ISBN: 978-952-329-013-6 (PRINT)
ISBN: 978-952-329-014-3 (PDF)
STUDIA MUSICA 65 (0788-3757)

UNIGRAFIA
HELSINKI 2015

SIBELIUS ACADEMY

UNIVERSITY OF THE ARTS HELSINKI

RESEARCH STUDY PROGRAMME
MUTRI DOCTORAL SCHOOL

Alexis Anja Kallio

Navigating (un)popular music in the classroom

STUDIA MUSICA 65

Navigating (un)popular music in the classroom

Censure and censorship in an inclusive, democratic music education

ALEXIS ANJA KALLIO

65

STUDIA MUSICA

THE SIBELIUS ACADEMY, UNIVERSITY OF THE ARTS HELSINKI 2015

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The Sibelius Academy of the University of the Arts Helsinki
Studia Musica 65

Sibelius Academy Faculty of Music Education,
Jazz, and Folk Music (MuTri) Doctoral School

Navigating (un)popular music in the classroom: Censure and censorship in an inclusive, democratic music education

(Epä)populaarista musiikista neuvottelu koulussa: Sosiaalinen tuomitseminen ja sensuuri inklusiivisessa, tasa-arvoisessa musiikkikasvatuksessa

Cover design: Steve Smid
Artwork in dissertation: Mauro Italiano
Layout: Alexis Anja Kallio and Kalle Kallio
Printhouse: Unigrafia

ISBN: 978-952-329-013-6 (print)
ISBN: 978-952-329-014-3 (PDF)

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Then shall we thus lightly permit the children to hear any chance stories anyone chances to invent, and to take into their souls opinions for the most part contrary to those we think they ought to have when they grow up?

Plato's Republic, Book II, 377b

Abstract

Kallio, Alexis Anja (2015). *Navigating (un)popular music in the classroom: Censure and censorship in an inclusive, democratic music education*. Sibelius Academy of the University of the Arts Helsinki. Studia Musica 65.

Popular music has often been promoted as an accessible, readily intelligible, engaging, authentic medium for young music students. Including a variety of popular musics in school lessons has also been regarded as a more relevant approach to teach young people, establishing a continuum between school activities, and their musical worlds beyond classroom walls. In this way, these musics have been seen as particularly democratic, in the sense that they offer all students equal opportunities to participate in a hands-on approach to music-making in the classroom. However, a number of researchers have noted that many popular musics exist in apparent contrast with the aims and values of formal education. This raises questions regarding how school music teachers decide which of these musics to include as part of, and which to exclude from, school repertoires. Moreover, if adolescents construct individual identities and social groupings in relation to, and through, music, excluding certain popular musics from the school classroom as offensive or inappropriate may send students the message that 'your music is not welcome in school, and accordingly, neither are you'.

This dissertation is a synthesizing text, drawing together and expanding upon research reported in four refereed, international journal articles. Assuming an interdisciplinary approach, this research combines the fields of music education and cultural criminology, as a means to understand the processes by which certain musics are excluded from school contexts. The social conflicts and negotiations of meaning by which certain popular musics are stigmatized, are understood as processes of social *censure,* that is, the social interactions and ideological negotiations that construct certain musics as problematic. In turn, judgements and assessments of musical value provide frames and constraints for teacher decisions and actions. These frames may be seen as *censorship* processes that simultaneously legitimize certain musics through the reinforcement of moral boundaries, and delegitimize others, deeming them inappropriate. Adopting a theoretical lens incorporating Deweyan pragmatism, cultural criminological theories of deviance and critical pedagogy, this research discusses the implications of the processes of social *censure* and *censorship* for the ideals of inclusion and democracy in schools.

Designed as a multiple, instrumental case study, data was collected through semi-structured interviews with five Finnish secondary school music teachers, and through the writing and sharing of four *factional stories*, a methodological tool

developed during the research process. Data was approached through the analysis of narratives, emphasizing the close connections between the interview data, and emerging thematic classifications. The findings of this research suggest that in selecting popular repertoire for their students, teachers navigate what I term the *school censorship frame:* broad and specific social narratives that draw associations between particular musics or songs and socially constructed notions of deviance. Guided by these censorious narratives in making decisions regarding a music's inclusion or exclusion from classroom repertoires, teachers also identified four aspects of popular music that were considered in understanding the social censure of certain musics: lyrics, imagery, mood and emotional affect. It was found that in navigating the narratives of the *school censorship frame,* and attending to the aspects of popular music that raised or highlighted concerns, teachers could not rely upon a stable ethical framework in classifying popular musics as prudent or problematic. Rather, each student, each music and each situation required a (re)definition of the *good,* entailing a situational moral deliberation.

This dissertation argues that if schools are envisioned as fully participatory spaces, music classrooms are inherently diverse. Accordingly, the sometimes uncomfortable tensions and disagreements that accompany this diversity may be regarded as resources for inclusive, democratic practices in music education, rather than as a hindrance. Through recognizing, reflecting upon and engaging with the political processes of legitimation and exclusion in popular repertoire selection, new possibilities and promises are presented whereby teachers and students may learn beyond bias and assumption, engage in collaborative critical inquiry and interrogate who music education serves, when, why, how and to what ends.

Keywords

Censorship, Censure, Cultural criminology, Finland, Inclusion, Music education, Music teacher, Narrative Inquiry, Popular music, Repertoire, School

Tiivistelmä

Kallio, Alexis Anja (2015). (Epä)populaarista musiikista neuvottelu koulussa: Sosiaalinen tuomitseminen ja sensuuri inklusiivisessa, tasa-arvoisessa musiikkikasvatuksessa. Taideyliopiston Sibelius-Akatemia Helsinki. Studia Musica 65.

Helppotajuista populaarimusiikkia on usein pidetty sopivana itseilmaisun muotona yläkoululaisille. Koulussa populaarimusiikki on nähty merkityksellisenä, sillä sen on myös ajateltu rakentavan jatkumoa koulutyön ja oppilaiden oman musiikillisen maailman välille. Musiikintunneilla populaarimusiikin asemaa on niin ikään korostettu, sillä sen on ajateltu olevan demokraattista eli tarjoavan oppilaille tasa-arvoiset mahdollisuudet käytännön musisointiin. Tutkimukset kuitenkin osoittavat, että eräät populaarimusiikin tyylit kyseenalaistavat kouluopetukseen sisältyviä arvoja ja tavoitteita. Voidaan kysyä, millaista populaarimusiikkia opettaja voi sisällyttää kouluopetukseen, ja tulisiko osa siitä sulkea pois. Jos nuoret rakentavat omaa identiteettiään ja sosiaalisia ryhmiään musiikin avulla, sopimattomana pidetyn musiikin poissulkeminen saattaa toimia negatiivisena viestinä oppilaalle: ”Sinun musiikkisi ei ole tervetullutta kouluun, ja näin ollen et ole sinäkään”.

Tämä väitöstutkimus koostuu neljästä, kansainvälisessä vertaisarvioidussa lehdessä julkaistusta artikkelista sekä yhteenveto-osasta, joka kokoaa ja laajentaa artikkeleissa esitettyjä näkökulmia. Tutkimus on luonteeltaan monitieteinen, ja se yhdistää kaksi tieteenalaa, musiikkikasvatuksen tutkimuksen ja kulttuurisen kriminologian, tavoitteenaan joidenkin populaarimusiikin tyylien poissulkemisprosessien ymmärtäminen koulukontekstissa. Mekanismi, jolla musiikillisista merkityksistä neuvotellaan ja jolla osa populaarimusiikin tyyleistä saatetaan leimata sopimattomiksi, ymmärretään tässä tutkimuksessa sosiaaliseksi tuomitsemiseksi (social censure). Tämä tarkoittaa sitä, että nimenomaan sosiaalinen vuorovaikutus ja ryhmän sisäinen neuvottelu tekevät joistakin musiikinlajeista ongelmallisia, sillä juuri musiikin arvottaminen määrittää opettajan toimintaa ja päätöksentekoa rajaavat kehykset. Nämä kehykset voidaan ymmärtää sensuuriprosessina (censorship process), joka samanaikaisesti sekä oikeuttaa osan musiikintyyleistä moraalirajojen vahvistajina että kieltää muun musiikin tuomiten sen sopimattomaksi. Teoreettisesti tutkimus yhdistää John Deweyn edustamaa pragmatismia, kulttuurisen kriminologian poikkeavuusteorioita (cultural deviance theories) sekä kriittistä pedagogiikkaa. Tutkimuksessa tarkastellaan sosiaalisesta tuomitsemisesta ja sensuuriprosesseista aiheutuvia seurauksia koulun inkluusiolle ja demokratiaan liittyville ihanteille.

Tutkimus edustaa monialaisen, instrumentaalisen tapaustutkimuksen

perinnettä, ja tutkimuksen materiaali on kerätty haastattelemalla viittä suomalaista yläkoulun musiikinopettajaa. Puolistrukturoitujen haastattelujen analyysissä hyödynnettiin narratiivista menetelmää (narrative analysis). Haastattelujen pohjalta tutkija kirjoitti ensin neljä faktionaalista kertomusta (factional stories), joista keskusteltiin opettajien kanssa. Kertomuksia käytettiin tutkimuksen metodologisena työkaluna.

Tutkimuksen tulokset viittaavat siihen, että valitessaan oppilailleen populaaria ohjelmistoa opettajat navigoivat koulun sensuurikehyksessä (school cencorship frame). Tämä tarkoittaa laajaa ja eriytynyttä sosiaalisten narratiivien joukkoa, joka synnyttää assosiaatioita joidenkin populaarimusiikin tyylien tai yksittäisten laulujen ja kulttuurisen kriminologian mukaisten poikkeavuuskäsitysten (constructions of deviance) välillä. Haastatteluissa opettajat määrittelivät neljä populaarimusiikkiin liittyvää tekijää, joilla oli vaikutusta tietyntyyppisen musiikin sosiaaliseen tuomitsemiseen luokkatilanteissa. Näitä luokkatilanteeseen liittyviä, sosiaalista sensuurinarratiivia rakentavia tekijöitä olivat laulujen sanat, musiikkiin liitetty visuaalisuus, tunnelma ja tunnevaikutus. Tutkimus osoittaa, että navigoidessaan koulun sensuurikehyksessä ja luokitellessaan populaarimusiikkia sen hyväksyttävyyden ja ei-hyväksyttävyyden mukaan opettajat eivät voineet turvautua vakiintuneisiin ja eettisesti kestäviin käsityksiin valintaperusteista. Pikemminkin kukin oppilas, musiikki ja tilanne erikseen vaativat hyvän käsitteen (uudelleen)määrittelyn, mihin samalla sisältyi tilannesidonnainen, moraalinen ajatteluprosessi.

