were produced, while only 28 theses were female-authored. Interestingly, from the time that the first thesis on “music and media” appeared in 1967 and until 1999, the

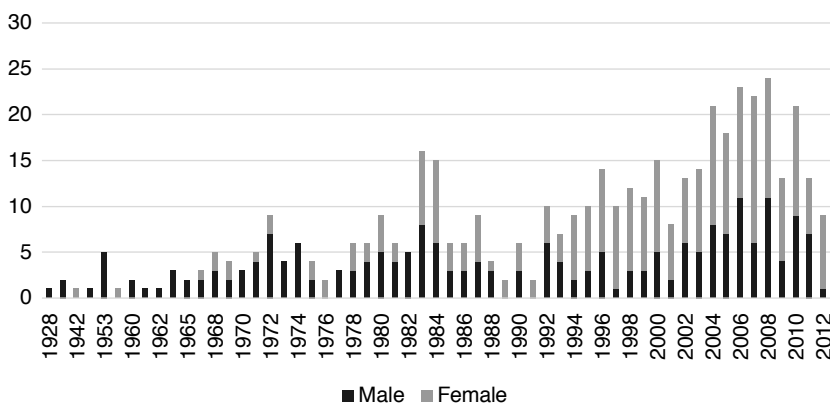


Figure 8.1 The number of male- and female-authored theses in Western classical music from 1928–2012.

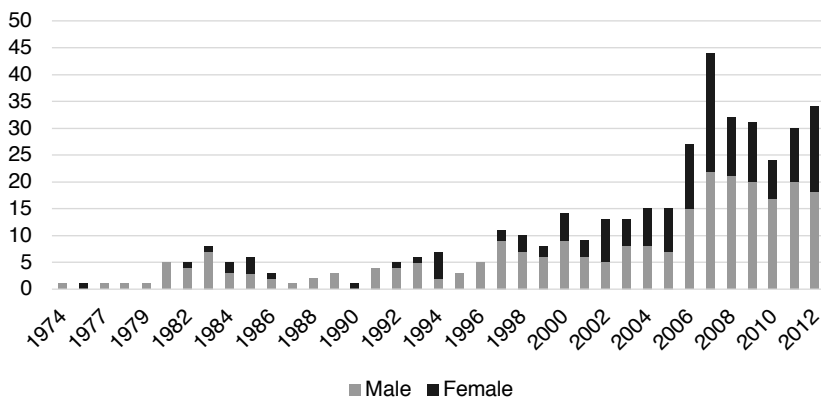


Figure 8.2 The number of male- and female-authored theses in popular music from 1974–2012.

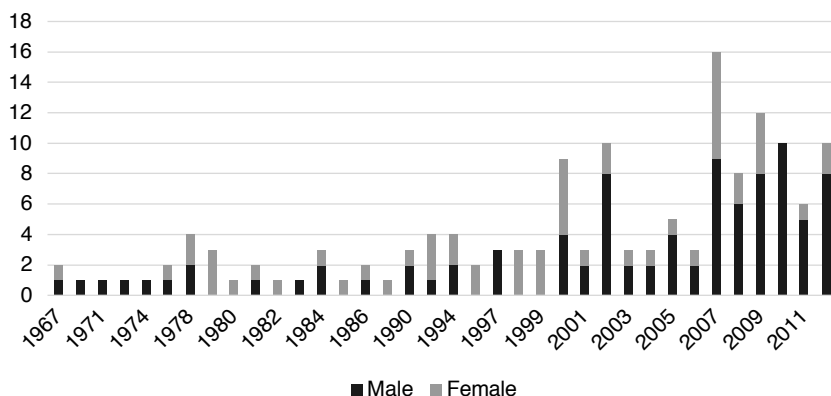


Figure 8.3 The number of male- and female-authored theses in music and media from 1967–2012.

gender division was fairly equal (male authors: 21, female authors: 28). The subsequent shift in gender dominance seems to be related in particular to the introduction of music technology as a specific research area/field within musicology where the male authors seem to have been allowed (or to have taken up) the space, once again, to act as gentrifying pioneers.¹

Notably, the significantly gendered division within the research output in the form of theses on popular music in Norwegian music academia has manifested itself as a strong male dominance with a duration that moves throughout the entirety of the investigated period. Other significant male/female patterns of dominance have unfolded through “gendered shifts” that have occurred at some point during the same period. Thus, only popular music seems to be vested with

high masculine status from the first thesis published and until 2012, while a similar status has been attributed to the topic of “music and media” at a later stage in this particular topic’s lifetime. Likewise, Western classical music and “pedagogical and therapeutical music forms and uses” have been “feminised” at a later stage of the topics’ development.

Looking in more detail into the gentrification processes of popular music, the picture appears to be even more complex than described above. For example, Dyndahl et al. (2017) found that the initiative to introduce new subgenres and styles in academic popular-music theses typically belonged to male authors up until 2004. After this point, a gendered shift could be observed, with female authors pioneering new popular-music styles and hence, challenging the male dominance. Interestingly, this phenomenon still shows how “gentrification is gendered” (Dyndahl et al., 2017, p. 448), and it does not alter the impression of a heavy gender *imbalance* related to theses written on popular music in general. This observation is also strengthened by the fact that the vast majority of popular-music theses were supervised by male professors (male professors: 331 theses or 81.9 per cent/female professors: 49 theses or 12.1 per cent; see Dyndahl et al. 2017, p. 448).²

Thus, as noted above, a third strand of analysis was to look into the gender composition of relations between authors and supervisors across the data in order to explore whether this could provide further insight into the significantly gendered imbalance between male- and female-authored theses in some genres and topics. As noted above, in the complete corpus of 1,695 theses, Dyndahl et al. (2017) found an (almost) equal number of female and male *authors* but as far as *supervisors* were concerned, far more theses were supervised by male (84.8 per cent) than by female (15.2 per cent) professors. A fair assumption would then be that this gendered imbalance could be found *across* most genres and topics.

Further calculations showed that with respect to Western classical music, 14.6 per cent of the works were supervised by women and 85.4 per cent by men. Similar proportions were found in relation to the theme “pedagogical and therapeutical music forms and uses” (female professors: 19.5 per cent/male professors: 80.5 per cent). Despite the male dominance on the supervisor side, in these two categories, female authors significantly dominate male authors. Supervisory and authorship dominance coincide, however, in the category of “music and media”, where only 4.6 per cent of the works have been supervised by female professors and 95.4 per cent by male professors. There was a significant difference with regard to the authorship of these theses, with more being written by men than by women.

The findings above strengthen the hypothesis that the heavy male dominance among supervisors might impede the courage of female beginning academics to challenge the *doxa* of Norwegian music research as regards introducing new popular music styles through their theses. At the same time, this very same male supervisory dominance seems not to prevent female students from writing about genres and research topics that are *already* established or gentrified. Thus, the findings seem to illustrate the soft elimination processes that might still operate in music academia.

Implications on the institutional level

As noted above, gentrification can be understood as a process which intersects with gender and class (van den Berg, 2011, p. 8), and *gender bending* in the form of establishing a gendered image—masculine or feminine—may be used to upgrade male or female academics’ positioning within music academia. Research output in the form of theses on popular music and “music and media” are two areas which, throughout the investigated period, seem to have established themselves with a particular masculine image due to the significantly higher number of male-authored theses. Likewise, in the latter part of this period, the areas of Western classical music and “pedagogical and therapeutical music forms and uses” seem to have been “gender bended” from having a masculine image into a more feminine one, due to the gendered shift into significantly more female-authored theses. However, as an overall gender imbalance in favour of male-supervised theses was documented, the gendered uptake of new genres and research topics up until 2012 makes it reasonable to suggest that the power hierarchies within the institutions have not been challenged in any decisive ways. Instead, the gendered gentrification of popular music and “music and media”, in particular, might imply a gendered and male-dominated division of power in influencing the field of higher music education. Likewise, the gendered uptake in these research areas may suggest that male hegemony is performed in these institutions by “non-encouraging” female students to choose to write theses on popular music and “music and media”. Instead, these students’ legitimate choices seem to involve conducting master’s- and PhD-level research in the fields of Western classical music and “pedagogical and therapeutical forms and uses”.

As already mentioned, in Bourdieu’s terms (1990, p. 131) the implicit exclusion described above may be understood as *soft* elimination processes in music academia. These entail that female students make educational choices in order to stay comfortable, habitus-wise, when they encounter a system of positions and academic opportunities which is vested with masculine status and which challenges their embodied cultural capital. With respect to career opportunities, such choices most certainly have hindered the upgrading of female academics’ power in Norwegian music academia. Even today, the number of female professors in this field is relatively low, and considerably lower than the average of 28.2 per cent female professors in Norway in general (Committee for Gender Balance and Diversity in Research, 2016). As such, it seems that music academia in Norway, only to a limited degree, produces space for different gender relations. Instead, the gentrification processes working through popular music in particular have resulted in a genderfication of this social space, where masculine domination seems to have been normalised. This limits the power female academics have in influencing the development of higher music education, and from having the possibility to take part in defining what counts as legitimate knowledge in the role as tastekeepers. With respect to the latter, Hovden and Knapskog (2014) write:

... being a recognized professor in art ... —those in these kind [sic] of positions are clearly better placed than others to influence what types of art and which artistic artefacts are acknowledged (or at least presented) as valuable and their chance of being seen and produced, that is, to be cultural tastemakers and gatekeepers, *tastekeepers*.

(p. 56)

Consequently, if female music academics are excluded from the tastekeeper position, their professional influential power is also reduced to a minimum.

Returning to the gendered and male-dominated division of power in influencing the field of higher music education, the gendered gentrification processes in higher music education in Norway may also stem from a fear of feminisation of the field. As noted above, even the *expectations* of such feminisation might devalue attractiveness and status, and as such, it may appear vital to a male-dominated faculty to keep producing masculine hegemonic spaces in various research areas. The “feminised spaces” of Western classical music and “pedagogical and therapeutical music forms and uses” might, on the other hand, have been produced through the devaluation and loss of male hegemony that followed from the promotion of the first female professor in music education in 2004 (Uniforum, 2004), and the subsequent employment of a number of female professors in this and related fields. More research is needed, however, to establish the validity of such interpretations.

Another important perspective on the genderfication of music academia may spring from the gendered norms produced in the empirical field of popular music where the music and the media (e.g., music technology) in itself revolves around masculinity. For example, Smith (2015, p. 66) points out that in popular-music practice women are marginalised and excluded, and women are objectified and dominated by the male habitus. He also points to the male hegemony in the *education* of popular-music performers and of studio producers using new technologies. Egeland, Tømte, & Gunnes (2013) argue that such gendered norms in an empirical field may also influence its research practices. In their study of male domination among faculty members in the field of history research in Norwegian academia, they found that research in the empirical field of history was conducted emphasising masculine themes such as “dates, wars and royal ranks” (my translation) and, in addition, that there was a strong emphasis on the use of historical sources written *by men about men*. Furthermore, they highlight that *how* the empirical historical research is performed—in this case, as a masculine discipline—contributes to effectively excluding women from finding history an attractive research subject to start with (2013, p. 11). Whether this is also the case with regard to popular-music academia on the level of the individual, is a topic for further investigation.

Diminishing the gendered division: what could be done?

Although the gendered division rests on deep societal structures, overall, it seems reasonable to ask what could work as fruitful strategies for challenging and changing the current and skewed gender composition of music academia in general, and that of popular-music academia, in particular. One approach would be to acknowledge the educational achievements of the relatively small number of female academics already working in this field, and also to acknowledge their positions as potential role models—their status as being “in visible positions of authority” (Crawley, 2014)—for both female and male students. Second, it also appears vital to openly declare the gendered imbalance as a democratic problem and a structural challenge, and to resist attempts to pigeonhole the problem as “feminist” or “individualist” and therefore of lesser relevance to the broader field. In other words, Norwegian music education institutions must be made aware of and held accountable for the way gender is performed within their own boundaries, whether that concerns institutions for pre-college music education or those involved in higher music education. As regards the former, they are highly responsible for conditioning the music-related habitus of students at a relatively early age, and thereby for conveying which musical pathways are potentially available to whom, not least when it comes to students’ engagement with popular-music styles and practices. Given that prior experiences from music education in the form of “students’ musical *habitus* and *cultural capital*” may have an impact “on their experience of music within the *field* of higher education” (Moore, 2012, p. 63), a productive strategy to encourage change may involve “a reappraisal of curricula and assessment” at pre-college level education (Moore, 2012, p. 63).

As such, Norwegian music students’ early-age choices to engage in musical learning, already when entering formal education for example through the Schools of Music and Performing Arts system, may influence subsequent educational paths. Hallam, Rogers and Creech (2008) as well as Harrison and O’Neill (2000) have studied the gendering of instruments in formal training in an English context, and found that the gendered stereotypes connected to different instruments influence children’s preferences for “what to play” already early on. The most “gendered” instruments found were harp (female), electric guitar (male) and drum kit (male) (Hallam et al., 2008). Likewise, in the Norwegian context, the Council for Schools of Music and Performing Arts recently attempted to start a discussion on the gendered choice of instruments among the participants in their performance programs (Torsvik, 2017). The challenge they identified was that playing certain instruments has become a typical boys’ activity, and this also involves playing jazz/improvised music and pop music. Consequently, the discussion revolved around how to make these activities/styles more attractive to girls.

In Bourdieu’s (1996) terms, the way gender is performed within the pre-college and higher music education institutions may be understood as performing rites which in “magical” ways make visible to girls from an early age

onwards which acts are expected and not expected of them (e.g., in the choice of instrument or, later on, research topic). As such, collective expectations are repeatedly developed through the various stages of music education.

In sum, diminishing the current gendered division in music academia in general and in popular-music academia in particular, must involve attempts to promote changes in institutions at different levels in the music education field.

Concluding remarks

So, based on the results from this study, a basic dilemma appears. There are more women entering into music academia than ever before, as both students and professors. Despite this fact, why is not the capital they bring with them—largely related to Western classical music or “pedagogical and therapeutical music forms and uses”—converted to legitimate goods? Is this an expression of how the renewed patriarchy reverses feminisation? Furthermore, are higher music education institutions, as Bourdieu (1996) characterises them, “inhabited by the future excluded” (p. 161, my translation), in this context manifested by female students at master’s and PhD level? These issues seem to confirm Bourdieu’s (2002, 94f.) notion that the normal situation of an educational field is that it is always gendered and legitimating masculine hegemony.

In order to facilitate a more democratic and gender-equal distribution of musics, music activities and instruments in music academia in Norway, it seems that the field of higher music education needs to undergo what Bourdieu (2002, p. 4) terms a “cognitive revolution”. In other words, the field must change its “level of practice, and, in particular, [its] formulation of strategies aimed at transforming the present state of material and symbolic power between sexes” (p. 4). Thus, rephrasing a metaphor used by Hansen (2011, p. 173) for pointing out the consequences of the structural elimination based on social class in the Norwegian education system, preventing the structural elimination of female researchers in popular music in music academia would enable the field to include the “big reserve of talents” of female researchers whose voices currently seem to be marginalised and silenced in vital areas of what counts as music research in Norway.

Notes

- 1 From the first thesis in music technology in 1976 and until 2007, all theses in music technology were written by male authors.
- 2 In 24 of the popular music theses, we were not able to identify the supervisors.

