BRIEF
PRIhME
Assembly 1

PRIhME
stakeholder assembly

Dear participants of the PRIhME stakeholder assembly,

soon the first PRIhME-assembly will take place. In this brief we have compiled some texts and videos which are meant for you as preparatory material before the assembly.

The first (and most important) document is the **expert paper** written by **Dr. Anna Bull**, a sociologist based in the United Kingdom. She has written "Class, control, and classical music", a very important book on Western Art Music where she explores how socioeconomic background and gender influence those who play, study and consume (listen to) Western Art Music in the United Kingdom. Dr. Bull has written a paper especially for you that draws on her research. In it she looks at **what power and power relations mean within Higher Music Education**. When reading her article please keep her background as a researcher in Western Art Music and Higher Music Education in the United Kingdom in mind – it influences her way of how she writes about these topics.

If you have time and want to prepare some more, we have included a selection of videos and article excerpts which we think are interesting. These are divided into different topics:

Robert Chambers video "Power – the elephant in the room" gives a brief introduction to **power** and what it means. The excerpt from "The academisation of popular music in higher music education: the case of Norway" and the video "AEC – Power Relations in Higher Music Education Institutions" discuss **power relations** from different perspectives. **Hierarchies** make up an important part of power relations and the excerpt from "Musical genius and/or nasty piece of work?" as well as from "Questioning Being" from "Living a feminist life" gives an introduction to that. Finally, **canons** are also influenced by different stakeholders who have power – something that the excerpt from the book "Gender and the musical canon" discusses.

We, the editorial board, hope you have a stimulating preparation for the first assembly, and we look forward to hearing about the results from your discussions in September!

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(The PRIhME Editorial Board)

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Power relations and hierarchies
in higher music education institutions

Dr Anna Bull (University of York)

This report introduces the concepts of *power relations and hierarchies* in higher music education institutions. It then explores how these intersect with *social inequalities* and are reproduced through *invisible practices*. Finally, it outlines *challenges and ways forward* for addressing them. Due to my research expertise, it focuses primarily on examples relating to classical music in the UK. However, these examples may be helpful for thinking about similarities and differences across genres and national contexts.

Before introducing these concepts, we will start with an example. In research with young classical musicians in England,[1] a few students mentioned bullying behaviour they had experienced from music teachers. These behaviours included getting angry at the student for their lack of progress, shouting at them, making them cry, and humiliating them in front of others. For example, one student, Jonathan[2] described his first year at a conservatoire:

> I had a really tough first year actually, I had a real bastard of a teacher. He really, really broke me. But I persevered, and I do actually appreciate him breaking me down. I needed to have that humility brought to me, so I could realise this is where I am, and I have this potential to be a lot better than what I think I am, so whilst it did depress me, I persevered.

Jonathan did not label this behaviour as bullying. He describes how his teacher 'broke' him and 'knocked him down', but he says he is grateful that his 'bastard of a teacher' acted this way, even though he became depressed due to these experiences. In common with the other students in this research who described problematic behaviour from music teachers, Jonathan did not see this behaviour as wrong. Instead, all these students thought that their teachers were right to behave in this way because they (the students) weren't good enough musicians, weren't working hard enough, or weren't mature enough.

These accounts raise questions. Why did these students think that it was normal for their teachers to behave in this way? Why did the teachers think this was acceptable? Did other staff and students – such as faculty, administrators, managers, support staff – know about and accept these behaviours? And if these behaviours were seen as normal, would worse behaviours also be accepted as normal?

This report explores the cultures that enables such behaviours to occur, starting by introducing the context in which they occur: hierarchies of value in higher music education.

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1. Bull, Anna. 2019. *Class, Control and Classical Music*. New York: Oxford University Press.
2. All names have been changed to protect anonymity.

Hierarchies within institutions and within society can take different forms. One way that hierarchies work is to create a shared understanding of who is valuable and who is less valuable within an institution or a society. In music education, hierarchies of value can be based on real or perceived differences. These differences can be examined on three levels:

1. *Wider social inequalities or differences* ('macro' level)
   - These include gender, class, race, disability, nationality, sexuality, gender identity, age
     - An example is prestigious leadership positions such as conducting being predominantly taken up by men.