Tutkimuksen perusteella todetaan, että mikäli kouluissa pyritään lisäämään oppilaiden osallisuutta, tulee opettajien huomioida musiikkikasvatukselle luonteenomainen moniarvoisuus. Tästä moniarvoisuudesta aiheutuvat jännitteet ja erimielisyydet voidaan kuitenkin ymmärtää musiikkikasvatuksen inklusiivisuuden ja tasa-arvon kehittämisen voimavaroina eikä niiden estäjänä. Populaarimusiikin ohjelmistovalintojen oikeuttamisen ja poissulkemisen prosessien tunnistaminen ja reflektoiminen sekä niihin liittyviin poliittisiin seurauksiin syventyminen tarjoaa opettajille ja oppilaille uusia mahdollisuuksia ennakkoluulojen ylittämiseen sekä ilmiöiden yhteistoiminnalliseen kriittiseen tutkimiseen. Samalla voidaan kriittisesti pohtia, ketä ja mitä musiikkikasvatus palvelee sekä missä, miten ja miksi tämä tapahtuu.

Hakusanat

Inkluusio, Koulu, Kulttuurinen kriminologia, Musiikkikasvatus, Musiikinopettaja, Narratiivi, Ohjelmisto, Populaarimusiikki, Sensuuri, Sosiaalinen tuomitseminen, Suomi

Acknowledgments

Both research and popular articles abound describing the stress of writing a doctoral dissertation, but I have yet to come across anything on how much fun it can be. I think the fun can be attributed to the people involved, and I have been fortunate to have been surrounded by the very best.

First and foremost, I would like to thank the five school music teachers who participated in this research. It is never easy to talk about the insecurities and doubts that accompany our work as teachers, and I feel privileged that you shared your experiences and stories so openly with me.

The words 'thank you' do not begin to express my gratitude to the two strong, capable and inspiring women I have been fortunate to have as supervisors: Professors Heidi Westerlund and Sidsel Karlsen. Heidi, thank you for your democratic vision, for challenging my writing and my thoughts, for your patience and persistence and for repeatedly throwing me in the deep end. Thank you for the adventures that are between the lines of this dissertation: musicking and researching in Cambodia (surviving the monsoons and massages); mushroom picking; dog-sitting Amalia; co-writing days, evenings and weekends around the world and in international airspace; and wrangling a very active toddler during philosophy seminars in Athens, to name just a few. Sidsel, thank you for your endless encouragement, your belief in my abilities even when I lacked it, an attention to detail that surpasses anyone I know and for never hinting that you were anything but happy to read *another* draft. I look forward to continuing to learn from, and together with, both of you in the future.

Although my name appears as sole author on all of the products of this research, writing this dissertation and the articles accompanying it has been a collaborative effort. Thank you to the strong community, both in terms of academic standards and collegial support, of doctoral researchers that I have had the joy of sharing this journey with: Tuulikki Laes, Heidi Partti, Albi Odendaal, Anna Kuoppamäki, Guillermo Rosabal-Coto, Inga Rikandi, Hanna Nikkanen, Laura Miettinen, Sari Muhonen, Eeva Siljamäki, Danielle Treacy, Aleksi Ojala, Katja Thomson, Olli-Taavetti Kankkunen, Sigrid Jordal-Havre, Susanna Mesiä, Analia Capponi-Savolainen, Tuula Jääskeläinen, Vilma Timonen, Timo Pihkanen, Tuulia Tuovinen and others. Thanks also to the Professors and post doctoral researchers at the Sibelius Academy, including Lauri Väkevä, Liisamaija Hautsalo and Marja-Leena Juntunen. I have learnt from each and every one of the members of Sibelius Academy's music education research community, not only how to write (and revise, revise, revise) articles and this dissertation, but what it means to be a scholar. Thank you also to my extended doctoral community: Johan Nyberg, Cassie

White and Christian Hakulinen, for your proofreading, encouragement, and advice that was always cheerfully forthcoming when I asked for help.

I had the good fortune of beginning my studies just as a community of researchers was forming, focused on music and censorship. The meetings, discussions, and networking that took place during the four year Researching Music Censorship project were invaluable. Thank you in particular to Annemette Kirkegaard for organizing such a dynamic network and for making me justify and refine my use of the term *censorship* each time we met. Thanks also to doctoral candidates (now already and soon to be, doctors!) Kristine Ringsager, Johannes Skjelbo and Salli Anttonen, for our lively and challenging discussions that always leave me with new articles to read and ideas to get my head around. I hope we have many more of them.

In addition to providing me with work as a research assistant that made this research financially possible, and travel grants that allowed me to present this work at numerous conferences, the Sibelius Academy generously provided for supervision by a number of external scholars. Margaret Barrett, Karen Hammerness, Liora Bresler, Philip Alperson, David Hargreaves, Petter Dyndahl, Minna Muukkonen, Randall Allsup, Sandra Stauffer, Keith Hayward, Panos Kanellopoulos and others each challenged me in different and inspiring ways. I am also grateful for the thoughtful comments on this text and suggestions for future research that I received from the two pre-examiners of this dissertation: Professor Michael Apple from the University of Wisconsin-Madison, USA and Associate Professor Julie Ballantyne from the University of Queensland, Australia.

A doctoral degree may be a collaborative effort, but in many ways it is also a selfish endeavour. I wish to thank my parents and parents-in-law, who have encouraged and supported my studies and growing family unquestioningly and generously.

My darling Jaspar and Amalia-Armas (yes, I'm thanking the dog), your love and cuddles are always there when I need them most. Thank you for your beautiful distractions and so many moments of unbridled creativity and joy. You are my happy thoughts.

Finally, Kalle, this is your achievement too. Without your strength and support, this would not have been half as good and I would have not have survived as unscathed. As proud as I am of this, I am exponentially more proud of us and what we can do together.

Helsinki, September 2015

Alexis Kallio

Published works by the author as part of the dissertation

I Kallio, A.A. (2015). Drawing a line in water: Constructing the school censorship frame in popular music education. *International Journal of Music Education, 33*(2), 195-209.

- As included in Appendix 1

II Kallio, A.A. (forthcoming). Popular 'problems': Deviantisation and teachers' curation of popular music. *International Journal of Music Education: Research.*

- As included in Appendix 2

III Kallio, A.A. (accepted). Popular outsiders: Censorship frames and the deviantisation of popular musics in school music education. *Popular Music and Society, Special issue: Music and Censorship.*

- As included in Appendix 3

IV Kallio, A.A. (2015). Factional stories: Creating a methodological space for collaborative reflection and inquiry in music education research. *Research Studies in Music Education, 37*(1), 3-20.

- As included in Appendix 4

Additional published works by the author relevant to the dissertation

Kallio, A.A. & Väkevä, L. (forthcoming). Inclusive popular music education? In A. Kärjä & F. Holt (Eds.) *The Oxford handbook of popular music in the Nordic countries.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

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Presentations by the author relevant to the dissertation

Kallio, A.A. (2013, June) *Popular problems: The deviantisation of popular musics in secondary school music education.* Paper presented at the Researching Music Censorship Conference. Copenhagen, Denmark.

Kallio, A.A. (2013, April) *Drawing a line in water: Constructing the school censorship frame in Finnish secondary school popular music education.* Paper presented at the Eighth International Research in Music Education Conference (RIME). Exeter, United Kingdom.

Kallio, A.A. (2012, August). *The perils of the popular: Popular repertoire selection and the school censorship frame.* Paper presented at the 4th International Narrative Inquiry in Music Education Conference (NIME). Helsinki, Finland.

Kallio, A.A. (2012, April). *Narratives of popular repertoire inclusion/exclusion in Finnish secondary school music classrooms.* Paper presented at the Researching Music Censorship Conference: Censorship and Self Censorship: Theory and Ethics. Oslo, Norway.

Robertson, A.A. (2011, May). *The criminalization of culture? The inclusion/exclusion of popular repertoire in Finnish secondary school music lessons*. Paper presented at the Researching Music Censorship conference: Contested Spaces: War, Torture, Violence, Suppression and Power. Copenhagen, Denmark.

Robertson, A.A. (2011, March). *The criminalization of culture? Selecting repertoire for Finnish secondary music classrooms.* Paper presented at the Nordic Network for Research in Music Education Conference: Philosophical positions in music education from a Nordic perspective (NNMPF). Copenhagen, Denmark.

Robertson, A.A. (2010, November). *Narrating transgression in the music classroom: Reflecting on personal experience in working towards a theoretical framework.* Paper presented at the Narrative Soundings: Narrative Inquiry in Music Education Conference (NIME). Brisbane, Australia.

Robertson, A.A. (2010, August). *Teaching popular music in Finland*. Paper presented at the European Educational Research Association (EERA) Conference for Educational Research: Education and Cultural Change. Helsinki, Finland.

Robertson, A.A. (2010, June). *Dancing in the dark: Reconsidering (im)morality in the music classroom.* Paper presented at the International Symposium on the Philosophy of Music Education Conference (ISPME). Helsinki, Finland.

Robertson, A.A. (2009, October) *The criminalization of culture? Teaching popular music in Finland.* Paper presented at the Nordic Network for Music Educational Research Conference: Nordplus Democracy in Music Education from a Nordic Perspective: Social Justice and Inclusion in Music Education. Hamar, Norway

Contents

Prelude

It was my first year of teaching in Sydney Australia, working in a secondary, all-boys comprehensive school – perhaps a challenging task for any young, female teacher. The music department was thriving and I enjoyed a fairly relaxed, banter-filled relationship with most of my teenage students. They spent lunchtimes in the music staffroom, occasionally asking for clarification on guitar chords or how Kurt Cobain *really* died. ACDC, Green Day, and Deep Purple blared from amplifiers before, during and after school, and heavy rock bands played to open-mouthed parents watching their 'usually quiet' twelve-year-old sons head-bang at school functions. My year 9 class (14–15 year olds) were in the middle of a unit of work on rap music. Discussions about the ways the music portrayed gangs and violence had taken place, rhymes about fast cars, politics, race and rebellion had been analyzed and composed. The classroom was a forum for open, critical thought and I was fairly proud of my students, and myself. I had encouraged them to bring in their own music, the students had responded enthusiastically and so far this venture seemed successful. One particular afternoon, a boy brought in a video of a live performance by 50 cent. 50 cent has some controversial lyrics, but I knew the particular song well and it contained nothing that the students hadn't been confronted with and asked to comment on before.

The video began with the usual light show, throbbing beats and 'uh' 'uhuh's and 'yeah's. The students were sitting on their desks, heads bobbing and feet tapping along with the music. The performance was a good and interesting one, and I noted a number of points to discuss after the video had finished. 50 cent was his usual self, strutting around on stage with his air of superiority and pride, and the crowd (and my students) lapped it up. The camera occasionally panned to a hysterical crowd, hats askew and bling swaying as they jumped. The camera zoomed in, focusing on a young girl sitting on a male companion's shoulders. Her hands raised, rhythmically punching the air in time with the performance. A look of delight came across her face when she saw herself on the big screen, and her hands lowered to her waist. In a matter of seconds, her shirt was raised above her head and her breasts exposed, still rhythmically jiggling to the beat. The students' eyes widened and as I instinctively launched myself towards the stop button, the whistles, catcalls, jeers and cheers began.