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9 Musical agency meets musical gentrification

Exploring the workings of hegemonic power in (popular) music academisation

Sidsel Karlsen

Introduction

Like many other contributions in this volume, this chapter is developed on the basis of the Musical Gentrification project described in earlier chapters, and which sought to look into the historical and ongoing processes of inclusion (and exclusion) of popular music in Norwegian higher music education. The results showed, among other things, that the gentrification of popular music into music academia seemed to reinforce familiar hierarchies of, for example, social class, taste and gender. Hence, the workings of hegemonic power could be detected, but the nature of the project's data limited the focus to the macro level. In this chapter, I aim to turn the perspective upside down and explore the workings of hegemonic power on the micro level, using an autoethnographic approach. This implies working from my personal experiences of musical academisation, gained by longitudinal participation in the same field as investigated in the above-mentioned research project. The main theoretical tools employed are the sociological concepts of *routinisation* and *musical agency*. The former notion implies the idea that the micro and macro levels of society are connected by knowledgeable agents reproducing structures through repetitive tasks and routines on the level of everyday life. The notion of musical agency, on the other hand, comes with an intention of capturing musical conduct on the micro level and from the everyday experiences of the individual agent. Combining the two, and inserting myself as the agent, the ambition is to show instances of actual workings of the forms of hegemonic power that contribute to the reinforcement of the hierarchies found within the Musical Gentrification project. The task is carried out by constructing memory-based narratives relating episodes which highlight nodal points of identity such as gender, sexuality, social class and ethnicity, and viewing these narratives against the larger findings of the project and against a sociological theoretical framework. In addition, towards the end of the chapter, I will reflect on the potential for musical agency and musical gentrification, when combined or connected as a conceptual pair, to work as a means for investigating and understanding individual routes or trajectories of music education and musical *Bildung* processes as well as music-related paths of social mobility.

Giddens' understanding of routinisation: a brief clarification

The British sociologist Giddens' theory of structuration, the social theoretical framework in which the notion of routinisation is included as one significant component, comes with a set of pre-given assumptions about the social world, its inhabitants and structures, and about the mechanisms of reproduction of such structures. Here, I will reiterate only a few, concentrating on those pertinent to the understanding of the concept which is central to this chapter, namely routinisation.

First of all, it is a main prerequisite of the theoretical world of Giddens that human beings are understood as "knowledgeable agents" (1984, p. 281). That is, they "know a great deal about the conditions and consequences of what they do in their day-to-day lives" (p. 281), and they are also able to articulate this knowledge if encouraged to do so. This not only implies a view of the human agent as one not completely given over to social constraints, it also has important methodological bearings for the sociologically oriented researcher in the sense that social actors can be interviewed about their activities, and through such accounts one can explore both the complexity of their "practical consciousness" (p. 281) related to social organisation as well as to how and why they engage in "system reproduction" (p. 282). For the purpose of this chapter, it also means that I can trust my own recollections and explanations of "what I did, how I did it, and why" at particular times in my own life, equally as I can trust my own judgement of what kinds of structures my actions helped to maintain or, sometimes, change.

This leads to an explanation of another important concept of Giddens' theory, namely *structure* or *structures*, which are related but not quite the same phenomena in his understanding. While structure denotes "[r]ules and resources" (p. 377), the plural form—structures—indicates "[r]ule-resource sets" (p. 185); in other words, the intricate web of social regulations surrounding particular occurrences. Both phenomena are "recursively implicated in the institutional articulation of social systems" (p. 377); they can work to both enable and constrain action for the human agents existing within such systems; and, perhaps more importantly, they are not perceived as tangible entities. Rather, they exist "only as memory traces, the organic basis of human knowledgeability, and as instantiated in action" (p. 377). Consequently, the rules and resources that form my (and other actors') experiences of, for example, what it means to belong to a specific social class or gender category, to claim a specific sexual orientation, or to have a place within a particular ethnic group—the regulations implicated in our social identifications—are stored individually, in our memories, and acted out in collective space, often as responses to the representations and actions of other individuals.

Another important trait of Giddens' theory of structuration concerns the so-called *duality of structure*. This duality implies that structure is both "the medium and outcome of the conduct it recursively organizes" (p. 374), as is already indicated in the definition of structure given above. In other words, when

I exercise my agency—my ability to act independently and freely—I do so on the basis of my knowledgeable ability, of the totality of my understanding of what it means to be a human being in the particular social systems that surround me. This knowledgeable ability rests heavily on the “memory traces” (p. 377) of structure residing in my consciousness. Hence, structure becomes the *medium* of conduct. At the same time, my actions reproduce structure, since structure is also “instantiated in action” (p. 377), and it hence also becomes the *outcome* of conduct. The utmost arena for such structure “production and reproduction” (p. 374) is everyday life, with its multitude of often repetitive tasks and routines. Such routines, or in Giddens’ words, routinised practices, provide us—the agents—with “a sense of ontological security” (p. 282) since they maintain stability and thereby minimise anxiety. However, they are also “the prime expression of the duality of structure in respect of the continuity of social life” (p. 282). As such, the everyday *routinisation* that we all engage in—“[t]he habitual, taken-for-granted character of the vast bulk of the activities of day-to-day social life” (p. 376)—is what bridges the micro and macro levels of society and also what sustains its rules and resources in ways that make them recognisable to us. If we buy into these theoretical premises on a general level, this is also what happens within specific societal fields, say, the field of music. In other words, our everyday musical actions, performed on the micro level, are among what reproduce the macro structural patterns found in the wider musical field. This insight leads us further on to exploring the notions of musical agency and musical gentrification, which are next in line for a brief explanation.

Micro and macro: musical agency and musical gentrification

The concept of musical agency, as I have developed and employed it in my own work, denotes “individuals’ *capacity for action* in relation to music or in a music-related setting” (Karlsen, 2011, p. 110, emphasis in original) and can be understood along two interrelated axes, indicating the individual and the collective dimensions respectively. The concept is developed in order for music education scholars to be able to “adopt the perspective of the learner’s experience” (p. 107) and to explore musical actions—“how people *do* music and how they learn from doing it” (p. 108)—on the level of everyday life. Portrayed and visualised as a lens, musical agency, in this particular understanding, consists of a total of 11 different types or aspects of music-related conduct. The individual dimension encompasses actions such as using music for self-regulation, the shaping of self-identity, self-protection, thinking, matters of “being” and developing music-related skills. The collective dimension, on the other hand, allows for looking into how people use music for regulating and structuring social encounters, coordinating bodily action, affirming and exploring collective identity, “knowing the world” and establishing a basis for collaborative musical action. Seen through Giddens’ (1984) framework, the musical agency lens enables the scholar to achieve information about her research participants as “knowledgeable [musical] agents” (p. 281) and to explore what they know

“about the conditions and consequences of what they do in their day-to-day lives [with music]” (p. 281). In this chapter, I have avoided using the lens as such. Rather, I have worked from the underlying intention of the musical agency tool, namely, to capture musical conduct on the micro level and from the angle of the everyday experiences of the agent. In this case, *I* constitute the agent, and the music-related doings are my own, as remembered. Still, as a tool for looking into the structural dimensions of musical conduct, the concept of musical agency might not suffice. For this purpose, the notion of musical gentrification might be among the ones more appropriate.

The concept of musical gentrification, as it has been developed and used within the research group to which I belong, designates “complex processes with both inclusionary and exclusionary outcomes, by which musics, music practices and music cultures of relatively lower status are made to be objects of acquisition by subjects who inhabit higher or more powerful positions” (Dyndahl, Karlsen, Skårberg, & Nielsen, 2014, p. 54). It is with this particular meaning that it has been employed in the Musical Gentrification project to explore, empirically, the academisation of popular music in higher music education in Norway (Dyndahl, Karlsen, Nielsen, & Skårberg, 2017; Dyndahl, this volume). Our research interest has been guided by a wish to investigate, among other things, the point of *when* popular music made an entrance into music academia; what *kinds* of popular music have been included and excluded; what the role of institutions and gatekeepers has been in these processes; as well as what role gender plays when popular music makes its way into higher music education. As opposed to the above concept of musical agency, this particular project has allowed us to investigate the outcome of a certain kind of music-related conduct on the macro level, and thereby also to look into some of the “[r]ule-resource sets” (Giddens, 1984, p. 185)—or structures—which seem to regulate the academic field of investigation, which is also the one to which we—the research group members—belong. So far, it is evident that the academisation of popular music has not necessarily led to a democratisation of this field, nor to any radical transformation of hegemonies, rather than perhaps the ones related to musical styles and genres. On the contrary, the gentrification of popular music into Norwegian music academia seems to reinforce, and even strengthen, familiar hierarchies of class, taste and gender (see e.g., Dyndahl and Nielsen’s respective chapters in this volume), whereby, for example, an omnivorous middle-class attitude to music consumption is preferred before a univore one (Peterson, 1992; Peterson & Kern, 1996), styles that are perceived as too simple or too “popular”, and thereby as having lower cultural value, are excluded (Dyndahl et al., 2017) and the male domination (Bourdieu, 2001) among thesis authors and supervisors is prevalent.

Gentrification and routinisation: experiences and memories narrated and reflected

As already mentioned, I am currently part of the Norwegian music academic field myself, and I have been so, more or less, since 1990, in various roles. Given that the first popular music thesis appeared in 1974 (Dyndahl et al., 2017), it means that I have participated in the field, as a musical agent, during many of the years over which the gentrification processes related to the uptake of various popular musics have taken place. Consequently, I have also been a partaker in these same processes. I have made use of the resources made available through them, and I have felt the constraints inherent in them. Indeed, like all my co-participants in this field, I have produced and reproduced structures through my everyday actions with music—my music-related routinisation. In the following I will take this particular kind of routinisation as a point of departure for exploring how micro and macro might be connected. In this endeavour, I will draw on experiences and memories from my own life, some of which stretch back in time to the years before I entered music academia, and others which belong to the time-frame from 1990 and until today. As such, my approach can be framed under the umbrella of autoethnography, in that I aim to conduct “cultural analysis through personal narrative” (Boylorn & Orbe, 2013), and thereby “make sense of [my life] in a cultural context” (pp. 17–18), with the interconnected experiences of musical agency and musical gentrification as a hub. Following in the footsteps of other autoethnographers I also seek to do so from an intersectional point of view, exploring “the implications of layered identity positions” (p. 18). All memories narrated are connected to the production and reproduction of structures in one way or the other; all show me relating to, negotiating and sometimes contesting hierarchies and hegemonies connected to music, in everyday situations and through everyday life events where I am surrounded by friends, fellow students, teachers and family members, and most contain references to popular music and its introduction into academia in one way or the other. The “rules and resources” (Giddens, 1984, p. 377) produced and reproduced in my narratives are mainly connected to the “identity factors” (Boylorn & Orbe, 2013, p. 18) of gender, sexuality, social class and ethnicity. To tie the micro and macro levels together for the listener, each narrative will be followed by a theorised reflection in which I will connect my personal memories to some of the broader findings of the Musical Gentrification project (Dyndahl et al., 2014; Dyndahl et al., 2017) as well as use the frameworks drawn up above as a reflective backdrop.

The boys encircling the piano

This first episode takes place in the choir rehearsal room of my upper secondary school. Four or five boys, or young men, encircle the piano, and one of my very good friends is among them. One of the boys is playing a row of fat, juicy and jazzy chords; the other ones are discussing the musical output eagerly, praising the player and suggesting new ways of harmonising

the melodic line or changing the harmonic voicing. I am outside the circle, in so many ways, but looking for a way in. I want to learn what they already know, and appropriate their chords and their language. Hang with them. However, entering into the circle seems impossible. First of all, there is no room, physically speaking. The circle is a tight one, both literally and metaphorically. Secondly, if I were to wedge my way in and hang with them, I am painfully aware that, since I am a girl, a young woman of 17, this action would have very specific social meanings. It would imply showing a certain kind of interest, suggesting that I am in love with one of the boys. I am not. And I definitely do not want to give that impression. I already have a romantic partner: a girl who is also a talented string player. Due to my gender and my sexuality, in this situation there is no socially eligible way in; not into the circle and certainly not into what is learnable right there and then: the jazz. I surrender. I return to my girlfriend and our piano-and-string duets. Johannes Brahms. Not Miles Davis.

In the larger Musical Gentrification project, a very evident pattern is the one showing how women become scarce whenever popular music is in the picture. The general thesis output is almost equal as far as gender is concerned. Still, men heavily dominate the popular music part of Norwegian music academia as theses authors and supervisors and as the ones who are eligible to introduce new styles (Dyndahl et al., 2017; Nielsen, this volume). The episode recounted took place before I entered this particular scene, but it happened within an environment intimately connected with higher music education (see Ellefsen, 2014), and in which many of the same discourses operated. Although it is concerned with people *playing* jazz, and not with students writing a thesis about it, I still consider it a valid example of the exclusion of female presence. To this day, I remember how conflicted I was about the urge to learn jazz and the explicit feeling that it was not for me.¹ Following Giddens' (1984) logic, I had, at this point already, internalised the structural rule of popular music being a predominantly male domain. This was already part of my "memory traces" (p. 377), and a pattern that I contributed to maintaining and reproducing through my actions of withdrawing in this particular situation. As a knowledgeable agent, I could of course "have acted otherwise" (Giddens, 1993, p. 81), as could indeed the boys. They could simply have opened the circle and let me in. For me, the cost of counteractions was too high. How the boys perceived this situation, I do not know. Maybe they did not notice me, or maybe they were ignorant of (or, for that matter, enjoyed) how the gendered order of this specific social situation favoured, and allowed them to exercise, masculine domination (Bourdieu, 2001).

Childhood, musical encounters and social class

I grew up surrounded by popular music. Nana Mouskouri, Dionne Warwick, Carole King and Paul Simon. Always Paul Simon. Everything ever recorded

by Paul Simon. Thanks to these early musical encounters I learned to appreciate the phenomenal beauty of “So long, Frank Lloyd Wright”. It is still one of the most beautiful songs I know. I can still sing it. I was also schooled in Western classical music from the age of two and a half. My first schooling came through attending a musical play group. The piano lessons came much later and started when I was eight. Both the piano and the lessons must have been paid from a rather tight budget. Music classes were found, somehow, and so were the instrumental teachers. Arrangements were made, and I remember being transported to lessons in the family car. Proud family members attended a row of my childhood concerts. When I made it into the conservatoire as a classical singer at the age of 19, I assume it must have looked like a very successful example of concerted cultivation. But the popular music was still there, surrounding me. One family member even suggested at some point that I would make a good country music singer. The person was probably right, but it was below my cultural and musical dignity to touch that music then, lowbrow and glaringly illegitimate within the music academy as it was, at that time. Singing it would effectively have pinpointed my working-class origin, and I had enough problems in that department already. Years went by. Suddenly, country music became hip and was loaded with social coolness. I was still a classical music univore. Had I followed the advice of my family member, though, I would have possessed a considerable country music cultural capital, an omnivore status that I can now only dream of.