2. *Status and role within the institution* ('meso' level)
   - These include level of study (first year, postgraduate); being given awards or prizes within the institution; status as a staff member or student, or as permanent or part-time; department; instrument and genre of music studied
     - An example is some instruments being valued more than others, for example, if piano students are given more prestigious performance opportunities than brass students.

3. *Inter-personal or individual differences* ('micro' level)
   - These include being labelled as 'talented' by a teacher; being confident, charismatic or funny; or taking an informal leadership role.
     - An example might be the seating order of players in the orchestra (with the 'best' players being in the top positions).

These three levels are not separate from one another. For example, status within the institution is easier to achieve for some social groups than others, such as white people or men. This means that *hierarchies of musical ability – 'talent' or 'ability' – are not fully objective criteria* but are based on judgements that may be influenced by hierarchies of value.

In my research, *music students usually supported and agreed with the hierarchies within classical music education*. They thought that the system was fair and they wanted to be rewarded for their hard work. They tended to have a deep sense of trust in their teachers and thought that teachers' judgements about students' ability were accurate, for example in ranking them for orchestral places. In fact, teaching or administrative staff who tried to bring about changes sometimes found these resisted by students.[3]

However, these hierarchies of value can have negative effects on students who are devalued. In Perkins' study of a music conservatoire in England, she found there was *a 'star' system in which some students were valued more than others*. As a result, students were not only learning their instrument, they were also 'learning where they fit in conservatoire hierarchies'.[4] One student in Perkins' study, Fay, described how the sense of 'hierarchy and competition' led to her 'just feeling cast aside, and also

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3. See also Geoff Baker's account of attempts at progressive change in a music education programme in Colombia (open access book): Baker, Geoff. 2020. *Rethinking Social Action through Music: The Search for Coexistence and Citizenship in Medellín's Music Schools*. Open Book Publishing.

4. Perkins, Rosie. 2013. Hierarchies and Learning in the Conservatoire: Exploring What Students Learn through the Lens of Bourdieu. *Research Studies in Music Education* 35 (2), 197–212. p. 208. See also: Perkins, Rosie. 2011. *The Construction of "Learning Cultures": An Ethnographically-Informed Case Study of a UK Conservatoire*. Cambridge.

not helped or supported'. She thought that these hierarchies were fixed early on:

> I think it's immediately decided as soon as you enter, what you're going to become.
> And maybe they're right, and maybe they're wrong, but there is definitely a sense
> that you've got your place, you've got your role.

These examples draw on classical music institutions and practices. In the UK, the hierarchy of cultural value favours classical music over other genres.[5] However, in jazz education in Sweden, similar patterns are visible to jazz music, in that class background affects entry into higher education as well as instrument choice.[6] Hierarchies of what and who is valued may vary across genres, for example, in popular music studies or traditional music.

How social inequalities shape hierarchies

As this quote from Fay shows, hierarchies can create a culture where some students are not supported to learn and progress. These hierarchies of value may be based in part on perceived musical proficiency, but they are also based on other factors. These include *social capital*, i.e. social networks with those in positions of power, and *symbolic cultural capital* or prestige.[7] These hierarchies are also shaped by wider social inequalities, such as those of gender, class, race, or disability. For example, in some music education institutions, stereotypes exist about East Asian heritage classical musicians, such as myths that they are not as 'musical' as white European students.[8] These stereotypes are based on wider social hierarchies in which whiteness is valued over other racialized identities.