It is one thing being in control of an open, frank and critical discussion of sexuality and ethics in the classroom, but quite another to have your lesson hijacked by jiggling breasts on a television screen. I felt unprepared to meet with this portrayal of female sexuality in an all-boys school and although it was bound to be raised at some point during a unit of work on rap music, it arrived without

warning. As the only female in the room, I felt some obligation to address the typical teenage boy responses of 'aw Miss… you stopped the video at the *best* part!' 'Press play, press play', but didn't quite know how to. After a few mumbled words and a few failed attempts at diverting their attention to other points of the video, the class ended and I retreated to the staff room, questioning the things I could or should have said or done.

1 Introduction

The role popular music plays in the lives of adolescents, and the role it *ought* to play in formal schooling, raises questions fraught with contention, ambiguity and contradiction. Envisioning the school as an institution committed to the safety, wellbeing, personal and social growth of students in a democratic society, there are numerous pedagogic incentives for teaching musics that students are interested in; enjoy alone and with peers; identify with; are motivated to learn; and may safely, vicariously and cathartically explore and release negative emotions. Yet, doubts may be raised when taking into consideration that both the media and research have drawn associations between the very same musics and adolescent feelings of alienation, drug use, suicide risk, sexual permissiveness, anti-authoritarianism, rebellion and belonging to any number of counterculture social groups. Indeed it may be asked whether certain popular musics, often defined as students' *own* musics and in opposition to the authoritarian, regulated, conventional adult worlds of which school is a part, have a place in the classroom at all.

In this research project I investigate the negotiations of popular music meanings in school contexts, as teachers make decisions regarding which popular musics to include as part of their teaching, and which to exclude. In doing so, I combine the field of music education with the sociology of deviance – in it's later iteration of cultural criminology – as a way to understand how it is that certain musics come to be seen as deviant or problematic, potentially leading to their marginalization or exclusion from school activities. Emerging in the mid-1990s, cultural criminology (see Ferrell, Hayward & Young, 2015) is an inherently interdisciplinary, distinct branch of critical criminology, understanding crime and crime control as cultural processes of 'power and conflict… constituting the terrain on which conflicts over morality and identity are fought' (Ferrell & Hayward, 2011, p. xi). Focused on dynamics of deviance and transgression that extend beyond matters of law and order, cultural criminology has attended to the 'social and cultural processes by which situations are defined, individuals and groups are categorized, and human consequences are understood' (Ferrell, 2013, p. 258; see also Ferrell & Hayward 2011). In line with this approach, I view the ways in which certain musics are stigmatized in school contexts as processes of *social censure*. Colin Sumner (1990) argues that these processes of social censure arise 'within the politics of social democracy' (p. 17), as moral definitions of certain practices, objects, or individuals are negotiated. In this way, negative understandings and/or portrayals of certain popular musics may be seen as produced 'within [the] dominant ideological formations' (Sumner, 1990, p. 17) of the school.

Whether popular musics are promoted as constructive in the lives of

adolescent students, or are censured as deviant and inappropriate for school use, both views suggest that music *is* powerful. As Tia DeNora (2000) argues, music 'is implicated in every dimension of social agency' (p. 17), influencing the parameters of 'feeling, perception, cognition and consciousness, identity, energy, perceived situation and scene, embodied conduct and comportment' (p. 20). Accordingly, with the teacher in control of the music classroom soundtrack, selecting which popular musics to listen to, play, watch and compose in the classroom and which to exclude, s/he has a profound impact on the 'organization of social agency, a framework for how people perceive (consciously or subconsciously) potential avenues of conduct' (p. 17). As the interactive and negotiated processes of social censure cast certain musics as problematic, judgements and assessments of musical value provide frames and constraints for teacher decisions and actions. These frames may be seen as *censorship* processes that reinforce selective ideas of propriety and certain moral boundaries in the classroom.

This has significant implications for the participatory ideals of inclusion and democracy in the music classroom. If adolescents construct individual identities and social groupings in relation to, and through, popular musics (Frith, 2004), pressing the 'stop button' and excluding certain popular musics from the school classroom on the bases of (potential) offense delegitimizes such musics, casting them as unworthy of scholarly attention. In turn, the students who listen to, enjoy or identify with such musics may be positioned as outsiders to the music classroom, implicitly told 'your music is not welcome in school, and accordingly, neither are you'.

As music education research and practical initiatives have fought long and arduous battles to introduce popular music to schools, the complexities and ideological conflicts involved in selecting and teaching popular repertoire have perhaps been sidelined. As an established practice in Finnish schools, this research aims to delve deeper into teachers' decision-making processes by which popular musics are included, marginalized or excluded, from formal education, and the ethical challenges and implications of these popular music selections for a meaningful, inclusive, democratic music education.

1.1 Research context

The design and goals of its education system make Finland a particularly apt context in which to investigate not only teachers' popular repertoire decision-making, but also issues relating to inclusion and democracy in music education. In addition to being the international PISA darling of recent years (e.g., Simola, 2005), the Finnish music education system has been promoted as exemplar for many nations introducing or expanding upon popular music practices in the

classroom, having included popular repertoire in school lessons since the 1960s (Kallio & Väkevä, forthcoming; Väkevä, 2006). In explicating why this particular context offers important insights on teachers' popular repertoire selections, I first outline Finland's educational aims and goals, as a system committed to the ideals of inclusivity and democracy (1.1.1). Following this, I offer a brief description of music teacher preparation studies as one means by which Finnish policy makers have sought to achieve this democratic ideal (1.1.2). Focusing on the particular context of this research, I then outline the curricular demands of secondary school music education (1.1.3) and describe the popular music emphasis of many school music lessons (1.1.4). Finally, I provide a short definition of popular music, as it is discussed in Finnish educational policy and practice (1.1.5).

1.1.1 Schooling as a democratic public good

The national education reforms of the 1970s, and consequent developments in educational policy have constructed a narrative of Finnish education as a public good (Sahlberg, 2015, p. 49), and related to the intellectual, physical, social and cultural welfare of the entire population. In striving to provide *all* children with access to high quality education irrespective of individual differences, background or circumstance, there has long been a considerable emphasis on issues of democracy. Music education researcher Marja Heimonen (2014) has explained that the principles of Finnish schooling focus on both the individual and the collective, developing the individuals' knowledge and skills as well as their abilities to work together. Schools thus aim towards 'self-determination and autonomy based on reason, a life in freedom and mutual respect between human beings' (Nielsen, 2007, p. 279), involving the broad 'education of autonomous human beings capable of living and acting collectively in a democratic society' (Heimonen, 2014, p. 197).

As opposed to liberal understandings of democracy as individualistic and dependent on market economies, democracy in the Finnish education system is taken to mean what Gandin and Apple (2002) refer to as of the *thick* variety. Taking the etymological roots of *demos* and *kratos* as a point of departure, thick democracy is by definition, inclusive and participatory. Finnish education researcher Pasi Sahlberg (2015) describes this democratic and participatory approach to education as one focused on 'student access to decision-making regarding their own lives and studying in school' (p. 167; cf. Simola, 2005). Carlgren et. al. (2006) have noted that Finnish schools are not only seen as democratic institutions within and of themselves, but as contributing towards the cultivation of thick democracy in the public sphere. In this sense, the Finnish education system aligns with a Deweyan view of schooling, whereby a democratic

education is concerned with producing an active citizenry, emphasizing inclusion and communality in affording individuals and social groups with the opportunity and means to participate in, and influence, schools and Finnish society.

Understanding democracy in this participatory and active way, it may be seen that consensus is not only unachievable, it is wholly undesirable. Rather, thick democracy is concerned with critical and emancipatory engagement (Carr, 2008; Giroux, 1988), political literacy (Guttman, 1999), and political action (McLaren, 2003). The idea of democracy as a uniform, end-point destination to which schools aim, is thus replaced with the idea of democracy as a never-ending enactment (Apple & Beane, 2007; Giroux, 2011); a process of democratization rather than a state of democracy. In Dewey's words, democracy is a 'mode of associated living, of conjoint communicated experience' (MW9: 93, *Democracy and Education); democracy is a way of life* (see also Väkevä & Westerlund, 2007; Westerlund, 2002). Thus, when Finnish education policy or schools speak of equity, it does not mean that all students learn the same curriculum, or are expected to achieve the same learning outcomes. As Sahlberg (2015) states, equity in Finnish schools relates to a vision of 'a socially fair and inclusive education system that provides everyone with the opportunity to fulfil their intentions and dreams through education' (p. 62).

1.1.2 Becoming a Finnish music teacher

In working towards an equitable, inclusive and democratic education system, Finland has invested in teacher education and teacher professionalism for all levels of schooling and education. Indeed, as Finnish education researcher Hannu Simola (2005) notes, the 'success story' of Finnish education has 'unequivocally' been attributed 'to the excellent Finnish teachers and high-quality Finnish teacher education' in public discourse (p. 456). Teaching is a profession that enjoys high social status and is trusted 'by the general public… and… the political and even economic elite' (Simola, 2005, p. 459). Perhaps as a result of this positive image, teaching, whether in general education or specialized in particular subjects such as music, is a popular career choice for school leavers and admittance to teacher training studies is highly competitive (Simola, 2005). Studies in music pedagogy are offered at a number of polytechnics qualifying graduates to teach music in extracurricular music schools, folk academies, and conservatoires. In general, a university master's degree in music education is required to teach in comprehensive primary schools (students aged approximately 7–12 years old), secondary schools (students aged approximately 13–15 years old) and high schools (students aged approximately 16–19 years old).

Three universities offer these graduate studies: the Sibelius Academy of the University of the Arts Helsinki, Oulu University and the University of

Jyväskylä. Entry to the five and a half year teacher preparation programmes is highly competitive, and applicants are selected on the basis of their versatility as musicians and aptitudes for teaching. Applicants thus represent not only skilled backgrounds in classical musics, world musics, folk musics, jazz and/or popular musics, but also possess skills in more than one genre, and often in more than one instrument. Often seen as a more democratic medium for classroom instruction than for example western art musics, popular musics feature as a key component of teacher preparation studies (Väkevä, 2006). Through these studies, students develop competences 'in the use of the instruments commonly associated with rock bands, as well as knowledge of studio techniques, making arrangements in different popular music styles and on-stage performance' (Westerlund, 2006, p. 119). For instance, the Sibelius Academy's music education programme includes units of study such as,

> *Basic Studies in Rhythm Section Instruments* where students learn the 'basic techniques of comping instruments (electric bass and guitar, percussion, drums)' and to 'be able to apply the key accompaniment rhythms in African-American music';
>
> *Afro-American Music*, where students 'develop their skills with ensemble instruments (keyboard, guitar, bass, drums, percussion, voice) and ensemble playing… become familiar with the different genres and arrangements/ pedagogical applications of African-American music; and be familiar with the basics of studio work'; and,
>
> *Band Pedagogy,* where students 'deepen their skills with [rock] band instruments and pop singing, become more competent in teaching [rock] band playing skills to pupils of different ages and skill levels, be familiar with the equipment necessary for teaching [rock] band playing and be familiar with the basics of finding a good sound and be familiar with writing pedagogically appropriate arrangements and transcriptions' (Sibelius Academy, Curriculum and course descriptions, 2012–2013).

