

Action, Criticism & Theory for Music Education

I S S N 1 5 4 5 - 4 5 1 7

A refereed journal of the



Volume 13 Number 1
March 2014

Sociology of Music Education Special Issue

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Sociology, music education, and social change: The prospect of addressing their relations by attending to some central, expanded concepts

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Sociology, music education, and social change: The prospect of addressing their relations by attending to some central, expanded concepts

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Abstract

Studies on sociology and music education are important because they can enlighten how music education relates to social change. By studying how music education changes and is changed by society we enable ourselves to describe how it can contribute to the understanding of social change generally. This may lay the ground for us in contributing to understanding society at large and giving music education a significant voice in the general debate on society. Based on the expansion of our notions of learning, teaching and education in the light of the formal-informal nexus, connections between music education and social change can be studied on society's macro, meso and micro level and make us see some of the various directions of social change, for better or worse, to which music education contributes. Keywords: Society, social change, expanded concepts, critical perspective.

Introduction

Since the first conference on the sociology of music education in 1995 (Rideout 1997) the relationship between sociology and music education has attracted increasing interest. This has been apparent in a variety of scholarly texts by authors such as Green (1999), Froehlich (2007), and Wright (2010), as well as in the proceedings of the Sociology of Music Education Symposia (for example O' Flynn 2011, Rideout 2006, Roberts 2008). Parallel to this increase of interest in sociology, vital concepts of music teaching and learning have been expanded. This expansion has equipped us with new means by which to approach one of the issues proposed at the first

sociology and music education conference: “to form specific sociological principles and methodologies that could guide teachers and researchers addressing the problems of music teaching and learning” (Rideout 1997, v). In this article, I will apply principles derived from the sociology of music education, to a discussion of some expanded concepts for music teaching and learning. I will also extend that discussion in order to specifically address social change. This issue is important in music teaching and learning because music education is both affected by and affects social change—a reciprocal process through which the music teacher potentially emerges as a change agent.

As I will discuss, social change is the process by which differences are made in the lives of individuals and groups, deliberately or unintentionally, along with the consequences thereof for society’s micro, meso, and macro levels, including the dynamics of the societal structures that regulate the conditions for these processes. This multi-level, comprehensive conception of the term ‘music education’ designates not only teaching and learning music at particular ages, levels, or school locations, but also includes informal as well as formal practices, general music education as well as specialized instrumental or vocal instruction, and encompasses the entire lifespan from childhood through old age. In order to connect such a broad conception of music education with questions of social change, and to legitimate these endeavours to ourselves as well as to the surrounding society, I draw attention to one of the most basic questions: ‘What is music education for?’ My answer might be that music education, if it is going to be meaningful, is about employing music to make differences to people’s lives; or better, that it is about laying the ground on which people can make beneficial differences in their own lives at the individual as well as the social level. Without denying the significance of either the individual perspective or its interrelation with the social, it is the social perspective that constitutes my main interest here.

This social perspective focuses on three questions: How does music education contribute to social change, how is music education affected by social change, and thereby, how can the sociological study of music education contribute to our general

understandings of social change? To address these questions I start by discussing the concept of social change. Then I explore the relationships between social change and education by discussing how society shapes and is shaped by education. Thereafter, I turn to the ways in which music education, in particular, can affect and be affected by social change along with how the sociological study of music education can contribute to our understanding of social change. In particular, I demonstrate how expanded concepts of music teaching and learning can be applied in discussions of social change on the micro, meso and macro levels of society.

Social change

Theories of social change are found within conflict, functionalist, interactionist and postmodern critical theories (Sadovnik 2007). These include, for example, Marxist perspectives, the work of Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe, and Ulrich Beck's ideas. According to the Marxist (Marx [1867] 1909) conception of social change as revolution, only by socialist revolution led by the proletariat, or working class, can any society move into its final stage of development: a free, classless, and communist society. A different notion of social change, suggested by Laclau and Mouffe (1985), entails a change from the existing liberal democracy to a 'radical democracy' by revealing the disadvantages of liberal democracy. Through attempts to build consensus, liberal democracy suppresses differing opinions, races, classes, genders, and worldviews. Laclau and Mouffe maintain that radical democracy, on the other hand, not only accepts such differences, dissent, and antagonisms, but is dependent on them. Finally, Beck (1994) observes social change (Beck, Giddens, and Lash 1994) as "a broad-scale, loose-knit and structure changing modernization" (4) occurring "on cats' paws" (3), since the apparent "insignificance, familiarity, and often the desirability of the changes conceal their society changing scope" (Beck, Giddens, and Lash 1994, 3–4).

