Democracy through pop?

Thinking with intersectionality in Popular Music Education in Finnish schools

MINJA KOSKELA

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Demokratiaa popista?
Intersektionaalisuus suomalaisen peruskoulun populaarimusiikkikasvatuksessa.

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Abstract

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This article-based doctoral dissertation is an inquiry into the conditions required for democratic popular music education (PME) in Finnish basic education. Although critical research on PME in Finland has recently increased, the rapid diversification of Finnish society due to migration calls for a more profound exploration of the practices of PME in school with respect to the intersecting identities of students. The inquiry questions previous claims that popular music is students' 'own' music and, therefore, a democratic medium through which to teach music. The democracy argument has led to PME becoming an internationally recognized and hegemonic feature of schooling in Finland. The overarching question guiding the inquiry is: On what and on whose terms is the democracy of PME in Finnish school music education constructed and enacted?

Methodologically, this inquiry engages in the inquiry as stance tradition as the practitioner-researcher explores her own PME teaching context. The research was conducted with an optional music class of 22 lower secondary school students in one Finnish school in which lessons consisted mainly of playing and singing popular music pieces chosen by the students. The empirical material includes videotaped lessons (n=7), student interviews (n=14), a teacher-researcher diary, and the National Core Curricula for basic education and music (2004 and 2014). Reflexivity was enacted in three stages: self-reflexivity, inter-reflexivity between two researchers, and systems reflexivity. The inquiry as stance tradition was deepened by engaging with the thinking with theory approach with and through Kimberlé Crenshaw's theory of intersectionality and Chantal Mouffe's theory of radical democracy. The data were analysed by first using qualitative content analysis and (deductively) coding the transcriptions and curricula texts, then using insight-driven analysis and, finally, thinking with theory to interpret the codes.

The findings are presented in three international peer-reviewed articles two of which were co-authored and one single authored. Article 1 explores the politics of diversity in the Finnish National Core Curricula for basic education and music and calls for rethinking inequalities in PME as well as formulating new understandings of diversity at the policy level by using intersectionality as a tool. Article 2 explores the classroom negotiations in PME. By examining on three episodes from the observed music lessons, it shows that negotiation processes in PME are mainly conducted from the viewpoint of the teacher and the school's norms and therefore neglect student perspectives. The article suggests that pursuing democracy in PME entails widening the focus beyond subject content to the interactional context of the music classroom. Article 3 focuses on the interviews with students and explores social class, 'race', and their intersections in the practices of PME. The article suggests that by engaging in reflexivity and systems thinking music teachers could critically (re)consider the tasks they assign to students and develop awareness of how the hierarchies in Finnish society may manifest in the PME classroom and prevent democratic negotiations.

Overall, the findings show that treating popular music as democratic in and of itself creates a paradox in which the students—despite their intersecting identities—are treated as a homogenous group and assumed to be middle-class and white. Consequently, PME reproduces the normative hierarchies present in the surrounding society. Hence, the inquiry suggests that future music teachers should be guided 1) to critically read curricula and how they reflect society and its hierarchies, and 2) to recognize and deconstruct the mechanisms that produce structural inequalities. Finally, the inquiry suggests that 3) music teachers may benefit from using intersectionality as an analytical lens. As intersectionality takes plurality as a starting point, it can help make inequalities visible as teachers strive towards radical democracy in (popular) music education.

The research was part of the Arts as a Public Service: Strategic Steps Towards Equality (ArtsEqual) research initiative funded by the Academy of Finland's Strategic Research Council (project number 314223/2017).

Keywords

popular music education, basic education, school, intersectionality, radical democracy, gender, 'race', social class, reflexivity, inquiry as stance, thinking with theory

Tiivistelmä

Koskela, Minja (2022). *Demokratiaa popista? Intersektionaalisuus suomalaisen peruskoulun populaarimusiikkikasvatuksessa.* Taideyliopiston Sibelius-Akatemia.

Tässä artikkeliväitöskirjassa tutkitaan demokraattisen populaarimusiikkikasvatuksen edellytyksiä suomalaisessa peruskoulussa. Vaikka kriittinen populaarimusiikkikasvatus on Suomessa viime vuosina lisääntynyt, edellyttää suomalaisen yhteiskunnan nopea moninaistuminen perusteellisempaa koulun populaarimusiikkikasvatuksen käytäntöjen analyysia ottaen huomioon oppilaiden intersektionaaliset eli risteävät identiteetit. Tutkimus kyseenlalaistaa aiemmat väitteet, joiden mukaan koulun populaarimusiikki on oppilaiden 'omaa' musiikkia ja näin ollen musiikinopetuksen kontekstissa demokraattista. Tämän demokratia-argumentin myötä populaarimusiikkikasvatuksesta on tullut Suomessa kansainvälisesti tunnustettu ja hegemoninen osa koulujen musiikinopetusta. Tutkimus tarkastelee demokratian edellytyksiä kysyen: millä ja kenen ehdoilla populaarimusiikkikasvatuksen demokratiaa rakennetaan suomalaisen peruskoulun musiikkikasvatuksessa?

Metodologisesti tutkimus paikantuu traditioon, jossa tutkimusta ajatellaan näkökulmana (*inquiry as stance*) ja opettajan oman työn tutkimuksena. Tässä työssä tutkin omaa populaarimusiikkikasvatuksen kontekstiani suomalaisessa yläkoulussa 22:n oppilaan valinnaismusiikkiryhmän oppitunneilla. Tunneilla soitettiin ja laulettiin oppilaiden valitsemia populaarimusiikkikappaleita. Tutkimusaineisto koostuu videoiduista oppitunneista (n=7), oppilashaastatteluista (n=14), opettaja-tutkijan päiväkirjasta sekä perusopetuksen opetussuunnitelmien yleisestä ja musiikin oppiainetta käsittelevistä osista (2004 ja 2014). Tutkimuksessa hyödynnetään refleksiivisyyttä kolmella tasolla: 1) itserefleksiivisyys, 2) kahden tutkijan välinen inter-refleksiivisyys ja 3) systeeminen refleksiivisyys. Tutkimuksen metodologisia lähtökohtia syvennettiin lukemalla aineistoa yhdessä teorian kanssa (*thinking with theory*). Teoriat, jotka toimivat ajattelun kompasseina, olivat Kimberlé Crenshaw'n intersektionaalisuus ja Chantal Mouffen radikaali demokratia. Aineisto analysoitiin hyödyntämällä kvalitatiivista sisällönanalyysia ja koodaamalla (deduktiivisesti) litteraatiot ja opetussuunnitelmatekstit, jonka jälkeen koodeja tulkittiin syventäen analyysia konventionaalisten merkitysten luennan ulkopuolelle sekä tulkiten koodeja intersektionaalisuuden ja radikaalin demokratian näkökulmista.

Tutkimustulokset on esitelty kolmessa kansainvälisessä referee-artikkelissa, joista kaksi on yhteiskirjoitettuja ja kolmannen kirjoitin yksin. Artikkeli 1 tutkii moninaisuuden politiikkaa perusopetuksen opetussuunnitelmien yleisissä ja musiikin osissa. Artikkeli ehdottaa, että intersektionaalisesta näkökulmasta käsin voidaan tunnistaa populaarimusiikkikasvatuksen epätasa-arvo paremmin sekä muotoilla uusia käsityksiä moninaisuudesta. Artikkeli 2 käsittelee populaarimusiikkikasvatuksen kontekstissa tapahtuvia luokkahuoneneuvotteluja. Artikkeli osoittaa kolmen aineistoepisodin avulla, että neuvottelut populaarimusiikkikasvatuksessa käydään pääasiassa opettajan ja koulun normien näkökulmista, jolloin oppilaiden näkökulma jää toissijaiseksi. Artikkeli toteaa, että demokratian lisääminen edellyttää populaarimusiikkikasvatuksen näkökulman laajentamista substanssitasolta vuorovaikutuksen tasolle. Artikkeli 3 keskittyy oppilashaastatteluihin ja tutkii yhteiskuntaluokkaa, ‘rotua’ ja näiden risteymiä populaarimusiikkikasvatuksessa. Artikkeli ehdottaa, että refleksiivisyys ja systeemiajattelu voivat avata musiikinopettajalle uusia, kriittisiä näkökulmia, joiden avulla opettaja voi uudelleenarvioida oppilaille annettavia tehtäviä ja jotka lisäävät tietoisuutta siitä, miten musiikkikasvatus liittyy yhteiskunnan hierarkioihin ja miten hierarkiat manifestoituvat musiikinopetuksen kontekstissa.

Tulokset osoittavat, että populaarimusiikin käsitteleminen itsessään demokraattisena luo paradoksin, jossa oppilaiden risteävät identiteetit sivuutetaan ja jossa heidät ymmärretään homogeenisena, keskiluokkaisena ja valkoisena ryhmänä. Tämän seurauksena populaarimusiikkikasvatus toisintaa ympäröivän yhteiskunnan normatiivisia hierarkioita. Tutkimus ehdottaa, että tulevaisuuden musiikinopettajia tulisi ohjata 1) lukemaan kriittisesti opetussuunnitelmaa ja tunnistamaan sen tapaa heijastaa yhteiskuntaa ja yhteiskunnallisia hierarkioita sekä 2) purkamaan mekanismeja, jotka tuottavat rakenteellista epätasa-arvoa. Tutkimus ehdottaa, että tässä suhteessa 3) musiikin opettajat voivat hyötyä intersektionaalisuudesta analyyttisena näkökulmana. Koska intersektionaalisuuden lähtökohta on moninaisuuden tunnistaminen, se auttaa tekemään epätasa-arvoa näkyväksi – myös silloin, kun opettajat pyrkivät kohti radikaalia demokratiaa (populaari)musiikkikasvatuksessa.

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Hakusanat

populaarimusiikkikasvatus, perusopetus, koulu, intersektionaalisuus, radikaali demokratia, sukupuli, ‘rotu’, yhteiskuntaluokka, refleksiivisyys

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Helsinki, May 2022
Minja

Published articles by the author as part of the dissertation

1 Koskela, M., Kuoppamäki, A., Karlsen, S. & Westerlund, H. (2021). The paradox of democracy in popular music education: Intersectionalizing "youth" through curriculum analysis. In A. Kallio, S. Karlsen, E Saether & H. Westerlund (eds.), *The Politics of Diversity in Music Education,* pp. 135-149.

(As included in appendix I)

2 Koskela, M. & Leppänen, T. (2020). How democratic is popular music in Finnish schools? Exploring popular music education through intersectionality. *Journal of Popular Music Education*, 4(3), 295-309.

(As included in appendix II)

3 Koskela, M. (in print). Middle-class music making? Social class, "race", and their intersections in the practice of school popular music. *International Journal of Education & the Arts.*

(As included in appendix III)

Statement of contribution to the co-authored articles

I co-authored Article 1 with Anna Kuoppamäki, Sidsel Karlsen, and Heidi Westerlund. Article 2 was co-authored with Taru Leppänen. Westerlund and Karlsen were my supervisors and co-writing with them formed an important part of the research process. Leppänen and Kuoppamäki joined the process as researchers who shared their expertise in common writing. Writing of both articles was equal and collaborative, however, as the first author I facilitated the writing processes from beginning to the end. The co-authoring processes are reflected upon within this dissertation.

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Conference presentations relevant to the study

Democracy through pop music? Exploring the politics of diversity in the Finnish lower secondary popular music education. Siba Research Days. Helsinki, Finland. March 18, 2019.

Neoliberal politics of basic education in the Finnish National Core Curriculum – Music education as a challenger. Paper presentation with doctoral researcher Sanna Kivijärvi. Nordic Network for Research in Music Education. Stockholm, Sweden. February 26–28, 2019.

How equal is popular music in Finnish schools? Unpacking the myth of democracy in Popular Music Education. ISME 2018 - 33rd World Conference of International Society for Music Education. Baku, Azerbaijan. July 15–20, 2018.

Enhancing democracy or advocating for respectability? Negotiations between teacher and lower secondary students in the frames of popular music teaching in Finland. JustEd2018 - International Research Conference. Helsinki, Finland. May 22, 2018.

Enhancing democracy or advocating for respectability? Negotiations between a White, middle-class teacher and lower secondary students in the frames of popular music education in Finland. Beyond "mesearch": Autoethnography as academic research in music studies'. London, England. April 17, 2018.

What counts as diversity? Intersectional investigations into Finnish national music curricula. Paper presentation with doctor Anna Kuoppamäki. CDIME. Kathmandu, Nepal. March 29, 2017.

Finnish lower secondary school students negotiating their agencies. An intersectional viewpoint on the multicultural music classroom. NNMPF. Göteborg, Sweden. March 14–16, 2017.

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1 Introduction

This doctoral dissertation reports a qualitative inquiry in which I, as a music educator, attempted to reach beyond everyday meanings of 'democracy' in popular music education (henceforth PME) to aim towards more equal music education in schools. My starting point is questioning the assumption that popular music is students' 'own' music (e.g., Bennett, 2000; Green 2006; Väkevä, 2006) and, thus, a particularly democratic means through which to teach music (e.g., Allsup, 2011; Cremata, 2017). One reason for this questioning is that the confluence of popular music and youth simplifies both concepts. Roy Shuker (2022) explains, for example, that "attempts to locate the audience for popular music primarily amongst 'youth', once historically correct, no longer applied with the same force by the 1990s" (p. 9). Through the example of "nostalgia rock" (p. 9), Shuker (2022) illustrates that as there is a clear market for music listeners over the age of 35 in the field of popular music, the concept of popular music can no longer be straightforwardly connected to 'youth'. Moreover, although popular music is 'popular' "because it creates our understanding of what popularity is", as Simon Frith (2004, p. 36) explains, this study understands popular music as fluid, contextual, and dependent on culture (see also Shuker, 2022). Furthermore, this study aligns with Shuker's (2022) definition according to which "popular music consists of a hybrid of musical traditions, styles and influences" (p. 276) and understands popular music as an interactional and socially embedded practice which, as with any other music, serves and includes different functions when in educational contexts rather than other contexts (see also Westerlund 2003).

My motivation for conducting this research stems from my own experiences as a music student and, later, music teacher in basic education in Finland. It also stems from my background as a feminist activist working towards equity in society and, partly because of my music teacher background, my acknowledgment of the capacity of Finnish basic education and music education to democratize society. At the same time, however, I am aware that an uncritical stance towards nationally established institutions—such as the Finnish comprehensive school—may, at its worst, efface inequalities. It is therefore necessary to critically examine such institutions in order to enhance the equity of the society. The process of this inquiry began in 2015 which, coincidentally, was also the year the global refugee crisis began. Since then, the global right-wing populist movement that advocates for political division between 'us' and 'them' (e.g., Bauman, 1997; Vision Europe Summit, 2016), has used the crisis to strengthen their politics. Hence, paradoxically, the diversification of societies, which could have instead led to cherishing plurality, has increased the polarization of societies due to political movements that base their ideologies in, for example, pathologizing immigrants. The diversification and societal discussions related to it have also set new challenges for music teachers in schools who are expected to not only teach their students musical skills but also educate them as citizens in the global world. As one of these music teachers, and due to my feminist lens, I began to consider the related issues of power and equality, asking: How are my current practices adapting to the increasingly diverse music classroom and the intersecting identities of the students I teach? And: How do my actions as a music teacher diminish or reinforce democracy in my teaching context?

In 2015, just as today, popular music practices formed a well-established and even hegemonic medium for music teaching not only in Finland but also in other Nordic countries (e.g., Georgii-Hemming & Westvall, 2010; Kallio & Väkevä, 2017). This development in the Nordic countries can be seen as paradoxical, as the original justification for PME was a reaction to the hegemony of classical music practices in education and music teacher education (e.g., Westerlund, 2006). PME refers to common settings in music classrooms that consist of popular music band instruments and the so-called 'learning by doing principle' which is often executed by playing popular music in bands (Westerlund, 2006). In the Finnish context, PME is supported by textbooks and classroom repertoire, however, music lessons may also include other music styles such as children's music, folk music, or choir pieces (see e.g., Muukkonen, 2010). In other words, the 'hegemony of PME' does not mean that music teaching in Finland or Nordic countries consists only of popular music but that popular music practices have gained an internationally appreciated and central status in music education in these countries – a status which research has only started to question relatively recently (see e.g., Kallio & Väkevä, 2017; Westvall, 2014).

My interest towards popular music practices and their democratic possibilities sharpened when acting as a teacher in basic education. In my teaching, I followed the practices I had been taught in Finnish music teacher education in which playing popular music in a band has a strong and visible role (e.g., Westerlund, 2006; Westerlund & Juntunen, 2015). However, the school in which I taught at the time this research was initiated included students from remarkably different cultural and linguistic backgrounds. This made me wonder if my own teaching context could serve as a platform for exploring the conditions required for democracy in PME practices and, furthermore, the interactional and diverse settings in which PME is enacted.

These initial considerations led me to conduct an inquiry with my comprehensive school students in an optional music group of 22 teenagers where the practices were based on popular music playing and singing. Consequently, during the academic school year of 2016–2017, I engaged in what teacher-researchers Marilyn Cochran-Smith and Susan L. Lytle (2009) have called the practitioner-research, by observing and reflecting on my teaching, keeping a teacher-researcher diary, videotaping my lessons, and interviewing my students. Furthermore, by engaging in significant theoretical reflection and thus adapting what Alecia Y. Jackson and Lisa A. Mazzei call a thinking with theory approach (Jackson & Mazzei, 2012; 2017; Mazzei, 2021), I combined my aims for feminist action and equalizing the society by means of education and, thus, adopted intersectionality (e.g., Crenshaw, 1989; 1991; Grzanka, 2014) as analytical points of departure.

Intersectionality is a theoretical framework that highlights different dimensions of identities and their combinations (e.g., Crenshaw, 1989; 1991). In this inquiry, I used intersectionality to analyze how intersecting and overlapping social identities may manifest as (in)equalities in my own music classroom and, importantly, to unpack hierarchies that may prevent democratic processes from actualizing. In addition to intersectionality, I engaged the idea of radical democracy as presented by the political philosopher Chantal Mouffe (Mouffe, 2000; 2005; 2013). Radical democracy is a process that takes plurality as a starting point for democratic action and treats conflict as a necessary part of such action. This theoretical concept not only allowed me to critically explore my own teaching practice but also served as a goal as I envisioned a more democratic music education. The process of reflecting on my own teaching practice required me to critically consider my actions as a teacher. Over the course of the research process I engaged in three stages of reflexivity—self-reflexivity, inter-reflexivity, and systems reflexivity—to question “what I know” and “how I know it” (Hertz, 1997, p. viii) in order to become a more aware music educator in pursuit of equity.

Based on the notions presented above, this inquiry aims to produce knowledge about and for PME and, in doing so, about the interactional sociocultural context of school in general – that is, about the interrelated nature of music education and the school culture in which PME is enacted. Furthermore, the research questions ‘youth’ as a taken-for-granted homogenous category and seeks to understand students’ intersecting identities and experiences of inequality as a starting point for democratic action (Mouffe, 2000) in pluralistic and increasingly diversifying societies. By recognizing PME as a micro-level social system that interacts with the macro level social system of Finnish society (see e.g., Gonzales, 2020; Ilmola-Scheppard et al., 2021; Midgley, 2000; Westerlund et al., 2021a), I wish to discuss the conditions for democracy in PME in a complex and analytical way and, by doing so, pave the way towards a more equal music education and, hopefully, a more equal society as a whole.

This inquiry became part of a larger research community and through collaborative work served two large projects: Global visions (2015–2020) that was specifically interested in issues of diversity, and ArtsEqual (2015–2021) that focused on mechanisms of inequality. ArtsEqual, in particular, provided the critical peer-community for developing my thinking and writing and, finally, the support for finishing this work.

1.1 Researcher position

As a background of this research, it is necessary to look at my own relationship as a musician and educator to active popular music making. In what follows, I will first shortly introduce my path and starting points of becoming a music educator, and then my standpoint as a teacher-researcher.

Becoming an educator

When I was 11 years old, Spice Girls was the coolest thing I knew. I remember seeing their *Wannabe* music video—where five grown up women trashed a bourgeois party in their crazy outfits singing up-beat music—and thinking: That is exactly how I want to be when I grow up! Later, when talking with other women the same age as me, I found out that I had not been the only one. Indeed, quite the opposite.

In school music lessons, girls attended by singing, playing piano or, in my case, bringing their classical instruments to the lessons to spice up the popular music band playing. I played violin at home every day, in violin lessons twice a week, and in an orchestra once a week. Hence, I was not particularly thrilled to bring my violin to school, where I would have preferred to participate in the music making by playing drums, guitar, or electric bass. Those instruments, however, were reserved for the boys. This same situation seemed to apply in every other context: playing men and singing women was, sadly, a repeated image in school music books, music videos, and popular music magazines. Women who played in a band were called ‘female musicians’ and all-female bands were called ‘girl bands’. I grew up fighting against this narrow representation of ‘female musicians' and what I was expected to be and become. Hence, I often say that music made me a feminist – however, it also made me a teacher.

I started studying at the Sibelius Academy to become a music educator in 2006. I was 18 years old and convinced that teaching was one of the most important professions in the whole world. I was proud of my future position and convinced that investing in education would benefit all of society. After graduating I got a job teaching in a school that included students from different backgrounds. The majority of the students had a minority background. Some of their parents were immigrants and some students themselves had come to Finland as refugees. During recesses I could hear five different languages spoken as I passed through the school yard where the students were playing and chatting. Not all of the students spoke Finnish, which both created certain challenges for the teachers and underscored the uniqueness of the school. Since the unemployment rate in the school's neighborhood was very high and the area was known for its socio-economic challenges, many of the students came from working-class homes. In addition to the local student population, however, the school also included elective classes. Students in these classes were mainly from middle-class families and traveled to the school from other school districts. As a result, the student population was remarkably diverse.

At first, my interest in the conditions for democracy in PME stemmed from my own experiences of exclusion due to gender. Later, however, as my understandings of feminism evolved from a rather naive and self-absorbed idea of female oppression towards a more complex and multifaceted intersectional perspective, I understood the multiplicity and complexity of dimensions contained in the question of 'democracy in PME'. Before long my feminist lens widened as I noticed that gender, although still relevant, was certainly not the only category that mattered: social class, 'race', sexuality and language skills, for example, also construct inequalities in society and the music classroom. Furthermore, as I began to reflect on my own position, an intersectional perspective helped me understand my privilege as a white, middle-class person, and helped me conduct my work as a music teacher in a school where many of the students in my class came from elsewhere than Finland and/or spoke other than Finnish as their first language. I started to wonder about how school could succeed in its democracy project in the future, and how its practices and contributions could be considered with respect to the current political atmosphere and changing demographic landscape of Finnish society. Importantly, I also wondered in what ways my PME classroom could be part of these discussions.

Whilst my teaching experiences were raising a number of questions and pushing me towards initiating this inquiry, outside of the school context I had spent a remarkable number of hours working as a feminist activist. My activism followed the fourth wave feminist movement that largely manifested on the internet. Its consequences, however, could also be seen in societal discussions outside the internet: for example, it influenced the inclusion of the concept of intersectionality in the Finnish government's 2020 action plan for gender equality (Ministry of Social Affairs and Health, 2021). My strong commitment to enhancing equity in both society and my teaching context, led me to adopt an intersectional lens through which to look at society and my teaching practices. It soon became clear, however, that doing so while committing to a full-time teaching job was rather demanding. After much consideration, I decided to combine my passion for music teaching with my passion for understanding the constructions of (in)equalities in terms of intersectionality and started my journey as a practitioner-researcher (e.g., Cochran-Smith & Lytle, 2009).

Inquiry as stance: From music teacher to teacher-researcher

Practitioner research is a conceptual and linguistic umbrella term "to refer to a wide array of educational research modes, forms, genres, and purposes" (Cochran-Smith & Lytle, 2009, p. 38). Cochran-Smith and Lytle (2009) divide practitioner research into five sub-categories: 1) action research/participatory action research, 2) teacher research, 3) self study, 4) the scholarship of teaching, and 5) using practice as a site for research (p. 39). This research fits within sub-categories three and five. Cochran-Smith and Lytle (2009) also note that although it is impossible and undesirable "to regard practitioner inquiry as a monolith in the face of its widespread and far-flung development" (p. 37), there are several characteristics that are common to the five sub-categories. These common characteristics are, for example, the practitioner as researcher, the professional context as a site of study including for the collection of data and for data analysis, community, and collaboration (p. 39). These common characteristics are also characteristics of this research.

According to Cochran-Smith and Lytle (2009), it is broadly assumed by people interested in developing education and schools "that teachers and other practitioners are the key to educational change" (p. 1). I adhere to this assertion and, accordingly, share their belief that the practitioner is "a knower and agent for educational and social change" (p. 37). Adopting this idea, as a teacher researcher I worked as a 'double agent' in my own music teaching context (Nikkanen, 2019; see also Kuoppamäki, 2015; Muhonen, 2016; Rikandi, 2012). On the one hand, I conducted my educational practices as usual, and on the other hand, I adopted an extra-critical stance towards my practices, thus working for "social justice by using inquiry to ensure educational opportunity, access, and equity for all students" (Cochran-Smith & Lytle, 2009, p. 40). In this inquiry, the critical stance was directed at my own PME practices. Furthermore, my dual role as teacher and researcher gave me "courage to move beyond the known and the certain, and to start exploring new practices" (Rikandi 2012, p. 145) thus helping me consider knowledge as "fluid and dynamic, constructed in the interactions of all participants within learning communities" (Cochran-Smith & Lytle, 2009, p. 2).

Although and/or because recognized and flourishing, some critique has been directed at the term 'teacher-researcher' (see e.g., Cochran-Smith & Lytle, 2009). According to this critique, the term "suggests that research is not part of what is generally considered the normal work of teaching and calls attention to the fact that research about teaching is an activity usually carried out by someone than other a teacher" (Cochran-Smith & Lytle, 2009, p. 45). In other words, treating teachers simply as practitioners and not as intellectuals who are capable of formulating critical ideas and analyses about their own methods is, at its worst, a diminutive act. As a teacher myself, I wish to emphasize that it is not my intention to reinforce the hierarchy between practitioners and (practitioner) researchers. Instead, I agree with Sari Muhonen (2016) who writes that ”practitioners have enormous possibilities to research and develop their work and that their insider knowledge can be deeply enriching and valuable" (p. 112). Nevertheless, as mentioned above in relation to my own experiences, I also acknowledge that teaching is a fulltime job and that in today's Finland, working as a school music teacher is a challenging and intensive position in itself. I had the privilege of a 50%-50% teacher-researcher position which enabled simultaneous teaching and research. While teachers can and do engage in intellectual deliberation, combining teaching and research requires sufficient time and resources, including research funding, and it is not realistic nor fair to assume that teachers should carry out the work of a researcher in their everyday classroom life.

1.2 Popular music education in the Finnish context

PME in the school context in Finland has gained international recognition as its implementation has taken place relatively quickly through music teacher education. Although PME has been the focus of much music education scholarship globally, it has not affected the practices in music teacher education elsewhere in such a way as in the Nordic countries and Finland. For example, Bryan Powell, Gareth Dylan Smith, Chad West, and John Kratus (2019) write: "While countries such as Scotland and the Nordic nations have long embraced popular music as the primary means of school music education, American school music programs have generally maintained their long traditions of bands, orchestras, and choirs" (p. 23). To consider my own methods and choices as a music teacher in the Finnish context, which is known for its use of PME, in this chapter I will introduce the overall context of Finnish music teaching in basic education. I will proceed by first presenting music teacher education in Finland, then the common system of music education in Finnish schools, and finally, describe my own PME practice with respect to the wider context of Finnish school music education.

Music teacher education and the value of popular music education

In Finland, music teacher education programs last from 5 to 5,5 years and music teachers graduate with a Master's degree, which is required of all school teachers (Westerlund & Juntunen, 2015). Music education can be studied in three universities in Finland: the Sibelius Academy, the University of Jyväskylä, and the University of Oulu. The music teacher education programs are increasingly competitive, with only approximately 10 percent of applicants being accepted (Westerlund & Juntunen, 2015). I applied to the Sibelius Academy in the Spring of 2006. In the entrance exams I had to perform on two different instruments (mine were singing and violin), play piano by ear, improvise a vocal harmony to a short choir piece, complete a free accompaniment task, write a music theory exam, be interviewed, and give a teaching demonstration. To get in, the applicant must show that they possess instrumental and musical skills as well as suitability to become a teacher. To my great surprise and joy, I got in and started my studies the following fall.

The Sibelius Academy offers both Bachelor's level (180 ECTS credits) and Master's level (120 ECTS credits) music education degrees. In comprehensive schools, subject teachers with a master's degree in music education teach grades 7 to 9 (ages 13–15), whereas classroom teachers usually teach music in grades 1 to 6 (ages 7–12) (Westerlund & Juntunen, 2015). According to Minna Muukkonen (2010), music teachers consider *the ethos of versatility* as a starting point for their work. Furthermore, according to Muukkonen (2010), the music teachers reflect themselves and their practices against how well they navigate within a multiplicity of musical genres and teaching methods, student diversity, the national and local curricular guidelines, and school's norms.
In the music teacher education programs in all three universities the ethos of versatility is taken into account by preparing future teachers to possess different

musical skills and learn to work with and teach through different musical genres and instruments (e.g., Westerlund & Juntunen, 2015). Although the studies include, for example, courses on conducting choirs and orchestras, however, the emphasis is largely on popular music practices. As an example, I started my first year studies with an obligatory band course during which we learned to play electric guitar, bass, keyboards, percussion instruments, drum kit, and sing with a microphone. At the end of the year-long course we performed a concert in Tavastia, which is a somewhat iconic Finnish rock club. During the concert, we switched instruments between songs so that no one played the same instrument twice. Due to courses like this, at the end of the studies, future music teachers possess strong popular music skills in terms of playing, singing, and arranging music.

PME research has aimed to narrow the gap between school and the everyday life of students by investigating the possibilities of including the musical interests of students in teaching (e.g., Green, 2002; 2006; 2008; Hargreaves & Marshall, 2003; O'Flynn, 2006). Such research has formed a strong basis for the recognition of PME internationally. In the Finnish context, however, the practices delineated by, for example, Lucy Green—such as asking students to independently learn music from what they hear on CDs (Green, 2008)—have not achieved popularity amongst music educators. The reason for this is that Finnish music teacher education guides future teachers to teach using popular music, and, as Heidi Westerlund (2006) argues, uses popular music practices to "show music educators how to create knowledge-building communities and expert culture" (p. 123). By contrast to Finnish context, in Green's research context teachers had not been educated to use PME practices. Green (2008) explains: "Although teachers in the music classroom employ a wide variety of approaches, aural copying from a recording has rarely, if ever, been amongst them, at least until very recently." (p. 10.)

Reflecting on Green's approach, Randall Allsup (2008) asks: "How will research studies inspired by the informal practices of popular musicians instruct the training of future music educators? What will changing approaches to teacher preparation look like? What new certification requirements will be asked of our student teachers?" (p. 4.) In Finland, these questions have already been addressed by adopting popular music practices in the music teacher education programs. Nowadays the training of subject teachers in music in Finland leans heavily on popular music practices and band playing and, consequently, the music teacher acts as a music technologist, producer, arranger, instrumentalist and—last but not least—music educator. Thus, music education university students are required to gain hands-on competence with pop/rock band instruments and skills leading a classroom band (Väkevä & Westerlund, 2007; Westerlund & Juntunen, 2015). Accordingly, as already described, music classrooms in Finnish basic education resemble a garage-style popular music band rehearsal setting and are equipped with microphones, electric guitars, basses, drum kits and synthesizers (see e.g., Westerlund, 2006).

When I entered the music teacher education program, it very soon became clear to me that classical music, although much appreciated, was not the main field of study. Instead, from the beginning of my Bachelor's degree, PME practices were centered and multi-instrumental performance skills on popular music band instruments were required from everyone. We were required to learn to play popular music in a band and use music technology. For my entire life I had been playing in an orchestra, singing in choirs and attending music theory classes and violin lessons. Hence, in the beginning of my music university studies, I was excited but also a little bit timid – after all, I was used to learning music by reading notation and had been educated to treat music theory as a basis for music making. Suddenly I was challenged to question my understanding of how to make music and learn to play.