Alongside the development of a variety of musical skills, teacher preparation involves the 'systemic integration of scientific educational knowledge, didactics (or pedagogical content knowledge), and practice to enable teachers to enhance their pedagogical thinking, evidence-based decisionmaking [sic], and engagement in the professional community of educators' (Sahlberg, 2015, p. 108). For instance, at Oulu University, music education students study the,

> methods of music education such as Kodály, Orff, Dalcroze and Suzuki, theory and practice of musicality, formal and informal music education, paradigmatic discussion of music education philosophy, conceptions of learning, knowledge, the human and music, music in the lives of individual and members of social groups, societies and cultures, tenets and policies of general education in music and the arts (Oulu University, Curriculum and course descriptions, 2014–2015).

All students complete a scientific thesis as part of the music education bachelor's degree requirements. The majority of students who continue to a master's degree in music education also complete a more substantial scientific thesis, with the expectation that they are able to contribute to academic discourses in music education and continue to doctoral level study if they wish. Having undergone such rigorous teacher preparation, the secondary school music teachers participating in this research project may all be seen to be experienced and knowledgeable in popular musics, popular music pedagogies, music education methods, and some scientific educational research.

1.1.3 Secondary school music education

On entering the workforce, Finland's highly qualified and popular music savvy music teachers are afforded considerable responsibility and trust, as comprehensive schools function free from external inspection, and school or teacher performance is not measured by external tests. Teachers are given the freedom to design their own school-based syllabi, within the broad guidelines offered by the national curriculum, as well as freedom to select their preferred pedagogical methods and school repertoires. As this dissertation was being finalized, a new curriculum was being published. However, the focus of this research is on the 2004 Finnish National Core Curriculum for Basic Education published by the Finnish National Board of Education, as it was the curriculum all teachers were using at the time of data collection.

The National Core Curriculum (Finnish National Board of Education, 2004) for secondary music education (relating to students aged 13–15 years old in compulsory music classes in grade 7, and elective classes in grades 8 and 9) is less than two pages long. Within this brief overview of school music studies, teachers may construct their own situational, school-based approaches to music teaching and learning. In keeping with the student-centred maxim of education, the task of the Finnish teacher is not 'in teaching music but in teaching the pupil' (Antila, 2010, p. 243), focusing on the role of music in the lives of adolescent students,

rather than prescribing lesson content for students to learn. Accordingly, the National Core Curriculum (2004) emphasizes practical, experiential, hands-on music making as a means 'to help the pupils find their objects of interest in music, to encourage them to engage in musical activity, to give them means of expressing themselves musically, and to support their overall growth' (p. 230). School music lessons also aim to help students understand the situational and contextual nature of music, reflecting the broader educational policies of inclusion, and diversity. The National Core Curriculum (2004) emphasizes the social benefits of musical engagement as developing 'social skills such as responsibility, constructive criticism, and the acceptance and appreciation of a diversity of cultures and skills' (p. 230).

Many Finnish classrooms are equipped with rock band instruments such as guitars, bass guitars, keyboards, drum kits, and microphones, and classes have been described as resembling the working model of a garage band (Westerlund, 2006), playing either as a class, or in small peer groups, rotating instruments and roles. Student achievement is monitored and evaluated by teachers themselves, and although there are no external examinations, the present curriculum does offer some guidance on final assessment criteria for the end of grade 9 (Finnish National Board of Education, 2004, p. 231). These criteria are fairly broad, and include students' participation in group singing; playing an instrument in an ensemble; listening to music and commenting in an informed, critical manner; listening skills in order to make music with others; recognition and ability to distinguish between musical genres, eras and cultures; knowledge of Finnish musical culture and history; knowledge of, and an ability to apply musical concepts and elements in music-making and listening.

1.1.4 The content of music lessons

As in many other Nordic countries, the music repertoires in Finnish schools are not predefined. In neighbouring Sweden, music education researchers Eva Georgii-Hemming and Jonathan Lilliedahl (2014) have questioned what should form the content of music didactics courses in tertiary education, in helping future music teachers decide what to teach. Although focusing on Swedish music teacher education, the concept of *didaktik* is relevant to the Finnish context as well (as mentioned in section 1.1.2), with 'didactically oriented educational science' forming the 'knowledge base' of Finnish teachers' work since the 1970s (Simola, Heikkinen & Silvonen, 1998, p. 74). *Didaktik*, as part of teacher training, attends to the intersection of educational theory and practice by asking 'what education should contain, why, and how… *who* should learn, *with whom* one should learn, *through what* as well as *where* and *when*' (Georgii-Hemming & Lilliedahl, 2014,

pp. 134-135). Georgii-Hemming and Lilliedahl (2014) suggest that teachers' repertoire decisions are multifaceted, taking into consideration teachers' 'personal experiences, their view on student learning, and the music subject, but also the character and activities of the subject, as well as contextual and historical dimensions' (p. 134). In this way, Swedish teachers do not simply implement predefined curricular directives regarding what they should teach. This is similar to the expectations placed upon Finnish teachers, to construct their own localized syllabi and units of work within the broad guidelines of the National Core Curriculum (Finnish National Board of Education, 2004), relevant to their own students and the resources they have to work with.

In line with the participatory ideals of schooling, repertoire decisions may also be made democratically together with students (cf. discussions of content selection in Finnish general education, Simola, 2005, p. 463). As such, the teacher's background, priorities and musical preferences are only part of the decision-making process. Although the teacher may source musics from libraries, online or a number of available textbook publications (many of which contain both 'classic' – or at least presented as such, with songs by bands like Creedence Clearwater Revival or the Beatles – and recent popular music hits), students often bring their own musics to share with the class. As a result, what to play, arrange and learn, is often a collaborative decision. In addition, school repertoires include students' own compositions, with curricular directives for students to experiment 'with one's own musical ideas by improvising, composing, and arranging' (Finnish Board of Education, 2004, p. 232). Accordingly, it may be seen that although the teacher is ultimately responsible for what is, and what is not, played or performed in the classroom, school repertoires are not wholly within his/her control, and s/he is required to decide how to engage with the musics that enter the classroom unexpectedly.

1.1.5 Popular music in Finnish schools

Although there are no stipulations as to what musics should be taught in schools, the focus of teacher preparation programmes and the long held expectation that lesson content should 'embark from an analysis of the society and the musical environment of its youth' (POPS 70, the first Finnish music education curriculum for comprehensive schools in Muukkonen, 2010, p. 71) means that popular music often forms the bases of classroom teaching and learning, alongside art musics, jazz, folk, world musics and others.

Historically, the study of what is here referred to as *popular music* has been assigned various labels in Finnish music education research and practice. Introduced to the comprehensive school curriculum in the 1970s as *viihdemusiikki*

(light, or entertainment music), this music has also been, and still is, referred to in various curricula or policy documents as *Afro-American music*, *rytmimusiikki* (rhythmic music) or *popular music*. However, none of these terms provide adequate delimitations to determine what is, and what is not, considered popular music.

Professor of politics and renowned scholar on popular music and culture John Street (1997) argues that defining popular culture is in itself a political act, '*selecting* particular cultural forms from amongst others, and making evaluations of their worth' (p. 8). With regard to the musics learnt in schools, these selections have often focused on defining popular musics in opposition to art musics, as a means to advocate for one or the other. Defining a cultural product as high art often considers it as removed and immune from the manipulations of market forces, reifying it as intellectually and aesthetically worthwhile. In contrast, defining something as popular culture positions it as belonging to the masses, and 'representing a democratic voice' (Street, 1997, p. 9). These definitions are fraught with false distinctions and oversimplifications that warrant considerably more exploration and explanation than I am able to do here. Thus, in the interests of brevity, popular music in this dissertation refers to its application in Finnish music education policy discourse. This includes pop/rock styles; metal; punk; rhythm and blues; soul; funk; disco; hip hop; house, techno and other dance genres; Caribbean derivatives such as reggae and dancehall; country; and local variations such as *iskelmä* (Finnish Schlager music).

In providing this definition I acknowledge that popular music is not determined solely by ubiquity, 'mainstream' popularity or mediated cultures. Popular music is not solely the music so intimately connected with the recording industry and consumer culture. Popular music is not *necessarily* youth culture. Popular music is not a homogeneous, stable categorization, as artists, educators, producers, the media and other social actors are constantly applying the *popular* label to new musics and musical cultures. Popular music, or the act of labelling any music as such, is neither neutral nor trivial. In this dissertation, distinctions between popular and other musics are made recognizing the political processes and implications of applying definitions and delimitations. The definition of popular music in this dissertation thus aligns with Street's (1997) suggestion that popular culture is a constantly evolving and unsettled categorization, 'conditioned by history, by ideology and by institutions' (p. 9) as well as people's interactions with popular culture more generally.

1.2 Rationale and focus of the research project

Due to its long history of popular music education in schools, and democratic approach to formal education, many nations have looked to the Finnish success

story for lessons on how to introduce, or expand upon popular music practices in schools (Allsup, 2011). However, although popular musics have been seen as more accessible and inclusive, by opening classroom doors to popular musics, or students' own musical preferences and practices, the teacher's job is not necessarily simplified. Nor are school music practices necessarily democratized. This is especially true taking into consideration arguments that the norms and values associated with certain popular musics exist in stark contrast with those of formal education, raising questions regarding what is taught, and what *ought* to be taught in the music classroom (e.g., Allsup & Westerlund, 2012; Law & Ho, 2015; Väkevä, 2006). As Dillon (2007) reflects, 'the issues of the value and appropriateness of popular music in music curriculum are still being argued some 50 years after the beginnings of what can be referred to as ¨youth music¨' suggesting that 'this issue is not one which is simply about musical knowledge or relevance' (p. 13). If we understand curriculum as 'part of a selective tradition, someone's selection, some group's vision of legitimate knowledge' (Apple, 1996, p. 22), the teacher's popular repertoire decisions are not made in isolation, and hold serious implications for achieving the inclusive and democratic ideals of Finnish education policy. Whilst the teacher may be seen to make the final decisions regarding what musics are included and excluded from school repertoires, these decisions may be framed, influenced and negotiated with others, and are always in relation to perceptions and understandings of the musical material itself. Which popular musics are selected to comprise the content of school music lessons and activities may be seen as a matter of legitimation, concerning questions of who has 'the power to decide what (and whose) music is taught in schools, and on whose terms' (Väkevä & Westerlund, 2007, p. 97).