Clear differences exist between these three notions of social change. In Marx's perspective, change consists of large, dramatic changes such as a revolution, whereas for Laclau and Mouffe, change happens by social dynamics wherein differing

opinions, races, classes, genders, and worldviews as well as dissent and antagonisms are brought to the fore and made explicit. In Beck's perspective, however, attention is directed towards factors of social change of a more implicit, latent character—factors which may not be explicitly connected to or identified as causing social change. Still, when seen together and in a long term perspective, they are important parts of the emerging patterns of social change which Beck (1994) refers to as “reflexive modernization” (4).

My reasoning about social change is oriented towards Beck's position, because it helps me analyse how the actions of everyday schooling can contain covert factors of social change, along with revealing changing aspects of teacher's roles. In everyday schooling, communication between teachers and students as well as all other teacher/student interactions during music lessons or ensemble rehearsals have been described as including a sense of “immediacy and concreteness, multidimensionality and simultaneity, [and] adapting to ever-changing conditions or unpredictability...” (Hubermann 1983, 482–83). These processes typically go unnoticed as social change, being characterized by “insignificance, familiarity, and often the [outright] desirability” (Beck 1994) of concealing their society-changing propensities. Whether deliberate or not, the role of the music teacher as change agent emerges through, for example, enacting authoritarian, democratic or laissez-faire leadership orientations or through the ‘hidden curriculum’ as it pertains to gender, ethnicity, or culture. In other words, education is by nature inseparably and unavoidably linked to social change.

The relationship between social change and education has been discussed by several sociologists. As Durkheim ([1956] 2007) stated it: “Educational transformations are always the result and the symptom of the social transformation in terms of which they are to be explained” (23). Hence, formal education shifts in shape and content according to political priorities and debates between proponents of different political ideas about how societies should develop. For instance, political and societal responses in the United States to Russia's first satellite—the so called “Sputnik shock”—led to major changes in US education, propelled by writings such

as Bruner's (1960) *The Process of Education*. In addition, Smith (2003) describes how neoliberal politics have influenced education by privileging science and technology in schools and universities to serve the needs of global industrial competition. Finally, Apple (2007) describes how "conservative modernization" (178) has led schools to focus on centralized standards and content, authoritarian control, and increased competition between schools, driven by the publication of comparative school-by-school data.

It has been equally well established that education affects social change. By way of illustration, on the wall behind the entrance guard's desk to the Teachers College, Columbia University in New York, an inscription reads: "I believe that education is the fundamental method of social progress and reform," signed John Dewey, 1897. Supported by Dewey's statement, I believe that formal education, from kindergarten to higher education and at the university level, is the most powerful means through which society is shaped—for good or ill. Elaborating on this issue, John W. Meyer (2007) holds that education in modern societies is a highly developed institution with "a network of rules creating public classifications of persons and knowledge" (115). Thereby "it defines which individuals belong to these categories and possess the appropriate knowledge," along with "which persons have access to valued positions in society."

Like education in general, music education is affected by social change. As Bresler (1998) maintains, the societal contexts that shape and define music education practices affect both what teachers teach and how they teach, shaping explicit and implicit messages and values, with consequences for and making interconnections between society's micro, meso and macro levels. Woodford (2005) illustrates this process in his reference to "the hijacking of the public sphere by the new Right" (59). Additionally, Elliott (2010) links what he calls "assessmentism" in music education to the idea of "marketplace education" (369), drawing our attention to how in New York, "parents and communities have been shut out of democratic-educational decision making" (369). Regelski (2005) makes a similar point in the context of his ten attributes of critical theory by pointing to the need of "exposing the

contradiction in modern society and social institutions between scientific and individual rationality” (13) and the subsequent need to “educate [music] teachers who problematize paradigms and practices for signs of ideology, false consciousness, and failure to achieve what is promised” thus “empowering teachers and students to be effective agents of their own histories and satisfactions” (21).

Music education, as with every subject domain of formal education, can also *affect* social change; multiple authors have explored the potential of music education for positive social change. The special 2007 edition of *Music Education Research* (Allsup 2007), for instance, focuses on music education, equity, and social justice. Heimonen and Hebert (2010) explore the issue of minority rights in music education. Schmidt (2008) writes of how democracy and “dissensus” construct conflict in music education; and Walker (2007) addresses social change explicitly in his book *Music Education, Cultural Values, Social Change and Innovation*. Moreover, scholars such as Partti and Karlsen (2010), Salavuo (2008); and Waldron and Veblen (2008) have discussed how the democratisation of information by knowledge distribution on the Internet has enabled the acquisition of musical competence among people in general. Music learning situations and communities have also been studied in relation to informal music learning practices (Folkestad 2006; Green 2002, 2008). Other perspectives on music education and social change have been taken with respect to connections between music education and world music (Schippers 2010), community music (Veblen et al. 2013); music education and the Internet (Partti and Karlsen 2010, Thibeault 2012); and in connection with societal challenges such as gender (Carter and Bergonzi 2009, Gould 2011) and multiculturalism (Campbell 2005, Karlsen and Westerlund 2010, Saether 2008).