This narrative serves to illustrate how music plays a role in the manifestation of social class and, more specifically, in processes of social mobility. According to a recent Norwegian model of social classification (Hansen, Andersen, Flemmen, & Ljunggren, 2014), I was born into a working-class family, economically speaking. Still, middle-class aspirations must have existed, somehow, and also knowledge about what kinds of symbolic and cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1984) that would be needed in order to make the social leap. At the point in time when I started attending the musical play group—in the mid-1970s—Western classical music still held the unquestioned hegemony of being the ultimate highbrow musical expression connected to the upper social classes (Peterson, 1992; Peterson & Kern, 1996). In Norwegian music academia, the situation was the same, the first popular music thesis ever written appearing approximately at the same time as I took toddler steps towards my childhood musicianship. When I entered higher (classical) music education as a young adult, I at the same time broke the class barrier. Implicitly, I knew and felt this to some extent, and I had my impressions confirmed when, many years later, I read research (Madsen, 2013) stating that, statistically, I came from a quite different background—class-wise—than most of my fellow students. In a similar way to how “practical consciousness” (Giddens, 1984) related to social (class) organisation had been utilised to ensure my classical music upbringing many years earlier, my own knowledgeability told me to abstain from visible (or audible) expressions of working-class culture

during my years as a music student if I were to maintain and keep producing the structures that kept me on an inbound middle-class trajectory. Then, slowly, the field, and its lines of demarcation connected to musical styles and social class, changed. Since my story ranges over a period of about 40 years, it also captures the shift in highbrow taste, pointed to by, among others, Peterson and Kern (1996), from univore (classical music) snob to omnivore. In the Norwegian context, this coincides with the period when popular music gradually came to be academically more legitimate and eventually the topic of about 40 per cent of the theses written annually (Dyndahl et al., 2017), and further with the development that led to certain forms of hard-core country music achieving considerable status and legitimacy with middle-class tastekeepers, at least in Norway (see Vestby, 2017). Consequently, nowadays such musical interests are as much a sign and tool of social mobility as mine are, or once were. Paradoxically, the musical journey my family member suggested that I should embark on, and which I at that point believed would lead to social immobility, would have allowed me to travel the landscape of social class in equal fashion.

The illegitimate music, sexuality and gender

How did I come to know the difference between what were legitimate and illegitimate expressions within the music academy culture? I do not know exactly; probably it happened in many different ways, but always with the bodily experience as the main predictor. First, there was illegitimate music, of course. For example, there were the popular music leftist protest songs that I rehearsed with my amateur choir. Talking enthusiastically about the goose bumps this music gave me with my fellow students, I was met with complete silence and then an abrupt change of topic. I never mentioned that music again. Searching for a professor who would supervise my master's thesis, I learned my lesson once more. The first one said no, not because of me but because of the music I had chosen as my topic. Rossini's operas were considered too light by him; after all, Rossini was a popular music composer of his time. "Popular" classical music was not something this particular professor would touch; it was not serious enough. The second professor I asked accepted me, but he wanted me to write about Baroque interpretation rather than bel canto improvisation. I refused. He dismissed me, and I dismissed him. New supervisor. I stuck with this third one. My choice of music did not bother him. I suppose it was more important to him that I was interested in using transcriptions of old recordings in my thesis; such work was connected to one of his specialities. Medium beat musical lightness this time. I finished my thesis on time and got good grades.

Through our comprehensive and quantitative theses data, we can see that popular music moved far earlier into the music education and music therapy programmes than into the music performance programmes at the most prestigious Norwegian music academy (Dyndahl et al., 2017), the one at which I studied. Consequently,

even though the popular music was there, in many respects, in the late 1990s, which is the period from which the above narrative originates, it was not legitimate among my fellow music performance students or among the teachers, for that matter. Neither was “lightness” much appreciated, regardless of musical style or genre. The story further exemplifies well how supervisors act as gatekeepers, or tastekeepers (Hovden & Knapskog, 2014), in order to maintain and reproduce the structures governing the hierarchies of distinction connected to musical taste within an institution of higher music education. However, it also shows how, this time, I exercised my independency as an agent, and let the duality-of-structure process (Giddens, 1984) have a different outcome than what was expected from my immediate educational surroundings. I did not comply, but the act of epistemic disobedience (Rosabal-Coto, 2016) was a small one; this was as far as my knowledgeability found it reasonable to stretch the limits, gentrifying “light classical music” into the outskirts of the sphere of musical seriousness. With respect to other structures—more specifically those regulating sexuality and gender—at this point in life, I mainly went for structure compliance and reproduction, at least on the outside:

Throughout my master’s education I struggled with the explicitly gendered role of the female classical singer. Skirts, lots of make-up and high heels, that was the expected uniform—a degree of femininity that was on the edge of what I felt comfortable with or was able to produce. During those years, I guess I appeared as heterosexual to most people, and I never did too much to correct that picture, since I lived with a man. The female classical singer discourse was utterly heteronormative; I cannot recall that I at any point heard of an openly bisexual, not to speak of lesbian, successful singer. What is not talked about does not have a place, which means that I probably assumed that such singers did not exist at all. So was, seemingly, the case with much of whom, or what, I was. As a female performer, I was also told, explicitly, not to show my intelligence or wit too much while in rehearsal or on stage. Let the conductor shine, talk and rule. He was mostly male, with a few exceptions. One of those exceptions was made into a joke by the brass players, who used her family name in a word-game involving derogatory terms denoting female genitalia. We all laughed; how could we not? The message was clear, though: the conductor’s position belonged to males; women were illegitimate standing in front of the orchestra using a baton.

The above memories are not connected to popular music specifically, but the phenomena recounted through them are easily transferred to the popular music sphere. The necessity to produce and perform “sexualised femininities” (Björck, 2011, p. 183) in order to fulfil the gendered script of the music applies to both the female classical singer and women vocalists of the whole range of popular music styles. Strongly embedded in this is also a compulsory heterosexuality (Rich, 1980) as well as heteronormative and gendered role expectations, in the classical music sphere sometimes connected to *her* being the pretty, but

somewhat silly singer and *him* being the forceful and clever conductor; in popular music for example expressed as “*she* is supposed to sing, while *he* is supposed to operate [the mixer table]” (Lorentzen, 2008, p. 100, my translation). As such, the memories presented above show how gender hierarchies similar to the ones that we find in the Musical Gentrification project can be played out, reproduced and reinforced through everyday items and occurrences like clothing, comments from teachers and jokes among fellow students. They also make visible the comfort that can be found in just floating with the routinised practices, as well as how such practices can provide “ontological security” (Giddens, 1984, p. 282) and minimise existential anxiety, despite taking place within duality-of-structure circumstances that are, in fact, severely limiting for the individual experiencing them. The threat of the absence of such comfort and safety is also partly why existing structures are upheld, since the “memory traces” (p. 377) that allow structure to be the medium of conduct and which form and inform our knowledgeable ability also contain information about what happens when rules are transgressed and resources consequently withdrawn.

Coming full circle

I am about to come full circle in my life, for now. The nodal points of identity that once made life difficult do not anymore, to such an extent. Experiences that I previously could not talk about now constitute a resource for speaking openly and academically about things such as social mobility, musical gentrification and discrimination. What happened? Did the field change? Did I? Did any of my actions help change the field, and if so, how? I am back with a female partner. I am a full professor. Although I jumped off the singing track, I have a good career in higher music education. I might be considered one of the tastekeepers nowadays, despite the fact that I am fairly female. My popular music experiences are anything but shameful; they represent an asset. Even my working-class background can be considered an advantage, especially if I know how to utilise it reflexively, writing heavily theorised and properly “disinterested” texts using my experiences as exemplary backdrops. With time, all my non-hegemonic traits have become useful and appreciated, even sought after. Sexuality, gender and social class. So, what happened to ethnicity? I promised in the beginning that I would talk about this nodal point as well. But there is not much to tell, which is probably the most telling. I am a white European, and I have spent all my life living in countries in which “whiteness” constitutes an important part of the ethnicities constructed as hegemonic. Therefore, I have never “felt” my whiteness; in that respect, I have never encountered the edges of the discourse. I have been a fish, and, at the same time, unbeknownst to me, I have been surrounded by water. This “gliding effortlessly through the water without even noticing it” to me represents the bodily experience of being hegemonic, of possessing privilege. And with respect to race and ethnicity that is what I am and do.

The demographic parameter of ethnicity was not mapped specifically through our quantitative thesis investigation. However, since we created a complete catalogue of all the theses written in Norwegian music academia (Dyndahl et al., 2017), including the theses titles and the names of the authors, we know that a vast majority of the contributors have Norwegian-sounding names. In other words, we have reasons to believe that they are white, Nordic Europeans. As such, the music academic field in Norway is as close to all-white as can be, at least as concerns the people acting as writers on the master's and PhD levels. On the level of supervisors, the situation is quite similar, only with the difference that a few names are predictors of other European descents. According to Vassenden and Bergsgard (2012), there is a considerable underrepresentation of students and participants with minority backgrounds in the Norwegian arts field as a whole, including the field of music. This might of course be attributed to exclusionary forces situated within the field itself, on the structural level, but it might also be a case of immigrant parents strongly advising their children to choose other kinds of careers. Achieving social mobility through their children seems to be of utmost importance to many minority group parents, and in this endeavour, a career within the arts is simply seen as too risky; a life project that is likely to bring the family "one step back" (p. 116) in terms of achieving a higher social position in Norwegian society. Here, we can witness structural reproduction in action. Perceiving structure as the *medium* of conduct (Giddens, 1984), the memory traces and knowledgeability of the immigrant parents render an artistic career as socially unsafe, and for good reasons. At the same time, this thinking governs the parents' actions so that the *outcome* of their conduct contributes to a repetition of the structural conditions that make the arts field an all-white one, with little experienced eligible space for their children. Still, of course, several forces contribute to such reproduction. Sometimes, it even comes down to blatant racism, as was evident in the controversies within the US National Association for Music Education a few years ago (see Louise, 2016).

Even though the ethnic diversity, or rather the lack of such, of the Norwegian music academia has not changed much in recent decades, many of the other structural conditions have gradually been altered. Still, change is slow, perhaps because of the undeniable strength of routinised practices, and their vast potential for perpetuating social rules and their related structures. For example, in 2009, despite the fact that women and men enter music studies in equal numbers in Norway, 88 per cent of the full professors were still male (Borgen et al., 2010, p. 51). However, leaving matters of constraints for a while, and focusing on possibilities instead, in the next and final section, I will explore the potential of combining the concepts of musical agency and musical gentrification for understanding individual trajectories of *Bildung*. Furthermore, looking back on my own musical path, I will reflect on its significance for social mobility.

Musical *Bildung* and social mobility: routes and trajectories revisited

In the narratives I have recounted in my chapter, the listener can observe me as I wiggle my way through some of the musical *Bildung* processes of my life, trying to balance individual desires of learning and developing with structural constraints and obstacles. The self-presentational narratives are told in retrospect, with perhaps a tad more sophisticated theoretical understanding of the occurrences than I possessed when they actually happened. Nevertheless, I must have been a knowledgeable agent (Giddens, 1984) already then, otherwise I would not be able to remember the events, and their significance, the way I do.

In general, it can be claimed that the German concept of *Bildung* reaches broader than the one of education, and its related philosophy “addresses human growth and development from birth to death, entailing all the processes at work in socialization and enculturation of individuals” (Karlsen & Johansen, 2019). Musical *Bildung*, then, entails all the aspects of socialisation and enculturation related to becoming and being a musical agent, be it in the form of a person who enjoys music from an amateur and everyday point of view or in the form of a professional musician, music educator or musicologist. Or anything in between. As such, combining the notions of musical agency and musical gentrification as a conceptual pair seems to work quite well for investigating and understanding routes or trajectories of musical *Bildung*, since they also enable the exploration of many of the things that are intimately connected with and learned *alongside* the music. When reading my stories, you can envisage a young musician and music educator learning about the rules, resources and constraints implicated in active engagement with specific musical genres, and you can also understand how those regulations and genres intersect with various aspects and nodal points of her identity. In other words: the narratives are small incisions into how I learned to be a classical musician and singer, a music educator and, later on, a music academic, while constantly negotiating the popular music surrounding me, my gender, my class background and my queerness, plus always benefiting from my whiteness, a privilege of which, I am embarrassed to say, I have not always been aware. However, my stories of musical *Bildung* might not only be understood as relating enculturation into musicianship or music academia. They can also be perceived as narrating a route of social mobility; one that goes through a landscape of music education, and in which music and musical agency play a very significant role. Traditionally, and even in the new millennium, Western classical music has remained the music of the elite, and “familiarity with [it] still acts as a form of institutional cultural capital and attendance at classical music events as a form of objective capital, both of which can be converted into social capital” (Bennett et al., 2009, p. 93). In other words, when I was enabled to embark on a route towards various modes of musicianship within this particular music tradition in the early 1970s, I was at the same time equipped with the potential to achieve a form of cultural capital that could be exchanged into social mobility. Perhaps one could even put it as strongly as this: in *my* life, music

became the very means by which I could reach the cultural elite (see Hansen, 2011, p. 177), through various forms of music-related routinisation (Giddens, 1984). According to the logics of the theory of musical gentrification, *which* kinds of music that might afford such social movement might change over time. Still, the pattern remains and needs to be re-examined over and over again, in order for us to keep track of the many and intimate ways in which music plays a part in the constitution of society.

Note

1 That is, until I, 30 years later came to be the co-author of an article about the history of Norwegian avant-garde jazz (see Skårberg & Karlsen, this volume). Sometimes, life takes unexpected turns.

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10 Enclosure and abjection in American school music

Vincent C. Bates

Not ye wise men, therefore, are the true inventors, but the Folk: for Want it was, that drove it to invention. All great inventions are the People's deed; whereas the devisings of the intellect are but the exploitations the derivatives, nay, the splinterings and disfigurements of the great invention of the Folk.

(Richard Wagner, quoted by Groys, 2012, p. 202)

It takes a worried man to sing a worried song
It takes a worried man to sing a worried song
Takes a worried man to sing a worried song
I'm worried nowwww
But I won't be worried long ...

(Traditional lyric as documented by Woody Guthrie, 1971, Chapter 15, para. 25)

As these two opening quotations attest, musical creativity arises from everyday people as they struggle to thrive in often less-than-hospitable social and natural environments. In contrast to this insight, at the private university where I studied to become a music teacher back in the late 1980s, my professors taught me that music was a gift from God, handed down from on high through His chosen ones—composers and performers living lives of deep devotion to Music and garnering God's inspiration. I was taught to approach a sacralised canon of musical masterworks with reverence, striving to understand and stay true to the intentions of creative genius. In this way, reflecting a trend that also held sway outside of religious schools, aesthetic ideologies were effectively conflated with religious beliefs (see Reimer, 1963). My alma mater, affiliated with a Christian denomination, was and is comparable to hundreds of music schools and conservatories throughout the “developed” world, including the secular as well as the religiously affiliated, where Western “art” music is still revered, preserved and cultivated by and for the elect (see Chavez & Skelchy, 2019; Nettl, 1995; Regelski, 2006; Sarath, Campbell, & Myers, 2016). Emanating from these sanctuaries, and despite widespread critique, “high culture” continues to be served up for large populations of school children in expressed efforts to “elevate” their aesthetic sensibilities and quality of life.