The focus of this research is on the experiences of five secondary school teachers, working with teenage students that many researchers regard as at formative stages of identity development and rapid biological, psychological and emotional change (Tarrant et al., 2002). Through these teachers' stories, this research investigates both the social narratives that frame their popular repertoire selections for these young students, and teachers' considerations of the musical meanings that frame their decisions. In doing so, this research aims to better understand the complex and ethical roles teachers play in enacting the inclusive and democratic ideals and policies of everyday school life.

1.3 Research task

Conducted in Finland, a country where popular music has long been established as a field of study in schools and universities, and student-centred informal learning strategies have long been implemented, this research project is concerned

with *what comes next*. As teachers are afforded the freedoms to make situational decisions regarding the methods and content of their lessons, new challenges arise regarding what to teach, and why. As a multiple instrumental case study (Stake, 1995), this research aimed to both investigate teachers' everyday practices and experiences of selecting popular music, but also contribute towards the development of a theoretical framework with which to better understand the meanings ascribed to the processes of popular repertoire selection in the school music classroom.

> The central research task of this research was thus to develop theoretical and practical understandings of music teachers' experiences of the censure and censorship of popular music in school contexts.

This task was realized through an inquiry of Finnish school music teachers' popular repertoire selection processes for students aged 13–15 years old. In this way, this research aimed to combine knowledge gained through a strong theoretical tradition with that grounded in the everyday experiences of teaching and learning music.

The research task was investigated through a number of research questions. It is important to note that these research questions are formulated differently to the research questions of the journal articles that comprise this dissertation. This is a result of theoretical maturation, and a more focused understanding of what the phenomena under investigation was. These refinements occurred during the course of writing the articles, writing the dissertation text, and as a result of reflecting upon the research findings in light of a developing theoretical framework.

The research questions of this project are:

1. In what ways do censorious narratives frame teachers' popular repertoire decision-making?
2. Which musical features do teachers identify as contributing towards the censure of certain popular musics?
3. What are the implications of popular repertoire selections for enacting inclusivity and democracy in formal music education?

During the course of investigation, a fourth question was added to attend to the methodological changes implemented in responses to particular challenges experienced (as discussed in chapter 4 of this dissertation):

4. What can be learnt about the teaching of music, if story is viewed as both the source and representation of knowledge and experience?

1.4 Researcher's story

Understanding knowledge as continually constructed and reconstructed in terms of experience (Dewey, LW13, *Experience and Education*), past experiences, present action and future predictions, in interaction with social context, may all be seen to play a pivotal role in meaning-making. Accordingly, the stories that I bring with me in understanding others' experiences of teaching and learning popular music are also stories of my family, my education, my colleagues and students. It is with this in mind, and in keeping with qualitative research custom, that I here offer my own version of the beliefs, values, experiences and ideas that have led me to this particular research topic and approach.

There has always been popular music in my family. Some of my earliest musical memories are of my father playing Dan Fogelberg and Cat Stevens songs on the guitar, and the lyrics of James Taylor songs are as familiar to me as any lullaby. I began classical piano lessons in Sydney, Australia at the age of nine, playing on a four-octave keyboard for years before my parents were able to buy an upright piano. I remember the frustration and persistence with which I tried to recreate the demo song, pounding the drum pads and synth sounds onto the two-track recording feature.

My family moved to Hong Kong in 1991. I attended a secondary school that catered for approximately 1200 students of 33 nationalities, following the British curriculum from grade 7 to A levels. Students were afforded considerable freedoms, and played a role in shaping their own learning from a young age. The fairly relaxed school uniform was only worn during the lower grades, a mentoring system meant that younger students interacted with older students on a daily basis, students would chat with teachers before or after class, school trips were mutual adventures, and extracurricular activities were as important as, if not more important than, classroom based lessons. I spent most school lunchtimes with my friends in the music classroom arranging Andrew Lloyd Webber musicals for one piano, six hands, two clarinets, a cello and a tap dancer. I was fortunate to have a music teacher who turned a blind eye to our repeatedly breaking the piano stool

(thanks to many more hands on the piano than six), and who lent a generous, critical ear to many of our performances. Although I can only remember this school through the experiences of a 12–16 year old, I held, and continue to hold, this vision of teaching and learning as my ideal school.

Returning to Australia and starting at a new school, I tentatively made two new friends and headed for familiar territory during our lunch hour – the music room. With a sandwich in one hand and a drum stick in the other, a half full mouth harmonizing with half remembered lyrics, we were all startled when the classroom door was swung open by a glaring music teacher. We were scolded for being in the classroom outside of formal lesson time and were quickly bustled out into the playground *where we belonged*. I was, and am still, horrified. Being a fairly precocious teenager, I gathered support to petition the music department to not only have an open door policy, but to buy electric guitars, a bass, a better drum kit and some microphones. A compromise was reached whereby the school bought two guitars, and arranged for a 'rock band programme' to be run one afternoon per week. The same two friends and I formed a band, invited local music celebrities to join band workshops and composed many angst-ridden songs to perform at school functions. It is with a little embarrassment at my relentless pestering of teachers, but also a little pride, that I note that the 'rock band programme' still exists.

On completing school I enrolled in a Bachelor of Social Science (Criminology) without really knowing what the degree entailed or what one would do with it. Largely quantitative and policy focused, I was interested in the subject matter, but the approach left me envisioning a future at a desk repeating the same actions on SPSS for the rest of my life.[1] In order to financially support myself during my university studies, I began teaching classical piano to a number of children and adults in the evenings and soon established a busy home studio. I loved these lessons. At the end of my criminology degree, I followed this love of teaching and applied to a music education degree. To my surprise, I was accepted and instantly felt like I had found my vocational home. I immersed myself in pedagogical theory and practice, and by necessity devoted myself to classical piano in order to 'keep up' with the other students. My focus was never really on performing music, but on my growing love of teaching as a process of continual learning and sharing.

After graduation I began working at a public, all-boys secondary school (the same described in the prelude of this dissertation), where popular music had long been the focus of music lessons for the 12–18 year old students. My colleague, an older male teacher with many years of teaching experience, had already established

1 I have since come to appreciate SPSS, but I admit that it took many years.

my dream open door policy, and there were students and guitars everywhere, at all times. Our small music staff room was always overrun with kids, and the makeshift school recording studio was booked by the swing band, the choir, heavy metal bands, ukulele bands and everything in between, every lunch hour, after school and weekends. During my first week on the job I was (half seriously) told by the art teacher not to smile in the first term, 'they will walk all over you' she warned. Thinking she was mad, I ignored her and tried to approach my students how I had wanted to be taught when I was a student. The first year was hard and for some reason I felt as though I *ought* to have known how to deal with the numerous confrontations that arose between students, or between students and myself. There were many situations that I had no idea how to predict or handle, but I did my best – which hardly seemed good enough. Although I loved teaching, music, the students I taught and the uncertainty that each day held, I often retreated to the bathroom or my car in tears. My narrative in the prelude of this dissertation was only one instance of many – and a tame example at that.

And so, I write this dissertation from a number of relevant standpoints, two of which I have briefly mentioned here. The first is an interest in the construction of deviance and how we come to understand certain people or things as problematic, particularly in public education settings that are intended to serve *everyone*. The second, and perhaps most important, is as an early career teacher who felt unprepared and unable to think clearly about the ethical issues relating to popular music and teenage students, and unable to raise these challenges with her colleagues. This project is thus an endeavour to explore these kinds of situations, and to learn from (and with) other teachers about what they mean.

I am not searching here for definite answers or solutions, as I don't think they exist. Rather, with this project as just one step on a long road of teaching and learning, I hope to understand just a little more than I did before. I love teaching because I love learning, and over time I have come to realize that this is most effectively done in collaboration with others. This dissertation is an extension of that for me.

1.5 Structure of the dissertation

This dissertation is a synthesis and extension of the research reported in four articles, as included in appendices 1–4. The structure of the dissertation is in seven parts, the first of which is this introductory chapter. Chapter two outlines the relevant research and scholarly discussions that form the foundations of this research project. This includes the changing perceptions and attitudes towards popular music in formal school contexts, from a harmful distraction to democratizing, inclusive practice. I also address the social constructions of certain popular musics as problematic for adolescent students, and the role of teacher as critical, ethical agent in navigating such popular musics in the classroom. Chapter three presents the theoretical perspectives that have been adopted as lenses to conduct and interpret this research, drawing together Deweyan pragmatism, cultural criminological theories of deviance and critical pedagogy. The fourth chapter explicates the methodological approach, including the challenges experienced during the course of study, and the changes implemented in order to attend to these. The fifth chapter offers a discussion of the findings of the research project as reported in the four articles. This chapter extends and expands upon what was covered in the articles in light of the four research questions and the theoretical framework of the research. The sixth chapter extends this discussion to broader matters of inclusion and democracy in music education, through problematizing three key dichotomies that may be seen to have guided popular music education thus far. The final chapter summarizes the main contributions of this dissertation to the field of music education, and offers some final remarks in considering how teachers may select popular repertoire in, and for, an inclusive, democratic music classroom.

2 The project in relation to earlier research

Although recent decades have seen an increase in popular music content and pedagogies in school classrooms internationally (e.g., Allsup, 2008; Pitts, 2000; Rodriguez, 2004; Väkevä, 2006), this has not gone uncontested. This chapter is structured in four sections, focusing on different aspects of popular music's inclusion in formal schooling as they pertain to this research project. The first two sections outline some of the debates surrounding the introduction of popular musics to the classroom, particularly discussions aligned with the liberal education paradigm (2.1) and in contrast, those that have valued a more pluralist approach to cultural and musical diversity (2.2). The third section presents some of the literature that has constructed certain popular musics as problematic for adolescents, raising important questions regarding their place in school curricula (2.3). The final section turns to writings in music education that have hinted at the ideological conflicts involved in teaching popular musics in schools (2.4). This chapter suggests that in positioning the teacher as ethical agent, and conceptualizing popular musics as laden with competing ideological and political meanings, the issue is altogether more complicated than a simple process of creating taxonomies of musics as problematic or prudent, and selecting school repertoires accordingly.