The ideas of all these scholars can serve both normative and analytic questions. In a normative perspective, what should be the function of music education at these various positions? What should our aims and goals look like with respect to social change? From an analytic perspective we could ask questions such as: How can music education sustain or impede revolutionary social changes? How can it support or contradict the priorities of radical democracy? How can music

education intertwine with processes of social change ‘on cats’ paws’? These kinds of questions can help clarify how music education changes and is changed by society. By doing so they also raise a more general follow up question: How can the sociology of music education contribute to the understanding of social change generally?

Four central concepts of music education

In order to shed light on how a sociological analysis of music education can contribute to the general understanding of social change, I will now explore the intersection between notions of social change and the expansion of some of our most central concepts. This includes:

- The distinction between formal and informal music education practices (Folkestad 2006; Green 2002, 2008; Veblen 2012), and the possible transcendence of that dichotomy (Karlsen and Väkevä 2012) which I hereafter refer to as the formal-informal continuum (Folkestad 2006);
- The expanded view of *learning* that overrides the distinction between learning as acquisition and learning as participation (Sfard 1998), which demonstrates how learning music, about music and through (via) music can be connected with identity formation (Johansen 2010a) in, for example, the learning processes of concert attendants (Karlsen 2007);
- A possibly expanded view on *teaching* that allows us to study practicing an instrument as self-teaching (Jørgensen 1997) and the distribution of the teacher role as part of the negotiations of meaning in a garage band (Berkák and Ruud 1994) or chamber music group (Slette 2012);
- An expanded view of *education* that includes schooling, training, education,¹ socialization and enculturation (Jørgensen 1997) gathered together in the concept of *Bildung* (Klafki 2000), as lifelong learning both outside and inside institutions.

I will now look more closely at how these concepts look when expanded, including some discussions that their expansions call for—elements I find particularly interesting relative to social change.

Johansen, Geir. 2014. Sociology, music education, and social change: The prospect of addressing their relations by attending to some central, expanded concepts. *Action, Criticism, and Theory for Music Education* 13(1): 70–100. act.maydaygroup.org

The formal-informal continuum

A main concern in the formal /informal literature is with the distinction between formal and informal learning situations and practices (Folkestad 2006). Whereas it is hard to conceive of the words “formal” and “informal” as applicable to learning at all, individual as well as social learning processes can take place in settings involving formal or informal traits or, even more credible, somewhere on a continuum between those poles. Here, links to social change can be clarified by pointing to the kinds of social contexts that are offered for learning, including the availability of resources and tools by means of which learning can take place. These contexts, resources and tools are regulated by social structures and the agency of their participants. Consequently, informal music learning practices and situations can be comprehended as both results and vehicles of social change, since the way they emerge, disappear and interplay with their surrounding environment can be seen as part of late modern complexity and the differentiation of society and culture (Baumann 2012, Beck 1994, Giddens 1990).

For example, the practice of learning the guitar chords of a rock tune from an Internet tutorial emerges and interplays with its surrounding environment by the means of a variety of communication processes including social media and everyday oral communication in peer groups. As a potential way to learn it can be comprehended as a result of social change because it is enabled by the democratization of teaching and learning on the Internet. This democratization makes it accessible to anyone, without requiring entrance audits or requiring some formal competence or the like, not even by the teacher in the tutorial. Moreover, it constitutes a vehicle of social change by enabling increased student agency by introducing a view of traditional instrumental teachers as one among several, not *the* possible choice carrying *the* truth about playing an instrument. Finally, as a category of learning practices it adds to the multitude of music learning possibilities on the internet as well as to the variety of learning practices near the informal end of the

formal-informal continuum as well as to the multitude of possible music learning resources in society in general.

Folkestad (2006, 144) makes a significant remark about music education and society:

In former days, the surrounding world was present in school as a reference and as something one was taught about in order to cope with in the future. Today, the world around is present in school as an alternative arena for knowledge formation and learning, with its own well developed and established forms.

His statement highlights how practices at the ‘formal’ pole of the formal-informal continuum have been increasingly strongly influenced by practices near or at the informal pole. The literature on music making outside formal institutions, that is *in* society, also reminds us that education *to* as well as *by* social change can take place in music in everyday life (DeNora 2000) where it can be used and can work as a device of social ordering (109). Less formal, outside-of-school practices might include, for instance, Finnegan’s (2007) hidden musicians within their different musical worlds of classical music, brass bands, folk music, music theatre, jazz, country and western, and rock and pop (31f); those learning traditional Irish music from Internet tutorials of the Irish traditional virtual music community (Waldron and Veblen 2008); or those participating in Internet communities (Partti and Karlsen 2010) where the members “through sharing and discussing their own music, develop music-related knowledge” (369).