In my striving to rise from poverty, I was susceptible to this cultural proselytisation, and (absurdly, in retrospect) embraced classical music as a means of social mobility (Bates, 2011). I became a music teacher and then a teacher educator, and eventually assumed my current situation in the lower echelons of academia and the American middle class. Musically and geographically, though, I long for my pre-conversion life—one that felt more down to earth, rooted in community and geographical place. I still believe that music is a gift from God. However, instead of emanating from above, it more aptly grows from the rich and fertile soil of everyday people living everyday lives in actual places and especially from experiences of manual labour and social injustice (relative to the history of “art” music, see Gioia, 2019 and van der Merwe, 2004).

I am by no means the first to draw attention to poverty as a catalyst for musical creativity. Jeff Todd Titon (2013) observed that communities with high levels of poverty tend to be “rich in music and expressive culture” (p. 74), and Ullrich H. Laaser (1997) saw poverty as a source for musical innovation:

The harshness of everyday life and the struggle for survival are reflected in a variety of songs, stories, jokes, festivities, cults, myths, colours, rhythms, ways of coping with work, hope, anger, pain, fun, love, mourning, and happiness. Taking the example of music, one would find the whole range of popular music to be unthinkable without such origins. Can-Can, Flamenco, Czardas, Jazz, Blues, Samba, Tango, Mambo, Rock, Reggae, Hip-Hop: to a great extent *they are all a result of poverty and migrant cultures.*

(p. 54, as referenced by Harrison, 2013, emphasis added)

The life and music of American folk music legend, Woody Guthrie, serves as a case in point. Born in Okemah, Oklahoma in 1912, he was raised by a mother who held within her memory an extensive repertoire of traditional songs that she shared readily with her family and friends. His father worked diligently and found financial success for a time, but ultimately fell on hard times. Tragedy continued as Woody’s mother was committed to a mental institution, his sister died in a household accident and the rest of the family splintered. Guthrie’s worldview and his music were further shaped by the twin economic and environmental calamities of the Dust Bowl and the Great Depression (Cray, 2004). In his autobiography (1971), Guthrie recounts how he lived for a time as a migrant worker, “riding the rails” from place to place trying to find a “job of work” and interacting with a diverse cross-section of struggling Americans, including numerous “Okies”, “Arkies” and Texans.

Guthrie’s reflections bring to light relationships among music, oppression, physical hardship and want. For instance, he shared a formative experience that occurred during his stay in a labour camp near Redding, California, where people were living outside in improvised temporary shelters. On this particular evening, two young girls shared the gift of song, one of them providing guitar accompaniment. Their performance echoed through the twilight, capturing the attention of the entire camp.

Two little girls were making two thousand working people feel like I felt, rest like I rested.... Not a one of them is talking above a whisper, and the one that is whispering almost feels guilty because she knows that ninety-nine out of every hundred are tired, weary, have felt sad, joked and laughed to keep from crying. But these two little girls are telling about all of that trouble, and everybody knows it's helping. These songs say something about our hard traveling, something about our hard luck, our hard get-by, but the songs say we'll come through all of these in pretty good shape, and we'll be all right, we'll work, make ourself useful ...

(Guthrie, 1971, Chapter 15, para. 28)

In the remainder of this chapter, I consider in more detail the musical creativity of people living in poverty. From there, speaking from my geographical positionality in the western United States, I apply the sociological concept of *enclosure* (which is complementary to the concept *gentrification*) to shed light on how creative musical products and practices popular among the poor have been appropriated by more privileged classes, eventually to be offered back to the poor in a refined and simplified state as part of American school music programs. At the same time, other popular creative products with similar roots have been avoided by music educators as the epitome of lowbrow tastes or a general lack of culture. This process whereby students are included in school music programs that subsequently denigrate their musical and cultural roots, I describe in terms of *abjection*. Although a variety of examples could be used, my analysis centers on the music that developed in the mid-twentieth century American southwest and became foundational to the American folk revival as well as country music's influential and innovative Bakersfield sound.

Poverty, creativity and culture

A popular book by sociologist Richard Florida (2019), identifies young urban professionals as *the* creative class—"scientists and engineers, university professors, poets and novelists, artists, entertainers, actors, designers, and architects, as well as the thought leadership of modern society: nonfiction writers, editors, cultural figures, think-tank researchers, analysts, and other opinion makers." Specific to music, he mentions people with skills in "composing music that can be performed again and again" (p. 38). David Wilson and Roger Keil (2008) have taken issue with Florida's thesis and, instead, highlight the creativity that thrives among economically impoverished people. They note that "the bulk of the poor today (the homeless, the unemployed, the underemployed) practice remarkable reflexivity and creativity" (p. 842). The common proverb that necessity is the mother of all invention seems apt in this instance. A class of people without the means to purchase ready-made musical products to meet their needs creates new forms of cultural participation and expression. When "culture" is understood broadly in terms of common human behaviours, it is clearly something that everyone has and does. The cultural hierarchies that inevitably ensue

are, for the most part, arbitrary conceptualisations intended to rationalise social and material inequality (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). On these counts, Rob Moore (2004) summarises Pierre Bourdieu's stance as it pertains to schooling:

Pedagogic action is arbitrary in that: (a) the valorization of positions within the fields of knowledge and taste reflects no more than the interests and discrimination of those who arbitrarily hold power (they contain no internal or intrinsic justifications such as "truth" or "beauty"), (b) it is historically contingent that those who hold power do so (they have no natural right to it), and (c) the manner of its action in the transmission of knowledge is objectively no more than that necessary to impose its authority and gain legitimacy for the dominant cultural arbitrary (rather than in the liberal sense, a genuine attempt to develop in each pupil the "whole person")....
Power valorizes culture and culture performs the service of disguising and legitimating power.

(pp. 447–448, emphasis added)

It is important to underscore the reflexivity between cultural patterns and social domination. In musical terms, Bourdieu (1984) identified preferences for "high-brow" music with affluence. Peterson and Kern (1996) have since demonstrated that the musical tastes of the economically privileged have become more omnivorous (see also Tzanakis, 2011). Either way, whether omnivorous tastes or appreciation for "high" art, people tend to attribute privilege to supposedly superior cultural values and practices. By the same token, whether viewed as "lowbrow" culture or a lack of culture, the tastes and preferences of the poor are generally mistaken as contributing factors in their poverty ("poor people, poor ways" is a relatively common saying in the US). These cultural deficit perspectives direct attention away from or "disguise" circumstances that are more likely to play a causative role in reproducing and "legitimizing" privilege—financial opportunities, inherited wealth, social networks, high-paying jobs, access to "high quality" education and health care, and so forth (Gorski, 2013). Bourdieu pointed out the arbitrariness of such cultural hierarchies whereby some groups are seen as culturally wealthy and others as culturally impoverished—arbitrary judgements that obscure the reality that musical participation and appreciation have never been out of reach of the poor and, as discussed in the introduction, those who are experiencing material poverty tend to be culturally rich.

American roots music

Sometime around 1920, the number of urban Americans grew to outnumber that of rural Americans, reflecting a centuries-long trend toward urbanisation that continues to the present (Ritchie & Roser, 2018). In the early to mid-twentieth century, rural places were looked upon by many in the school music establishment (who lived and worked in metropolitan centers) as a vast musical wasteland where music was either absent or sorely deficient (Bates, 2013a). During

this era, a group of prominent music education leaders issued a general music curriculum for rural schools (McConathy, Miessner, Birge & Bray, 1937). The following quotation from their guidebook effectively captures the elitist, increasingly urbanormative (Bates, 2016b) tone of the time: “One of the most important functions of the school music lesson should be to develop in the children a finer sense of musical discrimination so that they will prefer to hear the better kinds of music and will follow such music with intelligent interest” (pp. 102–103). In other words, the musical tastes of rural children were deficient, and schools had a responsibility to help rectify this.

In reality, rural America was fertile ground for musical creativity; a landscape already rich with musical traditions. The advent of “race” and “hillbilly” records in the 1920s captured the sounds of rural music traditions and further popularised their strains throughout North America. This popularity extended to urban places where many inhabitants were only a generation removed from rural life, having migrated to industrial centers in search of employment. In addition, a generation of ethnomusicologists and folklorists continued to collect recordings from rural communities and archive them at the Library of Congress (Filene, 2000). A seemingly endless array of work songs, field hollers, church music, ballads and children’s songs and singing games reflected a vibrant mix of *American roots music* (Santelli, Warren, & Brown, 2001), esteemed as “our music heritage and the source of the many great music forms that would follow.... [e.g.,] blues, gospel, country, bluegrass, Cajun, zydeco, and Tejano ...” (Raitt, 2001, p. 8).

For instance, in early August of 1940, Charles Todd and Robert Sonkin, working for the Library of Congress, visited the Arvin Migratory Labor Camp in Weed Patch, California, as well as the nearby Shafter Farm Works Community. The Arvin camp was the first of its kind and was featured in the award-winning film adaptation (Zanuck, Johnson, & Ford, 1940) of John Steinbeck’s 1939 novel, *The Grapes of Wrath*. At both locations, Todd and Sonkin (n.d.) recorded a variety of stories, poems and songs. Even though some of the adults were reticent about speaking to the researchers or speaking on the recordings, they allowed an eclectic cross-section of their music to be recorded, including popular songs (e.g., “Wildwood Flower”, after the Carter Family), traditional ballads, square dance tunes and original songs (e.g., “All About the Camp”, “Government Camp Song”, “Cotton Fever”), adeptly performed with guitar, mandolin, fiddle and harmonica. The recordings and field notes from these two migrant encampments provide a snapshot of vibrantly musical communities where singing, playing instruments, dancing, children’s singing games and song-writing were commonplace occurrences; they give ample evidence of a people who found joy, solace and empowerment in musical expression and creativity.

Parallel streams

Woody Guthrie, probably the most well-known Okie, was a pivotal figure in American roots music. In addition to the ballads learned from his mother, his

musical influences included popular recordings, show tunes, church music and the cowboy music that was increasingly popular throughout the American southwest and beyond. In addition, he interacted with a diverse cross-section of amateur and professional musicians as he travelled and performed in the Los Angeles area, the San Joaquin Valley and the Pacific northwest. Eventually he made his way to New York City where he came into more direct contact with key founders of the American folk music revival, including Huddie “Lead Belly” Ledbetter, Alan Lomax and Pete Seeger. Guthrie performed off and on with Seeger’s folk group, the Almanac Singers (Filene, 2000).

More can be learned of Guthrie’s fascinating life and career in his biography (Cray, 2004) and his, at times, fanciful autobiography (1971). A key point is that, even though Guthrie’s music fit well within the tradition of country music, he became an integral part of the American folk music revival. He was deeply involved with socialist causes while in California, working with groups fighting for the rights and wellbeing of migrant workers. He was a prolific writer and published articles regularly in union and socialist periodicals, which facilitated his eventual connections with Seeger and Lomax who saw American roots music as a potential catalyst for rallying people to socialist causes. Rural folk musicians such as Guthrie and Ledbetter were integral to these efforts. In his insightful book, *Romancing the Folk* (2000), Benjamin Filene explains, “With these homespun folk associated with their movement, party regulars could feel that perhaps they could be accepted by ‘the people’ after all and that their hopes for a mass following might one day be fulfilled” (p. 70).

A parallel stream of music, also with deep American roots, developed in Bakersfield, California, at the southern end of the fertile San Joaquin Valley. Robert Price (2015) notes, “Not all the musicians who fueled and fostered the Bakersfield Sound were actually the children of ‘Okies’, as those Dust Bowl refugees were disparagingly called.” However, he continues, “many of them were—and every last one of them, poor or not, understood that sort of life and that desperation” (Price, 2015, Chapter 1, Section 2, para. 7). The performers who developed and popularised the Bakersfield sound naturally found a sympathetic ear among rural poor, migrant and working classes. Price characterises these listeners as “displaced people who hadn’t quite found a new home in the world, stuck in between what they once had been and what they dared hope to become” (2015, Chapter 1, Section 2, para. 8). In an environment that was unfriendly to Okies, these performers sounded like old friends from back home.

The Bakersfield sound was dynamic and diverse, growing from American roots music and complemented with popular recordings. Key innovations included the introduction of electronic instruments and drums, but the themes and voices remained rooted in the same hillbilly music that had originated in the southern Appalachians as a mix of European and African influences cultivated in the intricacies of rural life. On this latter point, country musician Marty Stuart wrote the following in the foreword to *The Bakersfield Sound: How a Generation of Displaced Okies Revolutionized American Music* (Price, 2015).

There seems to be nothing there, yet everything is there. The Mississippi Delta and California's San Joaquin Valley are double-first musical cousins. One gave us the Delta blues and the other, as Woody Guthrie said, "gave us hard-hitting songs—made by hard-hit people, which evolved into California's own unique brand of country music."

(Stuart, 2015, Foreword, para. 18)

Merle Haggard is the most revered songwriter and performer associated with the Bakersfield sound. In fact, according to his biography on the Country Music Hall of Fame website, "Merle Haggard stands, with the arguable exception of Hank Williams, as the single most influential singer-songwriter in country music history" (Country Music Hall of Fame, n.d, n.p.). His parents were Okies who migrated to Bakersfield in 1934. Merle was born in an abandoned boxcar that his parents had renovated for their home. After his dad died in 1945, Merle went down a path that put him on the wrong side of the law. He spent time in juvenile detention and ran away to Texas at age 14, riding freight cars and hitch-hiking throughout the state. In 1958 he ended up in San Quentin prison for robbery and a subsequent attempt to escape jail. It was at San Quentin that Haggard heard Johnny Cash perform in 1959, which inspired him to pursue a career as a country music singer and songwriter. Some of his hits that I personally remember hearing regularly as a child in the 1970s (usually on Dad's eight-track tape player in our 1967 Ford pickup truck) were "If We Make It Through December", "Mama Tried", "Okie from Muskogee" and—recapping the Okie experience—"I'm a Lonesome Fugitive".

Enclosure

In both streams, the musical sounds and traditions that grew from the aforementioned "harshness of everyday life and the struggle for survival" (Laaser 1997) in the American southwest were appropriated for political and commercial purposes. The Guthrie stream was used initially to support the cause of union labour and subsequently gained popularity as a primary contributing factor in the development of rock music (Filene, 2000). The Bakersfield stream became an important element in shaping country music. Sociological concepts that could be used to further analyse this cultural appropriation include *gentrification* (Dyndahl, Karlsen, Nielsen, & Skårberg, 2017; Dyndahl, Karlsen, Skårberg, & Nielsen, 2014) and *enclosure* (Bates, 2016a). Dyndahl et al. (2017) frame gentrification as a metaphor, based on "urban development and restoration, most notably of the form that involves middle class members appropriating areas and places of residence which traditionally have belonged to the working class" (p. 440). Similarly, I based my discussion of cultural enclosure (Bates, 2016a) upon the long history of rural land grabs, whereby common areas are appropriated to serve the needs of dominant groups.

These two concepts—gentrification and enclosure—are not at odds but overlap in a shared history that has material as well as cultural aspects. Enclosure

has to do with the capitalist appropriation of “the commons”—freely shared traditions and natural resources held “in common” by a given community. C. A. Bowers (2007) writes:

Even from the earliest times, the practices that gave the meaning of the commons its special importance—that is, enclosure—represented the different ways people were excluded, forced to purchase what was previously freely available, and subjected to outside political control.