The practices in Finnish music teacher education have been justified using the arguments of earlier PME research. PME has been argued to reinforce students' musical agency and to bring students' voice to the pedagogical setting (e.g., Allsup, 2011). Consequently, PME has been noted to be an especially democratic educational practice that involves "student-centered learning and learner-led experiential processes" (Cremata, 2017, p. 17). Furthermore, Westerlund (2006) has argued that "reaching towards innovative, personal musical solutions and experiencing instant participation here and now still applies more easily to popular music and various kinds of musical fusion (e.g. Finnish folk music combined with popular music) than to the classical music tradition in Finnish music education" (p. 123). In addition, based on my own experiences as a PME oriented music teacher, popular music practices enable participation for students with varying technical instrumental skills. In other words, playing together does not require highly developed musical skills or music theory studies. Hence, PME, at its best, enhances agency, participation and musical expression. Moreover, as Westerlund (2006) argues, "[e] xpertise is more likely to flourish in communities where students support one another in knowledge construction and where, at the same time, they develop collective expertise that can be distinguished from the expertise that individual students may have" (p. 122). These are all, undoubtedly, characteristics that music teachers all over the country value and arguments which have led to understanding PME as a relatively democratic practice. Consensus regarding the democracy of PME has, furthermore, made it a hegemonic practice in Finland, and although the latest research, for example by Alexis Kallio and Lauri Väkevä (2017), has questioned this hegemony, this position needs further examination towards more equal, achievable and democratic music education.

Music in Finnish basic education

The Finnish educational system is governed by the State and education is free of charge from basic education through to the university level. This includes studies in all three universities providing music teacher education programs. A nine-year comprehensive school starts at the age of seven and is divided into primary school (grades 1–6, ages 7–12) and lower secondary school (grades 7–9, ages 13–15). In primary school, students are taught all subjects by their classroom teacher whereas in lower secondary school the teaching is carried out by subject teachers. Graduates of music teacher education university programs teach music as subject teachers in lower and upper secondary schools.

In 1968, Basic Education Act introduced Finnish comprehensive school for every child. Comprehensive school's implementation began in 1972 and it has since been recognized as a democratizer of society (e.g., Pekkarinen & Uusitalo, 2012), as the comprehensive school reform opened the same opportunities for publicly funded schooling to every Finnish citizen despite their background, wealth or residential area. Since this reform, the Finnish National Core Curriculum has guided the principles for organizing school practices and teaching and, therefore, ensured the regional equity of students. Comprehensive school has been shown to diminish inequity and enable the social mobility of lower-class students. Issues such as school shopping—a phenomenon which refers to middle-class and often white guardians picking a 'suitable' school for their children instead of registering them in their local school—and moderately decreased PISA results (OECD, 2021), however, have shown that education and its resources still need to be reinforced and defended. Still, it is relatively safe to say that the capacity of the Finnish comprehensive school to enhance the democracy and wellbeing of society remains strong. One reason for this strength is that school teachers are required to have a master's degree and are, consequently, expected to enact curricular guidelines in an autonomous way (e.g., Westerlund & Juntunen, 2015). Moreover, since 1994 teachers have also been included in writing the National Core Curriculum as well as their local curriculum – a school-level document which adapts national level policy to the curricular activities of individual schools and their local characteristics.

In Finnish comprehensive school, compulsory music lessons begin in the first grade when students are seven years old. Compulsory music lessons continue for every student until the seventh grade, after which students may choose to study music as an elective subject. In grades 1 to 6, the class teacher is usually responsible for teaching their class music and, therefore, primary teacher education programs include some music education studies. According to the latest research, however, primary teacher education programs do not provide future class teachers with the necessary tools for teaching music, and success in teaching music in the primary level is largely dependent on the class teacher's own musical background and hobbies (e.g., Suomi, 2019). Hence, students' musical capacities might be relatively moderate when they start their music lessons in 7th grade with a music subject teacher.

Basic education in Finland is guided by the National Core Curriculum. Since the Basic Education Act in 1968, the National Core Curriculum has been renewed in 1970, 1985, 1994, 2004 and 2014, with the two most recent being of most relevance in this inquiry. The current National Core Curriculum (Finnish National Board of Education, 2014) for music—the focus of this research—is only four pages long, including final assessment criteria for the numerical grade 8[1]. The curriculum states that a "functional approach to the teaching and learning of music promotes the development of the pupils' musical skills and understanding as well as holistic growth and cooperation skills" (p. 1214) and, thus, calls for active participation and enhancing the agency of students through active music making. Importantly, the music curriculum does not highlight any specific musical genre, method or content – rather it provides somewhat loose guidelines within which teachers may operate, thus exemplifying the level of freedom and trust given to Finnish music teachers (e.g., Westerlund & Juntunen, 2015). The curriculum does, however, state that classroom repertoire should consist of a "versatile range of music from different cultures and eras, from folk music to art music, also taking into account recent phenomena in contemporary music" (Finnish National Board of Education, 2014, p. 219). Despite this, popular music practices have become a dominant pedagogical paradigm rather than simply one of a range of included musical genres. This has not always been the case. Prior to the establishment of the comprehensive school in 1972, music was labeled only as 'singing' (Muukkonen, 2010) and it was used to educate students in the Christian tradition and develop their patriotic affections.

The inclusion of popular music in school music education has not been painless. It has, for example, resulted in a reduction of classical instrumental studies in music teacher education – an issue that classical instrument teachers experienced as a university-level crisis at the beginning of the millennium (Väkevä & Westerlund, 2007, p. 97). The inclusion of popular music was based on both democratic ideas concerning the hierarchy between classical, popular, folk, and jazz musics in the academy, and the more student-centered idea of the need to recognize students' own musical interests (Väkevä, 2006, p. 127). PME also challenged the master apprentice model by appreciating knowledge-building communities in garage band settings while also recognizing the need for the music teacher in educational contexts (Westerlund, 2006). At the time, the tension between the classical tradition and popular music was also visible in public discussions. Väkevä and Westerlund (2007), for example, describe the situation 15 years ago, when university level music teacher education programs were accused of "ruining the taste of the Finnish public" (p. 98) because of the strong emphasis on popular music.

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[1] Grading scale in Finland is 4-10

Väkevä and Westerlund (2007) have treated such discussions "as much as a question of legitimation as a question of resources: what is really at issue is the power to decide what (and whose) music is taught in comprehensive schools, and on whose terms" (p. 97). At the core of the debate, however, lies the question of who has the power to define what music is 'good' and 'valuable'? This debate has not completely vanished. Kallio (2015a), for example, recognizes "the 'cultural dissonance'" (p. 139) between Western classical music and popular music and suggests that in today's schools this dissonance becomes "visible between popular musics in school, and popular musics outside of school" (p. 139). Furthermore, according to a recent article by Alison Butler and Ruth Wright (2020), the hierarchy between classical and popular music becomes visible in statements emphasizing the importance of working-class students having access to classical music. They also note that working-class students' existing cultural interests in popular music are not culturally acknowledged as sufficient value, and that they instead "are expected to 'aspire' to the middle-class morals of classical music" (p. 107) and, hence, show that there is a cultural connection between 'good taste' and middle-class.

Although the above mentioned debates still exist in public discourse and articulate "interesting tensions of power relations within academia" (Väkevä & Westerlund, 2007, p. 98), whether in the form of popular music or singing, music education has, throughout history, maintained a particular function within the school community and its rituals. This can be seen, for example, in morning assemblies, graduations and other school events in which music has always played an essential role. Thus, the work of the music teacher can be seen to expand beyond music lessons to affect the whole school community

(Muukkonen, 2010; Nikkanen, 2014). This was also the case in my own teaching context, in which my students and I organized concerts for the school community and invited other classes to performances in the classroom in the middle of the school day or during recesses. Next, I will present my practices, which align with the practices of Finnish music teachers and, thus, exemplify the current hegemonic position of popular music in the lower secondary school.

PME in the research context

When I began engaging in practitioner-research with the elective music class of 22 students, I had already been working for four years as a full-time music teacher in lower and upper secondary level. The music classroom in which I taught for the purpose of this study was approximately 20m2 and divided into two sections. The first half included a circle of chairs, an electric piano, a teacher's table with a computer, and an electronic whiteboard for showing videos and making notes for the students. The second half was full of popular music band instruments, including two synthesizers, two electric guitars and two basses with amplifiers, an electric drum kit, an acoustic drum kit and four microphones with microphone stands for singing. One of the classroom walls was covered with racks of acoustic guitars, and next to the classroom there was a storage room for percussion instruments, kanteles, xylophones, and boxes full of cables, DI boxes, guitar pedals, extra microphones, and stands for different instruments. In the classroom, there was a cabinet full of music textbooks for various grades published in Finland between the 1970s and 2010s. I used these textbooks only occasionally, for example when the students wished to learn songs that could be found in them, and instead composed and arranged the majority of my teaching material. The classroom also contained twenty iPads that were used for making electronic soundscapes to complement the songs played in a band and for making arrangements in small groups. The classroom's soundproofing was ensured with double doors and acoustic panels on the walls and ceiling. In addition, the floor was covered with a hypoallergenic wall-to-wall carpet to soften the sound.

Although the equipment and resources may vary between different schools and classrooms, it is, however, safe to say that my classroom was not unique, and its access to popular music band instruments is a common feature of many Finnish music classrooms (see also Väkevä & Westerlund, 2007; Westerlund & Juntunen, 2015). Even music textbooks often emphasize popular music songs and arrangements, although many teachers, like me, are committed to arranging their own teaching material. In the year of this inquiry, I began the semester with the elective class students by asking them which songs they would like to play during the lessons. Based on their requests I then selected a song for each lesson. In the case of more difficult songs, we spent several lessons practicing playing and singing together before switching the song.

Before teaching a song to the students, I had to first learn it myself and make sure that it would match the technical skills of the group. I listened to the song at home, made sure that it was singable in terms of the key, and finally blocked the chords by ear and wrote them down with the lyrics (see Appendix 8). I approximated the technical requirements of each instrument (usually bass, guitar, synthesizer, piano, drums, and voice) and considered if any complementary and easy-to-play instruments (usually xylophones, acoustic percussion instruments, or iPad soundscapes) could be added. I then printed the chords and the lyrics for the students.

During the lesson, we started the learning process by listening to and singing the song together. I then introduced the technical requirements of each instrument and divided the instruments according to the students' wishes. If there were several students who wanted to play the same instrument, I selected the one who had not already had the chance to play it. I also tried to encourage students who were not actively participating to play and sing in the band. If, and usually when, someone was left without an instrument or a microphone for singing, I gave them an acoustic guitar so that they could play along. They could also choose to participate by singing without a microphone.

The next step was to start practicing the song as a band. I guided each student individually with their instruments and made sure that everybody knew their part. We proceeded little by little. First we practiced each chord together, then we practiced the verse and the chorus separately and, finally, we put the parts together and played the whole song from scratch. I often needed to change the arrangement in the moment as students sometimes felt that their part was either too difficult or too easy, and thus not inspiring. I therefore seldom made finalized arrangements beforehand, as I knew that they would change and that I would need to let go of my original plans. By keeping my arrangements as open as possible—that is, by giving only the chords and lyrics to the students—I could also leave room for student suggestions. Practicing one song typically lasted approximately 2 to 4 75-minute lessons. We changed songs once the group succeeded in playing the full song without interruptions. I kept a diary to keep track of who had played what part in each song so that I could make sure that everyone had the chance to participate and try as many different instruments as possible. I also made sure that each elective music class had the chance to perform some of the songs during various school parties or concerts with other music classes.

1.3 The problems of democracy in popular music education

The aim of this inquiry is to explore the conditions for democracy in PME in Finnish basic education. Such exploration is needed, since contemporary society has changed and become increasingly diverse, making previous justifications and theorization no longer sufficient for supporting PME in responding to today's societal needs. In particular, the rationale for this research stems from two problems of democracy in PME. First, as already mentioned, earlier research in music education has argued that popular music is students' 'own' music (e.g., Bennett, 2000; Green, 2006; Väkevä, 2006) and, therefore, PME is democratic. This argument, however, de-intersectionalizes (e.g., Faist, 2015; Vertovec, 2015) the category of 'youth', treating students as a homogenous category and assuming that all young people share similar interests instead of recognizing their diversity and intersecting identities.

Second, persistent advocacy of popular music practices has led to PME becoming a hegemonic practice in Finnish school music teaching (see e.g., Väkevä & Westerlund, 2007). This hegemony has led to a paradoxical situation: PME has reached its hegemonic position through justifications based on its democratic possibilities, however, this position actually may prevent democratic processes from being realized. This is because 1) the rejection of 'closure' "constitutes an important guarantee that the dynamics of the democratic process will be kept alive" (Mouffe, 2000, p. 33) and 2) democratic process "is suspicious of any attempt to impose a univocal model of democratic discussion" (p. 34). In other words, treating PME as an automatic democratizer of music education, at its worst, ignores students' experiences of diversity and its consequences in the classroom by assuming that student identities are homogenous—or that such homogeneity is ideal—and, hence, brushes away the necessary democratic negotiations which, in terms of radical democracy, take plurality as a starting point (e.g., Mouffe, 2000). Furthermore, the hegemonic position of any musical style prevents democracy from actualizing because hegemony lacks criticality towards itself. The hegemony of any musical style also contradicts the Finnish music curriculum, which calls for a multiplicity of genres and musical styles (Finnish National Agency for Education, 2014). Moreover, hegemony risks requiring students who belong to marginalized groups to negotiate their identities against norms such as whiteness or middle-classness.

To move beyond these two problems and contribute new theorization for PME, in this inquiry I take systems thinking (e.g., Gonzales, 2020; Midgley, 2000) as a theoretical starting point to explore the mechanisms that produce 'normalcy' in PME. In addition, I use intersectionality (Crenshaw, 1989; 1991) as a theoretical lens to challenge the de-intersectionalization of ‘youth’ and, thereby, deconstruct the perceptions of ‘normalcy’ in PME. I also consider radical democracy as a goal of PME. This is a goal that cannot be conquered but that ensures the democratic processes are “inhabited by pluralism” (Mouffe, 2000, p. 34) and, hence, kept alive. By doing so, this research questions the hegemonic position of PME and seeks to explore the possibilities and limitations of democracy in PME “in order to challenge the post-political view that there is no alternative to the present order” (Mouffe, 2013, p. xvii).

1.4 Structure of the dissertation

After this introductory chapter, chapter 2 presents the three waves of PME in the international literature. In chapter 3, I offer more detail on the theoretical framework of this inquiry, which comprises systems thinking (3.1), intersectionality (3.2), radical democracy (3.3), and the research questions (3.4). In chapter 4, I describe the methodology and implementation of the research, including the data generation process (4.1), the three stages of reflexivity (4.2), and the thinking with theory approach (4.3). Chapter 4 also reflects on the analysis (4.4) and ethical consideration (4.5). Chapter 5 describes the findings of the three individual articles which are included in their entirety in Appendices 1, 2 and 3. Finally, chapter 6 discusses the findings from the perspective of policy attending to curricula (6.1), the work of music teachers (6.2), and music teacher education (6.3). Chapter 6 also makes suggestions for a more democratic future of PME and music education as a whole. The discussion chapter concludes with reflections on the starting points of thinking with theory (6.4).

2 The three waves of popular music education

This chapter presents three waves of earlier research in PME found in the international literature. It is organized following Allsup's (2008) delineation of the first and second waves of PME research, to which I add a third complementary wave (see Figure 1). The addition of this third wave is necessary, since much research has been conducted since Allsup's 2008 delineation. Furthermore, the societal situation has also changed.

The three waves presented here mainly focus on the Nordic, and especially the Finnish, context for two reasons. The first reason is that this study explores the Finnish context. However, Finnish practices—which have been recognized in other Nordic countries and North America—are not the only possible adaptations of PME. The popular music studied in PME in Finland does not necessarily coincide with Western and North American chart hits, but instead may focus on local trends which, while possibly including chart hits, may also address, as Jean Ngoya Kidula (2019) describes, "the experience on the street" (p. 25). Hence, although the three waves presented here focus on practices in the Finnish context, I recognize that the concept of popular music in PME is fluid and, at least partly, dependent on location and context-specific interpretations, as explained in Chapter 1. Similarly, the impacts of popular music on perceptions of democracy may also differ in different locations and cultural contexts.

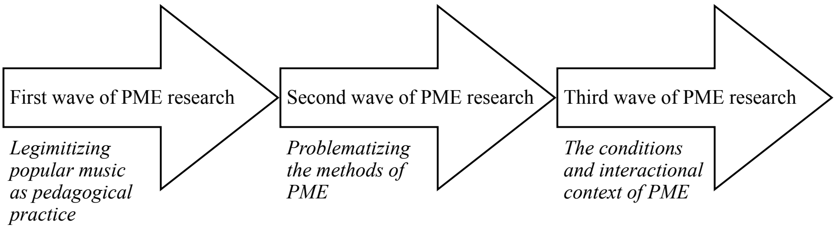
The second reason for the focus here is that in the Nordic countries, the pedagogical implementation of popular music in music education in schools and music teacher education has a relatively long history (e.g., Kallio & Väkevä, 2017). This, however, does not mean that popular music has not also been adopted in pedagogical settings elsewhere. For example, in China popular music has been used in educational settings since the beginning of the twenty-first century when a new curriculum was implemented (Ho, 2017). Prior to that, according to Wai-Chung Ho (2017), there were neither Chinese nor Western popular music songs in school music books and popular culture in educational settings was prohibited "by China's strong revolutionary orientation, which feared 'spiritual pollution' by Western cultures" (p. xii). Furthermore, some music educators highlight local variations in what is often called Western popular music culture. Kidula (2019), for instance, has called for recognizing local contemporary music trends in formal music education settings in Kenya. This need is recognized because in the African context, the colonial history has led to a favoring of Western classical music over local musics in music education. Kidula (2019) writes: "Western theories, methods and repertoire are privileged to the detriment and dearth of African ones, a situation that advocates of sustainability, continuity and heritage studies struggle to address" (p. 23).

Furthermore, questions of identity, cultural hegemony, and the variety of popular musics becomes more complex in countries with a colonialized history. Kidula (2019) writes that when she returned to teach in Kenyetta University in 2001, she noticed that the students had grown "to disrespect their own musicianship" (p. 19), while her "colleagues in music education had little respect for African systems of learning" (p. 19). This is only one example of how in many countries questions of democracy in (popular) music education relate, as Juliet Hess (2021) explains, to "cognitive imperialism—a demand to think all music through a particular lens—and a reinscription of Western European ways of knowing at the center of epistemologies" (p. 27). This cognitive imperialism is also visible in Western contexts, including Finland. Charles Carson and Maria Westvall (2016), for example, argue that "there remains a shared emphasis on western traditions which, in effect, still represent the preservation of a particular musical canon, whether 'classical' or popular" (p. 38). Moreover, Sidsel Karlsen (2013) describes how a girl in a Norwegian school, originally from Pakistan, did not want to share her homeland music with her school mates. Karlsen (2013) explains that the content-integration of a student's 'own' music in school "might backlash and create a socially difficult situation for the student" (p. 174) because it could, at its worst, lead to highlighting difference rather than diversifying normality (see also Carson & Westvall, 2016). Carson and Westvall (2016) similarly argue: "These 'bracketed' examples set marginalized cultures off from the mainstream, ironically reinforcing those same divisions they attempt to overcome" (p. 39).

As in the examples above, this study aims to show that teenagers are not a homogenous group with similar (popular) musical interests; that music education needs to recognize that neither popular music nor youth is a single category; and that different sub-genres in popular music may relate to different identities. Furthermore, it is important to note that although this study focuses on Finnish adaptations of PME and recognizes how such adaptations have been internationally appreciated (e.g., Allsup, 2011), as illustrated here, I do not understand Finnish practices (which are described in Section 1.2) as the only possible adaptations of PME nor do I understand popular music as a homogenous musical style. Instead, my aim is to contribute to the global field of evolving PME research from a Finnish perspective and in particular from the perspective of my own teaching practices which represent only one possible interpretation. In doing so, I also hope to inspire new questions regarding the democracy of PME in other contexts.

I consider the three waves to be mutually complementary. They build upon each other and (partly) overlap – the latter especially in terms of the second and the third waves. As can be seen in Figure 1, the first wave introduces popular music practices by asking "what"; the second wave problematizes PME methods by asking "why" and "how"; and the third wave shifts the focus to the interactional context of PME asking questions such as "what for", "to whom", and "with whom". Importantly, these waves are not necessarily chronological as first and second wave perspectives continue to arise in 2020s. This inquiry contributes to the third wave by bringing an intersectional viewpoint to the field of PME research.

Figure 1: Three waves of PME research


First wave of PME research
Legimitizing popular music as pedagogical practice
Second wave of PME research
Problematizing the methods of PME
Third wave of PME research
The conditions and interactional context of PME

2.1 The first wave – legitimization

According to Allsup (2008), the first wave of PME research can be understood as a paradigm that "helped to legitimize popular music as a field of education research and smoothed the way for its inclusion in schools" (p. 2). According to him, the first wave of research is 'descriptive'. It pays attention to "what popular musicians are actually doing" (p. 3) and seeks ways to include popular music in formal music education contexts, including higher music education and music teacher education. I expand Allsup's analysis to look at how the first wave manifested in educational contexts, particularly in the Nordic countries which have been internationally positioned as forerunners in adapting popular music in formal music education (e.g., Kallio & Väkevä, 2017). Hence, I consider music teachers and music teacher educators who developed their teaching to encompass new musical styles and practices to be crucial advocates of the first wave. Thus, in addition to reviewing previous research, I pay attention to how the incorporation of popular music has actualized in the practices of music education.

The first wave of PME research arrived in different countries at different times. In the Nordic countries this happened relatively early. In 1969, the Swedish comprehensive school curriculum put emphasis "on creative activities, on using music and sound from the pupils' own environment and on putting music into its social and cultural perspectives" (Tagg, 1982, p. 232). The rationale for this emphasis, according to Philip Tagg (1982), was to "encourage the recruitment of a new sort of music teacher, the sort of person who could sing a few 'pop songs' with the kids" (p. 233). In the 1970s, the Swedish music teacher education program SÄMUS included jazz, pop, and folk music "as radically new elements of content" (Dyndahl & Nielsen 2014, p. 106). Later in Sweden, so-called BoomTown Music Education (BTME) was developed to "contribute with important knowledge about how learning in music is affected by the organisation and design of learning contexts" (Gullberg, 2005, p. 1622). BTME contributed to the discussion legitimizing informal learning methods in formal music education thus widening the understanding of PME and paving the way for the second wave of research.

In Norway, according to Petter Dyndahl and colleagues (2017), popular music started to "seep into" higher music education through "particular courses which mirrored the interests of certain teachers, and through students' own efforts, a few even choosing popular music-related topics for their academic theses" (p. 439). During the following decades popular music's position in music education practices in Norway strengthened and broadened (Dyndahl et al., 2017; see also Ruud, 1981). The history of popular music education in Denmark is somewhat different than its Nordic neighbors (see e.g., Kallio & Väkevä, 2017). The Danish concept 'rytmisk musik'—which loosely translates to 'rhythmic music'—emerged in the Danish education system already in the early 1930s (Pedersen, 2011). Despite Denmark's early inclusion of 'rytmisk musik', popular music only "entered the agenda" in school music education in the 1970s (Pedersen, 2011, p. 10). Compared to other Nordic countries, Iceland is a 'newcomer' with popular music only recently becoming a part of school music education practices (see e.g., Kallio & Väkevä, 2017).

In the Finnish context, the legitimization of PME began in the 1960s therefore positioning Finland, along with its Nordic neighbor countries, as a forerunner in adapting popular music practices in school music teaching (e.g., Väkevä, 2006; Westerlund, 2006). Väkevä (2006) describes how in Finland popular music entered the comprehensive school "by the backdoor" (p. 127) when music teachers recognized the need to include students' musical worlds as part of their teaching practices (see also Muukkonen, 2010). In other words, the inclusion of popular music in Finland in the 1980s and 1990s "was based more on the pragmatic and democratic ideas of contemporary educational theory, recognizing the need to utilize students' own musical habitats as the point of departure" (Väkevä 2006, p. 127). This was primarily carried out by music teachers.

Outside of the Nordic countries, popular music education has been of interest, although not incorporated into the music teaching practices, since the 1960s. In his 1968 book *Popular music and the teacher*, for example, Keith Swanwick argued for adding popular music into formal music education practices and, through doing so, placing students' viewpoints and (assumed) interests at the heart of their education. In 1976, Graham Vulliamy and Edward Lee published a book titled *Pop music in school*. The book took a sociological perspective by exploring popular music in its school context and called for popular music's inclusion in school music education. However, it also took a critical stance towards popular music's connection to consumerism and, according to Kallio (2015a), perceived school music education as something that would improve "the quality of popular music in society, [thereby] devaluing the music that students already identified *as* popular, listened to and enjoyed" (p. 23, original italics).

As can be seen by this overview, the hegemonic position of PME in Finland did not emerge by accident. Instead, this position is a result of decades of advocacy for including popular music in music education practices. This advocacy took place both through the back door (Väkevä, 2006) by teachers who saw a need and justified more formally through arguments for collaborative learning-by-doing principles that seemed to fit well with the classroom setting and its overall educational goals (Westerlund, 2006). First wave scholars also formulated the idea of music as a social activity (e.g., Small, 1998) and multidimensional experience (e.g., Elliott, 1995), and argued for bringing students' 'own' music into teaching contexts (e.g., Swanwick, 1968). This latter argument has been crucial for legitimizing PME in school music teaching and has been further reinforced by second wave scholars who argue that placing the student at the heart of the learning process enhances the democracy of music education. (E.g., Allsup, 2011; Bennett, 2000; Cremata, 2017; Green, 2006; Väkevä, 2006; Väkevä & Westerlund, 2007; Westerlund, 2006; Wright, 2017).

2.2 The second wave – problematization

Allsup (2008) describes the second wave of PME research as "research studies that locate and problematize methods of teaching of popular music"

(p. 2). Whereas the first wave asked “what”, the second wave concentrated on “heuristic investigations into the whys and hows of popular music and informal learning, especially as these domains intersect with schools, schools of education, methods of instruction, and our profession’s efforts to diversify curricula” (p. 3). Green’s (2002) book *How Popular Musicians Learn*, for example, explored the interfaces of formal and informal learning by focusing—as the book title states—on how popular musicians learn. Green, however, was not the first scholar to explore informal music making practices. Already in 1989 Ruth Finnegan inquired into such issues in her book *The Hidden Musicians: Music-Making in an English Town*, which attended to vernacular music making in different genres. Nevertheless, Green’s (2002) work raised wider awareness among music educators about how learning popular music differs from the dominant understandings of formal music education. To understand the informal popular music learning practices, Green interviewed musicians between the ages of fifteen and fifty years old. Overall, her study advocated for the international pedagogical recognition of popular music. In the same year, Allsup (2002) published an 405-page ethnography on high school students’ after-school garage bands, the findings of which backed up those of Green (2002). “Upon discovering Green’s text, I felt suddenly un-alone”, Allsup writes (2008, p. 3).

“How” questions have also been asked by, for example, David Hargreaves and Nigel Marshall (2003) who explored the notion of musical identity and, particularly, how pupils’ musical identities are often entwined with popular music outside school. Hargreaves and Marshall (2003) pondered the division between music inside and outside school in the context of an English secondary school concluding by arguing that the (in)congruence between students’ musical identities and their teacher’s musical identity likely affects the music education practices in school. John O’Flynn (2006), for his part, explored the conceptual division of classical and popular music in the music education context and suggested the use of the term ‘vernacular’ as a way to refer to multiple types of music making. According to O’Flynn (2006), vernacular music making could concretely contribute to school music teaching by combining various styles of music under the same conceptual umbrella. After publishing her seminal research in 2002, Green continued her work by investigating informal music learning in pedagogical settings in her book *Music, Informal Learning and The School (2008).*

Problematizing the informal learning approach (in addition to Green see also e.g., Folkestad, 2006) is one pivotal element of the second wave of research. In Green’s approach, she advocated for informal learning as it engages students in cooperative activities such as copying music from recordings as described above in chapter 1.2. While Green (2008) described that the role of the music teacher was to “establish ground rules for behaviour, set the task going at the start of each stage, *then stand back and observe what pupils were doing*” (p. 24, italics my own), other scholars contend that the teacher’s role is that of an active participant and musician in classroom music making. Westerlund (2006), for example, in her argument for developing knowledge-building communities by questioning the apprenticeship tradition, emphasized that such questioning “does not mean that teachers in popular music culture are redundant” (p. 121). Instead, she argues that “teamwork, *joint teacher-student participation* and an overall culture of support in the institution form the bacground of the students’ own projects” (p. 121, italics my own). Westerlund (2006) takes a learning theoretical standpoint “where students are participants of musical practices instead of the end points of carefully planned instructional inputs” (p. 122) and in which the teacher’s role is seen as “providing tools for full participation and increasing expertise” (p. 123). Hence, Green—who underlines the importance of standing back and observing to understand the needs of the students—sees the role of the teacher rather differently than Westerlund who emphasizes (musical) teamwork between students and the teacher and sees music education “as a practice where learning takes place and where learning is an aspect of all activities” (p. 122).

The second wave has continued until recent years. This can be seen, for example, in the investigation by Radio Cremata (2017) of popular music facilitation contexts and their relation to notions of democracy, collaboration and inclusivity. The continuous development of music technology has also led to investigations in the second wave of the benefits and disadvantages of the latest inventions for music teachers and their students. In Finland, for example, Miikka Salavuo (2005) investigated the possibilities of network-assisted learning and technology in a university music education course on arranging popular and traditional music; Heidi Partti (2012) explored music making, musical learning, and musical identity in digital and virtual media; and Aleksi Ojala (2017) developed a learning through producing (LTP) approach in an upper secondary school. It is not surprising that such research has been conducted in Finland where music teacher education and school music teaching strongly rest on PME practices. Internationally, the *Oxford Handbook of Technology and Music Education* (Ruthmann & Mantie, 2017) illustrates a range of innovations and possibilities in music technology. The handbook considers, for example 1) that technology is not only an object of music education but also constructs our understanding of musicality (Solis, 2017); 2) that Western understandings of technology do not necessarily hold true for the entire globe (Akuno & Ondieki, 2017; Kigozi, 2017); 3) that technology does not automatically bring something ‘good’ to learning processes, but may even highlight socio-economic inequalities (Chrysostomou, 2017) and; 4) if technology has managed to dismantle the power hierarchy between music learner and music teacher (Lum, 2017).

The first wave of PME research aimed to elevate popular music to the same level as other musical genres in education and advocated democracy between diverse musics, and the second wave aimed to enhance arguments about the democracy of popular music in various ways and through diverse theoretical angles. According to Cremata (2017), for example, “popular music facilitation contexts support the notions of democracy, autonomy, diversity, hospitality, differentiation, exploration, creativities, collaboration and inclusivity” (p. 64). Furthermore, digital musical tools have been treated as classroom democritizers (see e.g., Ojala, 2017) while online music communities, largely based on popular music practices, have been argued to contain “aspects of the music-related democratic revolution” (Partti, 2012, p. 79). Hence, in addition to studies on music technology, the second wave of PME research, through its exploration of the ‘whys’ and ‘hows’, succeeded in continuing what the first wave started: It strengthened the first wave’s legitimization arguments and paved the way for popular music to become hegemonic in music education in Finnish schools.

2.3 The third wave – contextualization

Whereas the second wave of PME research enhanced the idea that the use of popular music is an eminently democratic music education practice, the third wave contributed a more critical stance towards the democracy argument by demonstrating that differences and related inequalities do exist within PME settings. This has happened by shifting the focus from the musical style and social action while learning and performing the music to the conditions and wider interactional contexts in which PME practices are enacted. Thus, instead of asking “what”, “why” and “how”, the third wave of research asks “what for”, “to whom” and “with whom”. So far such questions have been asked, for example, from the viewpoints of gender, cultural diversity, social class, and sexuality (e.g., Bates, 2019; Björck, 2011; Georgii-Hemming & Westvall, 2010; Gould, 2005; Hess, 2015), from the angle of the political processes of exclusion and legitimization of certain musics (e.g., Kallio, 2015a), and by questioning the notion that students are one unit with similar musical interests (e.g., Kallio & Väkevä, 2017). I will next elaborate these perspectives.