2.1 (Un)popular music in the classroom

As many nations are only beginning to explore the role that popular music could play in school curricula (Allsup, 2008), the introduction of popular musics into the Finnish and other Nordic school curricula during the late 1960s and early 1970s was in many ways ahead of it's time. However, this does not mean that Nordic school music education policies and practices have existed in isolation or have remained unscathed from broader debates regarding the place of popular music in formal education. Internationally, the 1970s and 80s saw a flourishing of the liberal education paradigm, as led by American and British educational leaders Allan Bloom and E.D. Hirsch Jr., which regarded the purpose of school music education as to induct students into a *high art* canon, notably, a narrow selection of western art musics.

Perhaps the most often quoted claim relating to music in Allan Bloom's seminal work, *The Closing of the American Mind* (1987) is that '[c]lassical music is dead among the young' (p. 69). He argued that whereas classical music once held some status in society and amongst young listeners, distinguishing the middle and upper educated classes from others, popular music offers a brutish, instant gratification, and is the prevailing, and unquestioned culture of youth (p. 75).

Bloom was concerned by the welcoming of these unquestioned, diverse musics to education contexts, without submitting them to some sort of valuation processes that would allow teachers to distinguish certain musics as better than others. Through illustration of a thirteen-year-old boy with rock music blaring through his headphones, Bloom worried that he would remain oblivious and ignorant to any music or knowledge of substance, as illusions of sex, rebellion, homosexuality, drug use, nihilism, sexism, racism and violence fill the boy's mind (p. 75-78). The blaring headphones shut out any truth or good in the world, as high art is silenced. The role of liberal education was thus to offer students an alternative to the numbing, prurient throbs of popular rhythms, and the aimlessness of anything-goes musical relativism. Accordingly, the content of lessons was seen to be of utmost importance, as E.D. Hirsch Jr. (1988) asserted, 'we must be traditionalists about content' (p. 126). The utilitarian and social aims of progressive education were seen to have failed, resulting in a disordered and fragmented curriculum. Liberal education proposed that through the stipulation of prerequisite, quality content, as determined by a selection of masterworks (from the western art tradition), students would bear witness to a shared reservoir of the greatest cultural knowledge and gain the 'flexible skill of mature literacy' (Hirsch, 1988, p. 126).

This call to preserve the status of high art in schools has continued internationally, including in Finland where popular musics may be seen to have long taken a firm curricular hold. Recent public debate has seen the popular music focus of Finnish music education and teacher training programmes accused of 'ruining the taste of the Finnish public' (as reported in Väkevä & Westerlund, 2007, p. 98; see also Allsup & Westerlund, 2012), as though the purpose of music education were to guide the ignorant masses toward a more refined, intellectual appreciation of high art. Concerned with the public's taste for Culture (with a capital C) in the United Kingdom, Roger Scruton (2007) has appealed for music education to provide students with 'images of the ideal and the transcendent' (p. 2) in preparation for the transition 'out of adolescence' (p. 65). However, he laments that these aspirations are undermined by an 'undemanding' popular culture that idolizes immaturity and interferes with the ability of young people to pay close or critical attention to the 'licentious messages' it contains (p. 62). In a similar vein, Robert Walker (2007) suggests that Australian parents opting to enroll their children in the Catholic school system is symptomatic of a yearning for a traditional curriculum 'where student choices are not so freely available, especially if they clash with the school ethos' (p. 133).[2] However, he argues, that in many

2 Whilst the selection of a more traditional curriculum may be one consideration of parents choosing Catholic schools for their children, Walker neglects to note perhaps more important factors such as a faith-

western nations (including the United States, Canada, the United Kingdom and Australia), if teachers do not pander to the popular music tastes of youth, they quickly find themselves in want of employment, as there is a 'likelihood… that there would be few, if any, students choosing music' as a subject (p. 132). This statement is illustrative of the conflicts that have long surrounded the introduction of popular music to many school curricula: positioned in dichotomous opposition to a narrow, centuries-old traditional canon, questioned with regard to moral virtue, accused of *dumbing down* schooling, reducing lessons to entertainment or simply failing to meet the standards established by (and perhaps only pertinent to) western art musics.

2.2 Towards a democratic popular music education

Partly in reaction to such reductionist approaches to education, researchers and theorists have questioned the limiting of teaching and learning to such a narrow corpus of masterworks. In serving increasingly heterogeneous student populations, it has been argued that music education is no longer able to promote a singular musical *truth* or *good* through the elevation of any one music as the sole focus of academic attention. Instead, it has been recognized that contemporary culture is, and should be seen as *multimusical* (Reimer, 1993). In moving away from *school music* as a peculiar idiom with little relevance to students' lives and aiming to reflect the diversity of the out-of-school musical world, a new focus has been placed on *music in schools* (Stålhammar, 1997). In attending to this multimusicality, Bennett Reimer and Keith Swanwick's writings have been instrumental in opening classroom doors to popular musics, though in a very different form to how it is currently taught in Finland, with both Reimer and Swanwick viewing the purpose of music in schools as aesthetic education. By aesthetic education, Reimer (1989) suggests that music education should articulate 'what characterizes music as art' and should attempt 'to teach music in ways that are true to its artistic nature' (p. 26). Swanwick (1979) defines the aesthetic as but one part of musical performance and learning, referring to music as a discourse. The aesthetic is thus seen as of concern to the music educator in connecting what is learnt in schools, to experiences and meanings beyond classroom doors. As Swanwick (1979) argues, 'the peak of aesthetic experience is scaled only when a work relates strongly to the structures of our *own individual experience*' (p. 36, emphasis added).

In arguing for a multimusical school curriculum, Reimer (1970) envisioned

based educational ethos, the perception of higher quality teachers on account of being better trained and paid than teachers in the public school system, and the parents seeking a 'grammar elitist school culture' at a fraction of the cost of private schooling (McLaughlin, 2005, p. 219).

schools as reflecting the diversity of the world. However, whilst he claimed that 'it is fruitless to deem any particular style of music, say, as inherently more or less worthy than any other style' (1984, p. 199), qualitative judgements could be made *within* a style or genre, and the task of the teacher was to select musical exemplars. Through this, the teacher was positioned as expert, leading students towards cultivated appreciation through 'listening as the fundamental behavior' (p. 185). Keith Swanwick (1979) built upon Reimer's calls for music education to include a more diverse array of 'great' musics, extending the activities of the music classroom to composition, literature studies, audition (his term for listening with intention), skill acquisition and performance. Swanwick (1968) also made a strong case for the inclusion of popular musics in schools, as a means to reach the 'three-quarters' of adolescents in schools who were not interested in classical music. Education scholar Graham Vulliamy and music education scholar Edward Lee (1976) adopted a more sociological approach, objecting to the hierarchical distinctions between so-called 'great' music and music of the masses, even within popular genres. They also argued against the separation of social values and context from the characteristics of popular music. Pitts (2000) recognizes Vulliamy and Lee's endorsement of popular musics inclusion in schools as part of a broader aim 'to move away from the classification of musical styles, towards a music classroom which engages with all genres through their common musical processes' (p. 104). However, Vulliamy and Lee (1976) were critical of consumer media culture, to which much popular music was seen to belong, as they hoped that,

> an increase of creative pop music making in schools where, given resources and encouragement, children will find that they are capable of producing more interesting pop music than is sold to them by the mass media, will lead to schools creating an alternative teenage musical culture based on *doing* rather than just listening. This could prove a formidable rival to the 'establishment pop' of the mass media. (p. 121).

In this way, school music education was envisioned as improving the quality of popular music in society, devaluing the music that students already identified *as* popular, listened to and enjoyed.

Expanding upon the focus on a youth culture based on *doing* music, the praxial music education tradition has emphasized the processual nature of musical performance and learning. However, rather than valuing certain musics over others according to predetermined criteria, praxialism has acknowledged 'the values and meanings evidenced in actual music making and music listening in specific cultural contexts' (Elliott, 1995, p. 14). Music education philosopher David Elliott

(1995) reconsidered music in schools from a more distanced aesthetic education based on listening, to music as performative action, as a verb 'to music' through his term *musicing*. Musical practice was seen as a way to relate to students' diverse backgrounds, values and preferences, and as a justification for a hands-on approach to teaching and learning popular music in the classroom (e.g., Elliott & Silverman, 2015). Questions of content and *which* musics were to be included were somewhat sidelined, considered as a byproduct of the educational ideal of music *making*. As Elliott and Silverman (2015) explain, 'the *what* of education cannot be realistically decided apart from the *why* and *who,* and because matters of *when, where,* and *how* inevitably circle backward and forward to teachers' decisions about *why, who* and *what'* (p. 393). As such, the curriculum is not seen as a rigid set of requirements imposed by outside authorities, or one that aims to refine and elevate students' musical valuations. Instead, in making decisions regarding what to teach, teachers are instructed to 'look to themselves and their own teaching circumstances' (Elliott & Silverman, 2015, p. 406).

In addition to being seen as a means to attend to students' own preferences and musical experiences, popular musics have also been perceived as more accessible and more readily intelligible for novice learners (cf. Johansson, 2010). This has been seen to provide more opportunities for relevant, inclusive and democratic music making and learning, encouraging students to engage in *authentic* musical experiences (Campbell, 1998; Green, 2002, 2006, 2008; Westerlund, 2006). The introduction of popular musics to the classroom has occurred in parallel with new approaches to teaching and learning music in schools, as it has been argued that popular musics require unique teaching strategies as a means to teach these music on their own terms, rather than abdicating to the hierarchical pedagogical structures so often associated with western art musics (e.g., Green, 2002; 2006; 2008). These so-called informal approaches to music learning have been seen to bridge the divide between music in the 'real' world and music in schools (Georgii-Hemming & Westvall, 2010; Green, 2002; Folkestad, 2006; Karlsen, 2012; Lindgren & Ericsson, 2010, Väkevä & Westerlund 2007), motivating and engaging students in a meaningful, *authentic* music education (Väkevä, 2009). Informal learning, and similar approaches in Finland that have been referred to as student-centred or student-led learning, are in line with a Deweyan idea of experiential learning (Allsup, 2003), and a pragmatist philosophy that conceives of an education centred upon a 'pedagogy of communicative action' (Biesta, 1995, p. 106). These ideas are implemented by involving students in decisions regarding the musical content and pedagogical approach of lessons, and developing their skills and music knowledge through hands-on engagement, asking 'what do they want to achieve now, this minute, and

what is the main thing they need to achieve it?' (Green, 2008, p. 34).

With music conceptualized as a social activity rather than artefact (e.g., Small, 1998; Regelski, 2008), it has been suggested that 'people's music is something that they *are*, both during and after the making of music and the experiencing of music' (Elliott, 1989, p. 12, emphasis added). Although it has been noted in musicology, popular music studies and other fields that popular music is by no means the domain of young people alone (if at all), nor is it representative of a universal youth culture (e.g., Bennett, 2014; Frith, 1996), these have been persistent assumptions in music education, and have only recently been called into question. Georgii-Hemming and Westvall (2010) caution that the introduction of informal pedagogical strategies (associated with the teaching and learning of popular musics) in Sweden, may not have achieved the inclusive, participatory or motivating environment they aimed to promote. They note that music lessons in Swedish schools have largely focused on a limited selection of popular repertoire as a 'new form of school music based on easy-to-play pop and rock songs' (p. 24). Consequently, the introduction of popular music and informal pedagogies to the classroom has not necessarily aligned with the ideals of reflecting students' out-of-school worlds or empowered students themselves.