(p. 3)

The primary beneficiaries of enclosure were the gentry who gained their status as such through the consolidation of land into large holdings (Bollier, 2014), a process that continues today throughout the world and forces people to migrate from rural places to towns and cities where they serve as wage labourers, and where they also develop rich and diverse cultural communities. Processes of gentrification, in addition to physical displacement, include the appropriation and consumption of this cultural richness and diversity by more affluent outsiders, the modern-day gentry. Enclosure, although referring to the same types of processes, precedes gentrification as a sociological concept, discussed by none other than Marx in the nineteenth century and notably by Polanyi in the twentieth century (Prudham, 2013). I find enclosure especially salient to my purposes here, due to its historical applications to rural contexts.

In a previous article (Bates, 2016a), I outlined the following five basic elements of enclosure that I will use in the current analysis. First, *enclosure transforms the commons into a commodity*. As David Bollier (2014) describes it, this moment of commodification can be glimpsed in Guthrie’s resistance to it:

The great American folk singer Woody Guthrie proudly acknowledged that his folk music was cobbled together from the bits and pieces of old blues masters, hillbilly singers and cowboy music. Taking aim at the commercial ethic that was already beginning to dominate music in his time, Guthrie wrote, “This song is copyrighted in US ... for a period of 28 years, and anybody caught singin’ it without our permission, will be mighty good friends of ours, cause we don’t give a dern. Publish it. Write it. Sing it. Swing to it. Yodel it.”

(p. 67)

During this era, songs for which the origins were not known were claimed and placed under copyright. For example, one of the original hillbilly recording artists, A. P. Carter, travelled the countryside with Leslie Riddle, an African American guitarist, collecting songs from rural residents that would later be produced under Carter’s name (Peterson, 1997). Along with original songs, these recordings further influenced and shaped the commons and came to be understood as part of the American roots music tradition (Santelli et al., 2001). Having grown from American roots and hillbilly music, commercial country music continues to shape the musical commons as individuals adapt popular songs for

personal, family and community musicking (Bates, 2011; 2013a). However, this still seems to constitute a shadow of less commercial forms of participatory performance found perhaps in less capitalist places (Bates, 2016a). Ultimately it is the publishers and promoters who determine what will be shared on recordings, thereby shaping as well as reflecting public tastes. Of the two musical streams at hand, country music has remained unabashedly commercial from its hillbilly days (Peterson, 1997) while the American folk music revival at least started as a less commercial and, in fact, anti-capitalist movement (Filene, 2000).

Second, as with gentrification, *enclosure displaces people* culturally as well as geographically. The American folk revival brought music and musicians from rural to urban places, reflecting the rapid urbanisation of this era. Guthrie was part of this migration, growing up in rural Oklahoma and Texas towns and ending up in New York City. American roots music accompanied people wherever they went, providing a connection to the places and people they left behind. The Bakersfield stream stayed close to its rural roots; even though Haggard performed in cities, he maintained a strong connection to rural sensibilities, evident in his 1982 hit single, *Big City* (“I’m tired of this dirty old city.... Turn me loose, set me free, somewhere in the middle of Montana”). As American roots music entered urban contexts via the stream of the American folk music revival, on the other hand, it became less about roots in rural places and more about the interests of social organisations such as unions, and later about social identities such as race and gender.

Third, *enclosure tends to standardise cultural practices*, integrating them within large-scale institutions and conceptual frameworks. This also occurs with gentrification as consumer classes cast about for cultural depth, richness and authenticity. In the American folk music revival, standardisation was led by academic intellectuals, the Seeger and Lomax families in particular. Aesthetically, the American folk revival was founded on a basic contradiction (Filene, 2000). On the one hand, folk music curators valued authenticity and sought out the most rural performers, untouched (so they thought) by commercialisation and urbanisation. On the other hand, the music they encountered was sung in dialects too complex for the average urban listener to understand and had what were considered inconsistencies in metre and intonation. So, despite interests in authenticity, there was also a degree of refinement that took place in efforts to popularise American roots music. Country music is replete with innovation but is founded on a similar tension between marketing and authenticity. Promoters “filed off the rough edges”, but at the same time accentuated the hillbilly image, requiring performers to jettison their modern dress clothes for stereotypical straw hats and overalls (Peterson, 1997). By the same token, Guthrie, despite being well-read, played up the image of an uneducated rube in order to come across as more authentic. In these ways, country and folk authenticity were manufactured and romanticised as part of nationally promoted imaginaries.

Fourth, *the erosion of the commons supports cultural stratification*. The more privileged classes appropriate the musical creativity of oppressed groups, much of which eventually becomes either an element of high culture or is at least

accepted within the scope of cultural omnivorousness (Peterson & Kern, 1996). Of Ledbetter's music, Filene (2000) notes: "Successive cohorts of middle-class, almost exclusively white audiences could become entranced by the Lead Belly myth, revel in the bracing foreignness of his songs, and, eventually, reinterpret the songs as their own" (p. 74). Elite preferences then serve to distinguish dominant cultures from others conceptualised as lower or limited. Where American folk music has been embraced among privileged and metropolitan populations, country music has not. Country musicologist, Nadine Hubbs, notes: "Indeed, across generational groups, country stands out as a music that Americans are often at pains to exclude in these culture-focused moments of social self-construction" (p. 23).

Finally, especially over the long term, *enclosure has a tendency to degrade the quality of that which has been enclosed*. Whether enclosed or gentrified, the benefits of the ensuing refinement are illusory. In this instance, I have found an agricultural analogy to be useful (Bates, 2013b). Agribusinesses combine small farms into large, scientifically managed holdings upon which they heap chemical fertilisers and pesticides. The preservation, refinement, packaging and shipment of food is generally associated with a loss of whole, organic, natural nutrients. In like manner, when cultural and musical practices are enclosed for commercial or other purposes, they can lose degrees of richness and complexity. Diversity is lost in the search for a uniform product that can be effectively marketed on a large scale and passive listening (or producing music for passive consumption) replaces participatory musicking. Despite authenticity efforts, both the American folk revivalists and the promoters of the Bakersfield sound, to varying degrees, created a diluted version of American roots music, which, at least in the former case, is what eventually filtered into school music programs.

Abjection

Abjection, as defined by educational theorist, Thomas Popkewitz (2008), "is the casting out and exclusion of particular qualities of people from the spaces of inclusion" (p. 6). In the United States, public schools have developed to become places that, on the one hand, strive to include all students regardless of race and economic background and, on the other, function to maintain a stratified and unequal social order—embracing the cultural backgrounds of middle-to-upper-class students while denigrating those of the poor. As Dyndahl et al. (2014) point out: "Since it is the privileged classes' activities and modes of cultural participation that are appreciated as 'good' and legitimate, these are also the ones that are institutionalised and given attention within the educational system" (p. 45).

In the early 1900s, American roots music was avoided by those who compiled the general music repertoire for schools. The aforementioned rural curriculum (McConathy et al., 1932, 1937) included some "old tunes" like "Here We Go 'Round the Mulberry Bush" and "Oh, How Lovely is the Evening"; patriotic songs, hymns, folk songs primarily from northern Europe, two native American songs, one cowboy song ("Home on the Range"), one Appalachian song and a

large selection of classical melodies. Nearly a third of the songs were composed by the curriculum authors. There was little recognition of the contemporary popular musical worlds of rural children.

In 1942, Charles Seeger wrote an article for the *Music Educators Journal* advocating for the inclusion of American music in American music education. His experiences with American roots music and musicians had led to beliefs that oral traditions were as important as written ones and that children should have direct access to their own vernacular music in schools (McCarthy, 1995). His wife, Ruth Crawford Seeger, worked transcribing American folk songs at the Library of Congress with Alan Lomax. After volunteering at her children's school, Ruth became interested in teaching folk songs in school and eventually published *American Folk Songs for Children* (1948). Of this seminal volume, Sarah Watts and Patricia Shehan Campbell write:

The breadth and depth of Crawford's *American Folk Songs for Children* is significant. Her compilation of songs of many regions and social functions is a time capsule of American musical and interpersonal traditions.... Music textbook publishers, especially Silver Burdett Company, used the book as a resource for songs they would publish in their graded basal music textbook series in 1956, including such songs as "All Around the Kitchen", "Built My Lady a Fine Brick House", "Frog Went A- Courtin'", "Goodbye, Old Paint", "Jingle at the Windows (Tideo)", "Oh, John the Rabbit", "Old Joe Clarke", "The Wind Blow East", and "Who Built the Ark?" Crawford's "research-based folk song collections that aimed to introduce the children of the urban middle class to the wealth of American folk music" have been deemed outstanding contributions to the revitalization of the nation's music.

(Watts & Campbell, 2008, p. 248, including a quote from Hirsch, 2007, emphasis added)

While the original Silver Burdett series for rural schools in the 1930s included little that would reflect the rich heritage of American roots music, more folk music was added in subsequent versions. In fact, American folk music became a staple in elementary music textbooks throughout the rest of the century and into the next. The Music Educators National Conference published two volumes (1995, 2000) under the title, *Get America Singing Again*. The foreword was written by Pete Seeger and the collection included songs from the American folk revival from early on (e.g., "Home on the Range", "Danny Boy", "She'll Be Comin' Round the Mountain") and more recent (e.g., "If I Had a Hammer", "Where Have All the Flowers Gone", "Let There Be Peace on Earth"). It also included religious songs, patriotic songs, rock and pop songs and show tunes.

I was especially interested to see if there were any country songs. Each volume has one: "Green, Green Grass of Home" in Volume 1 and "Take Me Home, Country Roads" in Volume II. "Green, Green Grass of Home" was written in the 1960s and originally was performed by country artists, but then became even more popular as a crossover hit. "Take Me Home, Country Roads"

is an internationally famous song by John Denver. Due to his pop status, the debate continues as to whether he should be considered a mainstream country singer (McDaniel, 2016). So, there is a nod to country music in these materials, but not a true embrace. When I was teaching elementary general music, I drew songs from the *Music and You* series published by Macmillan (Staton, Staton, Davidson, & Ferguson, 1991). The fifth- and sixth-grade books included two country songs, both by John Denver: “Thank God I’m a Country Boy” and “Take Me Home, Country Roads”. The Silver Burdett collection in 2008 for sixth graders included four country songs: “Green, Green Grass of Home”, “San Antonio Rose” (recorded by Bob Wills in 1938), “Jambalaya” (written and recorded by Hank Williams in 1952) and “I’ve Been Everywhere” (an Australian country song adapted by Canadian Hank Snow in a 1962 recording).

When country music has been included in music textbooks, as outlined above, it seems to be “too little, too late”; the songs were recorded too far in the past to be familiar to modern students and there is inadequate depth or breadth to reflect the richness of country music. Overall, school music in the United States has almost completely ignored popular country music (Bates, Gossett, & Stimeling, in press). Most often, students can participate in choir, band or orchestra. Sometimes these groups will perform arrangements of American folk or roots music and it is somewhat common for school orchestra programs to include fiddling. Guitar classes have become more popular and, even though it is common to teach these courses as classical ensembles and/or rely on staff notation, some teachers do use tablature and allow popular song performances. American popular music ensembles are becoming more prevalent, although they are often focused on rock music (Bates, Gossett & Stimeling, in press). Despite these trends, however, it would not be difficult to argue that the Seegers’ vision of students encountering contemporary vernacular music goes unfulfilled for rural students or those who identify with country music. My own experiences as a music student and teacher serve as a case in point in which the curriculum included a lot of music from the American folk revival but nothing from Merle Haggard, for example.

In 1966, renowned music education philosopher, Bennett Reimer wrote:

The problem, then, is to rethink and redefine the nature of the experiences with music offered to junior and senior high school students who are not, and most likely will not be, performers or composers, but who should be intelligent consumers of the art of music.

(Reimer, 1966, para. 8)

This “intelligent consumer” line, with its implicit definition of “intelligent music”, was introduced to me while studying to become a music teacher in the late 1980s, and I am afraid we still live under its hegemony. It reflects the same ideology that provided the impetus for reforming rural students’ musical tastes and practices and provides a rationale for their abjection in the music curriculum. It did not and does not reflect or fully acknowledge the creativity of their progenitors as such—the rural, oppressed and creative classes who gave us the

rich tradition of American roots music. When this music has been included, it has been through enclosure—displacement, refinement and standardisation. The antidote, of course, is a culturally responsive curriculum based on musical and creative assets rather than deficits of students who live in rural places (Bates, 2018) and/or come from low-income families. This would be a curriculum of re-commoning (Shevock, 2017), empowering students to reclaim what was enclosed, gaining direct access to forms of participatory musicking reflective of their lives outside of school.

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11 Musical pathways of migrant musicians

Connecting, re-connecting and disconnecting

Mariko Hara

The gentrification occurs in different areas, for example when vernacular and popular musics are invaded by artists, educators and researchers, with aestheticisation, institutionalisation and academisation as results, by which part of what characterises the original musical traditions and cultures may be disturbed along the way, and where some of the social and cultural ties to the musical cultures in question can be weakened or even broken for some of the initial participants.

(Dyndahl, Karlsen, Skårberg, & Nielsen, 2014, p. 13)

Introduction

Within the Musical Gentrification project, a sub-project was established to investigate how competence and entrepreneurship were exercised among migrant musicians (that is, musicians, at least one of whose parents has migrated, or who themselves have migrated). While the project's overall purpose was the examination of exclusion and inclusion through music, this sub-project was concerned with a topic that has often been researched under the implicit assumption that it is true: that migrants fundamentally lack internal resources. At the same time, music has often been ascribed strong integrational powers, i.e., the idea that the mere exposure to music from migrant musicians can “build bridges” (e.g., Al-Tae, 2002; Urbain, 2015; Zharinova-Sanderson, 2004).

Both these views have generally meant that little attention has been paid to how migrant musicians *do* exercise (and, indeed, acquire) competence and entrepreneurship as they pursue music-based careers in new countries. The country in question in this case is Norway. To progress beyond the limitation of previous research, I conducted a close ethnographic study, as discussed in Karlsen et al., this volume. Using this approach, I examined how the potential research participants developed music-related and entrepreneurial skills and networks that allowed them to sustain careers in Norway.

My informants came from the Oslo area and included 12 musicians who had migrated to Norway (i.e., they were born elsewhere), ranging from a self-taught rapper from Chile to a classically trained Iranian musician. I also interviewed several representatives from various organisations along with their musical

collaborators (e.g., band members) who were working with these informants and undertook participant observation at their musical events by attending concerts, festivals and rehearsals in addition to visiting the studios in which they compose their music.

In this chapter, I will examine how state support represents a form of gentrification and how my informants dealt with such gentrification processes. I will then highlight four concepts that I used to examine the collected data, in particular, the notion of musical pathways and how musicians explore these musical pathways in Norway. The chapter concludes with a discussion that will hopefully encourage further dialogue among the relevant actors.

Musical gentrification and migrant musicians

A key aspect of Norwegian cultural life that should be noted is that it is quite common, even for relatively unknown artists, to receive public financial support of some kind. This is true for most branches of the arts in Norway (Elstad, 1997). Migrant musicians who aim to establish their careers as professional musicians in the Oslo area are generally supported by two main organisations:

- 1 *Concerts Norway*¹: a state-run agency that organises and funds professional musicians to tour and give live concerts in schools and kindergartens throughout the country.
- 2 *Samspill International Music Network*: a state-funded mediator working to connect migrant musicians with promoters, other artists, funders and festivals.