Examining the relation between gender and popular music, Cecilia Björck (2011) showed how female popular musicians in Sweden are often positioned as 'Others'. Similarly, in US, Matthew Garrett and Joshua Palkki (2021) illustrated how many non-binary students experience absence of recognition in school and school music education. From the viewpoint of cultural diversity, based on Karlsen's (2012) Pan-Nordic study amongst immigrant students, we know that teenagers living in Finland with families from outside Finland may not necessarily articulate their interest in music from their cultural background at school due to peer pressure, even when they experience this music to be meaningful and important in many ways (see also, Karlsen, 2013). Eva Saether (2008) has described this phenomenon, whereby individuals efface their cultural background in an educational setting, as a wish to be "freed from cultural identity" (p. 33). Karlsen (2012) elaborated Saether's description by interpreting it as a wish to be freed "from the societal demand that one ought to 'present a [particular] cultural identity'" (p. 133). In her study of PME in Finnish basic education, Kallio (2015a) argues that school, as a special social context, has a tendency to assume and produce homogeneity with and through censorious narratives and exclusion. Together these critiques suggest that the assumption that teenagers are a homogeneous group with similar musical interests may, paradoxically, construct otherness in PME by neglecting diversity. Furthermore, aligning with the stance of the third wave of PME research, the critiques above suggest that the democratic potential of popular music—as with any other music—is dependent on the educational interactional context and the students, rather than the musical style itself.

Social class has been another one of the central undertones in studies concerning PME. Music teacher educators in the Nordic countries, for example, have described the domination of classical music as elitist, upper-class and causing structural inequalities in and and through music education (see e.g., Westerlund et al., 2021b). *The Bloomsbury handbook of popular music and social class* (Peddie, 2020) engages with questions concerning social class from the viewpoints of, for instance, literature on rock music (McDonald, 2020), taste (Michelsen, 2020), and popular music's potential to recognize and widen understandings of musicianship (Butler & Wright, 2020). Reflecting the interactional viewpoint of the third wave of PME research, the handbook characterizes popular music as a "medium that allows us to think critically about our world and about ourselves in ways that enrich our understanding of social divisions" (Peddie, 2020, p. 4). Despite these important contributions to the field, there remains a lack of research addressing the assumed inherent inequalities and unequal consequences of PME in terms of social class in relation to intersectional social identities.

Political processes of exclusion in the PME context have been examined, for example, by Kallio and Väkevä (2017) who argued that music educators should no longer rely on the understanding that popular music is students 'own' music, and that there is a need to consider how to facilitate inclusion and enhance more democratic participation in PME. Notably, even when students identify with particular popular music, the popular music introduced in school may not necessarily represent their 'own' culture or preferences. Instead, teachers' repertoire choices often align with their understandings of popular music, including hits from decades ago, and concern for easy-to-play popular music songs, thus focusing on a limited selection of popular music repertoire (Georgii-Hemming & Westvall, 2010). Furthermore, Kallio (2015a; 2015b) has argued that a *school censorship frame* guides teachers' decision-making regarding the inclusion and exclusion of certain popular music pieces and genres from the classroom. According to Kallio (2015a), the school censorship frame is an array of "broad and specific social narratives that draw associations between particular musics or songs and socially constructed notions of deviance" (p. ii). This censorship frame directs the actions of teachers "through the creation of boundaries, however impermanent, that constrain the potentials for musical and social agency *before* a musical event can take place" (p. 76, original italics). Thus, the critical view through the school censorship frame supports the third wave of PME research according to which when building democracy in PME, the questions are connected rather to the interactional and socially constructed educational contexts than to any music style used in pedagogy *per se*.

In sum, the third wave of PME research, as presented in this section, delineates unprecedented approaches and theoretical lenses to PME research. This inquiry complements the critical standpoints of the third wave of research by combining ideas from activist feminism, sociology, and political science to consider intersectionality as one possible approach for better acknowledging diversity, enhancing agency, and reinforcing the democratic potential of PME in pluralist societies in which pluralism is known to not simply enrich social interaction but also produce inequalities.

3 Theoretical starting points

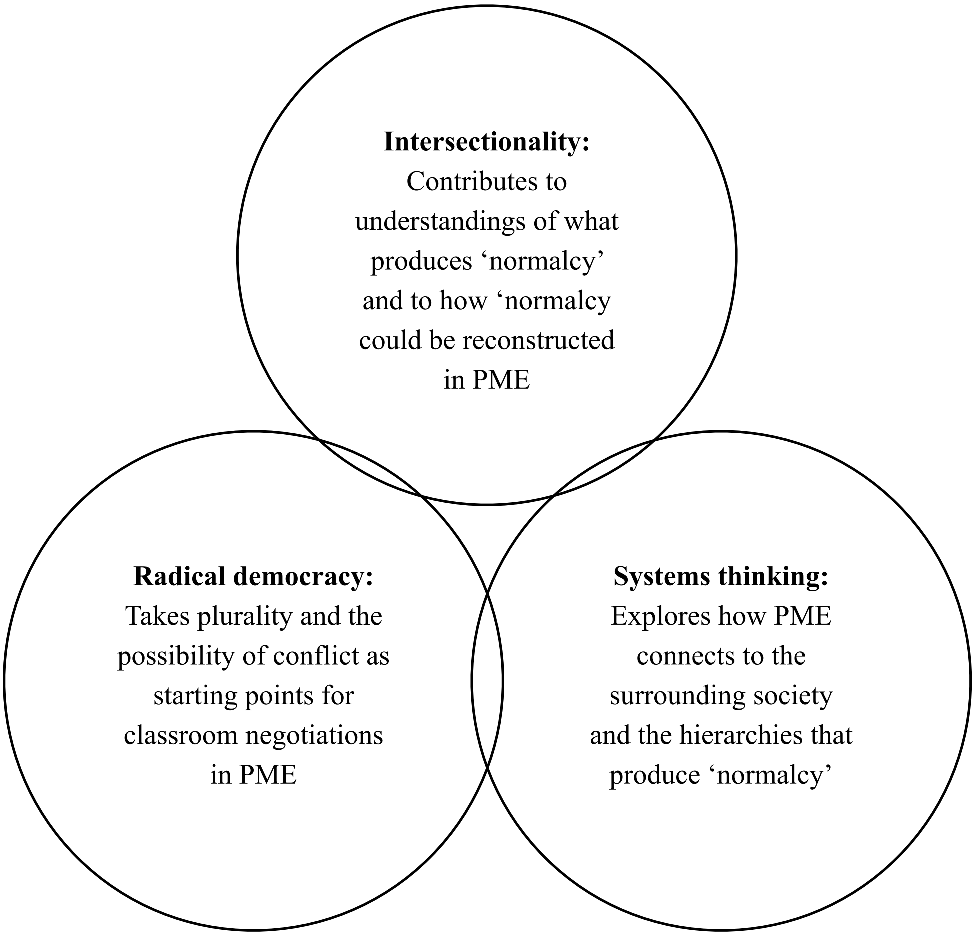
This chapter outlines the theoretical starting points of this inquiry, namely systems thinking (e.g., Gonzales, 2020; Midgley, 2000; Westerlund et al., 2021a), intersectionality (e.g., Crenshaw, 1989; 1991; Grzanka, 2014) and radical democracy (e.g., Mouffe, 2000; 2005; 2013). I use these theoretical sources as overlapping and complementary with respect to each other. As shown in Figure 2, I use systems thinking as a lens to explore how PME connects to the surrounding society and its related hierarchies that produce 'normalcy'; intersectionality as an analytical lens to explore how 'normalcy' is produced in PME and how the consequential power structures may be reconstructed in PME; and political theorist Mouffe's idea of radical democracy to take diversity and the possibility of conflict as a starting points for democratic action. Thus, radical democracy is here seen as a goal of PME, a goal that never becomes 'ready' but that guides classroom negotiations by treating pluralism and confrontation as prerequisites in the pursuit of equity in PME (see Mouffe, 2000; 2005; 2013).

By combining systems thinking, intersectionality, and radical democracy I aim to 1) set the current and hegemonic understanding of 'students as a homogenous group' into the political context of PME and diverse Finnish schools; 2) understand how popular music practices may construct inequalities in the music classroom and what could be the starting points towards more democratic PME. Furthermore, by doing so, I mean to shift the focus from the music style to the interactional sociocultural context of school and to explore the conditions for democracy in PME. The chapter begins by introducing systems thinking (3.1), proceeds to intersectionality (3.2), and ends with radical democracy (3.3).

3.1 Systems thinking

Systems theory is an interdisciplinary field of studies that has not impacted music education until very recently (see e.g., Väkevä et al., 2017; Westerlund et al., 2021a). In this dissertation I will use the related notion of systems thinking (e.g., Midgley, 2000; Gonzales, 2020; Westerlund et al., 2021a) which refers, literally, to a way of thinking in terms of systems that helps to identify and understand the interrelations and complexity of the world, and to see institutions and practices in relation to their environment. According to educational researcher Mabel Gonzales (2020), systems thinking is a form of "diagnostic thinking" that allows us to "see and understand things from different angles" and to "move from observing events to identifying patterns of behavior over time, and bringing to the surface the underlying structures that drive those

Figure 2: Theoretical framework


Intersectionality:
Contributes to understandings of what produces 'normalcy' and to how 'normalcy could be reconstructed in PME
Radical democracy:
Takes plurality and the possibility of conflict as starting points for classroom negotiations in PME
Systems thinking:
Explores how PME connects to the surrounding society and the hierarchies that produce 'normalcy'

events and patterns" (p. 3). In other words, systems thinking makes it possible to explore the mechanisms that (re)produce (in)equalities, and draw lines between the structural discrimination and its manifestations at the institutional level and in the everyday lives of people. Through its diagnostic nature systems thinking also enables us to explore the possibilities of reconstructing the structures and, therefore, striving towards more equal practices and systems change through a move "from observation to intervention" (Midgley, 2000, p. 4).

In this inquiry, systems thinking is used to explore the interrelations between PME, including the national curriculum behind the teaching and learning practices, and Finnish society and its related values, structural hierarchies, and (in)equalities. As systems thinking engages with the “interconnection and interdependence of systems, subsystems and their environment” (Gonzales, 2020, p. 4), I will use it to develop a “big-picture view” (p. 4) of PME and its related hierarchies. Hence, in accordance with systems thinking, PME is here understood as a micro-level social system that works with the macro-level social system of Finnish society. In other words, when engaging in systems thinking, I develop my understanding about the “systems structures that may hinder or improve the smooth running of systems and to lead change” (p. 4) in order to advocate for a broader understanding of the limits and possibilities of PME.

In line with systems thinking, I do not understand the social system of PME as being fixed or stable, but as being complex, dynamic and contextual. Committing to systems thinking thus entails acknowledging that different systems may have different meanings depending on where, when, by whom and with respect to what they are interpreted and negotiated – that is, by acknowledging systems as contextual and interconnected. This commitment also means acknowledging that PME is “not only a cultural and educational, but also a socially embedded praxis” (Westerlund et al., 2021, p. 13). Hence, PME, in this inquiry, is not considered to be an isolated entity, but an active praxis which may renew itself and its related practices with respect to the societal phenomena that emerge in surrounding society and its related systems. Gonzales (2020) explains this as follows: “Systems thinking involves using cyclical processes to solve evolving problems. It is an ‘outside the box’ way of thinking, without discounting what’s inside the box” (p. 4). In this metaphor, PME is what is inside the box, yet, it cannot be explored without opening the box and exploring its meanings with respect to what is outside the box.

Thus, systems thinking is here understood as a wider analytical starting point and understanding that is applied in combination with intersectional theory (e.g., Crenshaw, 1989; 1991; Grzanka, 2014; Lutz, 2015) and the political theory of radical democracy (e.g., Mouffe, 2000; 2005; 2013). This combination is used with the aim of enabling a more holistic understanding of the phenomenon in question. In other words, intersectionality is used to explore in more detail the mechanisms that produce inequalities that occur inside and in between the micro and macro level social systems, as understood within the systems thinking framework. The next section presents intersectionality as an analytical lens in the context of this study.

3.2 Intersectionality

As can be seen in the figure presented at the beginning of this chapter (Figure 2), intersectionality is here used as the core analytical lens for understanding how the perceptions of 'normalcy' are produced in PME. In the Finnish school context, normalcy refers to the white and middle-class idea of a "normal student" (Riitaoja, 2013, p. i) – that is, to a discursive product of a process in which "differences among students are to be considered natural and embodied, not as contextually and relationally constructed" (p. i). Connected to the "socially constructed notions of deviance" (Kallio, 2015, p. ii), understandings of normalcy guide teachers' pedagogical decisions and efface the complexity of diversity at the policy level (Kallio 2015; Riitaoja, 2013). I adopt intersectionality to explore how 'normalcy' in PME gets defined in the interactional processes between the teacher and students, and in the interactional sociocultural context of the school, and to conceptualize the politics of diversity in PME. Furthermore, I agree with Carson and Westvall (2016) who "suggest a re-definition of 'normality' in music education" (p. 39) and, for that purpose, they identify a need for music educators "to reflect not only the musics of the world, but the realities of the multicultural nature of the social contexts in which the educational system is situated" (p. 39). Hence, I use intersectionality to shift the focus from popular music per se to the pedagogical conditions in which popular music is used and, thus, to explore how the interplay between the power structures and different dimensions of identities work together to shape students' experiences of (in)equalities in PME. This section proceeds by first introducing intersectional theory, followed by the intercategorical approach (McCall, 2005) and, finally, the social dimensions most relevant in the context of this inquiry – that is, those of social class, 'race' and gender.

Intersectionality is a feminist theory first introduced by black legal scholar Kimberlé Crenshaw (e.g., Crenshaw, 1989; 1991). In recent years, due to the mainstreaming of feminism, intersectionality has become a widely popularized academic concept both in Finland and internationally. For example, as mentioned earlier, the Finnish government's action plan for gender equality (Ministry of Social Affairs and Health, 2021) calls for an intersectional viewpoint to enhance equity in Finnish society (p. 9). Although this mainstreaming of intersectionality can be seen as a sign of societal progress, it also risks simplifying the meanings of the term and obscuring its objectives. Moreover, it has been argued that 'whitestream feminism' has led intersectionality to suffer a metamorphosis that prevents it from serving "its fundamental purpose of making visible the oppression of women of color" (Mendoza, 2016, p. 102). Hence, to avoid simplifications and to pursue reflexivity as a white "'first world' scholar" (p. 103), I find it important to emphasize that Crenshaw's original aim was to recognize Black women's intersecting identities with respect to their structural oppression. This can be seen in a rather illuminating manner in the title of her 1989 seminal article: *Demarginalizing the intersection of race and sex: A Black feminist critique of antidiscrimintation doctrine, feminist theory and antiracist politics.*

In the article, Crenshaw (1989) observed how both 'race' and gender were leading to discrimination and, thus, to cumulative inequalities in the everyday lives of Black women. According to her, "in race discrimination cases, discrimination tends to be viewed in terms of sex- or class-privileged Blacks, in sex discrimination cases, the focus is on race- and class-privileged women" (p. 140). That is, according to Crenshaw, the experiences of Black women were (/are) neglected in anti-racist discourse, which tends to centre the Black man as a subject, and in feminist discourse, which tends to centre the white woman as a subject. Furthermore, Crenshaw (1989) demonstrated how "dominant conceptions of discrimination condition us to think about subordination as disadvantage occuring along a single categorical axis" and, thus, suggested that "the entire framework that has been used as a basis for translating 'women's experience' or 'the Black experience' into concrete policy demands must be rethought and recast" (p. 140). In other words, Crenshaw argued that to truly understand the oppression of Black women, it is necessary to recognize the ways 'race' and gender intersect in and shape people's lived reality and potentially lead to multiple and accumulating inequalities in one's life.

Crenshaw's notion of intersectionality has since been extended to recognize other multiple dimensions of identity. As can be seen by the work of Harriet Bradley (2016), such dimensions can be, for example, social class, gender, 'race', age, sexuality, disability, ethnicity, and religious affiliation. Through this extension, intersectionality has been used to theorize how identities are multidimensional and "how these dimensions of inequality co-construct one another" (Grzanka, 2014, xiii). Bradley (2016) has described the interplay between structures, people, and social dimensions by writing that "structures are constituted by the actions of agents (people, institutions), but action itself is organized within the parameters of existing structures" (p. 14). These examples illuminate how intersectionality as a theoretical tool can support understandings of how different dimensions of identity and structures co-construct each other in a continuous interplay, and how such an interplay manifests as structural oppression and, hence, as lived experiences of (in)equality in people's everyday lives (see e.g., Bradley, 2016; Lutz, 2015).

Although intersectionality is “foremost about studying multiple dimensions of inequality and developing ways to resist and challenge these various forms of oppression” (Grzanka, 2014, p. xv), it may also be used strategically to pinpoint certain socially constructed categories and their related systems of oppression (e.g., McCall, 2005). As I explored different social dimensions and their interrelations in the social system of PME, I therefore use Leslie McCall´s (2005) conceptualization of intersectionality as a methodology by adapting her *intercategorical approach*. The intercategorical approach begins from the observation “that there are relationships of inequality among already constituted social groups” (pp. 1784-1785), such as ‘race’ and gender.

Importantly, I wish to emphasize the risks of essentialism and simplification when working with social groups in a categorical sense. McCall (2005) herself recognizes these risks when she asks, “can the categorical approach respect the demand for complexity?” (p. 1786). I have acknowledged her question by taking into account that the social groups—even though “already constituted” (p. 1785)—are not fixed or steady. Instead, they are products of power and, hence, “inherently unstable, and indeed contestable” (Bradley, 2016, p. 16). I therefore do not consider the intercategorical approach to be an endpoint in itself – rather I adapt it as an analytical starting point for examining how the different social dimensions work together with the surrounding world and its related structures to produce inequalities. Hence, the intercategorical approach complements the overall intersectional stance which permeates the entire research project according to the principles of thinking with theory – an approach that questions the stiff division between theory and practices and, instead, encourages working them together in a dialogical and co-constructive manner (Jackson & Mazzei, 2012). While understanding intersectional identities as overlapping, multidimensional and fluid, in this research I mainly use the intercategorical approach to cover the dimensions of social class, ‘race’ and gender. Thus, in what follows, I clarify how these dimensions are understood in the context of this dissertation.

Social class

Social class is here understood as a product of power structures. Following the ideas of the feminist sociologist Beverley Skeggs, I understand social class as something that is “always made by and in the interests of those who have access to power and the circuits of symbolic distribution” (Skeggs, 2004, p. 3). According to Skeggs (1997; 2004), power structures tend to favor middle-class and bourgeois characteristics that “can be converted into social or economic advantage or forms of prestige” (Bull, 2019, p. 2) and, in this way, pathologize the working class. Accordingly, Skeggs (1997) argues that the middle-class defines 'respectability', which is "one of the most ubiquitous signifiers of class" and informs "how we speak, who we speak to, how we classify others, what we study and how we know who we are (or are not)" (p. 1). Hence, by positioning middle-classness as a worthwhile pursuit, the social system classifies working class habits and tastes as diminutive.

In everyday discussions, social class is often related to one's economic background and available resources. One of the most well known approaches that explores social class with respect to access to cultural and/or social resources is Pierre Bourdieu's (1986) division between economic, cultural, and social capital. According to Bourdieu (1986), economic capital is "directly convertible into money and may be institutionalized in the form of property rights" (p. 16); cultural capital may be convertible "into economic capital and may be institutionalized in the form of educational qualifications" (p. 16); and social capital "is convertible, in certain conditions, into economic capital and may be institutionalized in the form of a title of nobility" (p. 16). By taking social and cultural aspects into account, Bourdieu's widely adapted conceptualization exceeds material analysis and, hence, underlines that social class is not only about money. While this does not mean that wealth does not count, it highlights how in social systems resources other than only material ones also count.

Against these theoretical approaches, I acknowledge that fulfilling respectable middle-class ideals through education, including PME, becomes a social resource. Furthermore, I acknowledge that in the school context the uneven distribution of social resources between the lower and upper classes manifests as an "opportunity gap" (e.g., Putnam, 2015) within the class hierarchy. As a result, as opposed to working class children, middle-class children are "likely to experience little disjunction between the linguistic, knowledge and control codes used in their education and those experienced at home", as Ruth Wright and Brian Davies (2010, p. 47) describe. This observation is directly related to the idea of respectable middle-classness in school that sets the norms for everyone else. According to Anna-Leena Riitaoja (2013), for example, "the Finnish subject considered as white, middle class, and equal has the burden of setting the limits of social orders and maintaining them" (p. ii) in the school context. Finally, as "tastes and practices are associated with other social divisions as well as class" (Bull, 2019, p. 3), social class is here acknowledged as one dimension in a wider spectrum of dimensions and is, therefore, explored through and with intersectionality.

‘Race’

‘Race’ is here understood as a discursive product of racialization – a process which produces hierarchies based on skin color and ethnicity by treating whiteness as the norm (e.g., Ahmed, 2012). Importantly, even though ‘race’ is here mainly addressed from a discursive viewpoint, it is, however, noteworthy that the consequences of racialization manifest in material inequalities in the lived reality of minoritized people. Sara Ahmed (2012) has described the experience of not being white in an institutional system, stating: “Whiteness can be a situation we have or are in; when we can name that situation (and even make jokes about it) we recognise each other as strangers to the institution and find in that estrangement a bond” (p. 5). Ahmed’s idea underscores how whiteness is a power position that—despite it often being invisible to white people themselves—sets the norm against which everyone else is presumed to negotiate their identities. This kind of invisibility materializes as silence which, according to Juliet Hess (2017), “surrounds issues of race and racism in music education and speaks directly to the coded language that masks these issues in music education discourse” (p. 15). In other words, Hess (2017) argues that music education discourse seeks ways to avoid direct language when speaking of race-related oppression in our own practices.

In the school context, the consequences of racialization manifest, for example, in everyday practices in which “students labeled as special, multicultural, immigrant, and urban [become] the objects of worry and normalization” (Riitaoja, 2013, p. ii). In these normalization processes, whiteness becomes labeled as normative and non-white students become ‘Others’ (Riitaoja, 2013). This kind of division is also visible in music education, that Hess (2017) describes as having “its historical roots in whiteness” which “systemically and structurally privileges White people and subjugates Others” (p. 16). Importantly, Marja Peltola (2020) highlights the intersection between social class and ‘race’ in the school context, arguing that “racialization in education and in society has consequences to people’s social class position” (p. 98) which clearly points that there is an intersection between social class and ‘race’ in school context. Throughout this dissertation, ‘race’ is written in quotation marks to 1) avoid essentialism and underscore how whiteness, too, is a race 2) “pay attention to how we construct asymmetric positions at the epistemological, discursive, social, and material levels” (Riitaoja, 2013, p. ii) and reveal the power structures that produce norms and deviances in the school context and, as argued in this dissertation, in PME.

Gender

Gender, like social class and 'race', is here understood as a product of power. The distinction between the terms sex and gender was made famous through the work of Simone de Beauvoir (1949), according to whom one is not born a woman – one becomes a woman. This distinction suggests that sex does not determine who we are or who we become as 'men' or 'women', but rather who we become is a question of education and socialization. By suggesting that men and women are expected to adapt to gendered assumptions and norms, Beauvoir similarly came to suggest that such norms can also be questioned – a task that has been successfully executed by researchers also in the field of music education (e.g., Björck, 2011; Kuoppamäki, 2015; Onsrud et al., 2021). Later, in the 1990s, Judith Butler approached the question of sex and gender from a poststructuralist viewpoint (see e.g., Butler, 1990; 1993). Butler (1990) argued that instead of understanding sex as 'purely' biological, it should be understood as a product of culture and, hence, as a social construction that receives its biological meanings through social interaction. In other words, according to Butler, sex is given its cultural meanings through social reality and those meanings are not revertible to biology per se.

In this inquiry, rather than working within the sex/gender divide, it is recognized that "the regulatory norms of 'sex' work in a performative fashion to constitute the materiality of bodies and, more specifically, to materialize the body's sex, to materialize sexual difference in the service of the consolidation of the heterosexual imperative" (Butler, 1993, p. 2). Furthermore, although it is recognized that identification and 'assuming' one's gender happens within "the discursive means by which the heterosexual imperative enables certain sexed identifications and forecloses and/or disavows other identifications" (p. 3), gender is here understood as multiple and non-binary. Hence, it is here acknowledged that calling for gender equity is also a call for recognizing the multiplicity of genders, and for understanding that gender does not exist along a continuum from man to woman in a simplistic way. Instead, gender is a spectrum of different identities that extend beyond binary categories. Finally, this research acknowledges that gendered power structures materialize as gendered inequalities, and, according to intersectionality, these inequalities may be cumulative. Thus, gender is here explored through intersectionality to call for a more profound deliberation on power and its implications on different and intersecting identities.

3.3 Radical democracy

According to John Dewey ([1916] 1980), democracy is a "conjoint communicated experience" (p. 101). That is, according to Dewey, democracy is something that takes place socially in a constant interplay between individuals and communities. Hence, common learning with and through experience, in a Deweyan sense, is both the goal and the means of democracy (see e.g., Alhanen, 2013, p. 229). This notion of democracy as experience and as a process was the starting point for conceptualizing democracy in this inquiry. Later, however, when I started to explore democracy with respect to the different and intersecting dimensions of identity—including gender, social class, and 'race'—I complemented my initial understanding of democracy with the ideas of Mouffe who, like Dewey, acknowledges democracy to be more than a form of government (Dewey, [1916] 1980; Mouffe 2000). Moreover, Mouffe's idea of democracy aligns with the intersectional lens in this research as she emphasizes how class struggle is only one of the confrontations in contemporary societies. She (1993) recognizes the "need to establish a chain of equivalence among the different democratic struggles so as to create an equivalent articulation between the demands of women, blacks, workers, gays and others" (p. 77; see also Laclau & Mouffe, 1985). In this way, Mouffe (1993) abandons essentialism and calls for an interpretation that accounts for "the different social relations and subject positions in which they are relevant: gender, class, race, ethnicity, sexual orientation, and so on" (p. 71). Furthermore, Mouffe (1993) calls for understanding the social agent "not as a unitary subject but as the articulation of an ensemble of subject positions, constructed within specific discourses and always precariously and temporarily sutured at the intersection of those subject positions" (p. 71). Hence, her political theory complements the intersectional viewpoint of this inquiry.

To acknowledge diversity and the possibility of ongoing conflict as a starting point for democratic action, and to elaborate the possibilities for democratic action in PME, this research adopts Mouffe's concept of radical democracy (see also Karlsen & Westerlund, 2010). In other words, although I believe that an educator should be able to envision the best possible future so they would know where to aim, I, however, at the same time believe that envisioning undisputed and consensual democracy may be harmful in terms of understanding and cherishing diversity. Instead, such a vision of consensual democracy may, at its worst, bypass diversity and conflict and fail to recognize inequalities and people's experiences of oppression. Hence, this inquiry acknowledges that democracy begins from the notion that a perfect harmony is a utopia that can never be fully achieved (see e.g., Mouffe, 2000; 2005; 2013).

Drawing from the writings of Antonio Gramsci, Mouffe’s work pays attention to how social structures interact, how this interaction constructs hierarchies, and, thus, takes the symbolic ordering of social relations as starting point of analysis. This idea aligns with both the intersectional analytical framework used in this dissertation, which aims to identify how social interaction between different identity dimensions and the world manifests as cumulative inequalities in (some) people’s everyday lives, and systems thinking, which I use to holistically understand and tackle inequality. As mentioned above, democracy is here understood as a social, non-consensual and ongoing process rather than as something institutional, fixed and final. In other words, instead of understanding democracy as an institutional practice, I understand it in a Deweyan way as a “mode of associated living” (Westerlund 2003, p. 215). In Mouffe’s (2000) conceptualization, democracy is something that is enlivened in conflicts and confrontations as these “indicate that democracy is alive and inhabited by pluralism” (p. 34). To enhance democracy by inhabiting pluralism means becoming aware of plurality – a process for which intersectionality serves a valuable tool.

I will therefore use intersectionality in connection with radical democracy as a lens that enables making visible the symbolic order of social relations and, thus, unpacking diversity and its related hierarchies. This lens, furthermore, entails exploring how power works with respect to diversity and understanding power not “as an *external* relation taking place between two pre-constituted identities, but rather as constituting the identities themselves” (Mouffe, 2000, p. 21, original italics). To understand how power manifests in societies and in people’s lives, the concept of hegemony is particularly helpful. In the writing of Gramsci (1971), hegemony refers to a societally dominant ideology that manifests at least on two levels: civil society—that is, “the ensemble of organisms commonly called “private”” (p. 145)—and political society, which refers to the state. According to Gramsci, these two levels “correspond on the one hand to the function of ‘hegemony’ which the dominant group exercises throughout society and on the other hand to that of ‘direct domination’ or command exercised through the State and ‘juridical’ government” (p. 145). Furthermore, according to Mouffe, all orders have a hegemonic nature and, therefore, orders are expressions of power structures (see e.g., Mouffe, 2013, p. xi). Mouffe (2013) therefore suggests that we should not aim at “society beyond hegemony”, but instead engage in “a process of radicalizing democracy – the construction of more democratic, more egalitarian institutions” (p. xiv). Furthermore, she (2000) explains that “the relation between social agents becomes more democratic only as far as they accept the particularity and the limitation of their claims; that is, only in so far as they recognize their mutual relation as one from which power is ineradicable” (p. 21).

I will follow Mouffe's understanding of power as unavoidable and omnipresent that was articulated above. Moreover, I acknowledge that understanding the capacity of power to constitute identity is a prerequisite for making diversity visible. In other words, if diversity is bypassed or oppressed—which may happen if power is bypassed—democracy cannot be "inhabited by pluralism" (Mouffe, 2000, p. 34) and, hence, be alive. Based on the above idea of cherishing diversity, I abandon the idea of democracy as a harmonic endpoint because in democracy "a consensus is a *conceptual* impossibility" (Mouffe, 2000, p. 33, original italics). Instead, I cherish "conflictual consensus" (Mouffe, 2013, p. xii) as a central task of democratic processes. In the context of PME in Finland, conflictual consensus entails systems thinking, through which a music teacher can deliberate on how the social system of Finnish society, with its related hierarchies, manifests in the school and the social system of PME.

Musical expressions that arise from a music education context "may not be in accordance with any 'original' function of the given music; however, they involve channeled energies and efforts that can be seen from the viewpoint of their socially transformative functions" (Westerlund, 2003, p. 218). In other words, I understand music as contextual and situational practice that gets its meanings through social interaction. For example, the popular music songs I played with my students in the context of this research bore different connotations and served different functions for me in the music classroom than they would have if I heard them in a rock concert or on the radio. Bringing a popular music song into a classroom thus usually involves negotiation between the teacher, the students, the school culture, and the music. In my case, the negotiations were sometimes confrontational, which following Mouffe's ideas, is not something that needs to be avoided. Instead, when plugging Mouffe's ideas regarding radical democracy into my classroom context, the negotiations related to PME served as important interventions when questioning the hegemonies. As Mouffe (2013) explains it: "My own view is that cultural and artistic practices can play a critical role by fostering agonistic public spaces" (p. xvii). The PME classroom is therefore here understood as a special context that serves as a precondition for democratic action.

Understanding the PME classroom as a social system calls for considering both the intersubjective nature of music and the music classroom as an intersubjective educational space. Acknowledging radical democracy as interactional and never ending involves considering how power can prevent educational goals from being achieved by some individuals and groups. Radical democracy pushes the power aspects to the surface, where they can be dealt with, discussed and negotiated, and in this way become part and parcel of the educational process, not only from the teacher's perspective but also in relation to the students and their relationships. In this sense, working towards radical democracy in music education is inevitably contextual as it happens intersubjectively between the teacher and the students. Hence, by acknowledging the inevitable presence of power and by understanding that seeking consensus without exclusion is a democratic paradox (see e.g., Mouffe, 2013, p. xi; Section 1.3), I suggest that accepting conflict is a starting point for democratic action in the music classroom and in PME.

3.4 Research questions

In this dissertation, I investigate the interactional context of music education and, more specifically, the classroom negotiations in PME in the context of my own teaching. I concentrate on how popular music—which has been treated as a democratizer in music education (e.g., Allsup, 2011)—and its related practices may construct and shape the experienced inequalities of students not just in this particular context but also more widely in PME in Finnish schools. As described above, the research builds on the theories of systems thinking, intersectionality, and radical democracy. Based on these starting points, my aim is to shift the focus away from the specific music style, to instead produce knowledge about the interactional sociocultural context of school in which PME practices and negotiations are enacted. I engage in this process by critically reflecting on my own PME practices as a music teacher-researcher. The overarching research question guiding this inquiry is:

> *On what and on whose terms is the democracy of PME in Finnish school music education constructed and enacted?*

This overarching research question is addressed through four research sub-questions, which are the focus of the three peer-reviewed research articles comprising this dissertation:

1. *What kind of politics of diversity is represented in the national curriculum for basic education and music in Finland in terms of who the students are expected to be? (Article 1)*

2. *On what and on whose terms are classroom negotiations in PME conducted? (Article 2)*

3. *How are such negotiations connected to understandings of PME as a democratic medium through which to teach music? (Article 2)*

4. *How do social class, ‘race’, and their intersections manifest in PME in Finland and what kinds of unequal hierarchies are reproduced amongst PME students? (Article 3)*

4 Implementation and methodology of the research project

In this chapter, I will present the methodological choices, the process of analysis, and the ethical considerations of the research project as a whole. As I have adapted the thinking with theory approach (e.g., Jackson & Mazzei, 2012; 2017; Mazzei, 2021), I have engaged in constant negotiation between the theory, data generation, the surrounding world, and my position as a teacher-researcher. Thus, the chapter is not meant to be understood as a description of a linear or chronological process, but as a process of overlapping and relational stages – that is, not as "a method with a script" but "as a process methodology" (Mazzei, 2021, p. 198).