Altogether, the amount of engagement in music practices outside of formal institutions as well as the kinds of such engagements are worthy of notice because the motives and other drives behind them can be related to and/or aimed at social change. The motivation to establish brass bands amongst the oppressed and impoverished working classes in the industrial towns of northern England in the nineteenth century no doubt was grounded in an idea of improving the social conditions of those classes, just like the decision to maintain the wind band in Hobart, Indiana, USA during the depression of the 1930’s, even when the economy

was so poor that schools had to shut down (Mark 2002), was an attempt to keep “a strong and cohesive community spirit” (1048).

Learning as acquisition and participation

Developments in the field of general learning theory have laid a ground for widened conceptions of musical learning. The notion launched by Anna Sfard (1998) about the dangers of knowing two metaphors for learning and choosing just one, paved the way for an expanded view of learning that overrides the distinction between learning as acquisition and learning as participation. Paying attention to the acquisition metaphor can help us see the differences and connections between learning styles, strategies and approaches to music, and by attending to the participation metaphor we can see how such categories of learning are framed by sociocultural contexts. The sociocultural perspectives further enable us to see how learning follows inbound and outbound trajectories among members of a community and between communities wherein the learning processes are mediated by the utilization of shared cultural tools which have psychological as well as physical aspects according to how they are used. For example, a graphic illustration can mediate the understanding of musical form as well as guide the members of a rock group to a shift in tempo, all according to the ways its function is negotiated within the group.

When these differences between ways of learning are regarded as complementary rather than opposing, Etienne Wenger’s (1998) stress on the role of identity in learning as participation, and his understanding of sociocultural negotiations of meaning as its most central process becomes a possible strand for gathering the acquisition and participation metaphor and thus enabling a comprehensive view of learning music, about music, and through (via) music. Such a comprehensive view clarifies the connections between learning and identity by understanding identity formation as learning, as well as learning ‘through’ an identity (Johansen 2010a), as is the case in the learning processes employed by adult concert attendees at music festivals (Karlsen 2007).

I suggest that the links to social change lie in the sociocultural framing—negotiations of meaning and learning trajectories within and between various communities of practice wherein people participate—and thus constitute their learning systems (Wenger 2006). People learning music are members of several communities, for example at school, at home, and at their leisure time with friends, each with their particular sociocultural framing to which they, as community members, must relate. Learning experiences that originate in specific learning styles, strategies and approaches (acquisition) as well as utilize cultural tools within one of these communities (participation) are brought into another community by following learning trajectories between those communities and, confronted with the experiences of the second community, are usually accompanied by negotiations in meaning.

Teaching: Informal as well as formal

As a consequence of the views that formal education constitutes society's most powerful means of shaping the society of tomorrow, and by agreeing that social change occurs 'on cats' paws', the role of the formal music teacher can be understood to involve the teacher as an agent of social change, even if this role may not be deliberately chosen. If school inevitably contributes to social change by shaping the society of tomorrow it should be obvious that the teachers by doing their job are part of this function (Berlak and Berlak 2012, Fullan 1993, Shor 1992). To deny this may seem like disregarding the dynamics of society, or at least to exclude music teachers and the music subject from the society-shaping potential of formal education

Nonetheless, teaching may also be considered informal, even though a first glance at the formal/informal literature gives the impression that its scholars have not taken on the challenge of elaborating that perspective any further. Rather, as Folkestad (2006, 136) holds: "the great majority of musical learning takes place outside schools, in situations where there is no teacher." Accordingly, learning can be both formal and informal, but "it is important to clarify that this is not the case with teaching. ... Teaching is always teaching, and in that sense always formal" (142f).

Two other perspectives on teaching within the same literature open up the concept to a wider understanding. First, Folkestad (2006) holds that a key concept when describing socialization and enculturation as learning/teaching processes is the idea of the “hidden” teacher. This perspective on teaching, in connection with enculturation and socialization processes, may have direct bearing on the claim that teaching is vital to the development of our future society. Second, as Folkestad (2006) also suggests, if musical learning is considered in a broader context, it might enable us to realize and understand the multidimensional character of music teaching.

Hence, I suggest that teaching *can* be carried out informally. When someone gives advice—suggests ways of trying to solve a musical problem in, say, a garage band rehearsal, chamber music rehearsal, or in joint conversations in an internet community; it can be conceived as teaching. Notice that this does not turn the situation into a formal one only by virtue of that kind of teaching, but rather, conceives teaching as informal.