Support and interventions for (and with) musicians via such “taste-keeping” organisations can therefore create a tendency among musicians to orient themselves, in terms of musical development, towards the preferences of the state. They may therefore experience reliance on the state (Becker, 1982, p. 191) to a greater degree than their counterparts in countries that offer less state support or more dispersed support opportunities. An essential point on the agendas of both the above-mentioned organisations is to showcase and promote diversified (i.e., “multi-cultural”) aesthetic expressions. The former approaches young people in educational settings; the latter targets (semi-)commercial fields and mainly adult audiences. These organisations bring in new resources, for instance, financial support or access to audiences.

These organisations are also among Norway’s key actors in affording status and legitimacy to musicians’ musical expressions, which is affected through their inclusion in concerts, networks and funding. Such state-facilitated aesthetic dynamics can therefore be construed as a form of “musical gentrification” (Dyndahl et al., 2014, p. 53), which implies that “music that originally hold lower social, cultural and aesthetic status become objects of interest and investment from cultural operators who possess higher status”. It must be stressed that I do not imply that migrant musicians, by default, belong to a lower class

(whether this class is real or exists merely on paper) (Bourdieu, 1984) than ethnic Norwegians. Rather, I refer to “musical gentrification” as a concept that denotes how music from groups with less power and influence than other groups—in terms of access to funding resources, for example—is adopted, accepted and assimilated by more powerful groups.

A key element of the consequences of such gentrification processes is the adjustment of musicians’ musical expressions. This adjustment seeks to accommodate new and powerful actors and to thus gain access to desirable musical fields controlled by these actors. The tendency is to move away from what was deemed acceptable in earlier musical fields, such as those of their home countries or among fellow migrants in the host country. Dyndahl, Karlsen, Nielsen, & Skårberg (2017) and Dyndahl et al. (2014) have suggested that musical gentrification may result in the loss of some of the music’s socio-cultural connotations due to discrepancies between meanings assigned to the music when performed in earlier fields and those newly associated with it. However, not all processes that can be described as gentrification are the result of external actors (e.g., audiences) forcing the process. Losses and transformations may be deemed acceptable by—or even be initiated by—the musicians themselves to facilitate their entry into new musical fields. Thus, musicians themselves may play important roles in the musical gentrification process and may act as “gentrifiers” of the music they perform, usually in collaboration with other actors. For example, my ethnographic investigation found that research participants were (aesthetically) making sense of (and improving) their new positions by exploring and creating aesthetic connections between musical fields in which they had previously been active and any new fields that they entered. The aesthetic adjustment—in other words, “aesthetical fitting in”—can be regarded as musical gentrification managed by the musicians as they seek to attract relevant audiences, collaborative partners and funding bodies. These can also be said to constitute marketing strategies that musicians themselves deploy to sustain their music career. The gentrification of particular genres (Holt, 2013) and such aesthetic re-configurations managed by the musicians are both gradual processes that should be investigated “rather than dismiss[ed] as weapons of bourgeois power or manifestations of deep social forces”, as Prior (2015, p. 354) has noted. The main discussion of this chapter, therefore, will consider how my informants exercised competence and entrepreneurship in new musical fields while continuing to utilise resources from musical fields in which they had previously been active.

Relevant perspectives

In this chapter, I will use four theoretical concepts that I will briefly exemplify before going into a more detailed discussion.

One of my informants had initially undergone traditional, classical Iranian music training and later, in Norway, began making music that fused this with Western music genres. This chapter suggests that these two music worlds (with their attendant elements, such as funding, audiences, etc.) constitute two

different *fields*, as defined by Bourdieu, and that the informant moved between these fields via *musical pathways*. To enter a new field, he learned new skills, such as fundraising and new modes of collaboration, thus enhancing his overall *musicianship*; this concept encompasses competencies above and beyond purely instrumental and vocal skills. Moving between the aforementioned fields, he began to appreciate other genres of music, such as jazz. In other words, in these new fields he adapted his own musical *tastes*; taste, as an activity, will be the fourth and final concept that I explore here. I will now discuss these perspectives in greater detail before exploring the study's findings through these conceptual lenses.

Musical pathways between fields

The majority of my research participants established and developed their music careers through participation in festivals, performance at venues in Oslo, applications for funding for such activities and attendance at teaching institutions (although not all research participants engaged in all of these activities). To describe the social spaces of such music-making, the notion of the field as a social arena for the development of—and competition over—different forms of capital, as developed by Bourdieu (1985), is highly relevant. However, I suggest that Bourdieu's views on social relations and territories related to cultural forms in fields are more static than the situation as reported by my informants. Their activities related to music-making emerged from complex and messy endeavours, using a variety of (musical) materials that were connected to the musicians' practices (Prior, 2014). Furthermore, class did not emerge as an important distinction in these fields; it was obscured by ethnicity, an inescapable personal aspect that influenced competition in the musical fields that I examined. My informants often encountered certain expectations, or had certain social capitals accorded to them, based on their countries of origin and not necessarily as a result of any class-related connections.

The term “musical fields” (Savage, 2006) is used in this chapter to denote a wide range of musicking (Small, 1998) arenas in which music functions as an animated force to provide discursive affordances in the development of musicians' career paths. The musical field(s) inhabited by musicians should not be regarded as isolated entities, but rather they should be understood as being loosely connected by the paths that are developed as the actors move between multiple musical fields. Here, we may use the concept of “musical pathways” to enhance our understanding of how these musical fields are connected and how musicians move between them.

The musical pathways concept, as it is applied in this study, implies that certain routes exist that one must follow to reach certain musical fields that can foster or sustain a career in music. These pathways differ from the career path, but nonetheless form the part of the migrant musician's career path that is concerned with developing and sustaining their livelihood. The concept was originally developed by Finnegan, who referred to it as “habitual routes” for amateur

musicians (2007[1989], p. 306) to partake in as they engage in a range of social actions, for example, to rehearse or be booked for a performance, garner an audience and so on. Finnegan envisaged musical pathways as existing, established routes that people may choose from, whereas the “paths” evident in my data tended to be more random and circuitous, often created from scratch (Hara, 2016). This echoes findings by Ansdell and DeNora (2016), whose work on the musical pathways of participants in a community music therapy practice explored the ways in which these pathways are complex, intertwined and uniquely cultivated rather than existing as established routes.

The pathways that migrant musicians explore also become passages that connect them to musical fields in their new host countries, thereby engendering in them a sense of belonging. Through such pathways, they cultivate their positions and status both as musicians and as residents of Norway, professionally and ontologically (Hara, 2018; Hara & Dyndahl, 2018). This also resonates with Ansdell and DeNora’s (2016) findings regarding the role of musicking in helping participants in community music therapy to rediscover their places and positions in the broader community.

Musical pathways therefore comprise several different elements and actions, including the musicianship assembly and the aesthetic negotiations that accompany it (Hara, 2017). I have discussed elsewhere how musical pathways can be collaboratively crafted by various actors as safe and enjoyable aesthetic/social passages towards alternative music-making fields (Hara, 2013). In unpacking and exploring the process of musical gentrification managed by the musicians, as discussed above, the concept of musical pathways helps us to highlight the circuitous and complex individual career paths of musicians with their intricate socio-aesthetic processes that consist of several different elements and actions.

Musicianship as a musically driven assemblage

In discussing the social mobility of musicians, their skills and experience emerge as key resources. The concept of *musicianship* will therefore be applied to this study’s participants’ overall expertise as musicians. Musicianship is often used to refer to the attributes of someone’s musical skills and abilities, both acquired (e.g., jamming) and innate (e.g., perfect pitch). Expanding the concept beyond the mere development of musical skills, Jorgensen suggests a more holistic idea that includes “thinking, being and acting as a musician” and argues that such musicianship is a “perennial and pervasive goal of music education practice” (2003, p. 198). Based on a similar perspective, Ellefsen (2014) suggests that:

Learning musicianship might be understood as learning how to “be” in the fields of music in a broader sense, in terms of moral standards and rules of conduct, discursive repertoires and schemes of interpretation, associated subject positions and modes of action.

(pp. 11–12)

These perspectives yield important insights into how an individual's musicianship can and does develop along with their career path. Here, the exploration of musicians' career paths is not only concerned with the development of music skills, but also covers the potential adjustments that they make to their actions in order to "be" in a field. Action related to the development of musicianship is therefore more pervasive than simply learning how to play an instrument; it can also be embedded as a part of everyday life, in which it appears as tacit knowledge and implicit learning.

In UK music sociology, music tends to be regarded as an active ingredient that "gets into" such actions and musicians' "being" (DeNora, 2000). If we advance the notion that music itself is an active resource within the actions that musicians might undertake to explore their musical pathways, the idea of assemblage from actor-network theory (Latour, 2005) may offer some useful insights into how this might be achieved. DeNora (2007), applying this concept to music, suggested that:

... people, whether singly or in groups, draw together music and other materials in ways that provide mutual frames and that augment the ways in which those musics and materials seem "fit" for the purpose. These practices of arrangement or, in Bruno Latour's term, assemblage (2005) are what empower music/materials in ways that come to have power over actors.

(p. 278)

In other words, music can function as an actor that helps musicians to accumulate an assemblage of overall expertise that is necessary to increase their social mobility through an expanded musicianship. Musicianship may therefore be considered as a musically driven assemblage that can continuously transform and adjust its own form to help the musicians to "be" in a field (Hara, 2017). In adopting this perspective, we avoid falling into the trap of assuming that, throughout their careers, musicians only possess static skills that are separate from the rest of their lives.

Taste as an activity

The notion of musical gentrification describes socio-aesthetic dynamics at the macro level. However, we also need perspectives that help us to understand the role of individual aesthetic processes and how they affect musicians' "being" in a field, their exploration of musical pathways and, ultimately, their social mobility.

Bourdieu (1984), for instance, discussed how individual aesthetic preferences are directly linked to prior exposure to fine arts and one's socio-economic background. While Bourdieu relies on the forms of aesthetic objects, hence the genre classification rather than the content, Savage (2006) insists on the importance of considering particular works of music as well as the defined genres to identify key distinctions in musical taste. In both cases, however, their structural

perspectives leave room for close investigation of how individuals “use” music in everyday life in relation to the environment and relationships (DeNora, 2000). Criticising Bourdieu’s approach as passive determinism, Hennion (2007) suggests that taste is more reflexive:

Understood as reflexive work performed on one’s own attachments, the amateur’s taste is no longer considered an arbitrary election which has to be explained (as in the so-called “critical” sociology) by hidden social causes. Rather, it is a collective technique, whose analysis helps us to understand the way we make ourselves become sensitized, to things, to ourselves, to situations and to moments, while simultaneously controlling how those feelings might be.

(Hennion, 2007, p. 98)

Thus, Hennion suggests a more fluid relationship between individual aesthetic preferences and individual/collective determinism. In short, taste is an activity that is undertaken together with others to reflect upon and enact value judgements on music according to Hennion. Elsewhere, I have explored how people with dementia had to adapt existing musical tastes in order to continue participating in local social music-making activities that meet their deteriorating cognitive abilities (Hara, 2013). DeNora (2013, p. 69) has also discussed how broadening one’s taste can result in further possibilities for action. Hence, we can perceive of taste as a lubricating device used by musicians to connect different musical fields and connect themselves with other actors in those fields. Furthermore, such expansion of, and adaptability to, aesthetic diversity that affects one’s action is referred to as “the *aesthetic cosmopolitan body*” (Regev, 2013, p. 176), which is defined as:

not just a body capable of recognizing, accepting, and adapting itself to otherness, to aesthetic idioms and circumstances associated with cultural materials other than those familiar to him or her from his or her native culture, but rather a body that articulates its local identity by incorporating elements from alien cultures.

(Regev, 2013, p. 176)

This notion of aesthetic cosmopolitan bodies will be used to determine whether my informants’ musicianship was improved as a result of their fitting such a description and whether it helped them to travel different musical pathways.

Findings: musical pathways in practice

If one has lived one’s entire life in a single country, one is likely to have a relatively clearly specified set of pathways from which to choose. For example, a classical musician in Norway may have started out at a municipal school of music and performing arts, studied with private music tutors during their late

teens and then attended a music school before freelancing in an orchestra of some sort. This is not to say that all musicians from a single locality have identical trajectories, but they are significantly more likely to follow set pathways. As these pathways are not always as open to migrants as they are to local musicians, due to their ages and different educational and musical backgrounds, etc., it is even more important to learn more about the pathways that they *do* take and how they enter or create them. My focus in this chapter is on how musical pathways can develop as the musicians form connections with their old musical fields.

Many of my informants had explored their relationships with musical expressions and tools that were related to the musical traditions of their countries of origin as they entered new musical fields in Norway. Resa, a 50-year-old Iranian, plays the santoor, a traditional Persian instrument. He is also a composer, with musical education from both Iran and Norway. He arrived in Norway as a refugee at the age of 17, and studied Western classical music, classical guitar and composition in Oslo. He began his music career in Norway as a solo performer and later became involved with educational projects run by *Concerts Norway*. It was then that he was first exposed to musical collaborations with musicians from different national backgrounds. This required him to negotiate aesthetically with his own biography which focused on the Persian musical tradition; as he said, “Music was connected to old traditions and it was connected to a big philosophy and very serious thing. For me, actually, to go from this border and play with others was very difficult in the first year”.

Although he found it difficult to go against the traditions he had been taught and which he ultimately embodied, he took up this aesthetic challenge. After a while, he found it interesting to play with other musicians, to learn about other cultures and simply to study and develop as a musician; as he said, “I tried and saw, that is interesting because it is a kind of feeling that is freedom”. Having discovered the potential of musical collaborations, Resa began taking the initiative to collaborate with other musicians and currently runs several projects, including a multi-national world music project and an ensemble that brings together a Western classical string quartet and Iranian musicians. He composes and performs his own work with these two groups and continues to explore new aesthetic dimensions. At the same time, he continues to (re)interpret Persian music and presents this in public through performances both in and Norway and internationally through these projects. He achieves this by making use of the musical training and experiences that he acquired before and after his migration.

Similarly, Rita, a classically trained female tabla player from Nepal, is also expanding her performance through collaborative works in her new fields. Rita moved to Norway at the age of 20 in 2010 to enrol in higher music education in Oslo. Initially, she had experienced difficulties in fitting into the system at the music school, where none of the pre-existing courses suited her background or interests. Later, however, she found the “Jazz and Improvisation” course that provided her with a new way of working, as she could expand her tabla performance by playing with her own electronics band. She said:

More and more I stray far from my tradition, more and more I come nearer to the tradition. The further I go, somehow, I feel closer. Sometimes you have to see things from afar, you know, to really see it. If I am just playing my things I get like [pause] sometimes when you do other things and you compare things together, and analyse it in a different way, maybe? It is an interesting way of working, to do different things at the same time.

Like Resa, albeit in a different form, Rita is developing alternative perspectives and new ways to express musical traditions that she learned back in Nepal through her new electronics project in Norway. She goes back to Nepal regularly to perform solo and to continue her education with professional tabla players and to “recharge” herself, as she calls it. She is planning to bring her electronics band to Nepal to perform and to see what kind of response she might receive there.