I will first present the data generation process (4.1) followed by the three stages of reflexivity (4.2). I will then elaborate on the overall methodological lens of the inquiry, the thinking with theory approach (4.3). Finally, I will conclude the chapter by reflecting on the analysis (4.4.) and deliberating on research ethics (4.5).

4.1 Data generation

In this qualitative inquiry, theory, data generation, and analysis intertwine as I adapted the thinking with theory approach (e.g., Jackson & Mazzei, 2012; 2017). The 'data' therefore cannot be separated from the research process as their own entity – instead, data are seen as part of a fluid and continuous process rather than something fixed and stable (see also Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2018). Furthermore, underlying is the idea that "how we interpret phenomena is always perspectival and that so-called facts are always theory-laden" (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2018, p. 3). In this chapter, I will therefore not 'describe the data' but introduce data generation as a process. The process of analysis will be elaborated in chapter 4.4.

The data generation began when I chose to engage in this inquiry with an optional music group of 22 students in one secondary school for one academic school year (2016-2017) to gain knowledge about the inter-subjective dimension of my PME practices in the music classroom. I agree with Mats Alvesson and Kaj Sköldberg (2018) who write that the "research process constitutes a (re)construction of the social reality in which researchers both interact with the agents researched and, actively interpreting, continually create images of themselves and for others" (p. 10). In this research, the '(re) construction of the social reality'—where interpretation is a central element (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2018)—took place in my own teaching setting with the students. I chose this specific group of students because the contents of the lessons were largely based on popular music practices and popular music repertoire. As all the students were underaged, I asked for written consent from their parents. Written consent was also obtained from the students themselves as well as from the school principals (for more about research ethics see chapter 4.5).

The data generation took place during 21 lessons of 75 minutes within a period between fall of 2016 and Spring of 2017. The process began in the fall semester 2016 by asking the students, their parents, and the school principals for permission to participate in the research. As I wanted to perceive my own practices from different angles, data was generated in three different ways: by keeping a teacher-researcher journal, video recording the lessons, and interviewing the students. I also added the repertoire of 22 popular music songs assembled by the students in my data set. Finally, since the curriculum guided my actions as a teacher, I also included policy documents, namely the Finnish National Core Curricula (Finnish National Board of Education 2004; 2014) and music specific curricula, in my data. In what follows, I will describe the data generation process after which I will reflect the process of analysis.

Teacher-researcher journal

I wrote in my teacher-researcher journal after each lesson recalling what had happened during the lesson and deliberating on specific events that had felt particularly meaningful. The purpose of the journal writing, however, was not only to describe ‘how things were’, but to reflect on my actions and attitudes (see also, Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2018). For example, after asking three racialized boys to leave the classroom due to their behavior, and later having second thoughts about whether one of them had really behaved that badly after all, I reflected in my journal on my position as a teacher who—despite her feminist lenses—was and is a product of societal power structures (see more in the Article 2). I thus abandoned the idea that data and data interpretation are neutral, apolitical, or ideology-free. Indeed, as Alvesson and Sköldberg (2018) write, “there is no such thing as unmediated data or facts; these are always the results of interpretation” (p. 12).

To support my journal writing, I created an observation form (see Appendix 7) to help me recall (potentially) significant events in the classroom. Adhering to Leslie McCall’s (2005) idea of an intercategorical approach, the observation form focused on the interactional dimension from an intersectional perspective. The observation form guided me to recall the classroom events and my interpretations on the classroom events from ten possible categories: 1) gender; 2) musical agency; 3) sound and silence; 4) the use of space and embodiment; 5) identities and roles; 6) cultures (musical cultures, students' cultures, youth cultures); 7) the music classroom as a site for action; 8) cooperation and confrontation; 9) social class; and 10) sexuality. These ten categories were not intended to lock my interpretations. Instead, they helped me recall classroom events from perspectives relevant to this research, especially on days when I did not have the opportunity to write in my teacher-researcher journal immediately following the lesson. By the end of the research period, my journal—which was written on computer—was 49 pages long.

Student interviews

Of the 22 students enrolled in the music class, 20 participated in semi-structured interviews (e.g., Kvale, 1996). The interviews were voluntary and students were told that they could participate individually or in pairs. Importantly, students were assured that their choice to participate or not participate in the interviews would not affect the evaluations or grade they received from the class. Consequently, two students chose not to participate, six were interviewed in self-selected pairs, and eight were interviewed individually. I thus conducted 14 interviews ranging from 20 to 85 minutes. The interview questions were divided into four thematic categories: 1) personal musical preferences; 2) music and family; 3) music and friends; and 4) music lessons inside and outside of school. As part of the fourth category, we examined the list of songs anonymously assembled by the students and discussed how well it represented the musical interests of the interviewee. As I was interested in what the students said instead of *how* they spoke—that is, the content, not the tone— accents in speech were not marked in the transcriptions (see e.g., Nikander, 2010). The interview recordings were transcribed by a firm specialized in research transcriptions (see sample in Appendix 6).

Video recorded lessons

Of the 21 lessons that took place during the research period, six were videotaped. I chose to videotape these lessons for two reasons: 1) to reconsider my actions and, thus, strengthen teacher-researcher reflexivity 2) to 'go back' to the classroom events after the lessons. I transcribed the video recordings myself as I had promised the students that the videos would not be viewed by anyone other than me and, if needed, my supervisors. My 132 pages of transcriptions included both a general description of the events taking place and all audible speech (see Appendix 5). I did not use any specific software for transcribing.

Instead, I watched the videos on my laptop's screen and made notes in an open Word document about what I thought was happening in the video. I included the minutes to make it easy to return to the videos from the transcriptions. Unlike my teacher-researcher journal—in which I made critical observations about the classroom events and my own actions—my video transcriptions were purely descriptive.

Although I aimed to transcribe all audible speech, there was often so much background noise in the classroom that it was impossible to clearly hear what was said. In these cases, I made a note in the transcriptions that I could not hear the students' discussion. As with the interview transcriptions, I was more interested in what the students said and did than on how or in what tone of voice it was said (see e.g., Nikander, 2010). When the video recordings included distinguashable discussions these were transcribed. In such cases, a four-minute excerpt could result in 1,5 pages of transcription. In other cases, a two-minute excerpt could be captured in only a few lines.

At the end of the school semester in April, I invited students to voluntarily watch excerpts from the video recordings in order to challenge my interpretations of the classroom events. In doing so, I was both acknowledging that video data and a researcher's interpretations of data are never neutral, and supporting the intersubjectivity of the data generation (see also, Robson, 2009). This session was also videotaped and transcribed.

4.2 Three stages of reflexivity

This research project involved three deepening stages of reflexivity. Reflexivity is different to reflection. A self-reflective music teacher is very likely to ask themself questions such as: "Did I succeed as a teacher today?" "Did everyone get to play?" and "What could be done differently next time to improve the group dynamics?" When striving to motivate students to participate in music making and ensure fair practices, these are all important questions. To understand the interactional PME classroom context more profoundly, however, requires more deliberate considerations. Instead of asking 'what' questions, for example, the questions could more often start with 'why', thus moving from reflection to reflexivity. I understand the difference between the two concepts as one of depth. While both aim to improve practice, a teacher focused on reflection is likely to ask: "What could I do to become a better teacher?", whereas a teacher engaged in reflexivity also considers the structures within which the teaching takes place and that inevitably shape the lived experiences of the students. Gillie Bolton (2010) explains this difference when she states: "Reflection might lead to insight about something not noticed in time, pinpointing perhaps when the detail was missed. *Reflexivity* is finding strategies to question our own attitudes, thought processes, values, assumptions, prejudices and habitual actions, to strive to understand our complex roles in relation to others" (p. 13, original italics).

I understand reflexivity as something that infiltrates the whole research process starting from drafting the first version of the research plan and continuing to the writing of the final text – and, hopefully, also beyond that. Reflexivity is a process which requires "detachment, internal dialogue, and constant (and intensive) scrutiny of 'what I know' and 'how I know it'" (Hertz, 1997, p. viii). In this project, reflexivity helped me to understand the intersubjective nature of knowledge and, moreover, to understand that interaction "produces a unique account that can only be more fully evaluated by the audience when social scientists acknowledge this relationship and depict it more fully as part of how we know what we know about the social world" (Hertz, 1997, p. xi).

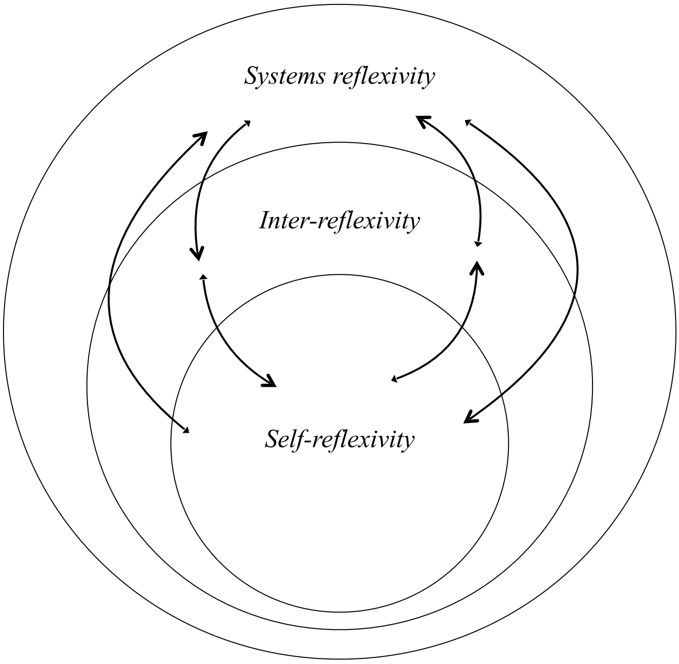
I applied reflexivity in three overlapping and fluid stages (see Figure 3): 1) self-reflexivity helped me to understand my positionality; 2) inter-reflexivity helped me to question my initial understandings of my positionality and; 3) systems-reflexivity helped me to acknowledge how my positionality interacted with(in) the micro- and macro-level systems. Together these three stages complemented each other by offering a hermeneutic understanding of the reflexive process as a whole, an understanding that "enters and exits sideways, that begins in the middle emerging from an eruption that occurs when theory and data and problems are thought together" (Jackson & Mazzei, 2017, p. 733). In what follows I will introduce each stage individually.

Self-reflexivity

The first stage of reflexivity in this inquiry is self-reflexivity. I understand self-reflexivity as a process that educational researcher Richard D. Sawyer (2016) described as follows:

> To begin a journey of critical self-understanding and self-reflexivity, one must transverse personal and cultural ontological traps. These traps include one's personal history and positionality in relation to schools, subjects, students, and communities. They include our embodied ways of talking to friends, students, and strangers. They include how comfortable and complicit we are with our ways of knowing. And they include our imaginative capacity to begin and maintain this journey. (P. 117.)

Figure 3: Three stages of reflexivity



Sawyer's notion of the reflexive process as a journey supports self-reflexivity here serving "as a platform for conscious interpretations" (Laes & Schmidt, 2016, p. 132). Moreover, I understand self-reflexivity as an "ongoing conversation about experience while simultaneously living in the moment" (Hertz, 1997, pp. vii–viii). An 'ongoing conversation about experience' means that I critically reflected on my own actions when applying PME practices in the music classroom in an effort to become aware of my positionality as a white, middle-class teacher-researcher. I constantly asked myself questions such as: "How do my students see me?" "In what ways does my middle-classness actualize when I teach?" and "What does it mean to be a white teacher?" By asking these kinds of questions, self-reflexivity challenged me to conceptualize and reconceptualize my "process of becoming" (Sawyer, 2016, p. 118) thus requiring an ongoing reflection on myself, my social settings, and the surrounding world with all its related hierarchies and their inter-relations. Hence, throughout the research project, I learnt to become aware of my positionality – a process which required a reflexive gaze not only towards my actions, but also regarding who I am.

For me, self-reflexivity was a demanding and somewhat painful path. Understanding the ways in which I was responsible for upholding racist practices, for example, caused me to experience feelings of shame. These feelings, however, were necessary for me to be able to counter racist structures. Importantly, the uncomfortable feelings I experienced as I became increasingly aware of my privilege cannot be compared to the pain individuals experience when living under the consequences of such racist structures. Furthermore, Kallio and Westerlund (2020) have highlighted how the process of becoming aware of one's privilege, stepping out of one's comfort zone, and encountering feelings of discomfort are essential components of doing (critical) research. They argue that feeling comfortable "is not an indicator of 'smooth sailing', but of privilege, inequality, and insularity" (p. 49). Thus, whether painful or not, self-reflexivity was and is needed for me to be able to develop critical understanding of myself and the surrounding world – also in relation to PME practices.

Inter-reflexivity

In the second stage of reflexivity, I deepened my critical stance by engaging in inter-reflexivity (e.g., Barrett & Mills, 2009). Inter-reflexivity did not replace self-reflexivity. Instead, it was used to provide "rich opportunities for understanding and interpretation" (p. 426) and, thus, enabled me to see my teaching context and my role as a teacher from a different perspective to challenge my ways of knowing. I understand inter-reflexivity as "a dialogic approach to self-study" (Sawyer, 2016, p. 119). In this process, the critical stance of a second researcher was valuable in shifting my focus from 'what I think I know' to 'what I could learn to know'. The second researcher who joined the process to question and challenge my initial insights was Taru Leppänen. Leppänen is a musicologist and a senior lecturer in Gender Studies at the University of Turku and a cis-gendered white woman. Together we wrote Article 2 (see Appendix 2). Since 2021, Leppänen has worked as a gender studies professor at the Faculty of Arts, Psychology and Theology at the Åbo Academy.

As we engaged in inter-reflexivity, Leppänen and I closely examined my teaching context and my role as a teacher-researcher from different standpoints. While I was positioned as an 'insider' because I was studying my own practices, Leppänen was positioned as an 'outsider'. I do not consider 'insiderness' and 'outsiderness' to be fixed positions. They are, however, useful for describing our different perspectives with respect to the context of the study. During our inter-reflexive process, we shared our perceptions by discussing, agreeing, disagreeing and asking questions in order to find new angles to understand what we thought we knew. I had invited Leppänen to this project specifically to challenge my initial insights and our inter-reflexive work together enabled me to critically consider my immediate interpretations by questioning "how those interpretations came about" (Hertz, 1997, p. viii) thereby opening new possibilities for unpredictable interpretations.

In addition to inviting Leppänen into this inter-reflexive process, I also invited the students by asking them to (voluntarily) watch excerpts from the video recordings from our lessons with me. This invitation and viewing took place at the end of the spring semester 2017, after we had had our last lesson together and the final grades for the course had been submitted. Accordingly, the students were reassured that participating and/or sharing their views about the videos could not affect their evaluation in any way. Almost everyone came. We watched the videos and, as described in Article 2 (Appendix 2), the students shared their interpretations about what they saw. In this way, the inter-reflexive process reached beyond the classroom walls and the students had a chance to join the research process not only as participants but also by actively contributing to the interpretation of their actions.

Systems reflexivity

Whereas the above introduced first and second stages of reflexivity helped me to acknowledge my researcher positionality with respect to the intersubjective context of the study, the third stage widened my teacher-researcher gaze as I considered the question: "How then do individuals and collectives—embedded in this opaque world—develop intentionality and capacities for transforming social structures that are difficult to apprehend in the first place?" (Moore et al., 2018, p. 38). In other words, I was curious about the interaction between individuals and the societal structures that shape interaction and experience. Thus, in the third and last stage of reflexivity, I adapted *systems reflexivity* "to look beyond the boundaries of art and even education to conceive and grasp opportunities for 'systematic interventions'" (Westerlund et al., 2021a, p. 3; see also, Midgley, 2000). I therefore moved beyond the reflexivity and inter-reflexivity of the previous stages, in which I critically examined my own actions and deliberated on my teacher-researcher positionality, and focused on how it was possible to change normative structures to better encounter diversity and question hierarchies.

Engaging in systems reflexivity helped me consider PME from the perspective of systems thinking by viewing the interactional classroom context of PME as a micro-level social system within the macro-level social system of Finnish society with its related hierarchies (e.g., Midgley, 2000; Westerlund et al., 2021a). I engaged in this process by using intersectionality (e.g., Crenshaw, 1989; 1991) as a lens to comprehend societal structures and consider how I, as a white, middle-class teacher-researcher, could disrupt existing hierarchies. Understanding the interactional social contexts required from me a more profound deliberation than only considering the capacities of individuals, as it required considering how the micro- and macro-level systems work together to produce capacities and inequalities. In other words, systems reflexivity involved shifting my focus from myself to the interactional context I am a part of and, furthermore, called for challenging the system through my actions rather than just my ways of thinking. Systems reflexivity was therefore used to understand the structural interaction between micro- and macro-level systems and, finally, to call for systems change – namely for a more equal PME and music education.

4.3 Thinking with theory

The thinking with theory approach (e.g., Jackson & Mazzei, 2012; 2017; Mazzei, 2021) applied in this inquiry has deepened as the research process proceeded. The starting point of the approach is the notion that knowledge is multifaceted, contextual and fluid. Jackson and Mazzei (2012) explain that: "The result of "thinking with theory" across the data illustrates how knowledge is opened up and proliferated rather than foreclosed and simplified" (p. vii). Furthermore, thinking with theory takes a critical stance towards the conventional humanistic understanding of data production in which "interviews and field notes, for example, are given primacy in meaning making" (Jackson & Mazzei, 2017, p. 725). According to Jackson and Mazzei (2012), researchers should avoid "the representational trap" (p. viii) – that is, the trap of trying to figure out what the interviewees 'mean'. Such approach involves developing interpretive lenses to work with "unstable subjects and concepts-on-the-move that would intervene in a process to diffract, rather than foreclose, thought" (p. 5). In other words, thinking with theory is a continuous process of combining the common data set and the theoretical concept(s) to open up "the possibility of previously unthought approaches" (Jackson & Mazzei, 2017, p. 725).

To understand how the data and theory work together and what kinds of understandings they constitute requires 'plugging in' the theory. According to Jackson and Mazzei (2012), 'plugging in' involves at least the following three maneuvers:

1. Questioning the theory/practice division by showing how theory and practice *"constitute and make one another"* (2012, p. 5, original italics).
2. Being transparent when considering what analytical questions a specific theoretical concept makes possible and deliberating about "how the questions that are used to think with *emerged in the middle* of plugging in" (p. 5, original italics).
3. Working repeatedly with different chunks of data, which not only creates new knowledge "*but also shows the suppleness of each when plugged in*" (p. 5, original italics).

In line with these three steps, I did not treat the data as a 'tabula rasa', but considered such an approach to be impossible. Instead, thinking with theory helped me view 'data' as process, not merely as material. Theory intertwined the whole research process and has therefore been an essential part of the data generation, enabling me to "thin[k] methodologically *and* philosophically together" (Jackson & Mazzei, 2012, p. vii). In the end, thinking with theory has been "a *process* rather than a *concept*" (p. 1 original italics). My engagement with the approach deepened throughout the research process and towards the end became increasingly important methodologically.

Thinking with theory cannot be reduced to plain data analysis. Rather, it is a way to put the data in a context in order to consider "how the theory and data constitute or make one another" (p. 6). Mazzei (2021) describes this kind of approach as *improvisational inquiry*, namely as a way of "thinking concepts and problems together" (p. 198). Following this idea, 'plugging in' has occurred in two directions in the research process: The theories have helped me understand the data at the same time as the data have helped me understand the theories. My PME classroom, for example, helped me explore intersectionality and radical democracy in a particular interactional context and, therefore, deepened my understanding of the theories as I generated data.

During the data generation process, analysis and theory have made unforeseen approaches possible by reminding me that knowledge is, as previously mentioned, "proliferated rather than foreclosed and simplified" (Jackson & Mazzei, 2012, p. vii). This process has required me to constantly negotiate between data generation, intersectionality, radical democracy, my positionality, and the surrounding world with its related hierarchies. As previously mentioned, an intersectional lens infiltrated the analytical process. Moreover, as I committed to systems thinking, in the process of thinking with theory I have acknowledged PME as a specific, micro-level social system that works together with the macro-level social system of Finnish society. In this process, acknowledging that power is omnipresent and, thus, remembering that bypassing diversity, at its worst, produces and reinforces inequalities has been essential (see, for example, Mouffe, 2000; 2005; 2013). Hence, thinking with theory has infiltrated the whole research process and (hopefully) will continue beyond the finalization and publishing of this text.

4.4 Reflections on the analysis

Jackson and Mazzei (2012) argue that simplistic approaches to data interpretation, such as “mechanistic coding, reducing data to themes, and writing up transparent narratives that do little to critique the complexities of social life” (p. vii), prevent a multi-layered processing of data. In my interpretation, this however does not mean that coding or constructing themes, for example, needs to be completely abandoned. Instead, such methods can be used to unpack the analysis alongside the thinking with theory approach as I have done in this inquiry.

When the spring semester of 2017 had come to an end and I had transcribed the interview and video recordings, I found myself with a large amount of text in my hands. I felt lost yet determined. Somehow I was supposed to deal with my data, so I did what any (beginner) researcher would do, and started to re-read qualitative research methods books. I used qualitative content analysis (e.g., Brinkmann & Kvale, 2014) when working with interview transcriptions and the Finnish National Core Curricula (Finnish National Board of Education 2004; 2014), and proceeded by deductively coding the transcriptions. Following McCall’s (2005) intercategorical approach, I coded the curricula texts by focusing on dimensions that may construct ‘Otherness’ (e.g., Kallio & Partti, 2013). The categories were social class, gender, ‘race’, age, sexuality, disability, ethnicity, and religious affiliation (see also, Bradley, 2016). I then coded the interview transcriptions by using the categories of ‘social class’, ‘gender’, ‘culture’, and ‘students’ thoughts about music’ and highlighted these categories using different colors whenever they appeared. The first three categories arose from intersectional theory, which helped me attend to different and intersecting identity dimensions and from my own experiences as a teacher. As a music educator, I was not only interested in the social dimensions of ‘gender’, ‘social class’ and ‘culture’, but also in the ‘student’s thoughts about music’. I used the category of ‘culture’ rather than ‘race’ because 1) the Finnish curricular texts do not include the word ‘race’ 2) ‘culture’ also includes different music cultures and possible notions of cultural identity. I believed that by using this deductive approach, I could keep my intersectional lens on and understand my data through the theory (rather than *with* the theory at this point).

Rather soon, however, I started to want to ‘dig deeper’ and, hence, adapted insight-driven analysis to have an “insight into something implying a more profound meaning than that immediately given or conventionally understood” (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2018, p. 284). In other words, I used insight-driven analysis to challenge my initial interpretations, and found this approach to complement my reflexive lens. At this point in the analysis process, I wanted to pinpoint that the research process is always an inter-subjective path and, hence, the interviews were not interpreted only in terms of what the interviewees said, for example, but also how they spoke about each other during the interviews.

The above introduced idea about the inevitable intersubjective dimension of research led me to seek other possible ways of looking ‘beyond’ the data. I also started to question the concept of ‘data’ as a separate entity, since the data generation was entangled with myself, the students, and the surrounding world. It was at this point that I first encountered the thinking with theory approach (e.g., Jackson & Mazzei, 2012; 2017; Mazzei, 2021), and my initial reaction was that it was exactly what I had been looking for; a way to combine intersectionality, radical democracy, and my data and make them work together. Hence, I read and re-read the data and theories together and concurrently, striving to make them work in a way that would “turn the data into something different” and “push theory to its limits” (Jackson & Mazzei, 2012, p. 6). Sometimes I worked with just a small piece of data, such as a few lines from an interview transcript, for days and looked at it alongside the conceptual lenses of intersectionality and radical democracy until new insight about how the theories work in my teaching context arose. Thus through constant dialogue with the theories, myself, and the data, I gained new understanding of my teaching practices and, for example, formulated the fourth research sub-question guiding this dissertation. Furthermore, I became aware of how thinking with theory and systems thinking complemented each other in this process, as they both involved a sense of context and required critical observation of the surrounding world and my researcher’s position.

As I engaged with the thinking with theory approach, I came to understand that doing research—at least this particular research—is not a linear or ‘neat’ process. Although in this chapter I have outlined the development of my analytical process in a way that may appear linear (e.g. deductive -->

insight-driven --> thinking with theory), in reality it was full of crossroads, coincidences, and occasional deadlocks. There has not been a clear endpoint and I am willing to accept that there will not be one even after this text is published. Instead, I hope to raise new questions as I combine the data with the theories and continue to think with theory.

4.5 Ethical considerations

Throughout this inquiry, I have strictly followed the ethical guidelines set by the Finnish Advisory Board on Research Integrity (2009; 2019). Conducting the research with underaged students has particularly required ethical considerations regarding power issues (e.g., Kvale & Brinkman, 2009; Robson, 2009), since a music teacher is a "moral agent and educator instead of simply a music instructor" (Allsup & Westerlund, 2012, p. 140). In addition, my dual role as a practitioner researcher (e.g., Cochran-Smith & Lytle, 2009) required special sensitivity. I had to make sure, for example, that the students genuinely felt that their participation was voluntary and that they could decline or withdraw their participation at any time during the research process. Hence, I emphasized that participating or not participating would not affect their evaluation or the contents of the lessons. As a result, 22 of the 23 students volunteered to participate in the research, 20 of whom also volunteered to be interviewed. Importantly, the power relations between the students and me did not disappear through disclaimers of volition (see e.g., Allsup & Westerlund, 2012). The students may have still felt that they would benefit from participating and be at a disadvantage if they chose not to. To diminish this possibility, I reminded the students throughout the process that they had permission to withdraw their participation and that the research process would not positively or negatively affect their grades (see e. g., Finnish Advisory Board on Research Integrity, 2019, p. 9).

Before beginning the research process, and in line with the guidelines of the Finnish Advisory Board on Research Integrity (2019), I sought written permission to conduct the study in my teaching context from the school principals and all the students. As the students were underaged, I also asked their guardians for written permission (Finnish Advisory Board on Research Integrity, 2019, p. 11). I phoned each student's home to discuss the research process following which I asked the guardians to sign a written consent form (Appendix 4). Because some of the students' first language was English, the consent form was also translated into English. In cases where the students' guardians did not speak Finnish or English, the students translated the contents of the consent form for them. As I also offered to have the consent forms translated into students' home languages, two families received the form in their first language. Overall, I wanted the process of obtaining consent to be as transparent as possible, and although contacting each student's guardians individually caused me some extra work, I wanted to make sure that everyone—despite language barriers—had understood what they had agreed to.

Another aspect of the research requiring heightened ethical deliberation was the video recording of lessons (see e.g., Robson, 2009). As Sue Robson (2009) describes, a "particular advantage of using video data is its potential for capturing rich data" (p. 187), however, she also notes that when using video cameras with underaged participants, a "major challenge is to ensure participants' anonymity and confidentiality" (p. 187). Furthermore, Robson (2009) highlights that when using video data with underaged participants, the researcher is responsible for ensuring that "children are active participants and able to give informed consent" (p. 187). Considering these notions of anonymity, confidentiality and consent, I asked the students for permission to film. As one student had declined participation in the research, I needed to ensure that they was not visible in the videos. I therefore only used the video camera when the student was not present and/or aimed the camera so that they did not appear in the frame. Such a maneuver was only possible during lessons in which the student did not play a band instrument as I could aim the video camera at the popular music classroom band. Further ethical deliberations related to video recording were connected to my power as a researcher. I, for example, was the one who interpreted the video recordings. Hence, to gain reliability and to bring the students' viewpoints into the process, as mentioned in chapter 4.2 above, at the end of the semester I invited the students to watch excerpts of the videos with me. I once again explicitly stated that their choice to participate or not would not affect their grades.

Finally, conducting the interviews involved critical and ethical deliberations as I needed to consider how the interviews could affect future interactions between the students and me (e.g., Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). As Kvale and Brinkmann (2009) note, ethical issues are likely to arise in interview research due to power relations between the interviewer and interviewee. In this research, the power relations were particularly visible because I was not only a researcher but also the interviewees' teacher. To ensure that the students understood that the interviews were not part of their music studies but a part of the research process, I conducted the interviews before or after school and stated at the beginning of the interview that everything they said was confidential and that my role was different than in the music classroom. Again, I underscored that the interviews would not affect their grades or music studies. However, in my dual role as a teacher-researcher (see e.g., Cochran-Smith & Lytle, 2009), I acknowledge that separating these roles was a conceptual impossibility. On the one hand, my dual role might have made interacting with the students in the interviews more comfortable as we already knew each other beforehand. On the other hand, I had to consider that as the students inevitably saw me as their teacher, they may not have told me anything they usually would not tell a teacher. Interaction is always contextual and dependent on the agents. Thus, when interpreting the interviews, I kept in mind that the interviewees responded not only to the questions I asked as a researcher, but also me as their teacher (see also, Finnish Advisory Board on Research Integrity, 2019, p. 10).

5 Findings of the research articles

This dissertation consists of two peer-reviewed journal articles (see Appendices 2-3), one peer-reviewed book chapter (see Appendix 1), and this synthesizing text. Two of the articles are co-authored with other researchers, however, I was the first author for all three articles. In this synthesizing text, these articles are referred to as Articles 1-3. Each article presents its own research sub-question(s), and together the articles answer the main research question guiding the research project (see Table 4) from different yet complementary perspectives.

In this chapter, I will briefly present the articles and their related research sub-questions with respect to the wider research task as well as the main analytical foci and findings. This chapter describes how each article examines the research objective—namely the democratic possibilities of PME—from different angles. Article 1 explores the complexities of diversity in Finnish curricular texts, Article 2 explores a teacher's reflexive processes in PME situations, and Article 3 explores the manifestations of social class, 'race', and their intersections in the social system of PME. Although the articles are presented chronologically with respect to the year of publication, it is worth noting that the research project as a whole is here understood as a hermeneutic process in which I have placed the data, theory, the research question(s), and myself as a researcher in constant interplay and negotiation. Hence, the research sub-questions guiding the different articles complement each other.

5.1 Article 1

The first article is a peer-reviewed book chapter published in *The Politics of Diversity in Music Education* book (2021) and co-authored with three other music education researchers: Anna Kuoppamäki, Sidsel Karlsen, and Heidi Westerlund. Karlsen and Westerlund were my doctoral supervisors and Kuoppamäki is an expert on gender in the context of music education from a feminist perspective and was a researcher in the ArtsEqual project. The article explores the Finnish National Core Curricula (2004 and 2014) and the ways in which students and their cultures are represented in the documents from the perspective of PME in diversifying Finnish schools. The article began as a conference paper co-authored with Kuoppamäki (Koskela et al., 2021) that reported on the preliminary analysis of the curricula that I had conducted. Karlsen and Westerlund then joined the process, contributing their expertise in diversity at the policy level. They began by first commenting on article drafts and double-checking the analysis, and finally we finalized the article in a joint writing process. Although the article was co-authored, as the first author I was

Table 1: Articles and related research questions:

	Article titles	Research sub-questions	Overarching research question
1.	The paradox of democracy in popular music education: Intersectionalizing “youth” through curriculum analysis	What kind of politics of diversity is represented in the national curriculum for basic education and music in Finland in terms of who the students are expected to be?	On what and on whose terms is the democracy of PME in Finnish school music education constructed and enacted?
2.	How democratic is popular music in Finnish schools? Exploring popular music education through intersectionality	On what and on whose terms are classroom negotiations in PME conducted? How are such negotiations connected to understandings of PME as a democratic medium through which to teach music?	
3.	Middle-class music making? Social class, ’race’, and their intersections in the practice of school popular music	How do social class, ’race’, and their intersections manifest in PME in Finland and what kinds of unequal hierarchies are reproduced amongst PME students?	

responsible for leading the writing process within the agreed schedule and for all final decisions.