Georgii-Hemming and Westvall (2010) conclude that in order for schools to enable democratic processes, informal learning and formal learning need to be combined, through the creation of 'a dialogue and an exchange organized, initiated and guided by the teacher… where musical creativity in different forms could contribute to the development of individuals as well as the development of society' (p. 31). This may, however, be a matter of perspective, as Lindgren and Ericsson (2010) argue that the division between informal and formal learning has long been blurred in Swedish schools (p. 36), and that classifications of the approach as informal only touches the 'surface' of the complexities of teaching and learning (p. 41; see also Folkestad, 2006). Georgii-Hemming and Westvall (2010) suggest that the narrow selection of pop and rock musics in Swedish schools 'might more accurately be characterized as teachers' everyday culture' (p. 36), representing the 'hits' and classics circa decades ago. In addition, they suggest that the absence of the teacher from garage band style learning arrangements may have resulted in 'anti-democratic tendencies of marginalization and exclusion' (p. 46) through the musical, gendered and social positioning of students as part of group work. Accordingly, these researchers argue that it is necessary to attend to the forms of governance at play in the classroom, and that exclusionary or marginalizing power relations have not disappeared with the introduction of informal learning approaches to formal education.

2.3 Popular problems

In their (2009) book, *Dark side of the tune: Popular music and violence*, Bruce Johnson and Martin Cloonan argued that in establishing popular music as a legitimate area of research and study in the academy, the proponents of popular musics have been somewhat defensive, 'inclining towards unreflectively celebratory accounts' of popular music in musicology (p. 5). Similarly, whilst scholars advocating for popular musics and pedagogies in schools have done much to attend to issues of democracy, diversity and inclusion in formal education, in defending the place of popular musics in relation to the established canons of western art musics it is possible that the celebrations of popular music practices in schools have overshadowed questions of content, and that the dichotomies of exclusion *within* the popular music realm itself have been overlooked (Hesmondhalgh, 2008; Kallio & Väkevä, forthcoming). In claiming a space for popular musics in schools in the first place, it has perhaps been easy to forget that '[p]opular music has often been cast in antipathy to education' (Green, 2002, p. 159) and the concerns, conflicts and controversies that have long surrounded young people's attention to *sex, drugs and rock'n roll*.

For decades, popular music has 'inflame[d] the sensibilities of the guardians of public morality' (Street, 1986, pp. 13-14). The burning of Elvis records in the 1950s; the threatening of excommunicating Beatles fans from the church in the 1960s; numerous censorship campaigns targeting musics 'promoting' drug use or socialist politics in America during the 1970s; the monitoring of lewdness, violence and profanity by the Parents Music Resource Center (PMRC) in the 1980s; threats of litigation and formal letters of complaint from the police force and F.B.I addressed to rap artists N.W.A and Ice-T in the 1990s; and more recently, the cancellation of performances by Finnish metal band Impaled Nazarene in response to school shootings, the charges of hooliganism and blasphemy against Russian artists belonging to the group Pussy Riot, the banning of Jamaican dance hall artist Sizzla Kalonji from performing in the U.K. and Germany on account of homophobic lyrics, the imprisonment of Moroccan rapper and human rights activist El Haqed; the list goes on. The social censure of popular musics has often focused on the relationship between such music and young people, and the influence of the music on such vulnerable members of the population, at a time of intense identity construction and social development.

North and Hargreaves (2005, 2006, 2008) have referred to the popular musics that have been associated with arousing or inciting deleterious behaviours in young people as *problem music*. The problem music label has mostly been applied with regard to the potential social impact (Frith, 2004, p. 23) of hard

rock, hip hop/rap and punk musics, characterized as sexualized, racialized and violent genres. Numerous studies have been conducted in recent years exploring the possibilities of a causal relationship existing or testing correlations between these musics and teenage delinquency and criminality (e.g., ter Bogt, Keijsers & Meeus, 2013), drug usage (e.g., Mulder et al., 2009), permissive sexual attitudes (e.g., Beentjes & Konig, 2013), sexual and racial discrimination (e.g., Fischer and Greitemeyer, 2006; Turner, 2011), eating disorders (e.g., Prichard & Tiggemann, 2012), self-harm and suicide (e.g., Young et al., 2014). However, a number of assumptions that underlie many studies conducted on the relations between problem musics and problem behaviours raise significant concerns.

Firstly, there has been a largely unquestioned assumption that music functions as agent and is *able* to influence the behaviour, thoughts or emotions of the listener. This is problematic not only in terms of establishing an etiologically robust relationship between musics and certain behaviours, but also in the design of studies in the first place. As Paul Willis states in his pioneering work *Profane Culture* (2014), '[o]bjects, artefacts and institutions do not, as it were, have a single valency. It is the act of social engagement with a cultural item, which activates and brings out particular meanings' (p. 252). In this sense, music is neither passive object nor agent. DeNora (2000) suggests that we may think of music as 'a cultural vehicle… as a kind of aesthetic technology, an instrument of social ordering' (p. 9) that acquires meaning through engagement with it, as contextualized in relation to musical, natural and social situations (p. 13). These social orderings are not necessarily as simple as inclusion into *mainstream* society or social exclusion. As explored by Sarah Thornton (1995) in her work on the club cultures and rave scenes in the UK, seemingly pejorative labels applied to certain music styles and their fans may indeed be worn as a badge of honour and identification, a source of subcultural capital.

Secondly, despite the fears surrounding popular musics and their effects on the growing minds of adolescents, there have been few justifications for characterizing certain musics as problematic, or the behaviours they are linked to as particularly negative (Frith, 2004). For example, a study conducted by ter Bogt, Keijsers and Meeus (2013) on adolescent music preference in relation to minor delinquency (such as shoplifting, petty theft, and vandalism) found that 'noisy, rebellious, nonmainstream music genres [are] a strong predictor of concurrent and later minor delinquency' (p. 7). The researchers point to 'hip-hop, heavy metal, gothic, punk, and techno/hardhouse' (p. 7) as problematic without acknowledging the diversity within each of these musical genres, nor specifying why they are seen as any more 'noisy, rebellious' or 'nonmainstream' than other genres they include in their analyses. Similarly, labelling certain behaviours as *deviant* assumes

a consensus on what is, and what is not acceptable social behaviour, irrespective of circumstance or reasoning. In an essay titled *What is bad music?* Simon Frith (2004) has argued that judgments of certain musics as *bad* or *harmful* are thus a muddle of aesthetic and ethical judgments (p. 26). Understandings of social values in relation to music, and deviances from these established or perceived norms, have not been sufficiently explored or explicated in research.

Thirdly, through focusing on the affects of music on the *listener* (rather than performer, creator, composer and so forth), much research has assumed that adolescents are relatively uncritical, passive consumers of (problem) music rather than actively engaged with its interpretation, reconstruction and performance. North and Hargreaves (2008) have also noted that there are a multitude of additional variables that come into play when drawing links between particular musics and adolescent behaviours, meaning that it is difficult to conclusively establish the direct affect of any music on any individual. This is not to argue that there is *no* connection between popular musics and instances of adolescent deviance, but rather that these relations are complex and far from established.

So what of popular musics in schools? As governments and various social campaigns have argued that certain popular musics are inappropriate for young people (through the application of parental advisory stickers or restriction of record sales for example), it has also been suggested that such musics may be particularly inappropriate for 'celebrating' in school contexts. This is been seen as particularly pertinent given the commitments of formal education institutions to the cultivation of social responsibility, certain societal values and a moral citizenry (Allsup & Westerlund, 2012; Senyshyn, 2008; Väkevä, 2006). It may thus be seen that the role of popular music in formal education contexts is far from secure, and even if, as in Finland, it has become an established tradition, there is little guidance for teachers in navigating those popular musics deemed problematic or deviant.

2.4 Whose problem is it anyway?

As a democratic institution, pragmatists have conceptualized the school not as a site where students are prepared *for* society, but as a microcosm of society itself (Allsup & Westerlund, 2012; Westerlund, 2002). In this sense, it has been argued that schools should not only mirror the world outside of classroom doors, but should also actively engage with, and encourage the development of 'the sorts of habits that will optimise the chances of a flourishing democratic life' (Boisvert, 1998). Although popular musics have been introduced to schools as democratizing practices, researchers have recently raised questions regarding the all-inclusivity, and by implication, participatory potentials of popular musics in school settings.

In addition to the concerns raised by Georgii-Hemming and Westvall (2010) and Lindgren and Ericsson (2010) mentioned earlier, popular music's democratic potentials have been critically investigated with regards to gendered practices in music education (Björck, 2011), multiculturalism (Karlsen & Westerlund, 2010), and the recontextualization of popular musics when 'transformed into a school task' (Stålhammar, 2003). As observed by Petter Dyndahl and Siw Graabræk Nielsen (2014), although the pluralist welcoming of popular musics to school classrooms has neutralized discussions of value, seeing all musics as equally valid, 'there are still hierarchical distinctions, yet along new dividing lines. Even now there is music being marginalised and excluded from education' (p. 106). The questions raised now are *which* – or rather *whose* – musics are excluded, and *why*? How is the content of music lessons decided upon, if classrooms are conceptualized as fully participatory spaces?

As part of her considerable contribution in legitimizing the place of popular music in school classrooms, Lucy Green (1999) has proposed that students may have celebratory, ambiguous or alienating experiences of school repertoires. Her (1999) analysis rests on a distinction between intra- and extra- musical meanings, which she refers to as *inherent*, or *inter-sonic*, and *delineated* musical meanings. The *inherent/inter-sonic* meanings refer to the 'interrelationships of musical materials' (Green, 1999, p. 161). *Delineated* meanings occur simultaneously, as Green suggests that music is mediated 'as a cultural artefact within a social and historical context' (p. 162). Green claims that when a student is familiar with the style of music or particular piece, secure in understanding the intersonic meanings and musical syntax (a response Green terms, *affirmation*), and also feels positively towards the music's delineated meanings, they will have a *celebratory* experience (p. 164). In contrast, and of particular interest to this research project, when 'aggravation by inherent meanings is accompanied by negativity towards delineations' (Green, 1999, p. 164), Green proposes that students experience alienation from music. In other words, when students 'do not understand the music' and do not feel it has any relation to their identity, social class, position in society, or other characteristic of the self, they will have an *alienating* experience. The task for the school music teacher is thus twofold. Green suggests that the easier task is for the teacher to explain the inherent meanings of music in a way that the students may understand it. More challenging is to consider and question the social constructions of musical meanings, for instance what makes a style *feminine*, or *masculine*, or *ethnic*. In this way, Green's work aligns with the calls of critical pedagogy to ask 'how our everyday common-sense understandings – our social constructions or ¨subjectivities¨ – get produced and lived out' (McLaren, 2003, p. 196) as part of the teaching and learning in schools.