Rodriguez (2012) comes very close to a notion of informal teaching when asking how informal learning groups within formal schooling interact, “particularly if the pace, style, and organization of learning are determined by students” (122). Moreover, by thinking about how teaching and the teacher role are distributed continuously as part of the dynamics of a garage band or Internet community, we could describe how the ways in which musical solutions are tried out, and how decisions are made, connect with someone, whether for a short moment or a long period, who takes on a teaching role.

I suggest that we need such a notion of informal teaching to fully grasp the nuances of the sophisticated processes going on between the members of an informal group of people learning music as well as the social connotations of those processes, since those people come from somewhere and live in a particular historical and cultural context. Here we can see the connections between informal teaching and social change, since the distribution of the informal teacher role may reveal traits of the different socio-economic and cultural backgrounds of those who are ascribed

such a role in, say, a group of student music teachers working on a group assignment about music and diversity.

While I suggest that this kind of “informal teaching” is scarcely attended to in the formal/informal literature, other better-documented perspectives on teaching contribute to the expansion of the concept. For example within the research on music instrument practicing, Jørgensen (1997) suggests that practicing might be regarded as a form of self-teaching, and that the process of practicing as self-teaching can be analysed by relating it to a model of teaching theory.

Finally, I suggest that the informal teacher can be seen to constitute one pole of a continuum in which the formal music teacher (instrumental or general) constitutes the other. Between them, various teacher roles are possible, such as when an instrumental master constitutes a remote teacher of students practicing their instruments in-between their lessons, an idol on a recorded tune copied by a garage band, or an instructor in an Internet tutorial video.

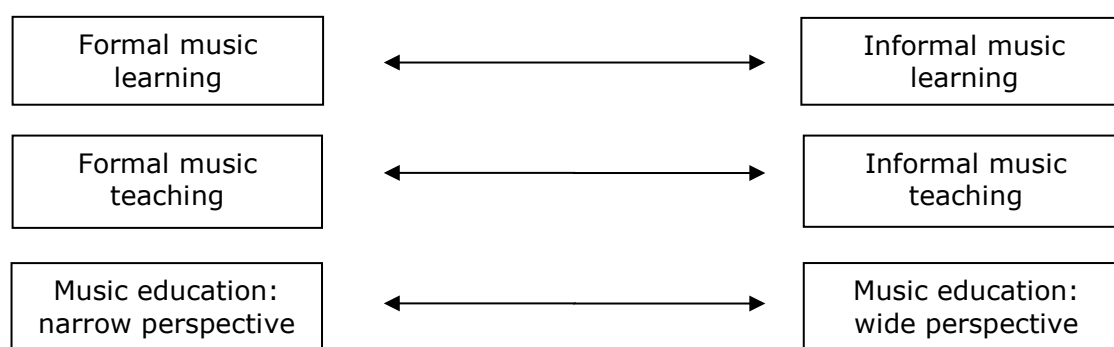
Education as more than schooling

The expanded, comprehensive conception of music education that I have argued in favour of is supported by the literature. Jørgensen (1997), for example, suggests the concepts of “schooling”, “training”, “education”, “socialisation” and “enculturation” to fully capture the comprehensiveness of what we address. Folkestad (2006) suggests that Jørgensen’s last two categories—“socialization” and “enculturation”—might be seen as descriptions of informal learning. “Socialization” can be understood as a form of general and socially contextualized learning within a specific domain or practice, while “enculturation” can imply even more general learning, and as the “outer circle” of socialization. “Accordingly”, Folkestad maintains, “it involves the relationship between the practice and the surrounding society of which the practice is a part” (139). I suggest that Jørgensen’s attempt to capture the comprehensiveness of formal, as well as informal education through the whole human lifespan, comes close to the concept and philosophy of *Bildung* (Klafki 2000) with everything that it entails in central and northern Europe. In these countries *Bildung* refers to all the

learning that is involved in becoming a mature, reflective citizen, with formal education as only one, albeit vital, part of it, whereas the philosophy and theory of *Bildung* addresses why and how these processes endure and how they can be enhanced with respect to reaching such ideals. From the time of the eighteenth-century Enlightenment, *Bildung* has included a strong program of social change by promoting new priorities such as emancipation, education for all, and democracy (Johansen 2010b). Then, since the 1970's the critical *Bildung* and critical *Didaktik* movements have been prominent in the philosophy of music education and the teaching practices of central Europe and the Nordic countries, thereby establishing tight connections between music and society, based on the critical theory of the neo-Marxist Frankfurt school (Adorno [1956] 1991, Habermas 1968, Horkheimer [1937] 1986, Marcuse 1979).

Gathering the concepts to constitute a ground for further analysis

In search of a ground for further analysis of the possible relations between music education and social change, in the following diagram I gather the four expanded concepts into three continuums: between formal and informal music learning practices and resources, between formal and informal ways of music teaching, and between a narrow and wide perspective of music education.