The starting point of the article was to unpack the complexities of the politics of PME. The article questions the current and hegemonic argument in PME research (e.g., Bennett, 2000; Väkevä, 2006; Allsup, 2011) according to which popular music, as students' 'own' music, supports participation and democracy in the music classroom. To challenge this hegemonic argument, the article calls for the recognition of the intersecting identities (e.g., Crenshaw, 1989; Bradley, 2016) of students in PME. The research question guiding the article is: What kind of politics of diversity is represented in the national curriculum for basic education and music in Finland in terms of who the students are expected to be?

A qualitative content analysis (Brinkman & Kvale, 2014) of the general sections of the 2004 and 2014 curricula and the music subject section of the 2014 curriculum was conducted by color coding the texts. Coding focused on demographic parameters that may construct 'Otherness' (e.g., Kallio & Partti, 2013) including social class, gender, 'race', age, sexuality, disability, ethnicity, and religious affiliation (see also, Bradley, 2016). Methodological choices followed the principles of intersectionality and, more precisely, the intercategorical approach (McCall, 2005).

The article concluded by arguing that the current approach to PME uses the category of 'youth' for justifying certain practices. As a result, the students' intersectional identities are obscured rather than recognized, and this has implications for challenging inequalities in diversifying societies and music classrooms. The article showed how music teachers are required to engage in complex negotiation processes between their teaching context, music teacher education, and policy documents, all of which might be incompatible with each other. Based on the arguments presented in the article, it suggests that 1) new perspectives on diversity at the policy level are needed to rethink inequalities in PME 2) intersectionality could provide a useful tool to help intersectionalize the category of 'youth' leading to more democratic music education practices. Furthermore, the article suggests that the notion of radical democracy (e.g., Mouffe, 2005)—which emphasizes plurality and the possibility of conflict as a prerequisite for enacting democracy—could allow teachers to engage in PME in a more analytical way and, thus, strive towards more democratic practices. Hence, in the article we argued that by thinking with intersectionality and radical democracy, PME could better acknowledge students' experiences of inequalities and introduce new approaches to diversity in policy documents.

5.2 Article 2

The second article was published in a peer-reviewed international journal, *The Journal of Popular Music Education*, and co-authored with Taru Leppänen, a musicologist with expertise in feminist issues currently working as a professor in gender studies. During the co-authoring process, Leppänen and I engaged in inter-reflexivity (e.g., Barrett & Mills, 2009) – a dual examination that enabled moral dialogues regarding my researcher perspective and extended our interpretive possibilities. In a practical sense, this meant that Leppänen joined the process as both a second author and an 'outsider' who could challenge my initial interpretations. The research questions guiding the article were:

1. On what and on whose terms are classroom negotiations in PME conducted?

2. How are such negotiations connected to understandings of PME as a democratic medium through which to teach music?

The article examined three episodes from the music lessons that were the focus of this research project. These three episodes were selected from my teacher-researcher journal and two were complemented by video recorded material. The first episode involved negotiations with the students while rehearsing Miley Cyrus' *We Can't Stop*. The second episode involved the classroom negotiations regarding Ed Sheeran's *Shape of You*. Both of these episodes demonstrated how PME is not free from gendered structures and how these gendered structures manifested in my assumptions of 'proper' and respectable (Skeggs, 1997) student behavior. The third episode focused on a situation in which a student accused me of being racist. Although at first, I wanted to ignore this accusation, through and with reflexivity (e.g., Callaway, 1992; Hertz, 1997; Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2018) I became aware of the racist paradigm and my own (power) position as a white teacher in this particular situation. The analysis of the three episodes was insight-driven and therefore conducted by attending to the insightful interpretive levels, supplemented by intersectionality.

Although the process of (inter-)reflexivity leading to this article was painful, it was necessary for comprehending the mechanisms of how inequalities manifest in an interactional classroom context. (Inter-)reflexivity reminded me that oppressive structures exist even when they are not acknowledged, and that the societal structures outside of school also manifest in classroom negotiations in PME practices. In the article, we suggested that to aim towards genuinely democratic and equal PME, music teachers should acknowledge their power position and become aware of the societal structures that may cause inequalities in the everyday lives of students. Thus, encouraging teachers to engage in reflexivity could potentially enhance the democracy of PME. Furthermore, according to our findings, negotiation processes in PME primarily occur from the perspective of the teacher and the school's norms and, contrary to the claimed student-centeredness of PME, neglect the students' perspectives. Finally, we suggested that to pursue democracy in PME requires shifting the focus from the subject content and particular songs to the interactional context of the music classroom and intersectionalizing the category of 'youth' (see also, Koskela et al., 2021).

5.3 Article 3

The third and final article comprising this dissertation has been accepted for publication in an international peer-reviewed journal, *The Journal of Education and the Arts*. Unlike the two other articles it is not co-authored. The article focuses on the interviews with students and considers the demographic parameters of social class, 'race' and their intersections in the practices of Finnish PME. The research question guiding the article is: How do social class, ’race’, and their intersections manifest in PME in Finland and what kinds of unequal hierarchies are reproduced amongst PME students?

The starting point for the article was the uncritical stance towards PME and its capacity to support the democracy of music education, which has led to PME becoming the dominant music education practice in Finland. The article thus challenges the idea that PME is a self-evident builder of democracy. In the article, PME is examined from a systems perspective (e.g., Midgley, 2000; Moore et al., 2018). By this I mean that I acknowledge PME as an interactional classroom practice and a micro-level social system working together with the macro-level social system of Finnish society. By adapting systems reflexivity (e.g., Midgley, 2000), the article aims at considering inequalities holistically and contextually.

The article focuses on my own teaching practices and, more specifically, critically considers my attempt at reinforcing democracy by asking the students to assemble a list of songs they wished to learn during our music lessons. Through an intersectional analysis (e.g., Crenshaw, 1989; 1990) of the interviews with students it became clear that this approach to selecting repertoire did not necessarily encourage students to bring their 'own' music to our lessons. Instead, it appeared to reinforce the middle-class and eurocentric practices of PME. The article therefore argues that as currently practiced, PME requires identity work particularly from students who belong to lower classes, ethnic minorities, or both, and that this need for identity work expands “the opportunity gap” (see Putnam, 2015) between students.

The article ended by suggesting that building genuinely democratic music education requires vigilance and self-reflexivity (e.g., Hertz, 1997) from the teachers, as they need to critically consider their practices and assignments, and become aware of the social system of Finnish society and its related hierarchies. Furthermore, the article argued that popular music does not automatically produce ‘social goods’ such as democracy. Instead, democracy may be enhanced by fostering plurality and an openness to the possibility of conflict which, according to the principles of radical democracy (e.g., Mouffe, 2000; 2005; 2013), ensures that democratic processes will be kept alive and inhabited by diversity.

5.4. Summary of the findings

This chapter has reported the findings of the three research articles comprising this dissertation. Together these three articles contribute to answering the overarching research question guiding the research project: On what and on whose terms is democracy of PME in Finnish school music education constructed and enacted?

As this overarching research question indicates, the starting point for this inquiry has been the exploration of democracy in Finnish PME. As shown in chapter 1.3, the understanding of popular music as democratic per se has so far led to a paradoxical situation in which teenagers, as the subjects of PME, have been treated as a homogenous group. This treatment is contrary to the idea of radical democracy, which involves plurality and the possibility of conflict (Mouffe, 2000; 2005; 2013). Furthermore, contrary to the earlier argument according to which PME is democratic (e.g., Allsup, 2011; Cremata, 2017), Article 2 demonstrated that, rather than being guided by the perspectives of the students, it is the perspective of the teacher and the school’s norms that guide negotiations in the PME classroom. Moreover, as Article 3 showed, PME in Finland assumes that students are white and middle-class, and thus reflects the conceptualization of “normal student” (Riitaoja, 2013, p. i). Together the three articles indicate that the democracy of the micro-level social system of PME manifests—or does not manifest—by delineating the normative assumptions of the macro-level social system of Finnish society (see e.g., Midgley 2000; Gonzales, 2020; Westerlund et al., 2021a).

Importantly, although school has often been described as a miniature of society, the Finnish comprehensive school, at its best, can also have an equalizing effect on the surrounding society (e.g., Pekkarinen & Uusitalo, 2012). By this I mean that the interrelation between the micro- and macro-level systems works in both directions. The findings of the articles therefore suggest that by acknowledging the challenges of enacting democracy by recognizing the multiplicity of student identities—as this inquiry has aimed to do—and, furthermore, by engaging in advocating radical democracy we may further enhance the equity of PME in Finnish school music education. In this work, intersectionality (e.g., Crenshaw, 1989; 1991; Grzanka, 2014; Lutz, 2015) serves a valuable lens.

6 Discussion

This chapter presents my visions regarding the conditions for democracy in PME in Finland by expanding the discussion beyond the findings of the articles and deliberating on PME’s democratic (in)capacities, including suggestions for future studies. The chapter seeks theoretically constituted yet practical understanding regarding how the democracy of PME could be reinforced in the everyday life of the music classroom as well as at the policy level. To this end, I have divided the chapter into four chapters: chapter 6.1 explores the possibilities of democratic action at the policy level, thus focusing on curricula; chapter 6.2 focuses on practice by exploring the work of music teachers, and; chapter 6.3 offers insights for the future by deliberating on music teacher education and its potential to contribute to more democratic music education. The discussion chapter concludes by reflecting on the starting points of the thinking with theory approach (6.4).

6.1 Policy: curriculum

As curricular texts (re)produce and (re)organize societal structures, they have the power to challenge and/or reinforce societal hegemonies. In this inquiry, I have therefore come to understand curricula texts as political (see also Apple, 1979; Pinar et al., 1995) and as outcomes of the negotiations of power. This can be clearly seen as several societal actors and teachers from different schools and cities are invited to the Finnish National Agency for Education to together write the National Core Curriculum. The resulting policy document is thus a compromise made from the various viewpoints of each participant (see also Lappalainen & Lahelma, 2016).

In this inquiry, I have contributed to the third wave of PME research (see chapter 2.3) by exploring the hierarchy producing mechanisms in PME in Finland by using intersectionality as a lens. In doing so, I have concluded that, as well as the social system outside the school, the music curriculum text and thereby music education practices make assumptions regarding student identities. For example, the 2014 music curriculum (Finnish National Board of Education, 2014) only names musical categories such as Samí music, yet other socially relevant categories like social class are not explicitly mentioned. Categories such as certain social class, however, might be contrary to the school’s norms (see e.g., Riitaoja, 2013), and would therefore require more profound deliberation about how they could be adapted at the policy level and in music classrooms. By excluding any mention of social class, the curriculum limits its guidance to the selection of musical repertoire (e.g. what ought to be taught) based on the assumed identities of the students or on highlighting the value of regional musical practices. It fails, however, to offer guidance for supporting the more complex identity work taking place in schools, including music lessons, and the inequalities that may result from music education.

The question then becomes, what could be done to reinforce understandings of experiences of diversity and the related production of inequalities in music education? To answer this question, I suggest that teachers ask: what happens if certain categories—such as social class—are ignored at the policy level? Elina Lahelma (2011) has shown that the removal of gender from curricular texts in the 1990s led to gender-based inequality being ignored. It is therefore safe to assume that a similar obmutescence regarding social class—as in the current National Core Curriculum (2014) (see Article 1, Koskela et al., 2021)—will manifest as a blindness towards class-based discrimination. By exploring how social class manifests in the social system of Finnish society, teachers could examine its effects in their own teaching contexts. This kind of work, however, requires teachers to have policy level understanding about how structural inequalities manifest in Finnish society and in basic education, and how the micro- and macro-level systems work together when (de)constructing structural inequalities. Therefore, I suggest that the curriculum writing process and the curriculum adaptation process in teaching contexts could benefit from systems thinking. Systems thinking not only attends to how the surrounding society affects the curricula and vice versa. It goes further by encouraging a consideration of 1) the hierarchy producing mechanisms in the system of Finnish society; 2) the ways the curricula recognize such mechanisms and; 3) what happens when the curricula fail to recognize such mechanisms.

I believe that these considerations could encourage music teachers to adapt systems thinking when reading curricular texts and in their own teaching. Similarly, such considerations could contribute to an avoidance of essentialism and to a better comprehension of the social system of Finnish society and the social system of PME and how these two systems interrelate. In the process of adapting systems thinking, intersectionality would serve as a valuable lens. Intersectionality could, for example, increase teachers' understandings of which categories are ignored at the policy level and how the ignored categories could be made visible through the process of de-intersectionalization – that is, by showing how "people are treated by way of one, usually essentialized, category only" (Vertovec, 2015, p. 13). In the context of PME, de-intersectionalization could be applied, for instance, to the homogeneously understood category of 'youth' as well as to the understanding of popular music as students' 'own' music (e.g., Bennett, 2000; Green, 2006; Väkevä, 2006). In this way, we could move towards more genuinely multivocal music teaching and more multifaceted ideas of PME and music education as a whole.

6.2 Practice: the work of music teachers

In this dissertation, I have critically considered PME and its hegemonic position in Finnish basic education. However, as a former lower secondary school music teacher, who has largely based her teaching practices on popular music, I do recognize the positive dimensions of PME. The positive dimensions include, for instance, easy adaptation, the possibility of playing together, and the inclusion of students with no previous experience playing and singing in active music making. The students participating in this inquiry, for example, had remarkably different instrumental skills. Some had only participated in music making in school music lessons, while others participated in fee-based music tuition outside of school. Despite their diverse musical starting points, popular music band playing enabled them to play and sing together due to the ease of adapting the music to varying abilities. As this research has shown, however, the use of popular music practices requires the teacher to develop understandings of what popular music *does* in the teaching context. In other words, looking at the 'what', 'how' and 'how well' of the students' playing and music making is insufficient in terms of understanding the social and interactional dimensions of PME. Hence, in this inquiry, I have acknowledged the music classroom as a social and cultural space and, therefore, paid attention to the interactional sociocultural context of school in which PME is put into action. This process has involved a more careful listening to the students' experiences as well as a more critical stance towards my own actions as a music teacher.

As presented in Article 2 and Article 3, I have engaged in three levels of reflexivity: 1) self reflexivity; 2) inter-reflexivity and; 3) systems reflexivity (see also chapter 3.3). I have also shown that engaging in a multi-level reflexive process requires acknowledging one's positionality which, in my case, required recognizing my privilege as a white, cis-gendered, middle-class woman. It also required acknowledging positionality, in my case this was with respect to the social system of Finnish society and the social system of PME and, therefore, to my own teaching context and my students. It is important to note, however, that my exploration cannot be adapted in a straightforward manner to other teachers, other teacher's students, other music classrooms, or other schools. Instead, I want to emphasize the idea that the music teacher is the best possible expert regarding their own contexts and practices. Therefore, I suggest that teachers can enhance their work by engaging in reflexivity from their own starting points and by recognizing the needs of their own students through inter-reflexivity.

Engaging in reflexivity is a demanding and potentially somewhat painful process (see also Kallio & Westerlund, 2020). This is because when committing to the process one becomes aware of societal structures and the inequalities that these structures produce. During the research process, I encountered my own prejudices. When I read my teacher-researcher journal and watched the video tapes, for example, I observed myself talking differently to girls and boys in the classroom. I tended to be more strict and straightforward when asking boys to be quiet than when asking the same from girls. This is just one example of how examining the interactional context may reveal structures in which people are treated differently based on, for instance, their gender. The reflexive process helped me to become aware of how I, a self-declared feminist teacher, occasionally reinforced the structures that produce inequality instead of challenging them. Reflexivity, furthermore, helped me to become aware of how people are differently positioned within the structures and, hence, to start looking at the world from contradicting angles to include the possibility of confrontation. The possibility of confrontation is especially present in diverse classrooms where students very likely encounter experiences and viewpoints that differ from their own (see also e.g., hooks, 2010). Acknowledging this is important for moving one step closer to radical democracy – that is, a state which takes plurality as a starting point for action and accepts the possibility of conflict as a necessary part of social interaction (e.g., Mouffe, 2005; 2013).

The goal of being open towards the possibility of conflict sets challenges for music teachers who—as shown in Article 1—are required to navigate within the partly contradictory requirements of the Finnish National Core Curriculum as well as to enact the music curriculum's requirements for active music making, student agency, and participation (Finnish National Agency for Education, 2014). Accepting the possibility of conflict as a prerequisite for democratic action in PME requires the music teacher to be vigilant and accepting towards their feelings of discomfort. This emotional work involves a shift in the teacher's understanding. Rather than avoiding conflicts, the teacher should respect the conflicts – a state that Mouffe (2013) refers to as agonistic pluralism. This is not an easy task, however I am convinced that it is a manageable one. In this regard, I rely on teacher, feminist and scholar bell hooks (e.g., hooks, 2010) who calls for safety and trust as a base for enabling conflict in teaching situations. hooks (2010) writes:

> Instead of focusing on the commonly held assumptions that we are safe when everyone agrees, when everyone has an equal time to speak, if we rather think of safety as knowing how to cope in situations of risk, then we open up the possibility that we can be safe even in situations where there is disagreement and even conflict. (P. 87.)

When I think back to the confrontations I had with the students or the confrontations between students, I remember feelings of discomfort and uncertainty. After a student accused me of being racist, for example, I had to move past my initial denial and ask myself: Will he trust me again? Will he still be mad in the next lesson? And importantly: Does he feel safe? When looking back, I also remember that the students voluntarily joined an additional lesson at the end of the school year to watch video recordings of our lessons. During this additional lesson they shared their views, told jokes – and disagreed. I dare to consider this to be a sign of a safe learning environment. Together, over the course of one school year, we managed to create mutual trust that helped us have "open dialectical exchange and positive dissent" (hooks, 2010, p. 87) and "be safe even in situations where there is disagreement" (hooks, 2010, p. 87). Such a sense of safety was a commonly built bond between myself and the students.

Although students have an active role building trust in the interactional context of PME, the teacher is the one with the power. To cherish diversity and promote democracy in music education, the music teacher should therefore acknowledge their power in relation to the students. This would also require teachers to acknowledge their position within the social system of Finnish society – and for this systems reflexivity (e.g., Midgley, 2000; Westerlund et al., 2021a) could serve as a helpful tool. Through systems reflexivity the teacher could move from trying to shake off uncomfortable feelings to reflecting on what the uncomfortable feelings are telling them about the situation; how they could better facilitate negotiations with students so that everyone has the opportunity to speak and disagree in a safe and engaging way and; what they could do differently to make room for the intersectional identities of the students. When engaging in this kind of reflection, the teacher could benefit from using intersectionality as a lens to enable taking diversity as a starting point for classroom negotiations.

Acknowledging one's power also means understanding that reflexivity is defective if it does not lead to intervention. During this research process, for example, after I realized that I tended to talk differently to girls and boys, I made a conscious effort when teaching to change my actions. In hindsight, I should have also opened a discussion about this with the students and asked them for feedback about how well I was succeeding. I believe that this kind of open dialogue between students and teachers could make the underlying disagreements visible and, hence, build trust and a more democratic learning environment. Accepting that conflict is at the heart of democracy does not jeopardize the ideal of democracy, on the contrary, it actually "protects pluralist democracy against any attempts at closure" and "constitutes an important guarantee that the dynamics of the democratic process will be kept alive" (Mouffe, 2013, p. 33). In my understanding, accepting this idea is what makes democracy radical and radical democracy worth pursuing – also in PME practices.

6.3 The future: music teacher education

Music teacher education has a crucial role in shaping future music teaching practices. In Finland, for example, as shown in chapter 1.2, the strong position of popular music in school music teaching has evolved as popular music practices have been emphasized in music teacher education. In this chapter, I will therefore consider the role of music teacher education in building a more democratic music education and, importantly, in educating future music teachers to enact democracy in their practices. For this purpose, I will begin by describing my own studies at the Sibelius Academy and the role of PME in those studies before moving on to discuss the role of PME in educating future music teachers.

I studied in the music teacher education program at the Sibelius Academy between 2006 and 2011. During those years, I became a better musician, learned to play more instruments and, importantly, acquired didactic skills to facilitate music education in school contexts. Most of my studies were based on popular music practices, which is in line with the common system of Finnish music teacher education (see e.g., Westerlund & Juntunen, 2015). Although I was trained as a classical instrumentalist in a classical conservatory, I came to enjoy popular music as well. Being a classically trained musician in a popular music based institution created an interesting contradiction between me and my studies. I later came to conceptualize this contradiction through systems thinking. I had developed as a musician in a system which favored classical music over popular music, but had suddenly become part of a system in which classical music held a diminutive role. Due to my classical training, I was very good at sight reading, but improvising was far outside my comfort zone. When I moved from the system of classical conservatory to the system of music teacher education program, I therefore had to reconsider my understandings of my musicality and myself as a musician. To me, this move from classical system to PME system is key when it comes to systems thinking: an individual is always attached to the values and hierarchies of the system in which they operate and, thus, gaining knowledge about systems and their interconnections serves as a valuable platform for understanding the self, the world, and their interactions between people.

During the years of my doctoral project, I have had the privilege of working as an occasional lecturer in courses for future music teachers at the University of the Arts Helsinki. In my annual lectures, I have noticed that many things have changed since I graduated. Although ‘feminism’ was a word that many people avoided in the years of my studies, today’s music education students use it in a delightfully unproblematic way. I understand that my use of the word ‘unproblematic’ may, paradoxically, be problematic. Hence, I find it important to note that bringing a feminist stance to teaching situtations—whether by teachers or students—also brings a critical stance to teaching situations, and a critical stance opens up a possibility for conflict. As a university teacher I have noticed that in the classroom there are usually students who question the concept of feminism as a whole; students who have different understandings of what feminism means; students who favor different versions of feminism, and; students who advocate for feminist action. This multiplicity of perspectives often initiates vivid discussion and even leads to disagreements. Students from the University of the Arts Helsinki—which includes the Sibelius Academy—have even actively participated in societal discussions about intersectionality, diversity, antiracism, and racism in Finnish society (see e.g., Helsingin Sanomat, 2020; Suomen Kuvalehti, 2020; Yle, 2020). Students also challenge their teachers – an issue that I have personally encountered when lecturing. Thus, many students are engaged in complex and often problematic discussions. They question and challenge societal norms and hegemonies—such as whiteness and heteronormativity—, and call for more equal practices not only at the university level, but also at the systems level of Finnish society. In my view, these students cherish the possibility of conflict by acknowledging the pluralism of Finnish society in terms of radical democracy that is not only a question of more equal teaching, but also a question of a more equal society.

The new generation of students has, undoubtedly, brought new discussions to the music teacher education program which, in my understanding, now problematizes the politics of diversity in a more profound way than during the years of my studies. Nevertheless, for a more democratic future, it is still important to ask: What could be done in music teacher education to better equip future music teachers to encounter diversity, challenge normative assumptions, and attend to students’ intersectional identities? In answering this question, I suggest that future teachers be guided to critically read curricula and the ways curricula reflect society. I also suggest that the university curricula for music teacher education should state that future teachers should be guided to recognize the mechanisms that produce structural inequalities and to seek means of deconstructing these mechanisms – that is, to guide future teachers towards systems thinking. In practice, this guidance could begin by asking future music teachers to explore their own experiences. I, for example, started by problematizing my experience as a classically trained musician who was suddenly surrounded by popular music practices in music teacher education. Importantly, music teacher education should not be based on the hegemony of one style of music, such as popular music. Instead, university teachers and lecturers should also evaluate the (PME) practices of music teacher education from a systems perspective. As I have shown in this dissertation, popular music cannot be treated as an automatic democratizer of music education, but must be understood as a social practice that bears and constructs social hierarchies just like any other musical genre.

When it comes to the hegemony of PME in Finnish music education, a more complex understanding of diversity is needed to help future music teachers conduct their work in diverse and continuously changing teaching contexts. It should be understood that when popular music is brought into the teaching context, it serves different purposes and meanings than in other possible contexts such as rock concerts. In other words, future music teachers should be guided to understand that bringing certain music(s) into a teaching context is not an innocent act – after all, every music, just as any social practice, holds values, hierarchies, and platforms for different interpretations (see also Kallio 2015a). Hence, future music teachers should not only be guided to teach their students how to play popular music, but also to facilitate negotiations about popular music's social functions and its meanings in the classroom. To reinforce the voices of students in music education, it would be important to facilitate such negotiations from the students' perspectives rather than those of the teacher or the school's norms. In this way teachers could better make room for the intersecting identities of students and avoid assuming that students are a homogenous group with similar musical interests. Importantly, future music teachers should be guided not to fear the possibility of conflict, but to treat conflict as necessary when aiming towards more multivocal and diverse music education. In this way, future teachers could learn to facilitate their learning contexts through radical democracy and, hence, cherish diversity in their teaching. This, furthermore, would help students become "architects for the future" (Mansouri, 2017, p. 3) and enhance the understanding of PME as a means of negotiations on democracy rather than as an endpoint of the discussion in itself.

May the conversation continue.

6.4 Reflections on the starting points for ‘thinking with theory’

As described in chapter 4.3, in this inquiry I have engaged in the thinking with theory approach (e.g., Jackson & Mazzei, 2012; 2017; Mazzei, 2021). Doing so has involved me questioning the division between theory and practice as I aimed to show how these “*constitute and make one another*” (Jackson & Mazzei, 2012, p. 5, original italics). Engaging in this approach was not part of my initial plan. Instead, I started this research project with a rather traditional idea of data and theory as independent which, although inevitably intertwined in the process, were separate. As described in chapter 4.4, I at first used a deductive approach to read the data through the theory, not with the theory. Later, when I wanted to deepen my perspective, I adapted an insight-driven approach to understand the data in a more profound and unconventional manner (see also Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2018). Finally, I started to feel hesitant about the idea of data and theory being separate and questioned this division by engaging in thinking with theory to make intersectionality, radical democracy, and the data (or, rather, ‘data’) to work together. In this way, my approach to working with the data can be seen as deepening throughout the course of this research project.

My strong emphasis on and choice to think with intersectionality and radical democracy throughout this doctoral project has been a conscious choice. This choice, however, has come into question. In a doctoral seminar in the fall of 2021 I was asked: “Have you fallen in love with your theories?” This question immediately took me by surprise and I was unable to give a straightforward answer. The question stayed with me for days, and I realized that I needed to ask it of myself once again. Had I fallen in love with these theories and if so, was it a problem? After much consideration I understood that if I were too bound up with certain ideas, it could, at its worst, prevent me from conceptualizing and understanding the world in other ways. I had used intersectionality to question social hierarchies that manifest as inequalities and prevent democracy from actualizing, and I had adapted radical democracy to envision possibilities for democratic action. Is there a risk, however, that the theories I used to question the hegemonies in PME in order to contribute to building more equal music education could become a hegemonic framework guiding my own understanding? Would this not be a paradox?

Once again, I found myself in a reflexive process as I used reflexivity to (re)read my dissertation texts. At this stage, I critically reflected about how I had ‘plugged in’ the theories of intersectionality and radical democracy to the data and vice versa, and how I had reported the process of ‘plugging in' in my dissertation texts. Furthermore, I reflected on how I had adopted intersectionality as a lens from the onset of the research journey, while my conceptualization of democracy had evolved from the writings of John Dewey to Mouffe's radical democracy. This process led me to revise chapter 3.3 about radical democracy because I saw the need to write it in a more transparent manner and explain how my understanding of democracy had evolved in and through the project. Using reflexivity to track my thinking with theory approach reminded me that I had to be honest when 'plugging in' and when reporting the process. Hence, although in this dissertation thinking with theory is a method, it cannot be separated from the theoretical starting points. In this research therefore, data, methodology, theory, reading and writing have been intertwined, which is typical in qualitative research in general (e.g., Silverman, 2004).

At this point it has become clear that research is not a linear process – it is a messy business! Genuinely allowing the process to be as messy as it is, however, has been difficult. Returning to the question above: Yes, I do believe that I have fallen in love with the theories. This does not mean, however, that I have lost my critical gaze or that I am opposed to trying on other lenses in the future. Rather it means that I have intentionally decided to develop my understandings with Kimberlé Crenshaw and Chantal Mouffe even as I remain prepared to ask new questions with other scholars and additional theories as needed. I am sure that this process will continue in the future.

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Appendix 1: Article 1

The Paradox of Democracy in Popular Music Education: Intersectionalizing “Youth” Through Curriculum Analysis

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Abstract

In this chapter, we unpack the complex politics of popular music education (PME) in schools through an examination of the ways in which youth and youth culture are represented in the Finnish National Core Curricula (2004 and 2014). Interrogating commonly held conceptualizations of diversity in music education, we identify a paradox in school-based PME which, on the one hand, aims toward democratic classroom practice yet, on the other, neglects diversity by approaching youth as a homogenous group. Challenging common analytical points of departure in PME research, we argue that scholars and educators need to recognize the multiple and intersecting identities of students if PME is to afford them equal opportunities for participation. Overall, we suggest that through the analytical lens of intersectionality, PME may be better positioned to take into account students’ own experiences of inequalities, providing new perspectives on diversity at the policy level. Thus, intersectionality could provide a useful analytical frame in the process of furthering further democratic practice in the classroom.

Keywords

popular music, music education, intersectionality, democracy, diversity, curriculum

Introduction

In this chapter, we will address the need for change both in classroom practice as well as in policy texts, such as music curricula, in diversifying societies to better enhance democracy and tackle increasing inequalities. More specifically we will examine the ways in which students and students’ culture are represented in the Finnish National Core Curricula (Finnish National Board of Education 2004, 2014), particularly in relation to the teaching and learning of popular music in increasingly culturally diverse Finnish schools[1]. Heterogeneous societies – now defined as "super-diverse (Vertovec 2007)[2] – are facing a rise in xenophobic and nationalist expressions, requiring a new politics of diversity in order to enact solidarity. At the core of this global democracy project are young people, acting as the "architects for the future" (Mansouri 2017, p. 3).

For decades, popular music education (hereafter PME) has been treated as the democratizer of music education not just in Finland but globally. It has been argued that popular music making and garage bands "can serve as a model for nonhierarchical music education," thus increasing classroom democracy (Allsup 2011, p. 31), and that PME offers "the new channel of general musical learning" (Wright 2017, p. 10), pushing forward a broader democratic revolution in education. Underlying is the assumption that popular music best represents students' musical interests (e.g., Bennett 2000; Väkevä 2006) and that democratic practice in itself positions the student at the center of the learning process (e.g., Allsup 2011; Väkevä and Westerlund 2007; Väkevä 2006; Westerlund 2006). Consequently, popular music forms a well-established and somewhat hegemonic mode of musical expression within school music education in the Nordic countries (e.g., Dyndahl et al. 2017; Georgii-Hemming and Westvall 2010; Kallio and Väkevä 2017; Smith 2015). This is the case also in Finland, where popular music was first introduced in the school music curriculum in the 1960s (Väkevä 2006; Westerlund 2006).

The early inclusion of popular music in Finland, while lacking theorization of popular music's pedagogical implications was mainly based on the democratic ideals of PME enhancing students' participation by bringing youth culture as a point of departure of the teaching and learning (Väkevä 2006). This can be seen as a necessary shift from the dominant hegemony of classical music values. Earlier music education research indeed refers to popular music as teenagers' "own" music (e.g., Bennett 2000; Green 2006; Väkevä 2006). This premise is however not unproblematic. For example, according to Georgii-Hemming and Westvall (2010), the studies have shown that despite the general intention of education to “take account of students’ ‘own’ music” (p. 22), all students’ musical worlds are not necessarily represented in the Swedish classroom. Furthermore, Kallio and Väkevä (2017) note that it is no longer possible to “rely on a consensus with regard to which popular music students identify with and call their ‘own’” (p. 75). The rapidly diversifying teaching contexts undoubtedly beg us to question the premise of popular music as a “more or less homogenous cultural field shared and liked principally by the youth” (p. 78) and challenge the assumption of teenagers as a homogenous category which would unquestionably share similar musical interests. In this chapter, we ask: what kind of politics of diversity is represented in the national curriculum for basic education and music in Finland in terms of who the students are expected to be?

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[1] For example, according to Statistics Finland's PX-Web Database (2019), the share of persons with foreign background in Helsinki has doubled between 2004 and 2016.

[2] According to Meissner and Vertovec (2016), super-diversity can be used in three different ways: (1) as a descriptive summary term to exemplify changes in population; (2) as a methodological term that seeks to understand complex new social formations; and (3) by highlighting the need to recognize new social conditions shaped by global migration and population change. Here we refer particularly to the second and third aspects.