Staff/faculty are also affected by these hierarchies and inequalities. In conservatoires in the UK, positions of prestige and authority – such as conductors, music directors, or conservatoire teaching staff – are more likely to be held by men than women. Less prestigious roles – such as teaching outside of conservatoires – are more likely to be held by women.[9] Therefore, *the belief that talent and hard work will be rewarded is at odds with the reality that some groups are more likely to be in prestigious roles than others.*

As well as hierarchies of value relating to social inequalities, *there also exist hierarchies within, and between, musical genres*. Classical music – and the skills, knowledge, repertoire, and instruments associated with it – is often seen as more valuable than other genres. For example, in the UK, classical music is given substantially more state funding than other genres.[10] This can lead to skills, knowledge,

5. Bull, Anna, & Scharff, Christina. 2017. "McDonalds" Music' Versus "Serious Music": How Production and Consumption Practices Help to Reproduce Class Inequality in the Classical Music Profession. *Cultural Sociology* 11 (3), 283–301.

6. Nylander, Erik, & Melldahl, Andreas. 2015. Playing with capital: Inherited and acquired assets in a jazz audition. *Poetics* 48, 83–106.

7. Perkins, 2013, p. 207.

8. See for example: Yang, Mina. 2007. East Meets West in the Concert Hall: Asians and Classical Music in the Century of Imperialism, Post-Colonialism, and Multiculturalism. *Asian Music* 38 (1), 1–30.

9. Scharff, Christina. 2017. *Gender, Subjectivity, and Cultural Work: The Classical Music Profession*. London: Routledge; Scharff, Christina. 2015. Equality and Diversity in the Classical Music Profession. Kings College London. http://blogs.kcl.ac.uk/young-female-and-entrepreneurial/files/2014/02/Equality-and-Diversity-in-the-Classical-Music-Profession.pdf (accessed: 10.08.2021). Patterns of inequalities for both staff and students across all institutions within higher music education in the UK will be addressed in the forthcoming EDIMS network research report; see further information at https://www.edimusicstudies.com/working-groups (accessed: 10.08.2021).

10. Bull and Scharff, 2017.

repertoire or instruments associated with other genres being less valued within institutions.

Even within a genre, there can also be hierarchies of value of instruments, or subgenres. For example, an orchestral career might be seen as more valuable than being a piano accompanist or a teacher.[11] These hierarchies can lead to some types of music – and some musicians – being seen as more valuable than others.

Understanding power relations

These hierarchies and inequalities shape power relations in higher music education. It is helpful to talk about *'power relations'* rather than simply 'power'. This means that, rather than power being possessed by some people and not others, power *relations* are created through shared ideas of what is 'normal', through invisible practices (as discussed below). As a result, *power relations can make us want to do certain things rather than others*. This also means that power can have both positive and negative effects at the same time. An example of power relations can be seen in this interview with two singers talking about the conductor of their choir:

> KATHERINE: I like it that he's so demanding, he pushes us. […] He's just so good at hearing the holistic sound, the overall sound, but actually knowing what everyone's voice... *he knows* who is not quite there.
>
> HANNAH: *He knows* what needs to be done to get the blend perfect.
>
> KATHERINE: And *he knows* exactly who it is that isn't quite with it. And that can be quite...
>
> HANNAH: Scary!
>
> KATHERINE: Intimidating, at times, because you know, you know if you're tired or something, you know that he will have heard it.

In this quote, the feeling of being watched – one way in which power relations operate – makes Hannah and Katherine hyper-aware of their own errors because they think their conductor will notice. In this way, the power relations between these singers and their conductor influence their music-making in subtle but powerful ways. Hannah and Katherine describe this relation of power with their conductor as positive – he pushes them to do their best – but at the same time, as intimidating and scary. This example shows how *it is important to understand power relations not solely as repressive or negative*. Instead, they can be experienced in complex ways, including as pleasurable or exciting.[12]

The relations of power in this example are shaped by inequalities of age, gender, expertise, and institutional role. In relation to *age*, their conductor is significantly older than them and this contributes to an unequal dynamic. There is also the potential for unequal power relations based on *gender*; as noted above, men are much more likely than women to hold positions of power in music, and in wider society. On the institutional level, his *expertise* also, in this instance, forms a relation of inequality. His expertise gives him more value than the young singers. And finally, his *institutional role* confers authority on him. The institution has designated him as someone who is entitled to speak and be

11. Bull, Anna, & Scharff, Christina. (2021). Classical music as genre: Hierarchies of value within freelance classical musicians' discourses. *European Journal of Cultural Studies* 24 (3), 1–17.