I will use this compilation of continuums to discuss how, when combined; they contribute to understanding music education and social change. Assuming that this constitutes a ground for a variety of analyses, I will look more closely into one of

them: namely how it enables the study of music education and social change on the macro, meso and micro levels of society.

Society's macro level

On the macro level, I will draw attention to the condition and consequences of globalisation (Johansen 2013, Smith 2003) when conceived both as a result of and a catalyst for social change. From the perspective of globalisation we could examine the relationship between music education at the macro level and its global environment. My example here concerns how applying the expanded concepts of teaching and learning music can help us understand how the increasing dominance of global pop music is connected with teaching and learning processes. By way of illustration, whether or not this is for better or worse, popular music assumes a kind of informal music teaching position. When global pop music is largely responsible for an individual's musical preferences, there can be no doubt that its reception involves processes of musical learning. One cannot walk around humming a Justin Bieber tune without having learned it somehow and somewhere. Furthermore, that humming can be based on social as well as individual learning processes. In terms of Green's theory (1999), we might suggest that learning global pop music includes negotiations between "inherent" and "delineated" musical meaning. Meanwhile Sfard (1998) might describe these processes by drawing on both the "acquisition metaphor" and the "participation metaphor" of musical learning. In this way the global music industry contributes to, enhances, affords and more-or-less deliberately suggests and supports the learning of its products.

This conception of informal teaching may constitute a provocative point of departure for studying the spread of global pop music. When a widened perspective on music education is applied to the activities of the global music industry it becomes apparent that our traditional categories, such as "aims", "content", "method", "frame factors", "student preconditions", "teacher preconditions" and "assessment", to mention only a few, can serve as analytic tools. For example, if we regard a pop tune as the content which the industry aims at teaching us to like, what teaching methods

or strategies are employed to reach that aim, and how do those methodological strategies related each other to frame factors such as social media and the student preconditions with respect to their existing musical preferences? Furthermore, when treated as analytic tools, these categories can be enriched by Jorgensen's (1997) conceptions of "schooling", "training", "education", "socialization" and "enculturation" by positioning the learning in question within Jorgensen's framework. By analytically viewing this learning as a result of deliberate strategies to influence the socialization and enculturation of adolescents as well as adults we can lift to the fore how it constitutes a component of social change 'on cats' paws'. Making such covert, social dynamics explicit may constitute a ground for discussing the development of mature, reflective citizens. This reasoning also brings to the fore the question of deliberateness, not only in connection with the intentions of the global pop music industry, but also in terms of the difference between "intentional" and "unintentional", or intentional and functional social change. Without having the space to elaborate them here, we could outline some questions in need of being addressed elsewhere. If music education, when thought through analytically, can be defined as a factor of globalisation and social change as in Beck's (1994) 'cats' paws' notion of social change, can it also, both deliberately and intentionally, work to promote social change on the macro level with consequences for macro, meso, and micro interactions? In this case what would those contributions look like?

Society's meso level

Sociologically speaking, meso level issues include institutions understood as complex social forms that reproduce themselves, such as universities, hospitals, business corporations, and legal systems. In this article I focus on institutions for higher music education with special attention to the social outreach of music conservatoires. How do conservatoires of music maintain or change society? What are society's expectations for these institutions? To what degree do these institutions agree with social expectations, and to what extent do they simply comply? These questions are

of particular interest because one might expect conservatoires to be directly opposed to social change and interested in maintaining the status quo despite changes in society. Recent initiatives reveal that this is not always the case. On the contrary, conservatoires' relations to society prove connections with social change in several, intertwined fashions. Among the most conspicuous are the ways they educate future music workers and how they, in doing so, reflect on the need to educate their graduates to handle a good balance between maintaining and changing their future vocational arenas. Another relation between conservatoires, society, and social change can be seen in the way they prioritise social outreach actions such as music in prisons, refugee camps and in developing countries. For example, the Norwegian academy of music has run a community music program with children and adolescents in a Palestine refugee camp in Lebanon since 2003 (Storsve, Westby and Ruud 2013; Broeske-Danielsen 2013). Similarly, the Sibelus Academy has collaborated with NGOs in Cambodia coordinating music and dance education programs among disadvantaged and/or vulnerable children and adolescents who had been exposed to problems such as being orphaned or abandoned (Kallio and Partti 2013, Kallio and Westerlund forthcoming). Thirdly, and more explicitly, conservatoires address social change by taking part in public conversations of society and politics.