By analyzing the most important curricula texts guiding compulsory schooling in Finland, we wish to unpack the complexities of the politics of PME by showing that teachers in this context have to learn to engage in a complex negotiation between their own teacher education and the changing policy texts, which may be incompatible. As a whole, this chapter argues that the current analytical point of departure in PME research, which adopts youth as a taken-for-granted homogenous category, can be challenged by recognizing the multiple and intersecting identities of the students. Furthermore, we argue that such recognition would allow us to discuss democratic learning processes in a more complex analytical way through the notions of equal possibility for active participation and of radical democracy (Mouffe 2005), the latter emphasizing disagreements and diversity as prerequisites for democratic action. Radical democracy in music classrooms would require acknowledging diversity and letting it exist, thrive, and be addressed by allowing and encouraging a multiplicity of viewpoints and even disagreements. This approach would “indicate that democracy is alive and inhabited by pluralism” (Mouffe 2000, p. 34). Thus, in this chapter, we argue for such a negotiation of music education practices that can transform social and cultural structures and categories, thereby guiding young people to work not only as architects of their own lives but also as architects for the future.

The National Core Curriculum and Popular Music in Finnish Schools

Comprehensive schooling throughout grades 1–9 in Finland (students 7–15 years old) is publicly funded and governed. General education is guided by the National Core Curriculum, a policy document that aims to maintain the cohesion, quality, and legal protection of education throughout Finland. The most recent Core Curriculum for Basic Education (Finnish National Board of Education 2014) was published in 2014, and the process of implementing this curriculum started in 2016 and was completed in 2019. Following the structure of previous curricula, the document contains a general overview with guidelines for education relevant for all teachers and students and a subject-specific section, in which these broader guidelines are operationalized for each subject. Each school develops its own local curriculum based on the guidelines of the Core Curriculum – a process in which teachers are heavily involved and are afforded considerable autonomy.

The music curricula of the 1980s and 1990s and music teacher education in Finland emphasized the learning by doing principle (Muukkonen 2010). This emphasis is still visible in the 2014 music curriculum which highlights musical action as the basis of musical learning. In Finnish schools, the learning by doing principle is mainly executed through PME. The hegemony of popular music practices in Finnish general music education might be seen as a consequence of the music teacher education programs (Westerlund and Juntunen 2015), in which hands-on popular music skills have been emphasized and highly valued for decades as a response to the earlier hegemony of western classical music and emphasis on listening and singing. Popular music and popular band instruments fitted well with the idea of performance and music production being central in learning, even when struggling with the limited time and students' heterogeneous skills – an idea relevant in other than Finnish contexts, too. It is noteworthy that the popular music pedagogy in Finnish schools is not based on students' informal peer-learning processes, as in the seminal approach by Lucy Green (e.g., Green 2002, 2008); rather, it takes the teacher as an expert of student-centered popular music pedagogy (Westerlund 2006) and a facilitator in group teaching situations (e.g., Cremata 2017). However, it is notable that the 2014 music curriculum does not specifically emphasize popular music but rather musical versatility. Yet popular music often forms the starting point for classroom teaching and learning in Finnish schools (Kallio 2015).

Theoretical and Analytical Lenses: Intersectionalizing Youth

In this chapter, we understand social identities as multilayered and believe that each layer of one's identity might come with its related structural systems of oppression, domination, and discrimination. To acknowledge the relational interplay between the student identities and the structures involved in PME, we utilize intersectionality (e.g., Bradley 2016; Crenshaw 1989; Grzanka

2014) – a concept originally coined by Kimberlé Crenshaw (1989) in the context of fighting for black women's rights and recognition and currently imported into numerous disciplines that deal with inequalities and identities (Lutz 2015). Intersectionality is here used to highlight how social constructs and identities, such as social class, gender, race, age, sexuality, disability, and religious affiliation, intersect among youth and adolescents and, by doing so, also shape the social world and the structures of school in which inequality may be produced and experienced. By intersectionalizing youth, understood as a homogenous group of consumers of popular music, we aim to highlight how different social constructs and inequalities may co-construct one another in the classroom (see also Grzanka 2014, p. xiii). This contrasts with the past de-intersectionalization of "youth music", in which age has been taken as the main categorical criterion. De-intersectionalization is a process in which "the variety of possible relevant categories are ignored and people are treated by way of one, usually essentialized, category only" (Vertovec 2015, p. 13; also, Faist 2015). We thus recognize the use of the concept intersectionality as a political project meant to make the social and material consequences of various identification categories visible. Moreover, in line with Apple (1979) and Pinar et al. (1995), we understand the written curricular texts as political as they reproduce, as well as aim to transform, hidden structures and hegemonies of the society.

In the context of music education and PME, utilizing intersectionality enables shifting the focus from the musical styles and practices to the conditions in which musical action takes place and to the experiences of the students. Hence, we recognize that the very processes of community making and enacting solidarity (see above, Mansouri 2017) are not necessarily arising through musical repertoires but are conditioned by students' own identification and the categories that their peers and teachers use, or may not use, for identifying them. Furthermore, we acknowledge that one of the most important criteria for how music education is experienced by students with various backgrounds may be the possibility to cooperate musically in their everyday peer-group (see also Sæther 2008). Thus, intersectionality here serves as a lens for exploring the interplay between the different identities, school structures, and the conditions in which music education is put into action.

We use intersectionality as a methodology (e.g., Lutz 2015, p. 367) to identify representations of assumed categories related to students' identity in the Finnish National Core Curriculum as well as in the "inter-categorical" sense (p. 365) by problematizing the primacy of any specific category in PME, independent of the situation. Intersectionality is therefore used as "a heuristic device . . . in detecting the overlapping and co-construction of visible and – at first sight

– invisible strands of inequality” (p. 366). Previous music education research has pinpointed the workings of gender, sexuality, social class, ethnicity, and race (e.g., Bates 2019; Bradley 2007; Gould 2005; Green 2003; Hess 2015). However, given the vastly diversifying teaching contexts in Finland and worldwide, further understanding on the interrelatedness of student identities and structural inequity is needed. Building toward such understanding, intersectionality here serves as an analytic tool. Furthermore, for music educators to understand what popular music does within the school context requires an understanding of how “structures are constituted by the actions of agents (people, institutions)” and also that this “action itself is organized within the parameters of existing structures” (Bradley 2016, p. 14). It should be noted, however, that our analysis is limited to only providing scenarios of the potential mechanisms of inequality in PME.

The Method of Analysis

To explore how the Finnish National Core Curriculum represents students, students’ culture, and the aims of music education in the changing Finnish society and also how such articulations have changed over time, we have analyzed the curricula from 2004 (Finnish National Board of Education 2004) and 2014 (Finnish National Board of Education 2014). We analyzed the general part of both 2004 and 2014 curricula in order to identify the general changes in policy; however, the music subject part was analyzed only from the 2014 curriculum[3]. We first coded curricular texts deductively by using qualitative content analysis (Brinkmann and Kvale 2014) and color coding to identify the categories that we attended to before exploring their intersections and consequences. The categories were selected by considering the demographic parameters which may construct “Otherness” and, thus, inequalities in their interplay with school’s sociocultural structures. In defining the categories, we drew on the literature on intersectionality (e.g., Bradley 2016; Grzanka 2014; Lutz 2015) to unify our theoretical ground. These categories – also identified by Bradley (2016) – were social class, gender, “race”, age, sexuality, disability, ethnicity, and religious affiliation. We then compared the two curricular texts with respect to which of these parameters was present and which was absent, in order to identify how students were represented in terms of identity categories and their intersections and also of how such representations might vary between the analyzed texts.

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[3] In a preliminary analysis communicated in a conference paper (see Koskela et al. 2017), the music subject part of the 2004 curriculum was also included. However, its content was not seen as vital for underpinning the findings discussed in this article.

The analysis was conducted in three phases. Following our methodological choices, we followed the principles of inter-categorical complexity (McCall 2005), which "begins with the observation that there are relationships of inequality among already constituted social groups . . . and takes those relationships as the center of analysis" (pp. 1784–1785). We then focused on the places in the curricular texts where understandings of culture, cultural diversity, or musical culture were articulated, either explicitly or implicitly through broader descriptions of society and of the surrounding world of the students. This was done to investigate how the policy texts envisioned the students' lifeworlds and the broader conditions for enacting the variety of cultural belongings on the societal level. Finally, the curricular representations of students and their surrounding cultural conditions were interpreted against the conception of "youth," and the understandings of popular music as equivalent with "students' own music," to grasp the complexity of the politics of diversity in school music in Finland.

Intersectionality and Cultural Diversity as Addressed in the Finnish Core Curricula

The current Finnish National Core Curriculum for Basic Education (Finnish National Board of Education 2014) emphasizes equal opportunities for all students and calls for inclusive practices. Below, we will address the understanding of diversities through two broad themes, namely, how the analyzed two curricula texts represent the students in terms of identity categories and their possible intersections and how culture and cultural diversity are constructed. Finally, we will reflect these understandings with respect to PME in Finnish schools.

Representing "The Student": Identity Categories and Their Intersections

The general and overarching part of the Finnish 2014 curriculum considers a variety of social constructs on the part of the student, such as gender, culture, age, disability, ethnicity, sexuality, and religious affiliation, although the latter is only implicitly mentioned in relation to culture and cultural differences (see p. 30). Social class is not mentioned, the document refers to the varying socio-economic backgrounds of the students thus implying, yet not fully covering, the class difference. The multifaceted nature of gender is addressed, for example, by stating that one of the goals of schooling is to promote "information and understanding of the diversity of gender" (p. 18). In this respect, the 2014 curriculum clearly advances on the 2004 one, which mentions gender only twice throughout the whole document (see Finnish National Board of Education 2004, pp. 12 and 18).

Whereas the general part of the 2014 curriculum quite broadly recognizes a variety of identity categories, the music part of the curriculum employs a far narrower construction. This part of the text, extended to encompass three different grade spans (grades 1–2; grades 3–6; grades 7–9), centers on the music subject and its related practices and understandings, rather than employing a broad conception of who the student might be. Nevertheless, the music curriculum conveys an understanding of students as having their "own cultures" (p. 284), a "cultural heritage" (p. 152), and as belonging to "communities" (p. 284). Furthermore, age is mentioned once (p. 152), and the fact that students might have "different needs, abilities, and interests" (p. 152, see also p. 284 and p. 456) is noted, indicating an awareness of challenges related to social and ability differentiation. The student is only implicitly constructed as gendered, through recognizing that the teacher should aim to change "potentially gendered practices of the music culture and music instruction" (p. 456) and in using the expression of "his or her/him or her" to refer to the student. The latter strongly reinforces a binary gender system and limits other expressions of gender. Overall, however, the impression of the students as viewed through the 2014 music curriculum is that they, above all, are *constructs of culture*, in the sense that belonging to a culture, having a cultural heritage, and being connected to a community of some sort stand out as the primary markers of identification.

From the student's point of view, having an ethnic minority background and living in an area with low economic income might manifest as an experience of intersecting inequality. Thus, awareness of how identity categories and their corresponding (dis)advantages merge, transform, and overlap is needed if schools and teachers are expected to cater to the needs of a diverse group of students. Also, such lenses and knowledge are necessary for fulfilling the curricular aims of, for example, incorporating students' "musical interests" (p. 454), their "activities outside of school" (p. 454), and "expand[ing] their musical competence and worldview" (p. 454). In the music subject part, the complexity of students' social positioning is not addressed, and cultural diversity and interaction are mentioned solely in positive terms, as a source of richness and as something to respect (see p. 16). Another layer of complexity is removed from the curriculum, one which could have aided the teacher in navigating the diversifying society. We will next move from the level of how the student is represented and look further into how understandings of culture and of cultural diversity are shaped through the Finnish curricular texts.

Representations of (Finnish) Culture and Cultural Diversity

In the 2004 National Core Curriculum, Finnish culture is articulated as a homogenous monolith, from which non-Finnish cultures are differentiated and separated. The document states that “the basis of instruction is Finnish culture” (Finnish National Board of Education 2004, p. 12) and that students should be guided to understand the “essence of the Finnish and European cultural identities” (p. 37). Instruction should promote “tolerance and intercultural understanding” (p. 12), and Finnish culture is seen to be diversified “through the arrival of people from other cultures” (p. 12). Overall, though, a picture of Finnish culture as a solid and unified entity appears, both through the consistent use of the singular form (“culture”), the belief in “cultural essence,” and the repeated distinctions between Finnish culture and “other cultures.” This bipartition is also visible in the part of the curriculum that specifically handles Sámi students and the education in the Indigenous Sámi areas in Northern Finland. Instruction should “reinforce the [Sámi] pupils’ indigenous identity and afford possibilities for learning their own language” (p. 32), and they should have knowledge of “their own culture and history” (p. 32). There is no mention of the need for all students to familiarize themselves with Sámi cultures. In an understanding where Finnish culture is seen to have “an essence,” Sámi students are positioned as being an “Other” to that essence and thus as outside of Finnish normality.

In contrast, the 2014 curriculum recognizes that Finnish culture has never existed as consistently coherent and that current societies are undergoing transformations. Finnish society is referred to as “culturally transforming and diverse” (Finnish National Board of Education 2014, p. 29) and also as a context “where the local and global overlap” (p. 29). Basic education should now be “built on a diverse Finnish heritage” (p. 16), and school should be a place for students to be “acquainted with cultural traditions, constructively discuss different ways of thinking and acting, and create new ways for acting together” (p. 29). The cultural diversity manifested in each and every student is underlined by pointing out that “[e)ach community and community member is multilingual” (p. 29) and that this multilingualism opens up different viewpoints and should be appreciated and encouraged. In the 2014 curriculum, the constructions of tradition, culture, and heritage no longer rely on the singular form but are plural to begin with, and any mentioning of essence with reference to culture is absent. The plurality is even acknowledged as existing within each student, which also means that no one in particular, or perhaps everyone within themselves, represents “the Other.” The school system has been given the task, explicitly, to bring “up the importance of the Sámi culture and various minorities in Finland” (p. 29), so the responsibility for intercultural negotiation and exchange is no longer exclusively the task of the minorities themselves. Thus, the general part of the National Core Curriculum both seeks and in many ways succeeds to respond to the current societal changes in Finland.

The same openness toward inherent plurality cannot, however, be seen to characterize the 2014 music part of the curriculum. Here, again, the understanding of cultural heritage as singularly homogeneous is the dominant one (see Finnish National Board of Education 2014, p. 152, p. 284 and p. 455), and differences arise mainly from outside sources, through the students being allowed to "familiarize themselves with a diverse range of musical cultures and genres" (p. 152). Although not made explicit in the curricular text, the singular "cultural heritage" could be interpreted as being similar or close to the essentialized "Finnish culture" articulated in the 2004 curriculum, since there is no further discussion of what this heritage might be or to whom it might belong. Moreover, the view of musical differences that come into the classroom from outside could be construed as a reinstating of the bipartition between Finnish music/culture and other musics/cultures. Still, the music curriculum does acknowledge the plurality of students' cultures and communities (see p. 152) and conveys, as such, a limited recognition of complexity.

Intersectionalizing "The Youth" in PME

Whereas the general part of the 2014 curriculum manages to recognize multiple and varying identity categories, the music curriculum's construction of plurality is far narrower. Next, we will move on to explore how the understandings of student identities in music education practice and in related PME research relate to the constructions of plurality presented in the curriculum.

Through the comparison presented above, a picture emerges that shows how the understandings of diversity and diverse student identities have evolved over time in the Finnish National Core Curriculum and have gradually become more complex. However, the analysis also shows how teachers must navigate a complex array of constructions within one and the same document and thereby also apply diverse ideological starting points in their teaching practices, which in Finnish school music education strongly rely on PME. It is clear though that students' culture/cultures cannot be understood or essentialized as youth culture, or vice versa. To some extent this essentialization has, however, taken place in the earlier PME research when it has assumed popular music as teenagers' "own" music (e.g., Bennett 2000; Green 2006; Väkevä 2006), thus treating both "youth" and "popular music" as unified categories.

Nevertheless, nothing supports the assumption that students' own music should necessarily be equated with popular music. On the contrary, the latest research has shown that at its worst, PME policies can even work as instruments of social exclusion (Kallio and Väkevä 2017) and, thus, dissonances with regard to which (popular) music the teenagers call their “own”. In short, whereas within the general part of the curriculum intersectional ideas have developed between 2004 and 2014, PME’s premise of “youth” as a homogeneous category fails in acknowledging the plurality of teenagers. This premise is especially problematic now that the teaching contexts are diversifying rapidly thus including exponentially the varying musical worlds of the students. This is not to say that students’ musical preferences would not serve as a sufficient starting point for pedagogical action, such as the earlier PME research suggests (e.g., Green 2006; Väkevä 2006; Wright 2017). Instead, the growing diversity calls for changing understanding of what these preferences are and for theorization of popular music’s pedagogical implications (see also Väkevä 2006) with respect to changing pedagogical contexts. For this task, intersectionality might serve a useful tool, as intersectionalizing the category of “youth” reveals that treating teenagers as a homogeneous category may even lead to bypassing differences and inequalities. Moving toward a more complex understanding of diversity in PME and music education in general can also help the teachers to navigate their work within the changing teaching settings as well as to include students’ varying musical worlds more competently in their teaching.

Discussion: Toward a More Complex Politics of Diversity in (Popular) Music Education

In this chapter we have argued that the current approach of PME, in which the “youth” category is used for justifying certain practices, obscures other categories that may be relevant to identity and related to experienced inequality in increasingly super-diverse societies. We have suggested that by using intersectionality as a lens to examine not just curricular texts but also the very educational practices that make use of them, we could enhance understandings of when, how, and why inequalities may potentially be experienced. Although the conceptualizations of the politics of diversity have seemingly deepened in Finnish compulsory school curricula in the period between 2004 and 2014, the ways that student identities and cultural diversity appear in the music subject curriculum do not represent the complexity of identity work nor the rapid changes of the population. While the general part of the 2014 Finnish National Core Curriculum does recognize different social constructs and acknowledges today’s school and society as fluid and multiple, it at the same time fails in addressing how the various identity categories may intersect in the everyday lives of the students, even when the context can be described as seemingly homogeneous. Moreover, if popular music’s use is justified by de-intersectionalizing (e.g., Vertovec 2015; Faist 2015) the category of youth, it may even further reinforce the assumption of homogeneity of students in the classroom.

Importantly, in the latest music curriculum, labels of musical styles and practices form the main way to address diversity, while in the general curriculum discourse, difference can also involve and point to inequality, injustice, and even discrimination. This change is not, however, manifested in the music curriculum in which difference is mainly taken as something to celebrate and sustain. The music curriculum, then, does not articulate teaching and learning situations as social constructs that are constructed with, through, and by different (and intersecting) social positions which may sustain cultural hegemonies. Furthermore, PME – even when understood as a heterogeneous and diverse category in itself (Allsup et al. 2012) – might not respond to Finnish National Core Curriculum's call for adding multiple musics to the educational repertoire, as a minimum attempt toward acknowledging diversity. Moreover, it is notable that even though religious affiliation appeared in our analysis only as implicated in culture and cultural differences, religion may have practical consequences in music teaching and learning situations. Religion, or belief, is indeed a category that seems vastly forgotten in PME scholarship (see however Kallio 2015 who identifies religion as one censorious narrative through which teachers in her study conducted their popular repertoire decisions), as well as by the Finnish music curriculum, and is rather taken as a matter of private space instead of an issue to be dealt with publicly. For instance, Westerlund et al. (2019) have argued that the development of secularism in schools has created a false assumption that students arrive at the music classroom without their (non) religious backgrounds or beliefs and identity categories.

This chapter has aimed to show that new perspectives on diversity discourses at the policy level are urgently needed and that intersectionality could provide a useful analytical tool in the process of rethinking how inequalities of PME in Finland, or elsewhere, could be tackled in classroom practices in schools. These perspectives are timely, as in a vastly diversifying society PME can no longer stem from an assumption of homogeneity of students and, thus, needs to acknowledge other social categories than youth, too. However, as Lappalainen and Lahelma (2016) state, we should perhaps not overstate the impact of national curricula but rather see these documents as a somewhat compromised reflection of the diverse powers operating in a society at a given time. Yet, the clear difference between the general guidelines in the latest Finnish National Core Curriculum and the music-specific part of the text raises further questions about how wider professional reflexivity and "praxis of intersectionality" (Bubar et al. 2016, p. 283) ought to be developed in music teacher education programs in the future. Acknowledging, cherishing, and debating diversity in the music classroom would also fulfill the radical democracy (Mouffe 2005) requirements of encouraging a multiplicity of viewpoints and even disagreements. This demands not only intersectionalizing youth in PME but also a deeper understanding of diversity in education in general. Reflexivity – a method which helps to analyze and challenge one's actions and immediate interpretations (e.g., Alvesson and Sköldberg 2018) – would then be a requirement for teachers and need to be practiced and developed also by students. This would enable teachers to extend their expertise as the facilitators of the student-centered curriculum and the students to better position themselves as architects of their own futures.

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Appendix 2: Article 2

How democratic is popular music in Finnish schools? Exploring popular music education through intersectionality

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Abstract

In this article, we use intersectionality as a theoretical lens to explore the negotiations in popular music education (PME) in one Finnish upper elementary classroom. By considering the hegemonic position of PME in Finnish schools, two researchers engaged in inter-reflexivity in order to shift the focus from popular music 'itself' to the sociocultural structures and conditions in which PME is implemented. PME has often been treated as the democratizer of music education. In this article, however, we argue that the democratic potential of PME depends on the pedagogical implementation of the practice. Furthermore, we argue that for such education to become democratic, the teacher needs to identify the intersectional power structures that shape interaction between people so as to become aware of the school culture and its norms. In this process, the ongoing development of teacher reflexivity plays an essential role.

Keywords

popular music, music education, democracy, reflexivity, diversity, intersectionality

Introduction

In this article, we explore democracy in Finnish upper elementary school popular music education (PME). By engaging in inter-reflexivity (e.g., Barrett and Mills 2009) in an inquiry into a music classroom, we consider the beliefs that teachers hold, beliefs that they are unable to see but which still guide their actions. The educational settings in Finland have rapidly diversified over the last decade due to increased immigration (Statistics Finland 2019), and teachers are facing new challenges, which require reconsidering educational practices from the perspective of students from diverse backgrounds. The music-specific part of the Finnish National Core Curriculum (Finnish National Agency for Education 2014) considers diversity mainly as a question of musical styles, thus bypassing the related interactional context and negotiations (Koskela et al. forthcoming). New viewpoints on diversity in music education are, however, timely and urgent. This is so because, first, the cultural diversification of society indubitably entails incorporating an understanding of the multidimensionality of diversity. The second reason is because the different social dimensions complicate the sociocultural context of schools by constructing differences, thus affecting people's experiences of inequality. In school music teaching, these reasons call for a reconsideration of the use of popular music, which is a dominant and internationally recognized (e.g., Allsup 2011; Wright 2017) practice in Finnish schools.

Finnish music classrooms are typically equipped with instruments and devices that are familiar to rock concerts and garage band rehearsal settings. In Finnish music teacher education, students are required to develop hands-on skills relating to these instruments as well as the most common styles of popular music (see, e.g.,Väkevä 2006; Westerlund 2006;Väkevä and Westerlund 2007; Muukkonen 2010). PME has been regarded as easily accessible to every student, regardless of their level of technical and instrumental skills, and as enhancing students' motivation and participation. Moreover, because popular music is treated as students' 'own' music (e.g., Bennett 2000; Green 2006; Väkevä 2006), it has been viewed as 'the democratizer' of music education (Allsup 2011; Cremata 2017).[1] However, treating PME as the democratizer, as such, can result in overlooking the societal power structures and school culture and norms that shape the interaction between the teacher and students. This article builds on the notion that PME, in itself, does not enable the dispersal of the differences and hierarchies in the music classroom. Hence, in this article, democracy in PME is treated as a wider question than one pertaining to musical style or teaching practice.

To widen understandings of democracy in PME, the article shifts the focus from subject content to the sociocultural structures and conditions in which PME is implemented and negotiated. Here, rather than as an endpoint in itself, democracy is understood as constant negotiations that entail the possibility of conflict (see Dewey [1916] 1980; Mouffe 2000). Constant negotiation implies some level of conflict and confrontation, which ‘indicate[s] that democracy is alive and inhabited by pluralism’ (Mouffe 2000: 34). Hence, uncertainty or disagreements are not threats but enablers of democracy, for ‘as far as the uncertainty about standards, purposes, tendencies, and methods leads to discussion, there is something healthy about it’ (Dewey 1931: 2). Morally, therefore, democracy enables the all-round growth of each member of society (Dewey 1919) and helps students become active citizens who will be able to critically contribute to society, as entailed in the curriculum (Finnish National Agency for Education 2014). Overall, in this article, democracy is acknowledged as‘more than a form of government’; it is a ‘conjoint communicated experience’ (Dewey [1916] 1980: 101).

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[1] For example, according to Allsup, there is 'a link between popular-music making and classroom democracy', and garage bands 'can serve as a model for non-hierarchical music education' (2011: 31). In addition, according to Cremata (2017: 64), 'popular music facilitation contexts support notions of democracy, autonomy, diversity, hospitality, differentiation, exploration, creativities, collaboration and inclusivity'.

Against the backdrop of these notions, classroom negotiations in PME are seen as processes that have the potential to widen the societal horizons of participants and to help them actively listen to each other’s experiences and interpretations. This, nevertheless, requires one to observe pluralism as one of the key elements of democracy (e.g., Mouffe 2000). However, the earlier PME research tends to conflate students into a homogenous group, assuming popular music to be their mutually shared interest (e.g., Bennett 2000; Green 2006; Väkevä 2006). This tendency likely conceals the aspect of plurality among teenagers and potentially obscures understandings of the multidimensionality of each student’s identity. To understand the multiplicity of different social dimensions within each music classroom, the focus here shifts from the musical style to classroom negotiations in PME. By doing so, we further discuss how different social parameters – such as gender, ‘race’, sexuality and nationality – construct both each other and inequalities. We aim for the article to produce knowledge not only about PME but also about school culture and interaction in the music classroom – that is, about the *interactional sociocultural context of school*, which guides the general education practices in Finland.

The study is a practitioner-researcher inquiry (e.g., Cochran-Smith and Lytle 2009), which explores three episodes from a larger body of research material in order to illuminate negotiations in PME. In exploring these negotiations, we acknowledge the claim of the Finnish National Core Curriculum for Basic Education (Finnish National Agency for Education 2014), which calls for music education to work towards equity and to recognize students’ different needs. To acknowledge the diversity of the agents in the music classroom – as well as the multidimensionality of their identities and the interplay between these identities and complex social structures – we employed intersectionality (e.g., Crenshaw 1989, 1991; Bradley 2016) as a theoretical and analytical lens.

Pme in the Finnish upper elementary school

The inquiry took place during the 2016–17 school year in a school situated in a relatively large Finnish city in southern Finland. The empirical material of the larger study project includes 21 lessons of 75 minutes, from which a teacher-researcher journal was kept, along with guidance of an observation form, student interviews and videotaped material from some of the lessons. The first author was also the teacher of the music course, thus enabling engagement in the practitioner-researcher tradition (e.g., Cochran-Smith and Lytle 2009). The group under study was an upper elementary school's (grades 7–9) optional music course, comprising 22 students from varied cultural, linguistic and socio-economic backgrounds, with different musical interests and skills. The group consisted of 23 students, but as one of them declined participation, the video camera was used only when this student was absent or did not participate in band playing or singing.

In alignment with common practices in Finnish music classrooms, the optional music course emphasized PME. In each lesson, the focus was on playing and singing popular songs together, thus following the so-called 'learning by doing' approach – a common starting point in Finnish school music teaching. The teacher planned the content of the course in collaboration with her students and started by asking them to write a list of songs that they wanted to play and sing during the course. One song was chosen for each lesson, and the choices were made on the basis of the content of the lyrics and the technical requirements for playing each song.

Each lesson proceeded so that the song selected from the list by the teacher was introduced to the class, which then listened to the song together. The students then chose instruments, and the teacher instructed each student individually by considering the technical starting points of everyone. The usual band setup for each song consisted of two guitars, two basses, two synthesizers, one electric piano, four singers, two drum kits (acoustic and electronic) and several percussion instruments. Typically, the most technically advanced students chose guitars, the acoustic drum kit or singing. However, the teacher aimed to shuffle the instrument combinations by persuading the students to try as many different instruments as possible during the course and by offering different options for playing, considering the skills of each student.

Once the students were individually instructed, the entire band practised the chosen song under the teacher's guidance. While the teacher asked the students to make suggestions regarding the arrangements, she made the final decisions. In sum, during the lessons for this group of students, learning was expected to happen through active participation and joint music making within the framework of PME practices – such as playing popular music songs with electronic band instruments – and within frames defined by the teacher.

Theoretical starting points: intersectionality and school censorship frame

Intersectionality (e.g., Crenshaw 1989, 1991) is a theory that emerged from the feminist paradigm. It recognizes identities as complex and multi-layered and explores how different social dimensions (such as gender,'race', sexuality, age and nationality) construct both each other and inequalities (e.g., Bradley 2016). In this study, intersectionality is used as a lens to explore the classroom negotiations in PME to deepen the understanding of the interactional context of the school. Intersectionality also enables the understanding that the school is not an isolated institution and that it reproduces and reflects the patterns of inequalities in the wider society, which are also present in the music classroom. Thus, in our analysis, intersectionality is used to make visible different social dimensions and to pinpoint how experiences of inequality manifest in PME negotiations.

In addition to intersectionality, we utilize the concept of the *school censorship frame* (Kallio 2015a, 2015b). This frame was developed by Alexis Kallio, who explored Finnish music teachers'decisions of either including or excluding popular music material by considering how 'different actors and groups struggle for the power to label musics as legitimate or deviant' (Kallio 2015a: 74). Kallio constructed the school censorship frame from three different types of major stories (cultural stories, curricular stories and religious stories) and five different types of small stories (school stories, staff stories, parent stories, teacher stories and student stories).[2] The school censorship frame offers a theoretical tool to explore how 'certain musics and their accompanying values are promoted, whilst others are suppressed' (Kallio 2015b: 128). Whereas Kallio developed the school censorship frame to explore how teachers selected popular music repertoires, in the current inquiry, the school censorship frame is utilized to explore the classroom negotiations in PME. Considering the school censorship frame with and through intersectionality enables an understanding of the stories as hierarchically organized within power structures. Thus, the concept of intersectionality is used concurrently with the school censorship frame.

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[2] In our analysis, three stories were identified: teacher stories (teacher's narrative), student stories (students' narratives) and school stories (the narrative of school's interactional context). The three stories – adaptedfrom the original conceptualization of the school censorship frame – illustrate the different agents on our analysis as well as the ways in which they interact with each other in the negotiation process.

The two stages of reflexivity

This practitioner-researcher inquiry explores three episodes of PME-based negotiations between students and their teacher-researcher in a Finnish school. These episodes are selected from the empirical material of a larger study of an upper elementary school's optional music course by the first author, who taught the course. By studying her own teaching context as a teacher-researcher, the first author explored and reflected on herself as a teacher as well as on her students and their face-to-face daily social, mostly linguistic, interactions. The second author (a musicologist) joined the research process to deepen and question the initial insights and to co-reflect on the first author's preliminary interpretations in a more multidimensional manner. Thus, in the process of the analysis, reflexivity (e.g., Callaway 1992; Hertz 1997; Alvesson and Sköldberg 2018) – in which the first author engaged alone during the empirical part of the study – turned into *inter-reflexivity* (e.g., Barrett and Mills 2009).

Reflexivity refers to a methodology that 'disassociate[s] from our stories to restory them, to shatter them before recreating them, as we gain a greater critical understanding of society at the same time' (Sawyer 2016: 118). It aligns with the practitioner-research tradition (e.g., Cochran-Smith and Lytle 2009), in which the teacher-researcher herself is one of the study objects, here utilized as a methodological tool to construct, interpret and analyse the empirical material (e.g., Alvesson and Sköldberg 2018: 5). Moreover, as reflexivity 'can be seen as opening the way to a more radical consciousness of self in facing the political dimensions of fieldwork and constructing knowledge' (Callaway 1992: 33), the aim of reflexivity in this study is to gain insights into the political and societal dimensions of classroom negotiations.