12. Reitsamer, Rosa; Prokop, Rainer, & Bull, Anna. (Under review). Power Relations in Higher Music Education: Using Foucault to Theorise Teachers' and Students' Experiences of the Master-Apprentice Model.

listened to. Not only that, he is being paid to be there while Hannah and Katherine are both *paying* fees to participate in the choir. These structural and institutional inequalities are shaping the experience of power relations that Hannah and Katherine describe between themselves and their conductor.

On top of these structural and institutional factors that shape the power relations between conductor and singers in this group, there are also *interpersonal factors* that contribute to relations of power. For example, *charisma* is a form of interpersonal power. As Nisbett and Walmsley have suggested,[13] charismatic leadership in the arts can 'supplant ethics, strategy and reason' and therefore we should be wary of it. As such, while charisma can help to produce brilliant musical experiences, it can also be a form of power that leads to people accepting unethical or problematic behaviour.

Power relations are not just present between people, but they also *contribute to forming people's identity and their sense of self.* In this quote, a young woman, Megan, explains how her relationship with her singing teacher shaped her sense of self:

> I wouldn't be the person I [am] without my singing lessons [...] you go on such a personal journey with [your teacher] [...], they craft *you*. It feels like she crafted me around my voice in my singing lessons [...] I think I totally trusted her, trusted her judgement, trusted how she was teaching me. [...] I can't regret those lessons because I can't think of how I would be if I hadn't had them.

This quote shows how Megan's relationship with her teacher made her into the person she is. This is an example of power relations that are positive and enable Megan to do things she would not have been able to otherwise. Overall, rather than aiming to create a culture where power does not exist, it is important to explore how it can work in positive, rather than oppressive, ways.

Invisible practices

Rather than being clearly visible, many of the hierarchies and relations of power described above are produced through invisible practices. One way of describing these invisible practices is the 'hidden curriculum' of music education. The hidden curriculum is:

> The *unstated norms, values and beliefs* that are transmitted to students through the underlying structure of meaning in both *the formal content* as well as *the social relations* of school and classroom life.[14]

The formal content refers to *what* is being taught (repertoire, knowledge). The 'social relations' refer to relationships between people, such as the hierarchies and inequalities described above. In the example of the choir conductor, above, the social relations reveal one aspect of the 'hidden curriculum': the belief that hierarchy and authority are essential for excellence in musical performance in classical music.

In order to make these invisible practices and the 'hidden curriculum' of music education visible, it is important to seek out the voices of people who are not usually heard within the organisation. One

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13. Nisbett, Melissa, & Walmsley, Ben. 2016. The Romanticization of Charismatic Leadership in the Arts. *The Journal of Arts Management, Law, and Society* 46 (1), 1–11.

14. Giroux, Henry A., & Penna, Anthony N. 1979. 'Social Education in the Classroom: The Dynamics of the Hidden Curriculum'. *Theory & Research in Social Education*, 7 (1), 21-42.

example of this can be seen in the quotes above: young women's perspectives are not usually sought, and they are likely to present a very different view of power relations and hierarchies to those in positions of power. Indeed, people in positions of power may not recognise that they are exerting power. Instead, *relations of power may only be apparent to those who are positioned as powerless within the institution* or interaction.

Challenges and ways forward

To return to the example from the start of this report, *one reason for addressing power relations in higher music education is to prevent abuses of power such as bullying and harassment.* Professor Liz Kelly has described how some environments create a 'conducive context' where abuses of power are more likely to occur. 'Conducive contexts' tend to have 'institutionalised power and authority that creates a sense of entitlement, to which there [is], limited external challenge'[15]. The power and authority that can exist in higher music education institutions can contribute to creating a conducive context for abuses of power to occur. Indeed, a recent report from the Royal Academy of Music[16] in London described a 'culture of fear' within the institution. In this 'culture of fear', students were too scared to speak up about sexual harassment by staff members.