Frank, who has had a longer music career than Rita in Norway, also shared similar thoughts on his musical tradition and how it intensified after he left his home country. He comes from the Ivory Coast and arrived in Norway in 1984 in the hope of establishing himself as a performing musician. Currently, he is involved with many projects: working with children, teaching and giving talks to educators who work with children, running online drumming courses as well as performing with various musicians. He returns every year to the Ivory Coast and observes people’s musical activities to learn more about musical expressions related to the region’s musical traditions. He composes new music that is based on the traditional folk music he was familiar with when he lived in the Ivory Coast. He also mentioned that he preserves it, as if keeping the original in a freeze frame, even though he lives far away. He discussed his idea behind this approach:

It’s like a big cake. I take this part and put it into the refrigerator ... and cake ... and everything ... and when you bring this back, people say “wowow, I forgot this one. I didn’t know ...” because I kept the original. Even though I live in Europe. I kept the original, do you understand?

Another informant, Salif, aged 50, is a male musician and singer from Mali. Like the other three musicians discussed above, he also explores ways of integrating musical traditions from Mali into new musical fields in Norway. He used to work as a solo percussionist with the National Ballet of Mali. He moved to Norway about ten years ago and he is currently involved in several collaborative projects in and outside of Norway, ranging from jazz and African music to educational projects. He uses traditional Malian instruments, such as the *ngoni* and *calabash*, and sings his original songs in his mother tongue, *Malinke*, in these projects. He emphasises that he can collaborate with any type of music as his own speciality:

I don’t have to think [that I must play] only the tradition. I use traditional instrument[s], I can play the traditional music. But I have to be open to the

other styles of music. And then, I can use the traditional with (emphasises) the other music [...]. And that was one of the best things in the world, when I started using the traditional things in the modern music.

Salif designs his drum setup using traditional instruments and develops it according to the various genres and collaborators with whom he works. In this way, aesthetical and technical adaptation allow him to integrate his traditions in new musical fields. While expanding the scope of his actions through such collaborative works, he also invites musicians from Mali and other African countries, whether living at home or abroad, to perform with his own projects in Norway. He hopes to develop this further and create an “African diaspora” project that will bring people from African backgrounds together musically. He is trying to establish a system whereby musicians can be involved in music projects in Norway from where they currently reside. This is particularly aimed at helping those living in Africa to “find ways to survive”, according to Salif. He also runs drumming, dancing and singing workshops in Mali every year in which people from all over the world can avail themselves of opportunities to experience local musical traditions.

One case among my informants shows how connecting too strongly to one’s musical tradition can close off potential pathways. Jorge, a percussionist from Brazil, first came to Norway in 1983 to teach Latin rhythms. His initial plan was to stay for only one year; however, the diversity of the musical scene in Oslo at that time stimulated him in different ways from those that he experienced in Brazil. This led him to eventually build an international career as a versatile musician involved with many different genres, including jazz, folk, classical and rock, while based in Norway.

However, he returned to Brazil due to a decline in job opportunities in 2015. One of the reasons for this was that he had focused mainly on work with *Concerts Norway* for the preceding 15 years. The type of work offered to migrant musicians by *Concerts Norway* focuses on the traditional music from the country of their origins. His prioritisation of his work with *Concerts Norway* therefore meant that Jorge performed only the role of a Brazilian musician, as he explained:

[When] I came here, I was a musician who played everything. I played all styles and all types of different music. Slowly, slowly, I have gradually become a Brazilian percussionist. So, I am exclusively associated with Brazilian music. [...] In a way, I felt very strange in the beginning, because I wanted to play jazz, I wanted to play funk, I wanted to play rock’n’roll, play pop. But it never happened again. In Norway, I became a Brazilian percussionist. [...] Here I am Brazilian [pause]. Only thing that has to do with Brazil [pause]. Very strange. They put me into this frame.

Although Jorge experienced some discomfort with this musical pigeonholing, he continued along this path until his contract was terminated in 2015. This led him

to leave Norway as a result of the difficulties he encountered in attempts to further develop his career. Biographies related to musical traditions can function as resources but in this case acted as an obstacle in the exploration of alternative musical pathways. This resonates with the discussion by Hesmondhalgh (2013, p. 40) which highlighted how one's own personal biography can constrain one's agency as well as social and historical factors.

Among this study's participants was another musician who received no specific (formal or informal) training or education in her country of origin yet who cultivated her own musical pathways by exploring connections with her old musical fields. Henna, a Japanese female DIY electronica artist, first came to Norway as a prospective university student in 1995. Having relinquished her aspirations to pursue a music career due to conflict with her parents in Japan, Henna majored in cultural science at university. Her chance encounter with a piece of software, "Logic", while writing her master's dissertation in Norway, opened avenues that allowed her to build her music career as a DIY musician. She has been an active composer and musician since 2005, while working as an archivist during the day. Having long been away from her hometown, the historic city of Kyoto, her place of origin and Japan's former imperial capital, Henna attempts to express and infuse her compositional works with "Kyoteness", in line with the rather well-trodden concept of "East meets West". Henna reported (sub)consciously seeking resources from Kyoto for her compositions. For instance, she recalls the images evoked by her memories of Kyoto, particularly the temples there, with an intensity that she did not experience when she lived there. These recollections can be triggered by her everyday encounters in Oslo, as she explains:

Henna: I was in my office today. I saw the news online, which reminded me of some specific place in Kyoto. That's it. It is like 連想 *rensou* (association of ideas). It can be news, or it can be anything. I looked out the window and it looked like a geisha. *Rensou*, it reminds me of a more detailed memory of what I did there, and it develops as my concept for my composition.

Interviewer: So, you have your everyday life here in Oslo and you connect something you see or hear here with something from your hometown?

Henna: [...] That is so. It doesn't mean I can compose from the concept, but rather that I think of those associations as possibilities for compositions.

Henna, therefore, creates links between aesthetic memories from Kyoto and her daily encounters in Oslo through the multisensory linking practice that is driven by strong feelings of nostalgia—that which she calls “連想 *rensou*”. She distills audio aspects of the induced recollection of the image by re-hearing these familiar sounds to determine whether they might function as resources for her music production. She would have continued to hear the familiar sounds from Kyoto rather than re-hearing them if she had remained in her hometown. Regarding the actual sound production, she assembles, omits and reassembles various sound resources. These include wide varieties of sound samples, including those that

she collected herself in Kyoto and other places, her own vocals, free MIDI-recorded instruments, entirely new sounds from synthesisers and contributions from her collaborators. Technological development has not only facilitated the democratisation of music-making (Bennett & Peterson, 2004), it has also democratised musicians' access to a wide variety of sound materials. For Henna, therefore, DIY music production using "Logic" offers a platform on which she can utilise resources from her old fields to infuse her musical work with "Kyoteness", despite the fact that she has no formal (or informal) musical training or skills related to the musical tradition of her country of origin (Hara, 2018).

Discussion: musical pathways: connecting, *re*-connecting, *dis*-connecting

As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, the purpose of this sub-project was to investigate issues surrounding the exercise of competence and entrepreneurship among migrant musicians in Norway. As an aspect of this, I examined musical gentrification processes and social mobility in the musical fields and arenas of migrant musicians in Norway. This study has prioritised the musicians' perspectives, rather than those of support organisations or audiences, resulting in investigations into individual musicians' attempts at aesthetical adjustment for the purpose of fitting into the (musical) fields they were—or wanted to be—in. This, I suggested, could be construed as a musical gentrification process managed by the musicians themselves. In other words, I examined the ways in which musicians' adjustment of their musicianship is aimed at enhancing their compatibility with new musical fields, in which powerful tastekeepers (e.g., Concerts Norway and Samspill International Music Network) are influential actors, to explore their musical pathways in Norway.

Applying the notion of musical pathways helped to highlight the intricacies and complexities of the socio-aesthetic process(es) that the musicians engaged in as they developed their career paths in Norway. One of the key findings of this chapter concerned how my research participants developed new musical pathways to musical fields in their host country as they forged connections with their old musical fields. In other words, they were *re*-connecting with the musical expressions and resources that were prevalent in their past musical fields to ascertain what elements could be incorporated into new musical expressions that would facilitate their entry into new musical fields.

In this section, I will discuss what we can learn from the six cases described here, in terms of how musical pathways are built and what influences musicians' creation of and passage through these pathways. My closing remarks offer some suggestions for both sides: for migrant musicians working in Norway and tastekeepers who support and intervene in the development of their musical pathways.

What unites the six cases described above is, as mentioned earlier, the manner in which their musical pathways developed as they made connections with their old musical fields, albeit in ways that were unique to each. The first five cases,

those of Resa, Rita, Frank, Salif and Jorge, demonstrated how they explored their own relationships with musical expressions, experiences, networks and dispositions related to musical traditions from previous fields that they had inhabited in their countries of origin. Additionally, Henna's case showed how she was exploring her connections to specific locations from her past in Japan through her DIY music production.

All six musicians incorporated elements from their old musical fields into the assemblages that constituted their musicianship to achieve a better fit in their new musical fields. This was not a straightforward process; rather, it consisted of a wide range of negotiations and the (further) cultivation of their musicianship. This was particularly evident in Resa's case; it was difficult for him to go against certain musical traditions that he had been taught and ultimately embodied when he entered new fields that focused on musical collaborations. However, Resa used this challenge as a springboard to negotiate with and through his musicianship by allowing himself the flexibility to incorporate elements from "other" cultures. This gave him increased opportunities for collaboration with a wider range of musicians. His more flexible approach also created a positive feedback loop, whereby he increased his social mobility (as a musician living in Norway), and afforded him further opportunities to cultivate his musicianship. Rita also struggled in the beginning to find an appropriate category at a music school. However, she eventually found a category in which she could explore new ways of expanding her tabla playing, which involved considerable negotiation and cultivation of her own musicianship in her encounters with new collaborators as well as new dispositions in the new fields. Salif also mentioned that communicating with "local" musicians was difficult for him when he first tried to collaborate in various projects. As musicianship is comprised of more than musical skills alone, the cultivation of one's musicianship to fit (it) into new musical fields involves learning to communicate with other actors from different socio-cultural backgrounds. Jorge practiced for 12 hours each day to become sufficiently accomplished to collaborate with professional musicians from a wide variety of musical backgrounds when he first arrived in Oslo. To incorporate musical experiences and skills from old musical fields, he needed to further cultivate his musicianship. Similarly, Frank returns to the Ivory Coast every year and observes people's musical activities to learn more about emerging musical expressions related to local musical traditions. He also nourishes his musicianship in his everyday life, without physically returning there, by recalling older forms of these musical expressions from his youth. Henna (sub)consciously created links between her aesthetic memories of Kyoto and her daily encounters in Oslo through multisensory linking practices driven by a strong feeling of nostalgia, which she called "*rensou*". She crafts an aesthetic synthesis combining Kyoto-associated sounds with other sounds based on the initial concept triggered by the linking practices, thus performing musical micro-negotiations through trial and error.

In their different ways, all these musicians selected elements from fields they had inhabited before coming to Norway and incorporated these elements into

their musicianship assemblages to facilitate their entry into or excellence in new musical fields. This approach highlights a core aspect of the migrant experience that differentiates them from musicians who have always been locally based. Their *re*-connections to old physical or musical fields gave them different perspectives on their musical traditions, ideas, habits and skills to those of the “always-connected” (those who stayed behind) and the “never-connected” (local actors in the host country). The freedoms that emerged as a result of the different dispositions of their old and new musical fields can thus be perceived as forms of “music asylums” (DeNora, 2013). That is, they are social environments in which they can challenge and develop their biographies (partly) through these *re*-connections with old fields. This allows them to develop in new directions as musicians as well as developing their own musical pathways in the host country. Their adjustments to their musicianship facilitated their enhanced “fit” in new fields by responding to opportunities, requirements and the expectations of relevant actors, including those who may have had a greater impact on their social mobility than others.

As discussed earlier in this chapter, incorporating resources from the past into the present involves and requires numerous aesthetic negotiations. By applying music sociology perspectives on taste as an activity (Hennion, 2007) that can act as a lubricating device (DeNora, 2013), we can see how musicians were deliberately, reflexively and flexibly expanding their aesthetic capacities in order to increase their social mobility. The expansion of, and adaptability to, aesthetic diversity evident among my research participants resonates with the aforementioned notion of the “*aesthetic cosmopolitan body*” (Regev, 2013, p. 176).

Hence, my informants’ own aesthetic cosmopolitan bodies, i.e., their embodied openness to combine diverse musical expressions, helped them to incorporate elements of their past and present experiences into their musicianship assemblages. The aesthetic cosmopolitan body allowed them to be more open to new aesthetic impulses while exploring their own musical pathways. The attitudes and traits of the aesthetic cosmopolitan body with regard to otherness and the incorporation of alien cultural elements also helped them to reflexively negotiate and articulate their roles and identities in their new fields. For Resa, for example, musical collaborations were the musical fields in which he could fulfil his mission to demonstrate music’s potential to help people from different backgrounds and with different values to feel sense of belonging. For Henna, her DIY electronica music production offered her a platform on which she could simultaneously craft and perform a multi-faceted identity. Henna, a person and an “indie artist” from Kyoto living in Norway, with a wide variety of European musical influences combined with aesthetic memories from Kyoto, exemplifies how the aesthetic cosmopolitan body supports her unique musicianship assemblage.

In this way, the musicians in question crafted their (musical) selves (DeNora, 2000) while developing their musical pathways. Reflexive *re*-connection with their old (musical) fields and their biographies can be crucial, not only in developing their musical pathways, but also in terms of crafting and acquiring

coherent and sustainable musical identities. Failure to do this by, for example, allowing others to define one's identity can limit what musical pathways are available. Having worked mainly for *Concerts Norway* for 15 years in the role of "Brazilian musician", Jorge lost control of a major part of his own musicianship assemblage. As a result of his neglecting to craft and maintain his identity as a "versatile musician", fewer and narrower musical pathways were left open to him as a musician in Norway.

I initially described musical pathways as circuitous, complex and individual ways of entering and creating new musical fields (Hara, 2016), with the implication that these routes took musicians in a single direction. However, the cases described above show that my informants' musical pathways were often bidirectional, as they continuously sought out and assembled resources from their biographies to cultivate and develop new musical pathways with the aim of opening up and entering new fields. These resources were not necessarily limited to specific music-related elements or objects that were associated with their old musical fields. They also included intangible resources: multisensory aesthetic images in Henna's case, core aesthetic essences related to the musical tradition in Frank's case or human resources in Salif's case, as he shared his musical pathways with other musicians from African backgrounds.

Hence, this study suggests that the concept of musical pathways must consider how one can *re-connect* with past musical fields, that is, that one can go back as well as forth along a musical pathway. In other words, they are musically-led socio-aesthetic passages that connect people's past and present and may lead musicians to their desired positions in society. The creation of connections through these pathways involves numerous negotiations. The synthesis and linking of various elements (i.e., resources) from past and present, which constitutes work on one's musicianship and self, usually goes unnoticed. However, this is an important aspect of aesthetic adjustment to the opportunities available to musicians in new host countries.