Reflexivity infiltrates the whole research process and is applied in two stages. The first reflexive stage of the study was the empirical part, in which the first author engaged as the only researcher. In this stage, reflexivity referred to the idea of 'ongoing conversation about experience while simultaneously living in the moment' (Hertz 1997: vii–viii). Following this idea, and in addition to videotaping the lessons and interviewing the students, a teacher- researcher's journal was kept to interpretatively and reflectively generate knowledge about the lessons. Writing the journal was about capturing the moments that seemed meaningful, which itself required reflexivity, asking: what made the selected events more important in terms of journaling than the excluded events? Thus, from the first stage, reflexivity required challenging the immediate interpretations, as the writing of the journal begged the questions of what was important and why.

In the second stage – which included the analysis and writing process of this article – we employed reflexive methods from two different angles, which made it possible to challenge predispositions that both consciously and unconsciously affect the research process (see also Laes and Schmidt 2016). The first author was involved in the research process as an 'insider', as she was the one who engaged with the empirical part of the inquiry as a teacher-researcher. The second author was an 'outsider', as she became part of the process after the empirical part had ended. Although it has been acknowledged that 'outsiderness' and 'insiderness' are not 'fixed or static positions' but rather 'ever-shifting and permeable social locations' (Naples 1997: 71), the different standpoints of the researchers made it possible to develop the analysis by questioning 'how those interpretations came about' (Hertz 1997: viii) and by deepening the preliminary interpretations through constant co-reflection (see also Laes and Schmidt 2016). Hence, in the second stage, *inter-reflexivity* – which refers to acknowledging the ways in which the dual examination of the research process 'provides rich opportunities for understanding and interpretation' (Barrett and Mills 2009: 426) and to collaborate in 'on-going moral dialogues' (Barrett and Mills 2009: 428) – is seen to extend interpretive possibilities and to strengthen the reflexivity of the analysis as a whole.

In this inquiry, we selected three episodes from the teacher-researcher's journal, two of which were complemented by the videotaped research material. Choosing the episodes was both an intuitive and structural process. It was an intuitive process because the first author found herself unintentionally immersed in these three episodes; thus, they also functioned as tools for making sense of the practitioner-researcher's work (see also Rikandi 2012). Choosing the episodes was also a structural process because the final selection was made by carefully reading the teacher-researcher's journal, which also worked as an index for identifying meaningful events from the videotaped material (see also Rikandi 2012). The first episode was not videotaped due to the presence of the student who declined participation (mentioned earlier); however, the episode was chosen for analysis, as it offered, together with the second episode, an angle for exploring the teacher-researcher's position with respect to its various intersectional frames. In all, the three episodes function as illustrative stories aimed at producing knowledge not only about the practices of music teaching but also about how and on what terms the practices are negotiated.

The analysis of the episodes was *insight-driven* (e.g., Alvesson and Sköldberg 2018) – that is, an analysis requiring 'insight into something implying a more profound meaning than that immediately given or conventionally understood' (Alvesson and Sköldberg 2018: 284). We conducted the analysis by keeping to the 'empirical and insightful interpretive levels' (Alvesson and Sköldberg 2018: 284) – a requirement that is also compatible from the viewpoint of reflexivity. In the analysis process, the interpretative lens was complemented by utilizing intersectionality to make the different social dimensions visible in the classroom context and to gain insight into how they interact with power structures to produce/sustain inequalities in the PME classroom negotiations. The insight-driven analysis supports the reflexive research process, which requires constant (and intensive) scrutiny of 'what I know and how I know it' (Hertz 1997: viii). Through the reflexive, insight-driven process of analysis in which the interpretative, intersectional lens was applied, the negotiations emerged through the factors of 'race', racialization, gender, sexuality and nationality. In the article, we ask:

1. On what and on whose terms are classroom negotiations in PME conducted?

2. How are such negotiations connected to understandings of PME as a democratic medium through which to teach music?

Episodes

What follows are descriptions of the three episodes from the research material. The episodes illustrate how 'race', racialization, gender, sexuality and nationality and the various power structures construct inequalities in PME negotiations and what the negotiations reveal about classroom democracy. The first two episodes involve negotiations regarding two particular popular music songs, and the third episode elucidates the interplay of the various social dimensions and power structures, despite not always being straightforwardly perceptible in the negotiation process. The episodes are presented so that the parts in italic font present the course of events generated from the empirical material, after which the analysis of the description is written in regular font. As only one researcher was involved in the empirical part of the study, with two taking part in the analysis and writing processes, the personal noun changes from singular (italic font) to plural (regular font).

Episode 1: Miley Cyrus – 'We Can't Stop'

One of the songs on the students' wish list was Miley Cyrus' 'We Can't Stop'.

When I told the students that we were going to sing that song, many of them protested loudly. It was obvious that not all of them liked the song, yet one of them had written it on the wish list. The lyrics of the song go like this:

To my home girls here with the big butts/Shaking it like we at a strip club. Red cups and sweaty bodies everywhere/Hands in the air like we don't care/ Cause we came to have so much fun now/Got somebody here might get some now.

After listening to the song, I considered the lyrics to be unsuitable to be sung by upper elementary students. Thus, after four girls volunteered to sing the song, I told the singers that because of the explicit lyrics, I was hesitant about letting them sing the song in the school music lesson and asked them to censor some parts of the song. I also asked them how they felt about the lyrics themselves. They didn't seem to mind the content and considered censoring the song to be a bad idea. 'Everybody knows what it says in the song anyway', one of them said, and the others agreed. I said that I myself would feel uncomfortable singing about 'shaking it at a strip club' and asked whether they would also feel discomfort singing the text. In mutual understanding, the singers convinced me that they would rather sing the original lyrics than a censored version. Thus, after the discussion, I decided to let them practise the song as it was.

According to Kallio (2015b), the school censorship frame comprises different stories attached to each other, which pop up in school at different times. In this episode, the popped-up stories that could be subsumed under Kallio's conceptualization are (1) the teacher story, (2) the student story and (3) the school story. In the episode, the teacher and school stories form a unit, which is challenged by the student story. For example, when the teacher considers the lyrics to be too explicit (such as containing straightforward implications to sexual interaction) to be sung in a school context, she makes a link between the teacher and school stories by suggesting that the song does not suit the school's narrative and that the teacher can be expected to conduct her work according to that narrative. However, the student story suggests that the song's meaning does not change by censoring the lyrics ('everybody knows what it says in the song anyway') and doing so challenges the unity of the teacher and school stories, which had required the censoring of the song text. This contradiction between the stories suggests that (1) a popular music piece assumes different meanings within the school context than outside the school, where negotiation happens with respect to norms and values that differ from those of the school. Thus, (2) when interpreted through the school censorship frame, the negotiation of the lyrics between the teacher and the students is merely about the compatibility of the lyrics with the school's norms rather than about the lyrics per se. Hence, despite the inherent contradictions, in this episode, the teacher, student and school stories were inseparable.

To gain an understanding of how societal structures affect the negotiations in PME situations, we used intersectionality to explore the material and social consequences of the classroom interaction. For example, when the teacher considers that she would feel uncomfortable singing about ‘shaking it at a strip club’, we considered the teacher’s position as a white, middle-class, heterosexual cis-woman. These parameters contradict singing about ‘home girls’, ‘big butts’, and ‘strip club’, as they do not conform to the respectable frame, according to which a proper woman should not act in an oversexualized manner but should stick to middle-class-like performances of womanhood (e.g., Skeggs 1997). The teacher story conformed to this performance by suggesting the censoring of ‘explicit lyrics’ that she found ‘to be unsuitable’. Thus, in this episode, the negotiation was guided in terms of the teacher and the sociocultural context of the school that students are expected to navigate in a respectable manner. This notion will be further elaborated in the next episode.

Episode 2: Ed Sheeran – ‘Shape of You’

Another song that generated conversation between the teacher and the students was Ed Sheeran’s ‘Shape of You’. In the chorus, the lyrics are as follows:

I’m in love with the shape of you/We push and pull like a magnet do/Although my heart is falling too/I’m in love with your body.

In my interpretation, ‘Shape of You’ is about a male singer praising a woman’s body. I decided to share this perception with the students and explained that it had led me to hesitate whether to choose ‘Shape of You’ as part of our repertoire, even though the students had expressed their wish to play and sing it.

After listening to the song, I asked whether the students had understood the reason for my hesitation. A female student answered: ‘Because the song sexualizes women’. One of the boys in the group elaborated on this comment by saying that, in the song, a guy sings about loving a woman’s body but not about loving the woman herself. Another boy challenged the discussion by suggesting that it was also possible that the man and the woman of the song had mutually decided about ‘just having fun’ together.

Afterwards I had a feeling that the discussion had provoked some of the pupils.

Hence, to challenge my own interpretations, I asked the pupils to voluntarily join me on their last school day in May to watch some of the recorded material from our lessons and to share their perspectives on the events in the video clips. One of the videos included our discussion of 'Shape of You', and after watching the clip, I asked the students (almost all of whom had attended) how they had felt about the debate during the incident. 'We knew what you were after', one of the girls answered. What she meant was that the students knew that I had found the song to be sexist and that the discussion was shaped around my interpretation of the song.

Similar to the first episode, the teacher, school and student stories were also visible in this second episode. Contrary to the school story, the teacher had first interpreted the song text with respect to gendered power relations, that is, within wider societal structures. She then reflected on the content of the school's social structures and school story and finally facilitated a discussion between herself (teacher story) and the students (student story). In this episode, the student story offers a lens for deepening the perception made in the analysis of the first episode, according to which the teacher and school stories defined the frames for the negotiations and, by doing so, set limits to the students' contribution.

At the end of the first episode, we suggested that the students were expected to navigate within the school's sociocultural context in a respectable manner. The second episode does not only support this notion, it also deepens it by noting that the students were *aware* of this expectation: while watching the video clips, one of the students said that the students *knew what the teacher was after*. If, as the student's comment implies, the students understood the school story, which guides them to act according to the respectable norms mediated by the teachers, they also knew how to answer to teachers' questions in a respectable way – even though the answer contradicted their own perceptions. However, as democracy is here understood as a constant negotiation, characterized by pluralism and the possibility of confrontation (e.g., Mouffe 2000), the idea of guiding students to accept existing norms without questioning them is more likely to hinder democracy than to enhance it. Instead, enhancing democracy would require the teacher to critically examine how the teacher and school stories may construct and sustain normative expectations as an invisible, though existent, model for 'proper' students. After all, the student story – as well as the school story and the teacher story – are all connected to 'outside-of-school' story, a structure that is never inseparable from the surrounding settings such as education, schooling, students and the teacher. Thus, the (un)democratic negotiations at school are always connected to the power structures outside the school and vice versa. Hence, to enhance the democracy, the teacher should become aware of this interplay.

However, although the idea of the 'proper' student was indirectly present in the negotiation in the second episode, not all the students agreed with the teacher. Some of them also presented viewpoints that disaffirmed those of the teacher. For instance, the students' perception that the heterosexual couple of the song was 'just having fun together' suggests that the teacher had bypassed the agency of the woman of the song by assuming her to be primarily an object, not a subject. Thus, it is also possible that the students interpreted the teacher's unwillingness to sing Ed Sheeran's song as a way of hiding female sexuality and not as a requirement of gender equality, although the latter was the teacher's primary starting point for the discussion.

Episode 3 – Am I a racist?

In one of our lessons, the atmosphere was more restless than usual. A few of the boys – all of whom were of an immigrant background – were constantly talking and playing drums and did not participate in the lesson or listen to my instructions. The boy' disturbances continued even after asking them several times to concentrate, so I decided to remove four of them from the classroom. However, after asking the boys to leave the classroom, I started thinking about whether one of them had behaved so badly after all. I asked the rest of the group for their opinions, and as they agreed that he had done nothing wrong, I decided to ask the boy to return to the classroom and apologized to him.

After the lesson, I talked individually to three of the boys whom I had removed from the class. Two of them said that they had understood my reaction. However, one of them looked at me angrily and said: 'You're a racist'. He said that I never cared what 'the Finns' did or if they behaved or not. By 'Finns', he was referring to the white pupils, mentioning two by name. He left the discussion visibly angry. I kept on considering the accusation of racism.

In a normal teaching situation, it would have been relatively easy to bypass the accusation of being a racist as affective self-defence. However, the first author's teacher-researcher's journal and reflexive methods allowed – and even forced – a thorough reflection on what had happened.

The teacher-researcher's journal reveals three things. First, one of the boys was thrown out of the classroom only because he was sitting next to the three students who were behaving badly. In the journal, there is a consideration of whether this was done because the fourth boy was also of an immigrant background and whether the teacher had thus bunched the four boys as an imaginary category of 'immigrant boys' and treated them as a group, not as individuals. Second, the teacher elaborated on the first perception by journaling that she often mixed up the names of the immigrant boys in the journal and that she understood this as another sign that she treated them as a group. Third, in the writing, the teacher noted that she believed that the boy who accused her of being a racist was actually more capable of identifying the manifestations of racism, as he has had to deal with it on a daily basis, whereas the teacher herself has never had to respond to comments concerning her skin colour or nationality. In the teacher-researcher's journal, the teacher wrote:

I consider myself to be highly aware as a teacher, but I too am a product of norms and structures. I am both an anti-racist and an intersectional feminist, but in this situation, I had to note that I most likely had acted in a racist way. Moreover, I needed to consider the following: would I have thrown the students out of the classroom if they were white? Why did I get so annoyed by the hustling of these three boys but not so much by a girl who hustles just as much? What constructs the respectable norms into which I tried to squeeze these three boys? Is it about nationality? Gender? Finnishness? Discipline? Middle-classness? What defines the 'proper citizen' that school is supposed to educate? Am I, too, a little bit of a racist?

Whereas the boy's narrative reflects his experiences of being racialized in both school and society, the teacher's narrative reveals that her whiteness (e.g., Ahmed 2007) is something that only becomes visible in the process of self-reflection. When the teacher writes in her journal that she is 'a product of norms and structures' and when she considers the questions about the different ways in which she treats different students, she actually explores the interplay of the structures, the different social parameters and how they manifest in a classroom situation. Meanwhile, she becomes aware of her position as a white person – after all, whiteness is not only a skin colour; it also represents a position of power. Thus, whiteness is often invisible to white people themselves, whereas the 'Others' (e.g., Kallio and Partti 2013) of the society are used – and even obligated – to negotiate their identities with respect to whiteness. The same issue is repeated in this episode: the boy was aware of his Otherness, but the white teacher only became aware of her whiteness with and through reflexivity.

Conclusion

The democracy argument – according to which PME brings a particularly student-centred angle to formal music teaching contexts (e.g., Allsup 2011; Cremata 2017) – has enabled PME to dominate in school music teaching in

Finland. Due to PME's hegemonic national position, we have, in this article, discussed classroom negotiations in PME through intersectionality so as to further explore the democracy of music education. Through the descriptions of three episodes, we have illuminated how the societal structures outside the school interact with the classroom negotiations within the school. Examining the first author's own teaching context as an upper elementary music teacher through two stages of reflexivity led to a critical reflection of the teacher's position as a white middle-class woman. Furthermore, it led to the understanding that while people experience different intersecting social dimensions in their everyday lives, these dimensions are not always visible in the negotiation process in the music classroom.

In our analysis, the concepts of intersectionality (e.g., Bradley 2016; Crenshaw 1989, 1991) and school censorship frame (Kallio 2015a, 2015b) – namely the teacher story, school story and student story – were utilized as theoretical lenses. The analysis indicates that the starting points of classroom negotiations in PME were the standpoints of the teacher and school stories. In the analysis, these two stories formed a somewhat consistent unit, which was contradicted by the student story. Our findings suggest that if students' experiences and views confront the professional authority of the teacher and the school's sociocultural structures, there is a risk that these students are being ignored. In other words, although PME's democratic practices are seen to stem from its student-centredness, our analysis suggests that PME negotiation processes are conducted from the viewpoint of the teacher and the school's norms rather than from the viewpoint of students. In addition, based on our findings, we regard the perception of PME's unquestioned student- centeredness as a risk to educational democracy, as it potentially bypasses the complexity of diversity (e.g., Kallio and Väkevä 2017). To acknowledge this kind of diversity, we suggest that the conceptualization of 'youngsters' as a homogenic entity could be deconstructed, for example, by intersectionalizing the category of youth (see also Koskela et al. forthcoming).

Furthermore, we suggest that enacting democracy within PME entails shifting a focus from the subject content to the interactional classroom context and encouraging the teacher to become aware of patterns of inequality. In the process of becoming aware, teachers may benefit from using intersectionality as a lens to analyse how power structures shape the interactions and experiences of the people in their classrooms. For example, the third episode in this article illustrated the teacher's position with respect to the various intersectional frames and, thus, elucidated that although social constructs and hierarchies may not necessarily relate to musical action per se, they are still associated with the teaching context and classroom agents. Hence, intersectionality can serve as a useful tool for considering the conditions under which PME is put into practice in helping identify how the various intersectional frames and dimensions produce inequality and shape democracy in PME. In addition, bringing the immigrant community from outside the school into the discussions could help improving the practices more inclusive and democratic.

By examining the negotiation processes of PME teaching situations, this inquiry has exemplified how teachers' reflexivity may enhance the democracy of music education. As the communicated experiences (Dewey [1916] 1980) in the negotiation process arose from different intersectional frameworks and experiential backgrounds, the democratization of classroom negotiations entailed the inclusion of plural voices in the negotiations and, thus, an endorsement of the possibility of conflict (e.g., Dewey [1916] 1980; Mouffe 2000). Despite its negative connotations, conflict may be viewed as an opportunity to ponder one's own experiences and to understand their origins. Thus, conflict may even reinforce the democracy of educational contexts if it is handled as a possibility for critical self-reflection and not as a force of polarization. However, as teachers hold a given professional authority, hierarchy is embedded in the school system. Consequently, they automatically have authority over their students and have a power to choose the direction of classroom negotiations and, hence, the power to enable the conflict. To enhance democracy in terms of cherishing pluralism, confrontation could be accomplished by encouraging the teacher to be prepared to reconsider her original perceptions in the sense of a genuine dialogue. Conscious reflection of the power structures is essential to make visible hierarchies and inequalities. Reflexivity is especially needed when striving towards enhancing democracy in education in a rapidly diversifying society.

To conclude, the practitioner-researcher inquiry presented here corroborates the findings of recent research (e.g., Kallio and Väkevä 2017; Hess 2019), which concluded that bringing popular music to school does not automatically enhance the democracy of music teaching. Instead, we suggest that the democracy of popular music practices depends on the ways in which they are pedagogically implemented and negotiated by acknowledging the interplay of various intersecting categories and complex societal structures – a process in which reflexivity plays an essential role.

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Appendix 3: Article 3

Middle-class music making? Social class, “race,” and their intersections in the practice of school popular music

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Abstract

This article explores how social class, “race,” and their intersections manifest in Finnish popular music education (PME) through an exploration of popular music practices in one upper elementary music classroom where I worked as a teacher-researcher. By engaging with systems reflexivity, I illustrate how social class, racialization, and their intersections work together with the social system of PME to maintain inequalities. I argue that in the popular music classroom, identity work is especially required from the students who belong to racialized and lower-class groups. Furthermore, I argue that PME (re)produces a Eurocentric practice of *school popular music* that favors middle-classness and Whiteness. I suggest that moving towards genuinely multivocal and democratic music education entails questioning popular music as an eminent democracy maker. Alternatively, democracy might be fostered by considering the intersectional identities of the students – a process for which systems reflexivity serves as a useful tool.

Introduction

In this article, I challenge the idea of popular music as the answer to inequalities in music education. The uncritical stance towards popular music education’s (henceforth PME) capacity to enhance democracy in music education and for music teachers to acknowledge the experiences of students has led to cherishing it as a dominant educational practice. This dominance is relatively apparent in the Finnish context, with the country currently being well-known and internationally respected for having established high-quality PME in music teacher education (e.g., Allsup, 2011). The democracy argument derives from the notion according to which PME brings students’ “own” music and their interests to the heart of the learning process, hence strengthening the voices of students in the educational context (e.g., Allsup, 2011; Cremata, 2017;

Green, 2006; Väkevä, 2006). This notion, however, assumes that students are a homogenous group with similar interests and, thus, may neglect the multiplicity of student identities and their potential unequal positionings in the classroom. In other words, if democracy is understood as an opportunity for expressing different identities and "inhabited by pluralism" (Mouffe, 2000, p. 34), as it is understood here, treating teenagers as a unified group becomes questionable. This raises the following questions: how could PME benefit music education by truly inhabiting pluralism? and how might scholars and educators better recognize the complex identity work students need to do in order to challenge underlying unification trends?

I explore the conditions for democracy in PME through an inquiry that I conducted as a White, middle-class music teacher-researcher in a Finnish upper elementary music classroom with 22 students from diverse backgrounds. At the beginning of my teacher-researcher journey, I had certain practical starting points that I believed contributed to democratic teaching practice, such as asking the students to compile the list of songs to be practiced during our lessons. During the research process, however, it became clear to me that strengthening democracy required a much more profound inquiry into how systemic exclusion might take place in the music classroom. Hence, to highlight the entangled and intersectional identities of the students, this article explores democratic processes in one context of PME in Finland by taking intersectionality as its starting point to acknowledge that identities are diverse and overlapping (e.g., Crenshaw, 1989, 1991; Grzanka, 2014). The article therefore contributes to earlier critical research on PME which has shown that—despite the democracy argument—inequalities do exist in the field of PME (e.g., Björck, 2011; Bylica et al., 2019; Georgii-Hemming & Westvall, 2010; Kallio, 2015; Kallio & Väkevä, 2017).

To direct the critical gaze towards my own teaching, in this article I utilize systems reflexivity which helps scholars and educators "to look beyond the boundaries of art and even education to conceive and grasp opportunities for 'systematic interventions'" (Westerlund et al., 2021, p. 3; see also Midgley, 2000). In other words, I look at PME from a systems perspective (e.g., Midgley, 2000; Westerlund et al., 2021) and acknowledge PME's interactional classroom context as a micro-level social system that is intertwined with the macro-level social system (Westerlund et al., 2021) of Finnish society and its related hierarchies. This perspective is taken as a key to understanding inequalities more profoundly and holistically, and it exceeds the typical frameworks used in music teacher education programs. Overall, I use systems reflexivity to call for systems change – that is, for more equal and democratic music education.

In this article, the intersectional lens is adjusted to focus on social class and racialization. I thus acknowledge that "race" and social class often intersect in educational systems (see also Peltola, 2020) and, furthermore, in the practice of popular music in schools. The article concludes by questioning earlier claims of popular music as democratic, stating that democracy in PME is not primarily a question of music style – instead, it is dependent on how the teacher negotiates popular music with the students by means of systems reflexivity.

The Finnish context

Finnish school, social class, and "race"

Finnish school system has been celebrated internationally for its remarkable success in equalizing learning outcomes and reinforcing societal democracy via education (Peltola, 2020). Finnish school system is undoubtedly the cornerstone of the welfare state, and Finland appears to have succeeded in supporting each student's growth towards a more equal and democratic society. Recent statistics, however, show a diminishing capacity of Finnish schools to promote equal opportunities and reduce the gap between students (OECD, 2019). One example of this is related to residential and school segregation that, within the last two decades, "has been identified in the Finnish context as a new, growing challenge to providing equal educational opportunities" (Peltola, 2020, p. 97). The growing phenomenon of school segregation not just in Finland but internationally has been shown to increase the vulnerabilities of both lower-class and minoritized groups and, thus, to be a challenge. This is especially the case for working class students and students with ethnic minority backgrounds (Peltola, 2020; see also Putnam, 2015). Furthermore, acknowledging that "privilege in terms of resources to choose both a residential area and a school follows social class divides, and that racialization in education and in society has consequences to people's social class positions" (Peltola, 2020, p. 98), points to a salient intersection between class and "race" in school segregation.

Although the discussion of social class in Finnish schools mainly focuses on school segregation, it is, however, important to note that class differences also exist inside each school. Hence, there is

> a need to understand and examine segregation not only in terms of differences *between* schools but as a phenomenon that manifests in varying ways *inside* schools, in official school practices, and at the level of informal school and peer relationships. (Peltola, 2020, p. 110)

Despite this, the concept of class is absent in Finnish curricular texts in a way rather similar to gender in the 1990s, an issue which previously led to underestimating gender inequality in the school context (Lahelma, 2011). The obmutescence of gender did not make gender differences nonexistent, nor will it do so with respect to social class. Rather, at its worst, the obmutescence of class may even reinforce class inequality through a blindness towards such structural inequalities.

The same obmutescence applies to “race.” In Finnish discourse, the term “ethnicity” is often used instead of “race.” In the more than 1200 pages of the Finnish National Core Curriculum (2014), however, the term “ethnic” only appears twice (p. 26; p. 211), while the terms “ethnicity” and “race” are not mentioned at all. None of these three terms appear in the music curriculum (Finnish National Agency for Education, 2014), which instead mentions “cultural diversity” (p. 1227) and “cultural heritage” (p. 1233). Thus, the connection between “race,” students’’everyday lives, and music often remains undiscussable (see e.g., Hess, 2017). Despite the absence of these terms in official documents and changes in their manifestation through the decades, differences due to social class and “race” continue to exist in Finnish society and the Finnish educational system, and these differences shape the everyday life and school experiences of students. It is therefore necessary to consider social class and “race” in the social system of music education and in PME.

PME in Finland

In Finnish school music education, teaching practices rely heavily on popular music. Music classrooms are equipped with electronic guitars, basses, drums, synthesizers, and microphones for singing, and music learning happens through active participation in music making, which is often carried out in a popular music band (e.g., Westerlund, 2006). The successful and extensive use of PME in Finnish schools has led it to become a hegemonic and internationally recognized system (e.g., Allsup, 2011). This strong position has been further supported by PME research that claims that popular music is teenagers’ “own” music (e.g., Bennett, 2000; Väkevä, 2006) and therefore inherently democratic.

This democracy argument has, however, been questioned by more recent research that argues, for example, that the popular music played in school does not necessarily represent students’ “own” music (Georgii-Hemming & Westvall, 2010). Researchers have also questioned the understanding that teenagers are a uniform group with similar musical interests (Kallio & Väkevä, 2017). Moreover, although popular music band instruments are relatively adaptable for students with differing musical abilities, when students enter school, they already possess diverse starting levels and perceptions about their capabilities. For example, whereas middle-class children are likely to identify with the surrounding culture of the school, working-class children often move "from a context largely dominated by restricted code use to one where access to elaboration is prerequisite to success" (Wright & Davies, 2010, p. 47). Hence, assuming popular music to be inherently democratic may bypass the interactional context of the music classroom in which students participate from different musical starting points and with different cultural capacities. In considering this oversimplification of democracy in PME, Kallio (2017) asked: "How might we broaden our ideas of who constitutes the *we* of the school community to enact the ideals of democratic participation?" (p. 166, italics in original)

Recent critical research on PME in Finland has also highlighted that 1) in the context of the music classroom the democratic potential of popular music is dependent on the educational context, not on the music style per se (Koskela & Leppänen, 2020); 2) music teachers engage in "political processes of legitimation and exclusion in popular repertoire selection" (Kallio, 2015); and, as already argued, 3) assuming popular music to be students' "own" music perceives teenagers as a homogenous group and therefore obscures the differences that produce inequalities (Koskela et al., 2021). Together, these critiques place the widely accepted democracy argument that has been used to justify PME for decades thereby supporting the current hegemonic status of PME in Finnish schools in new light by implicating that popular music, as any music, becomes recontextualized in the social system of PME. In my teaching context, this kind of recontextualization happened as I asked the students to assemble a list of songs to be played during the lessons. While the making of this list was something I considered at the time to be a democratic act, this was an assumption that I later came to question.

Theoretical framework

Intersectionality, social class, and racialization

In this article, I use intersectionality (e.g., Crenshaw, 1989; Crenshaw, 1991; Grzanka, 2014) as a theoretical and analytical lens. Intersectionality theorizes identities through the study of "multiple dimensions of inequality and developing ways to resist and challenge these various forms of oppression"

(Grzanka, 2014, p. xv). Intersectionality has thus helped me to understand how the "dimensions of inequality co-construct one another" (Grzanka, 2014, p. xiii). In this article, I focus on the dimensions of social class, "race", and their intersections.

In the 1970s, social class was a dominant topic in the social sciences, however, in later decades it "almost disappeared from the agendas of feminism and cultural theory" (Skeggs, 1997, p. 2). Nevertheless, in recent years, questions concerning class have been brought back into the discussion also in the field of music. Class issues have been discussed both with respect to classical music (e.g., Bull, 2019; Dyndahl, 2021) and popular music by focusing, for example, on the perspectives of taste (e.g., Michelsen, 2020), the history of and literature on rock music (e.g., McDonald, 2020), and the implications of the inclusion or exclusion of popular music for students in different class positions (e.g., Butler & Wright, 2020). In this article, social class is brought into focus by regarding it as a specific power structure in which middle-classness and the bourgeoisie are dominant and hegemonic positions within the school institution. Furthermore, the middle-class is here acknowledged to carry socio-cultural capital or, as Skeggs (1997) has named it, "respectability," which is "usually the concern of those who are not seen to have it" and, on the other hand, "rarely recognized as an issue by those who are positioned with it, who are normalized with it, and who do not have to prove it" (p. 1).

I recognize the multidimensionality of identities by looking at how social class intersects with racialization. By racialization I am referring to the relational processes that produce "race" and exemplify Whiteness as a normative power position that is invisible to White people themselves whilst it sets the norm for everyone else (see e.g., Ahmed, 2007). "Race" is written in quotation marks throughout this article to highlight an anti-essentialist stance, emphasize the process of racialization, and underscore that Whiteness, too, is a "race." Furthermore, I use the word "race" to avoid what Hess (2017) has argued to be "increasingly apparent" in the field of music education research, namely "that when our field is asked to speak of race…we begin to speak in euphemisms" (p. 16). In this study, I recognize that class struggle and "race" struggle may be intersectional and, thus, cause experiences of accumulative and systemic inequalities. Finally, in this study I acknowledge that, as democracy entails the possibility of conflict as a prerequisite to genuinely cherishing pluralism (Mouffe, 2000), class and "race" struggles are needed to work towards a more democratic educational system and are therefore also integral in PME.

Research questions

Based on the theoretical starting points above, this study recognizes that while Finnish schools and education undoubtedly produce equity in society, they are also part of larger societal processes that cause not just desired but also undesired consequences, such as racism, inequality, and class hierarchies. To understand how such inequalities work together with and within the social system of PME, I ask: How do social class, "race", and their intersections manifest in PME in Finland, and what kinds of unequal hierarchies are reproduced amongst PME students?

Data generation

The study took place in one upper elementary school (grades 7–9, ages 13–15) in a relatively large city in southern Finland. The optional music group – which was part of the educational program – was attended by students from different home classes, and thus included students from both the elective and non-elective classes in the school. In line with the practices of Finnish school music teaching, the lessons focused on PME practices. The Finnish music curriculum (Finnish National Agency for Education, 2014) encourages teachers to include students in decision-making processes, thus the content of the course was planned in collaboration with the students. Accordingly, I started the process by asking the students to anonymously write down the songs they wished to play and sing in class during the course. I then chose one song for each lesson and arranged the songs to meet the technical level of the group.

The data were generated during the school year 2016-17 and included 21 lessons (75 minutes each) in which I worked as a music teacher-researcher (Cochran-Smith & Lytle, 2009). During this period, I kept a teacher-researcher journal, videotaped six of the lessons, and analyzed the 22 popular music songs selected by the students. In addition, 14 interviews (app. 20-85 min, 6 in pairs, 8 individually) were conducted. The class included 23 students of whom one did not give their permission to participate in the research, and two did not want to be interviewed. The interview questions were divided into four thematic categories: 1) the student's personal musical preferences; 2) music and family; 3) music and friends; and 4) music lessons and music at school.

Ethical considerations

Clear power relations existed between me (interviewer and teacher) and the interviewees (underaged students) (e.g., Brinkmann & Kvale, 2014). Hence, when analyzing the interviews, I kept in mind that the students responded not only to the questions of a researcher, but also to those of their teacher. The familiarity established through the teacher-student relationship might have contributed to trust building, however, students might have also omitted certain issues or details from their answers because I was their teacher. Furthermore—as I considered the students to be not only research participants but also research partners—at the end of the school year, I invited the students to watch excerpts of the videotaped lessons with me and share their interpretations to "strive to understand our complex roles in relation to others" (Bolton, 2010, p. 13). By bringing the voices of students into the interpretation process, I wished to ensure that they were active research partners not merely sources of "data."