This culture is not an inevitable part of music education. Instead, it is produced (in part) by power relations and hierarchies. Our challenge is to first make these power relations and hierarchies visible, and then to challenge them.

15. Kelly, Liz. 2007. A Conducive Context: Trafficking of Persons in Central Asia. In *Human Trafficking*, ed. Maggy Lee. London: Willan Publishing, 73-91.

16. Kopelman, Peter; Boylan, Maureen, & Kashti, Rebecca. 2020. *Review of Safeguarding Arrangements*. Royal Academy of Music, University of London. https://s3.eu-west-1.amazonaws.com/whitespace-ram/production/Review-of-Safeguarding-Arrangements.pdf (accessed: 10.08.2021).

Power

Robert Chambers: Power – the elephant in the room
https://vimeo.com/user13958607/review/70933318/691547376b

Power relations

(video)
AEC *Power Relations in Higher Music Education Institutions*
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=glxqNRZN3nY

(article excerpt)
Dyndahl, Petter; Karlsen, Sidsel; Nielsen, Siw Graabræk, & Skårberg, Odd. 2017.
The academisation of popular music in higher music education: the case of Norway. *Music Education Research* 19 (4), 438–454.

"Nowadays, instead of mainly pursuing exploratory, if not celebratory, inquiries into the informal learnings of various kinds of popular musicians, many of the Nordic music education scholars perform critical investigations into the consequences of popular music having held an almost hegemonic position within compulsory school music education for the last few decades. Georgii-Hemming and Westvall (2010) point, among other things, to the fact that the large emphasis on popular music in Swedish compulsory school music education has limited both its repertoire, its content and its teaching methods. They also note that the practice of (mostly) taking the students' personal musical interests as a point of departure for teaching might work to further marginalise minority or socio- economically disadvantaged groups, since their access to other forms of music hence becomes sparse. Furthermore, Björck (2011), Kamsvåg (2011) and Onsrud (2013) discuss the gendered implications of school popular music in Sweden and Norway with respect to, for example, the limited access of girls to any other role than that of lead singer or dancer, the unfortunate gender stereotyping often found in (and adapted from) certain popular music styles, and the 'sexualized femininities' (Björck 2011, 183) implicated in music videos, and which can constitute a problem both for the girls per-

forming in and for the teachers being responsible for facilitating the music lessons. Other critical angles include Dyndahl and Nielsen's (2014) reflections on the shifting authenticities in Scandinavian music education, from, among other things, valuing formally acquired musical knowledge and skills to celebrating and rewarding 'students' autonomy' (109) and even considering '[the] cor- responding lack of teacher control as positive criteria for the evaluation of a good result' (109; see also Zandén 2010). Kallio (2015), on the other hand, is concerned with Finnish compulsory school music teachers' popular repertoire selection processes in a school and curricular context where 'all musics' are seemingly welcomed, and where 'teachers ... are afforded considerable freedoms in selecting popular repertoire' (195). Building largely on a sociological theoretical framework, she aims to con- struct what she terms 'the school censorship frame (195), in other words mapping the societal forces that frame and "influence teachers" decisions to include or exclude popular musics' (197)." (p. 439)

Hierarchies

ABSTRACT:

For many years, the mistreatment of women in particular has essentially been normalized in many parts of the music industry. In recent years, however, there has been an increase in women coming forward and telling their stories, and asking that men be held accountable for wrongdoing. This interdisciplinary (sociology and philosophy) paper pursues two key feminist questions prompted by recent developments.

Firstly: How has the construction of the history of popular music legitimated the continuation of this situation? 'Looking back' historically and sociologically, examples are provided of the legitimation or ignoring of violence against women (VAW) in the history of popular music to date.

Secondly: How should we [archivists, historians, heritage curators and popular music educators], from now on, construct the history of popular music in a way that doesn't legitimate VAW? Turning to 'look forward', applied ethics frameworks are used to explore different aspects of this second question.