The first of these ways of attending to social change is directly related to questions of teaching, learning, and education, including incorporating informal learning practices in their rock and pop departments, and relating to music on the Internet and in social media as parts of the context of musical socialization within which they position their activities. Among the conservatoires' faculty and leadership, a growing interest in expanding their view of their institution to include the general responsibility of contributing to social change and shaping the future society can be seen. This was expressed by John Sloboda in his address at the *Reflective Conservatoire Conference* at the Guildhall School of Music and Drama in London in 2012, wherein he raised the questions

if conservatoires have any contribution to make to addressing the increasing polarization of modern society, increasing environmental and economic threats, the breakdown of popular trust in the ability of politicians and corporations to work in our interests [and] how conservatoires can work to ensure that [their] activities do not simply address the sickness and brokenness of the prison cell or the hospital ward, but also the shortcomings of the corporate boardroom or of the political system.

In this citation, Sloboda expresses an interest in conservatoires' potential to contribute constructively to social change. It is not difficult to envisage curricular changes if such priorities are followed up, nor is it hard to see that students' as well as lecturers' experiences from the conservatoires' surrounding environments will play a role in this respect.

Society's micro level

By directing attention towards the micro level of society, questions about the relations between personal and interpersonal issues and social change come to the fore. Now a connection between the formal/informal nexus and democracy becomes apparent in discussions about the potential to promote democracy by including informal learning practices in formal schooling. One might assert that organizing students into peer working groups along with a withdrawn teacher would almost force those students into democratic forms of collaboration. This would seem to include the negotiations that are necessary for making decisions in order to avoiding their progress slowing down. Nonetheless, it is reasonable to doubt whether the processes of, say, a garage band are fundamentally democratic. From the perspective of an expanded notion of teaching and learning processes in a garage band, or in peer groups listening to and copying a rock or pop tune at school, such dynamic group structuring processes are subject to ways in which some members will be ascribed more fixed teacher positions than others. When students are allowed to choose the groups themselves there is even a risk of accentuating the problem, because it increases the probability of transferring established power relations from peer groups outside school into those school based groups.

The relations between music inside and outside school also affect other micro level issues. Banks' concept of "content integration" (2004, 5), in the context of the pedagogy of multicultural education, is useful here. Basically, content integration entails the principle of integrating students' "own" or "homeland" music in the curriculum, or in other words, bringing music from outside the school into the classroom. However, to what degree this 'outside-in' principle promotes democracy and social change is questionable. It runs the risk of stigmatizing minority students instead of supporting them since those students often struggle to find a common ground with their peers by ascribing to a western, pop music based identity (Karlsen 2012, Saether 2008). Doing it the other way around, which is to apply an 'inside-out' perspective asking how students can be empowered to take an active part in society and the musical environment outside of school would entail another repertoire along with different working forms and teaching methods. I would like to add that this issue applies to all kinds of formal music teaching, including instrumental tuition. Both these examples involve Green's (1999) concepts of inherent and delineated musical meaning as well as Hargreaves, Marshal and North's (2002) models of the opportunities and outcomes of music education. They also raise questions about school structure and student agency (Barnes 1999, Karlsen 2011), and relations between the macro, meso and micro levels of society.

Reflecting the three levels in each other

Issues at society's macro, meso and micro levels also involve relations between those levels. In these relations, inherent as well as delineated musical meanings, along with their interrelations, are shaped and defined. In turn, this perspective suggests that teaching and learning music also contribute to the shaping of those contexts and their interactions.

The connections between, on the one hand, shaping and defining inherent and delineated musical meaning and, on the other hand, the three levels of macro, meso and micro, can be studied by attending to how that shaping and defining takes place

in the light of our expanded concepts. For example, we can ask how negotiations of musical meaning are connected to personal and interpersonal processes of self-identity work (micro), among members of a particular musical culture or social class (macro), or at a music festival (meso).

In this case music festivals, at least some well-established ones, come close to an institution insofar as they can be described as complex social forms that reproduce themselves at the meso level. Musical culture and social class are positioned on the macro level while individuals' personal and interpersonal processes of self-identification happen on the micro level. Furthermore, from the perspective of our expanded concepts of learning, the festival can be understood as an informal arena of musical teaching and learning (Karlsen 2007, 2008). This implies that the concept of "teaching" affords a perspective on the deliberateness and strategic thought of the festival's leadership and the concert presenters' introduction and comments, while the expanded concept of "education" allows us to study the individual and interpersonal processes among the festival attendants in the light of *Bildung*, and hence connect them to the macro level of society at large. In these ways, the music festival could influence the promotion of social change, for example in the direction of Apple's (2007) "conservative modernization" (178), by maintaining and strengthening elitism and certain value hierarchies. On the other hand, music festivals could also contribute to dismantling such priorities, which would contribute to enhance other kinds of social change.

By using the continuums as gathered together earlier in this article together with the various notions of social change, a row of connections between music education and social change other than those I have described could be studied. I will point to some of them here very briefly.

- The elitist-segregation sides of talent education, not least when integrated into general schooling (Johansen et al. 2013) could be scrutinized with respect to what is taught and learned in this respect, and how it is connected to learning music, learning about music and via music, and whether we can identify a hidden curriculum.