Concluding remarks

The experiences highlighted in this chapter also demonstrated how my research participants elevated themselves towards their desired positions in society via their musical pathways. One obvious element of their success is the acquisition of economic and symbolic capital through the attainment of visibility in various musical fields in Norway. Another element of their success, which emerged as significant in this study, is whether they can articulate a sense of belonging and local identity along with exploration of their musical pathways in the host country. Any success depends on an intricate and complex interplay between biography and identity through musical engagements. Their biographies can function as resources or obstacles in this interplay (Hesmondhalgh, 2013). The key issue was how musicians could assemble resources from their biography to adjust their musicianship assemblages while crafting and performing coherent identities to position themselves in new musical fields.

The individual unique ways in which my research participants connected themselves with their biographies and with what elements, as well as how they articulated their sense of belonging and their local identities, became apparent only after they were investigated at the micro level. Naive assumptions from tastekeepers involved with migrant musicians that they are all “representatives” of certain cultural expressions can lead to their being musically pigeonholed into single roles. Jorge ruefully described how his role slowly became limited exclusively to that of a Brazilian percussionist and how “*they put me [him] into this frame*”. I mentioned in the beginning of the chapter that among the agendas of the two relevant organisations was to show and promote diversified aesthetic expressions in the country. Any musical gentrification that ensues from working with these organisations will provide new opportunities for musicians to connect with new musical fields. However, it may also cause musicians to be perceived as “typical” representatives of their cultural origins as understood by the organisations with which they work. This can flatten the complex and diverse cultural backgrounds that these musicians come from into simple regional stereotypes.

This stereotyping may *dis*-connect musicians from the musical pathways that lead them to new musical fields as well as to their old musical fields that they wish to be *re*-connected with. Musicians must therefore carefully navigate their musical pathways without losing control of their musicianship assemblages and rather make use of the dominant ideologies as part of their narratives. Pluralistic and reflexive approaches are necessary for the host countries to tackle complex cultural diversity in ways that truly maximise and distribute the resources that migrant musicians bring to a host country.

Note

1 The name was changed to *Kulturtanken* in connection with a larger organisational change; however, Concerts Norway was the name during my research work.

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Afterword

Taste and distinction after Bourdieu

Nick Prior

One of the pleasures of writing an Afterword like this is the licence it gives you to range across the collection, pulling at conceptual threads that seem to dangle, tantalisingly on first read, or to look for thematic flows, cross-currents and rip tides that animate the piece. It is a strength of this collection that it invites inspection of these movements and, by implication, serious engagement with questions of pressing concern to both scholars and practitioners in the fields of popular music studies, the sociology of music, music education, musicology and beyond. It's from a position of enthusiasm and thanks, then, that these words spring.

Scholarly fields can often be crowded with competing terms, neologisms and fashionable buzzwords that do little to advance our understanding of the topic. This is certainly not the case with the concept of “musical gentrification”, which is a process-oriented term that captures the ambivalent ways popular music moves from periphery to centre in public life, and specifically in legitimising institutions like schools, universities, conservatories and academies. If musical tastemakers and gatekeepers are defined as much by their knowledge of popular music as the Western classical canon, then it's important to trace how this happened, and under which agential practices, and scrutinise to what extent these practices rest on and result in processes of inclusion and exclusion. This is about more than musical sounds, forms and styles, in other words. It demands we connect localised practices of decision-making with the crystallisation of these decisions into constraining and enabling social patterns and structures. It is in this sense that the collection invites scrutiny of how music does not just get into action—as documented in the important work of Tia DeNora (2000) and exemplified in the chapter by Hara (Chapter 11)—but is a source for the constitution of social divisions central to modern society.

Perhaps the most important question the collection raises concerns the precise nature and scope of social and cultural change. How should we navigate between optimistic accounts of a general levelling of social hierarchies—a flat idea of the social where differences across genre, taste and social groupings are fluid, outdated or trivial—while not falling into the trap of assuming that societies are static? The guiding idea of musical gentrification is sensitive to this challenge: it charts popular music's journey in modern Norway from a trivialised form

aligned to values of commerce, into a legitimate object of civic and institutional appreciation, with a place on university curricula, treated to doctoral level research, and subject to aesthetic criteria previously reserved for Western classical music. That newer transformations in the status of popular music are carefully documented in the collection is not at the expense of showing how those transformations are entwined with the status strategies of older elites whose practices are scaffolded by entrenched structures of power and inequality.

Musical gentrification is not the only concept in town, of course. It sits alongside a number of other interventions, including the ideas of “cultural omnivorousness” and “aesthetic cosmopolitanism”, both of which refer to an intellectual and aesthetic disposition of “openness” towards a range of (global) styles, genres and places (Szerzynski & Urry, 2002; Peterson & Kern, 1996). With its origins in journalism and some strands of cultural studies, a further conceptual analogue can be found in the idea of “poptimism”, the critical advocacy of the seriousness of popular culture and its polymorphous pleasures. As Austerlitz notes, popcritics want to be “in touch with the taste of average music fans, to speak the rush that comes from hearing a great single on the radio, or YouTube, and to value it no differently from a song with more ‘serious’ artistic intent” (Austerlitz, 2014). What “average” means, here, of course, is moot and articulates the double-coded nature of popcriticism as both an opposition to bourgeois aesthetics, and an attempt to hive off the popcritic as capable of intellectualising low culture. Indeed, the very appearance of popular music studies in the academy is a part result of these moves.

A fourth, closely related, intervention is the concept of “artification” and derives from French sociology (Shapiro, 2019). The concept speaks to long-term processes of change whereby cultural forms as wide-ranging as fashion, the circus, theatrical productions, ceramics, cinema, gastronomy and graffiti are afforded the status of “art”. The work of artification demands that scholars research not only how some things end up being called “art”, and cultural workers “artists”, “but what conditions triggered that change and what it entails” (Shapiro, 2019, p. 266). Like musical gentrification, artification implies a repositioning tied to the activities of collective agents, such as nation states and their funding strategies, the outcome of which is the attribution of symbolic distinction to forms of culture once considered undistinguished. From processes of patronage and intellectualisation, to professionalisation and legal consolidation, artification reveals how low-status works, texts and authors can become open to a series of border crossings into the realms of art.

The idea of musical gentrification, as it is deployed in this collection, extends these debates in two directions. First, it provides much-needed detail on the socio-cultural dynamics of taste formation local to Norway, which is a particularly instructive case. Commonly considered to be one of the most equal and progressive countries in the world, with a developed welfare system and social democratic impulse, the collection cautions against taking national (and perhaps somewhat self-congratulatory), discourses of egalitarianism at face value. Norway is a modern capitalist society after all, sharing many of the social

pathologies and deep divisions that are characteristic of globalised, neo-liberal societies at large. Indeed, there's a case for saying that if systematic inequalities and divisions can be found in Norway across lines of class, gender and ethnicity, then it's likely that these will be replicated or augmented elsewhere. Still, the collection presents the reader with a meticulous account (much of it from an "insider's" perspective) of the multiple ways Norway's cultural fields and educational institutions operate with logics of inclusion and exclusion when it comes to popular music.

Second, and relatedly, musical gentrification is shown to be a process that is far from smooth, linear or complete. On the contrary, it is riven with residual hierarchies, internal divisions and a re-entrenchment of socio-cultural differences. These include positional attributes (including what counts as national or regional musics) based on ethno-racial grounds (Hara, Chapter 11), the under-representation of women in the higher reaches of the academy (Nielsen, Chapter 8), and the differentiation of country music subgenres according to divisions between the taste cultures of the rural working class and urban elites (Vestby, Chapter 4). The collection also examines the extent to which the effects of the expansion of popular music into primary, secondary and higher education is the retrenchment of the institutional power of white middle-class men who are, by all accounts, increasingly at home discussing rock and pop in aesthetically credible ways (Nielsen, Chapter 8). Here, if the "cultural omnivore" thesis is to have any traction at all, then it should not lose sight of the fact that a widened palette of tastes might just be another cultural strategy of the bourgeois scholar or critic to re-assert their privilege in a less binarised (high versus low) system of cultural stratification. After all, to be "well-rounded" (an historical characteristic of the English gentry and the values of aristocratic connoisseurship), is to perform one's taste across a range of cultural forms. There is clearly symbolic power to be had in navigating a newly expanded domain of music, particularly when the criteria used to articulate its credentials align so closely to established patterns of valorisation redolent of discourses of Western art music.

Which brings us to the enduring significance of Bourdieu and why he is still such an important figure in these debates. Clearly, Bourdieusian thought is no longer a contemporary intervention but where the whole discussion of taste and social inequality tends to begin these days. The gist of his ideas is not just limited to the academy either. For while the act of dethroning legitimate culture as inherently superior and instead showing it to be socially rooted and differentiating is still a sociological necessity, it's revealing that the idea that cultural preferences are socially stratified has become a logic embedded in the whole business of marketing music and tracking the tastes of customers. On the one hand, then, one can understand the reticence to "let go of Bourdieu", not least because he seems to be the best option for scholars wanting to anchor their analyses of culture in class and social stratification. Deploying Bourdieu against the loose theorisations of postmodern cultural theory is particularly satisfying and necessary. And yet, on the other hand, if scholars do want to remain attached to the Bourdieusian problematic, they need to seriously question whether ideas

born of empirical engagements with French data in the 1960s are transmutable, wholesale, across time and space. The collection cleaves closely to Bourdieu, and this is understandable, but there are times when it also reveals cracks in the edifice of his ideas, and why it might be helpful to either refine his categories or push beyond them to capture the complexities of the present.

There are three dimensions to this. The first is the need to attend to what appear to be more subtle practices of distinction, where the inspection of difference can often be at the level of micro-differentiations and adjustments. Hence, if one looks within genre categories (particularly within *popular* music genres which remain wholly undifferentiated by Bourdieu himself) rather than across them, there is the potential to see how internal distinctions play into broader value systems and hierarchies, such as those that divide rural and urban social groups (Vestby, Chapter 4). Seemingly omnivorous taste preferences can then be shown to piggyback on older logics of distinction-seeking. One example might be the elite attraction towards African American popular culture perceived to be authentic, such as blues, jazz or hip-hop (Skårberg & Karlsen, Chapter 7). To what extent do these engagements tell us something about the internal anxieties felt by elites around a perceived lack of their own authenticity (Hahl, Zuckerman, & Kim, 2017)? Indeed, to refine Bourdieusian analytics, if elites are more inclined to perform their appreciation for lowbrow, “authentic” or outsider art, perhaps this tells us something about the continued importance of distinterestedness as essential to the perceived purity of cultural attachment—hip-hop keeps things “real”, in other words.

It’s a strength of the collection that some of these micro adjustments are given careful attention, in turn pointing up the importance of deploying methodological tools, such as observation, biographical portraits and autoethnography (Karlsen, Chapter 9; Bates, Chapter 10), that are better equipped to describe the intricacies and conflicts of taste acquisition and display. It also raises the question of how stable Bourdieu’s rather stark divisions between high/low systems of classification are and to what extent cultural fields traditionally polarised between autonomous and heteronomous works of art are more intricately structured as meshworks of value.

The second dimension concerns how best to make sense of contemporary mediations of popular music in what is often, if a little glibly, called the “digital age”. How should we inspect digital processes that have undoubtedly disrupted macrological and micrological levels of music production and consumption—not just the shape of the music industry itself and the advent of platform logics, but the sensory experiences of digitalised music consumption and how we discover new music? Is it the case that an engorged digital system of streaming—where choice appears increasingly bewildering—necessitates new kinds of distinction strategies? If so, how is that reflected in musical choices and the management of taste profiles, as well as the subtle ways we talk about our preferences? Is it even helpful to begin with Bourdieusian ways of seeing when digital technologies have played such a fundamental role in extending, amassing and circulating music culture in ways that transform not just what music sounds like,

but what it is? It's certainly of limited value to look to Bourdieu for a serious examination of technologies of mediation, not least because he barely mentions technology at all in his writings.

The collection is relatively coy in inspecting recent changes to the mediation of popular music among diverse, stratified populations, but if young people are increasingly likely to listen to music through YouTube and TikTok, there are surely implications for how scholars measure and explain the acquisition of musical capital. Indeed, where music actually resides is not a straightforward question when it leaks so liberally into the digital ecologies of convergent forms like memes, video games and micro-blogging sites. Similarly, important questions raised in the collection, such as how hegemony is secured (Wright, Chapter 6), and symbolic violence operates (Vestby, Chapter 4), may well be up for grabs when algorithms have become so precisely configured to predict and shape our music tastes. One does not have to fall into the trap of assuming digital technologies have obliterated all social distinctions to recognise that they have nevertheless made a huge impact on music engagements and attachments. Indeed, it is plausible to suggest that musical gentrification is one of the results of a voracious escalation in the sheer quantity of music that is available to consumers, and that institutions like universities are one of the new legitimising filters of this information. Yet, when something like 500 hours of YouTube footage is uploaded every minute, when musical styles are undergoing constant mutation in and through the digital practices of "new amateurs" (Prior, 2019) and when Spotify is increasingly providing a gatekeeping role itself—endlessly serving up perfectly matched, algorithmically-generated playlists—one has to ask to what extent it is sufficient to limit our analyses to "modern" agents like scholars and critics, and institutions like universities. If it is not sufficient, then what other ways are there, perhaps beyond Bourdieu, to understand how consumers navigate and adapt to a fast-changing musical landscape, where musical content is fire-hosed at them as liberally as water?

Third, there's the question of the adequacy of Bourdieu's (1982) approach to the qualitative attachments that people have towards music. Despite, or perhaps because of, his well-known dictum that music is the classifier, par excellence, of one's class, it's unclear how much Bourdieu was actually interested in the details of people's interactions with music. In *Distinction*, if a respondent said they liked or preferred Petula Clark, they became part of a block category of consumers who were assumed to share the same tastes for popular music. But, of course, this tells us nothing about intra-variations in tastes profiles: how much they liked or loved Petula Clark, whether they were moved by the lyrics or the melody, or indeed whether they had a change of heart and started listening to a completely different type of music the following month. Bourdieu's class subjects are arguably abstracted as theoretical subjects devoid of the mess of real-world subjectivity and contradiction, here.

It's of no surprise that recent work in both social theory (Lahire, 2011) and the sociology of music (Hennion, 2015) has attempted to recover some of the contingent lumpiness of socialisation, as well as how encounters with music are

always an active exchange of properties with it. That Bourdieu's consumers can often appear a little flat (in the way they are plotted on the tables and diagrams that populate the book *Distinction*, for instance), is not in itself cause to reject his ideas *in toto*, but it is enough to supplement them with approaches more sensitive to the dynamic, lively and sense-making elements of musical lives. All of which is to say that where one's tastes *tend* to gravitate is still instructive and important, but so too are the sensory lifeworlds in which they are activated.

As for the concept of musical gentrification, one would hope (and, indeed, expect) to see it enrich and help clarify a number of debates about the social trajectories of popular music, and provide the inspiration for further scholarly investigations not just into how it is learned, spoken about and institutionalised but also how (despite popoptimist discourses) it continues to socially sort, exclude and divide (Hesmondhalgh, 2013). Just as the impetus in the collection is to move the idea of gentrification beyond its origins in urban studies, so it also seeks to add nuance to that term: hence, the theoretical and substantive gestures mentioned in the collection towards "genderfication", intersectionality and the necessity of de-colonising the academy. To the credit of the authors and editors, the concept of musical gentrification, as it is put to work, is flexible and open enough to accommodate these additions, giving it a potentially long shelf life. And that is clearly to the benefit of the field of studies as a whole.

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