"[W]hat should be done with the work of men who have committed these acts of violence. The appeal of removing an artist or their work from public accounts is that it equates to punishment for bad behaviour. This has two aspects: retributive justice (the artist 'gets what they deserve', which some might think is to languish in obscurity) and deterrence (others should think twice before attempting the same behaviours). Using an applied ethics approach, however, leads to different conclusions. There is, to begin with, a dishonesty in pretending that an artist and their work did not exist, and what is more, we risk losing history and creative output that there might be value in keeping. We argue that the separation between the artist and the work is extremely important, in all areas, including popular music. In philosophy, the Latin term 'ad hominem' ('against the person') refers to the fallacious practice of dismissing an argument on the basis of the person advocating it. This is a fallacious practice because the quality of an argument (or a piece of artistic work, we would argue) stands regardless of the person advocating it (or creating it, in the case of artistic work). Human beings are almost always a mix of good and bad qualities, so it is unsurprising that criminal behaviour sometimes co-exists with artistic genius. We need to 'work with' this complexity of human beings rather than deny it.

What is more, if we don't clearly separate the artist's work from their behaviour, then we end up caught between two unacceptable options:

(1) reject the artist's work as well as their behaviour. We see this as unacceptable because we risk losing access to some important cultural heritage, which in some sense belongs to everyone – so the censorious approach seems too strong even in the case of extremely abhorrent acts.

(2) accept the artist's behaviour as well as their work. This is also unacceptable because, as discussed above, there is no excuse for VAW.

[...] So this all leads us to the position that the best approach is to separate the work from the behaviour, then acknowledge the artistic quality of the work and acknowledge the criminal or morally questionable aspects of the behaviour." (p. 575f)

"Throughout the history of popular music there have been numerous instances of proven and alleged VAW by musicians and industry workers, to the point that this could be considered a normalized part of popular music culture. Using an applied ethics approach, we conclude that there is a responsibility for those recording this history to ensure that these types of behaviours are not excused, minimized or left out of the record altogether." (p. 577)

"Questions can hover around, a murmuring, an audible rising of volume that seems to accompany an arrival. Perhaps we come to expect that murmur; perhaps we too murmur; we become part of the chorus of questions; we might come to question ourselves. Do I belong here? Will I be caught out? Do I fit in here? "I am" becomes "am I?"

Perhaps any of us can feel the weight of questions that are taken on and in as one's own. We can seek to ask these questions, whatever we are asked. Education aims to throw life back up as a question, after all; these moments of suspension, before things are reassembled, are the moments of being thrown. To throw things up is to be opened up. And we can be thrown in so many ways: by what we encounter, by whom we encounter. Perhaps privilege offers some protection from being questioned or becoming questionable: a buffer zone as a zone without questions. And perhaps the modes of questioning I am describing here relate to how a body is identified in relation to a group whose residence is in question. This is how you can inherit a question, how you can become questionable before you even arrive.

If we have a body that is expected to turn up, we might be less likely to be caught by what comes up. Cultural studies as a discipline begins with the lived experiences of not residing, of not being received well by where you end up, experiences of working- class kids ending up in elite institutions, experiences of diasporic kids ending up in the same institutions. When you don't fit, you fidget. How quickly the fidgeting body appears to be not residing in the right place. Eyebrows are raised. Really; really? Are you sure?

What I am calling diversity work involves transforming questions into a catalog. A catalog does not assume each question as the same question, but it is a way of hearing continuities and resonances. It is a way of thinking of how questions accumulate; how they have a cumulative effect on those who receive them. You can be worn down by the requirement to give answers, to explain yourself. It is not a melancholic task; to catalog these questions, even if some of the questions are experienced as traumatic, difficult, or exhausting. To account for experiences of not being given residence is not only a sad political lesson, a lesson of what we have had to give up in order to keep going. After all, think of how much we know about institutional life because of these failures of residence, of how the categories in which we are immersed become explicit when you do not quite inhabit them. When we do not recede into the background, when we stand out or stand apart, we can bring the background into the front: before we can confront something we have to front up to how much depends on your background.