- Identity construction, identity, work and the materialization of the body as forms of delineated musical meaning (Green 1999) in music videos can be studied with respect to how the music and song texts, both in themselves and together, underscore the “message”. By paraphrasing Butler (1993), we could ask how music education can play a role in turning the regulatory law of the materialization of sex against itself, hence enabling its “rematerialization”.
- Students can be studied with respect to how they are active musical agents with the ability to “change their own experience and social environments” both in and through music (Westerlund 2002, 25).
- Students, teachers and academic faculty can be studied with respect to how they use music as a “means of liberation and a vehicle for struggle for justice and against injustice” (Jorgensen 2007, 172).
- The relationship between school music as a genre (Bresler 1998) and its musical environment can be studied in the light of the formal/informal nexus, musical agency and expanded notions of teaching and learning. Sociologically this can also be studied by drawing on Luhmann’s (1995, see also Johansen 2010c) theory of the boundary work of social systems, which would entail the constant adjustments of that boundary by school music inspecting its environment. This might address the challenges of taking in students’ music outside school as well as empowering them to execute their agency outside the realm of school music.

Our expanded concepts of music education allow us to question the discourse of the preliminary winners of the language game of education and the legitimation of knowledge in Western societies (Lyotard 1984). This is the rhetoric of what Elliott (2010) called “marketplace education” (369). It is advocated by Neoliberals along with the professional and managerial new middle class in their conservative modernization project (Apple 2007)—viewing knowledge as a product, students and parents as customers, and schools as businesses within a discourse where graduates are ‘produced’, teacher’s ‘services’ are ‘ordered’ and results are ‘delivered’. In Butler’s terms (1993), these discursive formations and concepts produce the phenomena they

regulate and constrain (xii) in ways that are essentially counterproductive. It has been evident for a long time that musical artistic processes do not follow the logic of technical, let alone business rationality. When music is connected with its teaching and learning in our expanded notions, this discontinuity becomes more pronounced in the interest of assessing the issue for educational purposes.

Can music education, as a social field or system, be a “threatening spectre” in Butler’s (1993, xiii) words, by exposing the self-grounding presumptions of liberal democracy, and in so doing, challenge forces in society to “consider this threat ... as a critical resource in the struggle to rearticulate the very terms of symbolic legitimacy and intelligibility” (xiii), thereby empowering an opposition that can lead towards, say, Laclau and Mouffe’s radical democracy? Furthermore, can our expanded concepts and continuums, when thought about together, contribute to how students as well as adults’ select what kinds of musicking they will take part in, and thereby promote changes in how society responds to cultural and art-related expressions?

Concluding remarks

In this article I have tried to discuss how music education changes and is changed by society in order to describe how music education can contribute to the understanding of social change as “a broad-scale, loose-knit and structure changing modernization” (Beck, Giddens, and Lash 1994, 4) occurring ‘on cats’ paws’ (3). By attending to the expanded concepts of learning, teaching and education along with the formal-informal nexus we can observe how music_education contributes to social change in terms of how the introduction of informal learning practices in formal schooling affects education for democracy, how informal learning practices at a music festival may support conservative modernization (Apple 2007) and how the spread of global pop music can be studied as a kind of informal teaching, to mention some. We have also seen how music education is changed by society when institutions such as music conservatoires initiate reflections on their social position and responsibility and how, historically, the social conditions amongst the working classes in the industrial towns of northern England in the nineteenth century and the depression of the 1930’s USA

led to the establishment and maintenance of brass and wind bands to promote social changes for the better in their local communities. As a whole, these examples illustrate the reciprocal process by which music education is both affected by and affects social change and thereby to some important aspects of how we understand social change generally. Thereby they also point to the critical potential of music education with respect to revealing the shortcomings of social changes in the direction of, for example, conservative modernization (Apple 2007).

Moreover, as an effect of studying the relations between music education and social change we might also arrive at new insights about music education itself. I suggest that by attending to how social contexts constitute resources for teaching and learning music, alongside the continuum between formal and informal music education, the question arises about whether it is time to override the formal/informal dichotomy. Together with the other conceptual expansions I have discussed, the social change perspective points to the great variety of music education practices around the globe that exist across formal/informal categories, all with their particular characteristics and perhaps common traits, and within the frames of socially constituted resources for learning.

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Notes

¹ Jorgensen (1997) suggests the word 'eduction' entailing a naturalistic way of learning which is closer to the processes of informal learning practices than 'schooling' and 'training': "Schooling, training, eduction, socialization, and enculturation articulate, when taken together, at least a part of a broad view of music education" (30). "Socialization relies extensively on informal learning in the context of group activities devoted to other ends than education, that is, in large measure, on eduction" (19).

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