Students were informed that participating in the research would not require them to participate in the interviews, that the interviews would be conducted outside of the lessons either alone or together with a classmate, and that their choice to participate or not would not influence their evaluation or grading. I also reminded the students throughout the process that they had the right to withdraw their participation at any time (see Finnish Advisory Board on Research Integrity, 2019, p. 9). Written permission was granted from the school principals, the students, and—because the students were all underaged—their guardians. As one of the students declined their participation, the video camera was used only on days that they were absent or in a way that ensured that they did not appear in the video recording. Anonymity of the research participants was ensured by using common Anglo-Saxon names as pseudonyms and by changing and/or effacing details such as information about home country or nationality.

Analysis

The data were analyzed by using qualitative content analysis (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2014). McCall's (2005) intercategorical approach to intersectionality, which "requires that scholars provisionally adopt existing analytical categories to document relationships of inequality among social groups" (p. 1773), was the starting point for deductively coding the interview transcriptions. During the analysis, I looked for codes under the categories of "gender," "culture," "social class," and "students' thoughts about music" and color-coded the interviews according to these codes. I chose the category of "culture" because I considered it to include different music cultures as well as observations related to cultural identity and "race." Importantly, I do not consider "culture" and "race" to be synonyms, instead, I used "culture" as an umbrella term to recognize students' thoughts about, for example, diverse musics, diversity, and the processes of racialization. I focused not only on the words of the interviewees, but also on how the students talked about each other – that is, on the inter-subjective reality that produced the school culture. The intercategorical approach to intersectionality (McCall, 2005) was utilized to consider how the constructs of social class and "race" intersected in the interviews. Finally, the "thinking with theory" approach, which here means "thinking methodologically and philosophically together" (Jackson & Mazzei, 2012, p. vii) and negotiating "how the theory and data constitute or make one another" (p. 6), was utilized from the viewpoint of intersectionality. Thinking with intersectionality opened new possibilities to unprecedented approaches by underscoring how knowledge is "proliferated rather than foreclosed and simplified" (p. vii). Finally, to strengthen the reflexivity (e.g., Callaway, 1992; Hertz, 1997) of the analysis, I reflected the findings against my teacher-researcher journal.

Middle-class music learners

Based on the students' descriptions of their everyday lives during the interviews, I was able to determine some aspects of their families' socio-economic status and social class. I did not ask directly about the class position of their families, however, the interviews explored students' possibilities to participate in expensive hobbies, their families' musical resources, and how the students perceived their options in the future. For instance, one of the students mentioned her family's trip to Paris to attend an Alicia Keys concert when asked to share an example of a musical leisure-time activity, whereas another student told me that she had traveled abroad (to the neighboring country of Sweden) only once in her life. Such a difference between the experiences of these students suggests an opportunity gap (Putnam, 2015) based on the economic situation of each student's family. Although social class is not only about money, economic wealth undoubtedly creates possibilities for fulfilling middle-class ideals such as traveling and attending expensive concerts or music hobbies.

When asking about parents' musical interests, one student told me that his family would go to the opera many times a year and that they often traveled to the national Savonlinna opera festival together, whereas another student told me that his father's musical interests manifested at home when he listened to a Finnish comedy band from the 1990s. These examples indicate different access to social and cultural resources between the students. Attending an expensive opera festival adheres to "respectable", class-related taste (e.g., Skeggs, 1997) that "might be conceived as a field of culture" (Michelsen, 2020, p. 14). Contradictorily, in the case of the 1990s comedy band, commercial music's ability to entertain is emphasized over authenticity and artistic sophistication and, thus, such genres are "the least privileged, as folk or art values may be compromised for the sake of mass appeal or providing 'cheap' pleasures" (McDonald, 2020, p. 436; see also Frith, 1996).

In all, there was a rather clear distinction between the elective group and non-elective group students. Students from the elective group had educated parents and mentioned classical composers by name, listened to classical music more often, went to concerts, traveled abroad with their families, and had expensive hobbies. They also expressed how a lack of a musical hobby was not a question of money, but a choice based on personal interest. Thus, not surprisingly, middle-class children possessed musical skills gained from paid tuition outside of school more often than their working-class peers. Yet, although fulfilling middle-classness entails wealth, it is also more than economics; it is a power position which defines what is "respectable," normative, and worth pursuing (Skeggs, 1997). This is also the case when it comes to music learning.

Unlike social class, skin color is visible, and the process of racialization is based on the identity negotiation against the White norm (e.g., Ahmed, 2007). For this reason, I did not need to interpret the interviews from the perspective of "race" to gain knowledge about the students' positions. The interviews did, however, reveal that the students and the parents who had moved to Finland from other countries listened to music from their home countries and cultures. Furthermore, some of the students explained that, whereas their parents listened to "old" music from their home country, they themselves enjoyed listening to popular music in their first language. Although I acknowledge that "race" is not a synonymous with lingual identity, in the context of a music classroom, the lyrics and, hence, the language of the songs have an important role. For example, the students explicitly mentioned the music in their first language as their "own," however, such music was not present in the list of songs suggested by students for study in the music lessons, nor did the students want to bring such music into the music classroom. I return to this issue later in this article.

Middle-class school culture in the (popular) music classroom

Ada and Kate were White girls[1] who studied in the elective class. They were interviewed together. Either one or both of their parents were originally from Anglo-Saxon countries. During the interview, it became clear that the girls' families had a reasonably stable economic situation and that the girls had opportunities to participate in hobbies of their choice. They had money to travel, and they were encouraged to take part in cultural activities outside of school. These characteristics hint at middle-classness, however, I did not ask about the class position directly and the interpretations about the social class of the students are made by me as a teacher-researcher. When the girls were asked if the cultural diversity of the school was observable and in what ways, they described that it sometimes felt embarrassing to be associated with this particular school because, as Ada stated, it is "just so noisy you know." Both girls associated noise and a certain kind of unruly behavior with the fact that there were so many immigrants in the school, illustrating "how the narratives constructing 'us' and 'them' took shape" (Peltola, 2020, p. 133).

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[1] In the interviews, the students were asked to define their genders and gender definitions in this article are based on their answers.

Previous educational research has put forth the concept of the *normal student* – that is, an educational and cultural idea of a student whose characteristics are based on Whiteness and middle-class standards (Riitaoja, 2013). This idea of normalcy was visible in the interview with Ada and Kate. For example, the girls recollected their previous music lessons and how the teacher did not require participation in the musical activities. They explained how they finally felt so bored that they decided that "we just have to get our act together" and started to actively volunteer to play and sing. Such a decision was possible because both girls felt comfortable singing using microphones and playing the instruments in the music classroom – they possessed musical skills which I, as their teacher, had become aware of during our lessons. The girls had also participated in extra-curricular music tuition outside of school which—in addition to the middle-class norms that support active participation in school (e.g., Peltola, 2020)—gave them courage to participate in music making in a school context as well. Furthermore, the girls expressed disappointment towards their teacher through a criticism of the final grades they received in the class: "But we did not get the grade ten." The grading scale in Finland is 4-10, with ten being the highest. This criticism implies that the girls possessed self-confidence in terms of studying and, hence, a "preference of middle-class academic orientation" (Peltola, 2020, p. 109).

The girls' account demonstrates their familiarity with school culture, which requires respectable behavior and middle-class codes such as easy adaptation to the system of school, active participation, and academic self-esteem. Their ability to master such codes aligns with Wright and Davies' (2010) argument that middle-class children are "likely to experience little disjunction between the linguistic, knowledge and control codes used in their education and those experienced at home" (p. 47). Furthermore, the interview indicates that if the music teacher lacks the reflexivity necessary to question the concept of normal student (Riitaoja, 2013), the practices of PME tend to favor students who already possess musical skills – that is, students like Ada and Kate – and whose families have sufficient resources to encourage their children to participate in musical hobbies outside of school, and who often belong to the middle-class.

Mechanisms of othering in PME repertoire

Jeff, George, and Zack were three boys who had moved to Finland as children. They all spoke something other than Finnish or English as their first language, and they enjoyed listening to music in their first languages outside of school. Jeff, for example, mentioned that he shared Arabic music with his cousins. In the interviews, however, there were many examples of how these three boys intentionally excluded such musical preferences from curricular activities. When asking Jeff and George if they would like to play some music in their first languages in the lessons, Jeff laughed and said no, because “no one would know how to pronounce the words” and he “would not have wanted that.” George also laughed and said: “I don’t think so.” When I asked Zack if he ever came to think about adding any songs of his mother tongue to the list, he said that he did not, because “it would have been kind of a bad thing.” When I inquired into what he meant, he said that such songs would not sound like “all the modern songs” and that any song of his mother tongue would thus be too distinguishable.

From the perspective of inequalities and democracy, it is unsettling that the students chose to leave out music from cultures other than Finnish or Anglo-American cultures as they did not see them to fit with the understandings of normalcy in the PME repertoire. This phenomenon of freeing oneself from identity work (Saether, 2008) by voluntarily excluding the music of their home culture from music lessons is also visible in earlier music education research (e.g., Karlsen, 2012; Saether, 2008). Moreover, this phenomenon clearly contradicts earlier PME research which specifically claims that popular music is students’ “own” music (e.g. Allsup, 2011; Väkevä, 2006): indeed, the interviews with Jeff, George, and Zack oppose this claim by showing, for example, that from the viewpoint of a racialized student, adding a song that is not in English or Finnish to the repertoire would be “a bad thing” because “it doesn’t sound at all like a modern song”.

According to earlier research, when students were asked to describe the music they played and sang in music lessons, the answers confirmed that repertoires were dominated by popular music (e.g., Karlsen, 2012). Furthermore, even when students were asked to include their own music in lessons, they brought mainstream popular music despite this potentially differing from the kind of music they really listened to outside of lessons (Karlsen, 2012). The interviews with Jeff, George, and Zack support these findings by suggesting that students recognize the somewhat restrictive and narrow "genre" of *school popular music* as a precondition of the social system of PME and adjust themselves to it by effacing their cultural identities and, therefore, "race." Finally, the interview responses suggest that the students have an understanding of what is "normal" in music lessons and feel that diverging from this would be too distinguishable and, thus, undesirable. When asking Zack, for example, if it would have been different to add a non-English song if everyone else would have chosen something other than Finnish or English as well, he said:

> Then it would have been normal, because if I add alone then everyone else would be against me. If everybody adds and I do it as well, then there would be no one against no one. Then it would be the same for everyone.

Zack's answer suggests that in this particular context, the above-described genre of school popular music does not include diverse cultural elements and, therefore, bringing something in a language other than English or Finnish to the lessons would potentially lead to othering based on the student's "race."

Intersections of social class and "race" in PME practices

The content of the music lessons with the studied group consisted of the list of 22 songs assembled by the students. All the songs were in English, which indicates that instead of cherishing the diverse and intersecting identities of the music classroom, emphasizing popular music in the lessons tends to favor Anglo-Saxon and North American traditions in a rather exclusive manner. This was an issue which became clear in the interviews with Jeff, George, and Zack. Furthermore, the interview with Ada and Kate showed that possessing cultural and social resources—such as an ability to play an instrument or being able to adapt to the system of school—makes it easier to actively participate in the practices of the PME lessons and, thus, to fulfill the middle-class and White ideal of the normal student (Riitaoja, 2013) in the context of the music classroom.

Based on these observations, school popular music is not "just" a genre – it is also a practice which may exclude students' diverse and intersecting identities and favors middle-class resources and eurocentrism as a starting point for musical participation. Hence, identity work with respect to the normative expectations of school popular music is especially required from the students who belong to lower classes, ethnic minorities, or both (see also Peltola, 2020). Moreover, such requirements expand the opportunity gap (Putnam, 2015) between students – a notion which requires systems reflexivity from the music teacher to genuinely encourage the cherishing of intersecting identities in PME.

Discussion

As a micro-level social system, the music classroom reflects the hierarchical structures of the macro-level systems of society (e. g. Westerlund et al., 2021). This means that middle-class and White hegemonies are inevitably present in the social interaction of the music classroom and, thus, need to be acknowledged in order to make space for diversity. In this article, I have explored social class and "race" through and with intersectionality and, finally, brought them together to highlight the White and middle-class hegemony in PME. Instead of pretending that such hegemonic structures do not exist, the teacher should therefore consider how to bring critical voices to the school and to music classrooms and how to better pay attention to marginalized identities that are being suppressed. In such work, intersectionality is a valuable lens.

In the context of this study, my own critical considerations began by recognizing that asking the students to contribute their "own" music to the lessons was not an innocent act. Rather, my invitation led the students to suggest songs that conformed to the homogeneous genre of school popular music, and, as shown in this article, the students described how their suggestions did not necessarily represent their intersectional identities. For example, although Jeff, George, and Zack described music in their first language as their "own" during the interviews, they did not want to bring this music to the lessons because they felt that it would not suit the repertoire. My invitation, therefore, led to an effacing of the multiplicity in the classroom, instead of recognizing it as a starting point for music learning thus loading emotional work for the students to handle.

What could I have done differently, then, to make room for the intersectional identities of the students? One possibility is that I could have rephrased the assignment. For instance, I could have asked the students to bring an unexpected piece of music or one that they were unfamiliar with to the lessons. While such tasks would not have eliminated the hierarchical structures, they may have helped the students to look at PME from a wider perspective, perhaps even directing their gaze beyond the micro-level social system of PME to the macro-level social system of Finnish society (Westerlund et al., 2021). Additionally, rephrasing the assignment may have helped me, the teacher, and the students to better recognize and challenge our normative expectations. As Hess (2017) argues, music teachers need to "center issues of race and racism in their daily praxis, both inside and outside the classroom" (p. 35). In other words, (White) teachers should be encouraged to consider their privilege and to listen to the experiences of their students – especially the students who are marginalized.

Acknowledging the intersectional identities of the students requires vigilance from the teacher, who will have to challenge themself to make room for diversity and cherish confrontational classroom negotiations. Cherishing such diversity and conflicts is a prerequisite for democracy (e.g., Mouffe, 2000) that entails tolerating feelings of discomfort and incompleteness. Such (emotional) work should, however, be primarily required from the teacher, not from the students, who are not responsible for democratizing education. Through music teachers' commitment to such work, we might move closer to genuinely multivocal, diverse, and democratic music education – whether enacted via popular music or not.

Conclusion

Using intersectionality as a theoretical lens, I have explored how social class, racialization, and their intersections work together with the social system of PME to produce inequalities. Through this intersectional lens, I suggested that popular music in Finnish music classrooms manifests as a Eurocentric genre of school popular music that favors middle-classness and Whiteness and, can leads to othering based on students' social class and/or "race." As a result, in PME, identity work is required especially from the racialized and/or lower-class students. Given that Sweden and Norway use a similar PME approach, this might also be the case in other Nordic countries. Furthermore, as some schools in the UK, Australia, and Canada are adapting Green's (e. g., 2006) informal learning approach in music education, the critical stances presented in this study may also have relevance in those contexts.

With and through this argument, I wish to contribute to a new understanding of PME, an understanding which questions previous claims made by music education researchers that popular music in itself makes music education democratic. Such a claim can lead to blindness towards social class as well as to "race-related silences" (e.g., Hess, 2017, p. 16), which may reinforce Whiteness as hegemonic (Hess, 2017). Popular music (or any other musical genre for that matter) cannot automatically produce any social goods such as democracy. Instead, democracy needs to be enhanced by fostering diversity and opening possibilities for conflict, which is understood as an integral part of genuinely democratic music education.

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Appendix 4: Letter requesting permission to conduct research

ArtsEqual

The Arts as Public Service: Strategic Steps towards Equality

SOPIMUS ARTSEQUAL TUTKIMUKSEEN

Tämä tutkimusaineistojen keruu toteutetaan osana ArtsEqual –tutkimushanketta.

ArtsEqual on Taideyliopiston koordinoima, monitieteinen tutkimushanke, joka tutkii, miten taide ja taidekasvatus voisivat lisätä tasa-arvoa ja hyvinvointia 2020-luvun Suomessa. ArtsEqual tarkastelee taiteita ja taidekasvatusta kaikille tasapuolisesti kuuluvana peruspalveluna. Hanke toteutetaan vuosina 2015–2020.

ArtsEqual on Taideyliopiston, CUPOREn, Lappeenrannan teknillisen yliopiston, Turun yliopiston ja Työterveyslaitoksen yhteinen tutkimushanke. Se on saanut Suomen Akatemian strategisen tutkimuksen neuvoston rahoituksen.

Hankkeen tutkimusjohtajana toimii professori Heidi Westerlund, Taideyliopiston Sibelius-Akatemiasta (xxxx.xxxx@xxx.com p. +xxxxxxxxx).

Tutkimusaineistoja kerätään mm. haastattelemalla ja videokuvaamalla. Näin kerätty tieto voidaan myöhemmin muuttaa kirjalliseen tai digitaaliseen muotoon.

Aineistoja kerää
Tutkijan nimi: Minja Koskela

Organisaatio: Taideyliopiston Sibelius-Akatemia

Sähköposti: xxxxxx.xxxxxx@xxx.com

Puhelin: xxx-xxxxxxx

ArtsEqual -tutkimuksessa kerättyä aineistoa käytetään ensisijaisesti ArtsEqual-hankkeen tutkimustarkoituksissa. Aineistot arkistoidaan Yhteiskuntatieteelliseen tietoarkistoon, jossa ne ovat koti- ja ulkomaisten tutkijoiden käytössä arkiston käyttösääntöjen mukaisesti. Aineistoja annetaan tietoarkistosta vain tieteelliseen tutkimus- ja opetuskäyttöön, ei kaupallisiin tarkoituksiin. Huom! Tässä tutkimuksessa kerätty nauhoitettu ja äänitetty materiaali (videot ja haastattelunauhat) tuhotaan aineiston keruun jälkeen, ainoastaan tekstimuotoinen aineisto arkistoidaan.

Olen saanut, lukenut ja ymmärtänyt tutkimuksesta kertovan erillisen tiedotteen. Tiedotteesta olen saanut riittävän selvityksen ArtsEqual -tutkimuksesta ja sen yhteydessä suoritettavasta tietojen keräämisestä, käsittelystä ja luovuttamisesta. Tiedotteen sisältö on kerrottu minulle myös suullisesti ja olen saanut riittävän vastauksen kaikkiin tutkimusta koskeviin kysymyksiini.

Tiedot antoi _________________, ___/___/ 20__ .

Minulla on ollut riittävästi aikaa harkita alaikäisen lapseni osallistumista tutkimukseen.

Kaikki tutkimuksen aikana kerättävät lastani koskevat tiedot käsitellään luottamuksellisina. Tutkimuksessa kerätyt tiedot koodataan siten, ettei tietoja ole mahdollista yhdistää lapseni henkilöllisyyteen.

Tässä tutkimuksessa kerättäviä tietoja voidaan käsitellä muualla kuin tiedot keränneen tutkijan tiloissa ja laitteissa. Tällöin tiedot ovat koodatussa muodossaan. Tiedot ovat anonyymeja! Tutkimuksessa kerätyt tiedot voidaan tarvittaessa luovuttaa myös toisen yliopiston tai tutkimuslaitoksen alkuperäistä tarkoitusta vastaavaan käyttöön esimerkiksi tilanteissa, joissa kaikki tai osa ArtsEqual –tutkimuksesta tehdään toisessa yliopistossa. Huom! Tämä ei kuitenkaan tässä tutkimuksessa koske videoituja eikä äänitettyjä materiaaleja, ainoastaan tekstimuotoista aineistoa.

Ymmärrän, että lapseni osallistuminen tähän tutkimukseen on täysin vapaaehtoista. Lapsellani ja minulla on oikeus milloin tahansa tutkimuksen aikana ja syytä ilmoittamatta keskeyttää tutkimukseen osallistuminen. Tutkimuksesta kieltäytyminen tai sen keskeyttäminen ei vaikuta lapseni saamiin palveluihin organisaatiossa, jossa tutkimusta tehdään.

Olen tietoinen siitä, että keskeyttämiseen mennessä lapsestani kerättyjä tietoja käytetään osana tutkimusaineistoa.

Allekirjoituksellani vahvistan lapseni osallistumisen tähän tutkimukseen ja että hän suostuu vapaaehtoisesti tutkimushenkilöksi.

Lastanne koskevat taustatiedot:

Lapsen nimi: ________________________

Sukupuoli: Mies ☐ Nainen ☐ Muu ☐

Syntymävuosi: ________

Minun kauttani lapseeni voi ottaa tarvittaessa yhteyttä jatkohaastattelun sopimiseksi: KYLLÄ ☐ / EI ☐

Päivämäärä: __ / __ 20__

Allekirjoitus: ______________________________________

Nimen selvennys: ___________________________________

Osoitetiedot: ______________________________________

Sähköposti: _______________________________________

Puhelin: ____

Appendix 5: Example of the video transcription

10:40-11:47: Minä: “Te ootte tehny tosi hienoo työtä tuol ulkopuolella”, kävelen puhuessani laulajien eteen: “ilman mitään ohjaust mun ei tarvinu laulaa mukana, kaikki rytmit...” XXX: “Ope, manageri XXX [naurua ryhmässä]” Minä: “...kyllä, nyt täytyy, nyt XXX hei kuule, olen positiivisesti erittäin yllättynyt. Todella hienoo työtä.” XXX huutaa sivusta: “Positiivinen!” Minä: “Uskomattoman hienoo, tosi hienosti kaikki oikeesti koska siis, täs on sellassii rytmipaikkoi mitkä pitää yleensä treenata, te ootte oikeesti treenannu. [luokassa hälinää, soittoa ja juttelua] Ja ku mä kurkkasin salaa jossain vaihees [osoitan ovelle] mitä te teette nii te oikeest harjottelitte. Harjottelitteks te koko ajan?” Oppilaat vastaavat “joo”, XXX lyö samaan aikaan peltiä rummuissa. Minä: “Hyvä.” Kävelen pois laulajien luota. Minä: “Soittajat. [XXX soittaa kitaraa, volume on kova] Soittajat. Todella, todella hyvää työskentelyä. Mä toivon et me ehitään lopputunnist käydä viel vähän läpi. Nyt pidetään pieni viiden minuutin tauko. [soittajat alkavat laittaa soittimia pois, hälinää ja soittoa ja juttelua] Voitte tota laittaa, laittakaa, laittakaa soittimet pois päältä ja kakskyt viis vaille takasin tähän luokkaan. Nyt mä voin ottaa sen mä laitan pois päältä [viimeinen osoitettu kuvaajalle.] Kiitos. [otan kameran] Meil on vähä tällai hajanainen tänää tää homma ku tota...” Kamera sammuu.

Appendix 6: Example of the interview transcriptions

K: Eli sulla on selkeesti omat musiikit ja sit sulla on ne muut?

V: Joo.

K: Tietääks ne sun kaverit siitä sun omasta musiikista?

V: No ainakin yks tietää.

K: Mut sä et oo pitäny siitä hirveetä meteliä?

V: En.

K: Et se on oma juttu?

V: Koska se yks mun kaveri on, tai sillon joskus kun me ollaan kahestaan ulkona niin sit me kuunnellaan mun musiikkia tai sen, se on ihan ookoo meille.

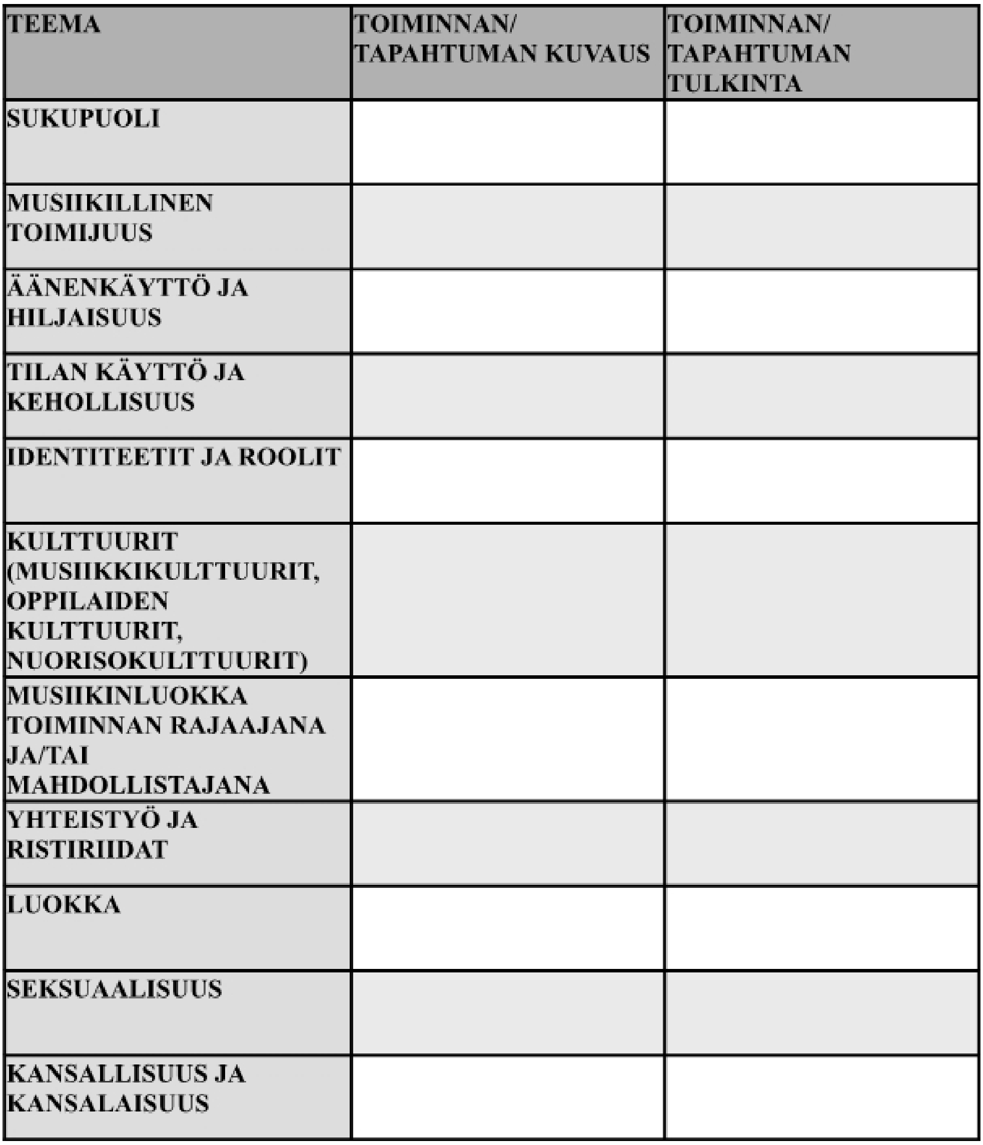
K: Onks teillä samanlainen musiikkimaku?

V: Joo, se takia.

K: Kaikkien muitten kaa ei välttämättä oo?

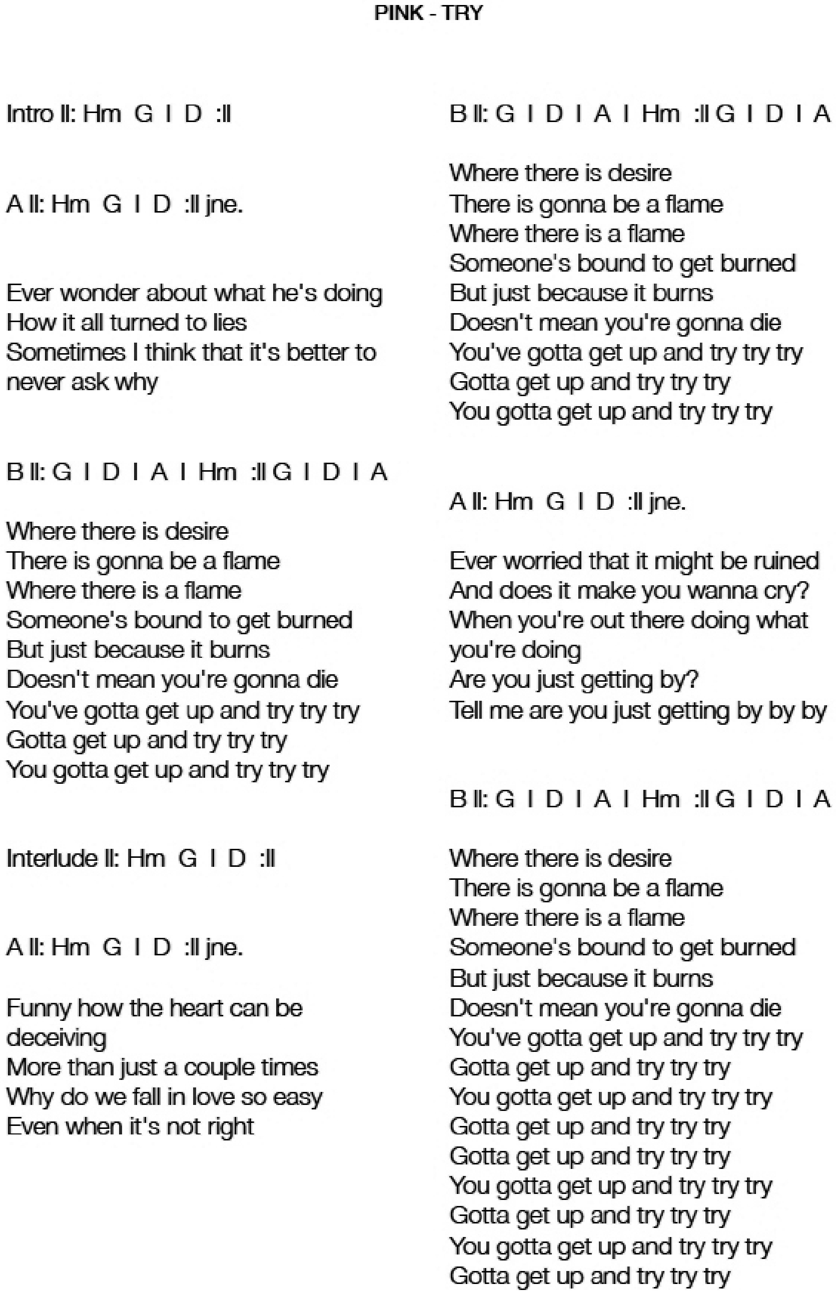
V: Ei oo.

Appendix 7: Observation form



TEEMA	TOIMINNAN/ TAPAHTUMAN KUVAUS	TOIMINNAN/ TAPAHTUMAN TULKINTA
SUKUPUOLI		
MUSIIKILLINEN TOIMIJUUS		
ÄÄNENKÄYTTÖ JA HILJAISUUS		
TILAN KÄYTTÖ JA KEHOLLISUUS		
IDENTITEETIT JA ROOLIT		
KULTTUURIT (MUSIIKKIKULTTUURIT, OPPILAIDEN KULTTUURIT, NUORISOKULTTUURIT)		
MUSIIKINLUOKKA TOIMINNAN RAJAAJANA JA/TAI MAHDOLLISTAJANA		
YHTEISTYÖ JA RISTIRIIDAT		
LUOKKA		
SEKSUAALISUUS		
KANSALLISUUS JA KANSALAISUUS		

Appendix 8: Example of the notation of a popular music song for students



PINK - TRY

Intro ll: Hm G I D :ll

A ll: Hm G I D :ll jne.

Ever wonder about what he's doing
How it all turned to lies
Sometimes I think that it's better to
never ask why

B ll: G I D I A I Hm :ll G I D I A

Where there is desire
There is gonna be a flame
Where there is a flame
Someone's bound to get burned
But just because it burns
Doesn't mean you're gonna die
You've gotta get up and try try try
Gotta get up and try try try
You gotta get up and try try try

Interlude ll: Hm G I D :ll

A ll: Hm G I D :ll jne.

Funny how the heart can be
deceiving
More than just a couple times
Why do we fall in love so easy
Even when it's not right

B ll: G I D I A I Hm :ll G I D I A

Where there is desire
There is gonna be a flame
Where there is a flame
Someone's bound to get burned
But just because it burns
Doesn't mean you're gonna die
You've gotta get up and try try try
Gotta get up and try try try
You gotta get up and try try try

A ll: Hm G I D :ll jne.

Ever worried that it might be ruined
And does it make you wanna cry?
When you're out there doing what
you're doing
Are you just getting by?
Tell me are you just getting by by by

B ll: G I D I A I Hm :ll G I D I A

Where there is desire
There is gonna be a flame
Where there is a flame
Someone's bound to get burned
But just because it burns
Doesn't mean you're gonna die
You've gotta get up and try try try
Gotta get up and try try try
You gotta get up and try try try
Gotta get up and try try try
Gotta get up and try try try
You gotta get up and try try try
Gotta get up and try try try
You gotta get up and try try try
Gotta get up and try try try

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