A questioning can become the source of political excitement and interest. Think about this: when you don't sink, when you fidget and move around, then what is in the background becomes in front of you, as a world that is gathered in a specific way. Discomfort, in other words, allows things to move. Every experience I have had of pleasure and excitement about a world opening up has begun with such ordinary feelings of discomfort, of not quite fitting in

a chair, of becoming unseated, of being left holding onto the ground. If we start with a body that does not sink into the chair, the world we describe will be quite different. Perhaps we are speaking here of the promise of reorientation." (p. 131-133)

Canon

According to *Webster's Ninth New Collegiate Dictionary*, "canon" traces back through Middle and Old English to Latin, and to Greek "kanon," to denote "ruler, rue, model, standard." Modern meanings basically expand on these definitions. A few entail church practice, including the concepts of "dogma" and a particular type of clergyman. The meaning most pertinent here are "an authoritative list of books accepted as Holy Scripture," and, even more germane, "the authentic works of a writer; *also*: a usually specified group or a body of related works." Another definition entails "a criterion or standard of judgment." From these one can infer that canons are exemplary, act as models, instruct, represent high quality, endure, and embody at least some degree of moral and ethical force.

Secular canons have similar implications. In the sense of a specified body of works in a given field, canons exert tremendous power. By setting standards they represent what is considered worthy of inclusion. Works that do not measure up are excluded, either in the sense of deliberately omitted or ignored and hence forgotten. Canons are therefore exclusive. They represent certain sets of values or ideologies, which in turn represent certain segments of society. Canons self-perpetuate. As models to be emulated, they replicate their encoded values in subsequent exemplars. As canonic values become entrenched over time, the prescriptive and normative powers of canons become even greater. Their tenacity and authority create the ideology that they are timeless. As such it is assumed that they do not change. Yet the main aspect of canons that tends to remain constant is the ideology itself of immutability. In practice, however, the social values encoded in a given canon may change – not daily or monthly but over some larger period of time, perhaps every ten or fifteen years. This would entail overlapping modifications, not some concerted sea change. (p. 15)

[...]

As in literature, the many canons in music fall into two main categories: disciplinary and repertorial. In musicology, for instance, we can identify such disciplinary paradigms as Western art music, Schenker analysis, sketch studies, archival work, documentation, objectified language, era periodization, historical emphasis, and scholarly journals. With additional

thought we would realize that other concepts would probably not fit our list, at least easily, such as slang language, rap music, or MTV. Many of these, however, are being challenged as musicology approaches a new century. Because of the multiplicity of musical disciplines, such as the recording industry, the music-publishing industry, the music-book publishing industry, and performing-groups organizations, disciplinary canons in music as a whole are difficult to identify. If one were to compare in a systematic way the nature of disciplinary paradigms from one area to another the results would yield some fascinating insights into the sociology of music. What mainly concerns our here, however, is the discipline of musicology, although other musical areas affect the discourse of the canon formation of art music.

Repertorial and disciplinary canons might be easy to define as separate entities, but in practice they interact in flexible and fluid ways. To illustrate: without the accepted disciplinary convention of preparing musical editions, many pieces of early music, for example masses of Dufay, would not be canonic. Similarly, disciplinary paradigms are both shaped and supported by canonic repertories. For example, sketch studies might not be considered paradigmatic if Beethoven's music were not already deemed canonic.

Repertorial canons exist in many forms. There are canons of works performed by professional groups and individuals, and each performing area has its own canon. Furthermore, there are canons for groups that inhabit a particular historical niche. Early music groups form an important type. Because of their dependence on scholarship for the production of musical scores, early music performers tend to have close ties with the musicological community and its disciplinary paradigms. The other principal type is new-music groups. in the United States these usually flourish in the university, around active composers, or in a few instances as independent groups in large cities. If the group really presents *new* music then one cannot speak of a canon, i.e. a repeating repertoire, for new, previously unperformed music is being emphasized. New compositions, however, can qualify as pre-canonic: they could become canonic at some later stage. In the sense of a disciplinary paradigm, what is "canonic" in this context is that new compositions are receiving a first hearing. If, however, the group takes a chronologically broader view of contemporary music, as a repertoire that is not confined to world premières and can include "classics" such as Boulez and Babbitt, then a repertorial canon, in various stages of formation, is in evidence.

A paradox emerges from the relationship between new music and canons. I suspect that at least some contemporary composers do not believe in the efficacy of repertorial canon. In perpetuating music of the past canons have made conditions that much more difficult for the creation and acceptance of new music. Yet composers want their music to be performed, and not just at a première. But once repeatability becomes a norm the spectre of canonicity looms as a possibility (although statistically not a very likely one) and historicism takes hold, thus reinforcing the bias against new works. Perhaps composers would wish to have their works performed many times, and perhaps they might say that the war-horses could yield to a model of diversity. That might involve significant changes in patronage, financing, function, and the general position of the composer in society. "Canonic" would not mean what it does now, and perhaps a new vocabulary would have to emerge to reflect the modified structures.

Recordings represent another type of canonic repertoire. They are an important medium for the dissemination of music to the wider public and thus possess potent cultural force. The

powerful recording industry controls the production and distribution of who, what, and by whom is recorded. For art music, only one component in the industry, recordings act as a cultural barometer and negotiator. This shows up in which compositions are issued and re-issued, how many different versions exist, and the nature of the promotion. Of course recordings reflect the membership of other repertorial canons. They particularly play off mainstream performing institutions such as symphony and opera, but can reinforce or even instigate membership in other repertorial canons, particularly those of "marginal" areas like early music and new music. Kerman has perceptively noted how the recording has replaced the live performance as the principal performing medium for many pieces of new music. As in the case of scores, this exemplifies the substitution of a tangible, physical object – the physicality of the recording itself – for the more ephemeral phenomenological realization. Another property of recordings is their ability to convert phenomenological experience into a text subject to aural analysis, upon repeated "readings" (i.e. hearings). They can also construct the paradigmatic aural version of a given work.

Another type of repertorial canon occurs in the academic teaching of music, in the classroom. Here I am referring mainly to music history pedagogy. This canon is largely material. Aural renditions occur in the form of recordings and occasional live performances, although recordings can become material upon repeated hearings. Textbooks and anthologies, a s the repository of the canon, wield enormous power as determinants of canonic status. Although theoretically free to use any materials, most instructors rely heavily on published materials for repertorial examples. Textbooks, like anthologies, emphasize specific works and composers, but most provide some latitude by mentioning additional figures. The limitations posed by anthologies, however, can be formidable. Imagine: if one is teaching a survey course and finds none of the anthologies suitable, one is left to cull from hither and yon. This is not only time-consuming but raises the likelihood of copyright infringement, thus creating a legal problem. A more feasible outcome is dependence on an anthology for most of the examples and then either supplementing (somehow negotiating the copyright problems of duplication) or dispensing with scores for a few works. Whatever the compromise, it is not difficult to see how the decisions of a relatively small group of individuals – anthologizers, textbook authors, and the publishers with whom they work – can shape the behavior and tastes of a large population of listeners, performers, composers, and scholars. But we may be too quick in assigning such power to authors and publishers. Their aim, after all, is to sell copies, and that is dependent on giving the target consumers, i.e. the academic community, what they want. So the system operates in both directions. One the one hand, musicologists' tastes and musicological culture at large affect what is offered in pedagogical materials. On the other hand, musicologists' desires as individuals were molded at least in part by textbooks (and also anthologies, for the younger generations), and their current pedagogical practices are shaped by the realities of what is available. But in the past few years, publishers have been responding to fresh breezes of change in musicology, and this has resulted in the inclusion of a few female figures (...). Thus forces of the marketplace and the academy interact in the complexities of negotiating value systems for the present and the future. (p. 22-25)