Green (2002) points to the potential ideological challenges involved in addressing the delineated meanings of popular musics in school settings. With the anti-educational sentiments of Pink Floyd's 1979 song *Another Brick in the Wall, Pt. 2* as illustration, she argues that '[s]ome lyrics, visual associations or other connotations of popular music are often unsuitable for classrooms' (p. 160), without explaining what exactly is meant by unsuitable, or what is unique about the classroom context that makes it so. Green (2008) gives little guidance to teachers or students in selecting popular musics for the classroom, referring to 'critical musicality' in purely positive terms (p. 80). For Green (2008), critical musicality entails a more attentive and knowledgeable approach to musical *listening* (p. 91), resting on instances of 'musical celebration' (p. 80).

Eva Georgii-Hemming and Victor Kvarnhall (forthcoming) extend Green's (2008) restriction of critical musicality to positive musical engagements, arguing that a critical approach to teaching and learning music in the classroom is essential in moving beyond the taken for granted meanings and associations we often 'load music with'. In particular, it is important to attend to the meanings that may inhibit equality and social justice such as gender, class or ethnicity (n.p.). They suggest that in order to enhance equality and social justice in schools, music listening tasks may be directed by the teacher in such a way that 'connects listeners own perceptions with that of other people – namely argumentation and critical analysis' (n.p.). This approach demands a lot from the teacher, who 'must be clearly aware of and consider equality issues' (n.p.), requiring them to possess certain skills and insights, not only relating to recognizing *what* constitutes an equality issue, how to raise it pedagogically or reflect upon it critically, but also with regards to the contents of, and meanings associated with, the musics selected for study. This appears to be a return to conceptualizations of the teacher as expert, though not so much in terms of transmitting content knowledge (as argued for instance by Hirsch, 1988 as discussed in section 2.1), but in terms of teaching students *how* to think, and *what* to think about, standing in apparent contrast with the calls of informal learning for the teacher to relinquish control and discover music together with students (Green, 2008; Rodriguez, 2009). The teacher's expertise lies in critical liberatory practices, raising questions as to whether this expertise welcomes dissenting voices and diversity, or works to produce 'a new citizenry with a shared set of values' (Miller 1998, p. 14). Whilst relocating the teacher back to the role of expert may be clear when discussing issues relating to race, or gender, where the moral high ground has long been established in the Nordic countries (though is undoubtedly an ongoing project), this role is perhaps more problematic when value questions of what is right, for whom, and when, are less stable or certain. The risk of such an approach lies in teachers adhering to 'classroom narratives of

conversion and redemption' (Miller, 1998, p. 26) with teachers 'filled with the very false consciousness that they're determined to eradicate in others' (p. 15).

Music education researchers Randall Allsup and Heidi Westerlund (2012) offer some suggestions on how the teacher may navigate a plurality of musical, social, and moral values in the classroom. In reconceptualizing the teacher as ethical agent informed by certain ideals and values, they suggest that teachers work towards 'ends-in-view' (p. 134), referring to a Deweyan view of teaching as a deliberation of situational ethics,

> at least there is a possibility, a chance that there are a lot of discrepant forces, not just one contradiction, a number of forces and contradictions that are pulling in different directions, and therefore we are obliged to consider a number of possibilities regarding the method in which these conflicts of forces and conditions will work out. (Dewey LW17: 444).

Allsup and Westerlund (2012) claim that when music education is seen as a pursuit of '*a priori* goods, the ethical action and moral imagination that is required in teaching… are curtailed' (p. 125). However, they provide the example of death metal to illustrate a music that may be 'inappropriate' to perform in music classrooms, and also identify a number of more general problematic aspects of popular musics (the performance of religious or nationalistic musics, music that *promotes* sexual promiscuity, homophobia or misogyny) for school contexts. Similarly to Georgii-Hemming and Kvarnhall (forthcoming), Allsup and Westerlund (2012) imply that such musics *may* be included, but *not* in a manner that permits students to freely explore, experiment, perform and "¨celebrate¨ certain preferences or values' (p. 134). Although on the face of it these suggestions are socially responsible, even if 'at odds with student rights' (Allsup & Westerlund, 2012, p. 134), there are a number of assumptions that warrant problematization.

Identifying *any* music as unambiguously problematic and relegating it to critical discussion rather than performance, may assume a consensus on morality in classroom contexts. The danger in this lies in including *problem musics* only in a form that either pasteurizes popular musics from their socio-historical context and meanings (e.g., as what Ericsson, Lindgren and Nilsson 2011 refer to as 'safe simulation', p. 113), or reappropriating these musics in a way that leads students to a narrow vision of what constitutes the *right* and the *good*. This perhaps downplays the inherent conflicts that exist regarding the social censure and stigmatization of such musics as deviant or problematic, the complexity with which adolescents understand and engage with such musics, and risks education policy and practice assuming a consensus of who students (and indeed teachers) are, and who they

ought to be (Mantie & Tucker, 2012). In other words, welcoming diversity and difference in a manner that further confirms a singular vision of the 'we' (or who 'we' should be) may be seen to exist at odds with ideas of *thick* democracy. Dewey comments on the uncertainty of such moral decision-making,

> The more conscientious the agent is and the more care he expends on the moral quality of his acts, the more he is aware of the problem of discovering what is good; he hesitates among ends, all of which are good in some measure, among duties, which obligate him for some reason. (MW5: 415).

This highlights an important contradiction: that of viewing diversity and difference as a resource, within a cohesive classroom community bound together by the overarching values of the school as institution. If the values of the school are assumed, rather than the diversity and difference that are contained within it, ideas of which musics are appropriate and which are problematic may remain unquestioned. This potentially results in a view that 'it is *obvious* that certain explicit themes just do not fit within school curricula', limiting students' (and teachers') opportunities to 'construct their own social attitudes and develop a critical consciousness of contemporary culture' (Väkevä, 2006, p. 128, emphasis added).

The project of democratizing school music lessons places the questions: who is excluded, how, when, why? at the core of practices striving towards equity and social justice. If repertoire selection is a process of deciding what, or whose, knowledge 'counts as legitimate knowledge' (Apple, 2004, p. 181), the complexities, conflicts and exclusions of music education cannot be overlooked when enacting and justifying inclusive, democratic policies and practices.

3 Theoretical framework of the research project

Schooling in Finland, similarly to educational systems in many other parts of the world, has historical links with the project of nation building (Karlsen, 2011; Ramnarine, 2002). This endeavour was one of establishing a cohesive national Finnish identity and a sovereign, unified nation, with Finland gaining independence in 1917 after decades of foreign rule (Kallio & Partti, 2013; Karlsen, 2011). Teachers played an important role in constructing the notion of 'Finnishness', responsible for literacy and basic education, but were also (supported by the Lutheran church) expected to include the arts and culture in their lessons, fulfilling their roles as 'candles of the nation' (Niemi, 2012, p. 21). These formative nationalist beginnings stand in stark contrast with the situation Finnish teachers now face, with increasing immigration and diversity, globalization, economic and technological advances, and an altogether new sense of who schools are educating, and what for.

In this chapter I outline the theoretical underpinnings that have framed my understandings of the relations between teacher's popular repertoire decisions and democratic schooling in a diversifying, contemporary Finland. As a philosophy contending with uncertainty and change, I draw upon Deweyan pragmatism as an approach to teaching and learning that hinges on interaction and experience (3.1). Taking education as not only concerned with the inculcation of facts, but ideals and values, I turn to writings by John Dewey and Zygmunt Bauman in understanding the moral and ethical tasks of education as situationally defined and determined. As moral boundaries are negotiated, notions of deviance emerge, as the flip side of what is considered good, for whom and when. In discussing deviance I turn to the discipline of cultural criminology, outlining theories that conceive of deviance as relational, processual and political (3.2). In the next section of this chapter I look at censorship as one strategy in which deviance is contended with, attending in particular to the New Censorship Theory that takes process and complexity as central (3.3). Finally, I turn to critical pedagogy in giving the aforementioned theoretical views a sense of direction and critical purpose (3.4).

3.1 A philosophy of flux

Although change and uncertainty are by no means conditions exclusive to the present, the speed at which information is shared, and at which students and teachers have the potential to learn and revise knowledge in any multitude of directions, is undoubtedly increasing (e.g., Bauman, 2000; Hansen, 2011). Such a climate has been referred to by sociologist Zygmunt Bauman (2000) as *Liquid Modernity*, emphasizing the continuity, fluidity, flexibility, instability and

impermanence of identities, institutions and meanings in everyday life.

One response to this culture of uncertainty, particularly in Finland, has been a reconceptualization of the purpose of schooling. Whereas the task of schools was once seen as inculcating students with *right* or *true facts*, Finnish schools are now seen as sites that prepare students for active participation in a democratic society, and as democratic societies in themselves (Sahlberg, 2015). In music education, this has meant a broadening of school repertoires, student-centred curricula and a constructivist approach to teaching, by which students engage in individual or collective processes of meaning-making and knowledge construction, rather than passively sitting on the receiving end of a one-way barrage of information (Dewey, MW9: 56). However, the abundance of musics that have been made accessible to the music teacher and student may be seen to reflect a 'culture of overwhelming plenitude' (Reimer, 1997, p. 21). With this increasing availability of musical practices and repertoire, teachers are faced with the question, 'what to include and what to leave out?' (Pitts, 2000, p. 210). The student-centered and pluralist approaches that have embraced difference, and promoted a welcoming of *all* musics as a means to offer a meaningful education and reflect this diversity, have offered the teacher very little guidance on *what* to teach and *how* to choose. As Bauman (2010) has noted, '[t]he art of living in a world oversaturated with information has yet to be learned' (p. 101).

The choice of pragmatism as part of the theoretical framework of this dissertation is in keeping with the view of the world as one characterized by uncertainty and change, described already by John Dewey as one of the 'philosophies of flux' (LW1: 49, *Experience and Nature*). With a particular focus on education engaging with uncertainty and change as prerequisites for realizing democratic practices in the school and society, Dewey's writings are seen here as a particularly appropriate lens. Dewey's philosophy may be seen as a holistic approach to knowledge and learning, viewing the individual in relation to others as they interact in social context (Dewey LW10, *Art as Experience*). In this way, Dewey dismisses the Cartesian dualism between mind and matter, rather addressing learning and the acquisition of knowledge 'within the framework of a philosophy of *action*' (Biesta & Burbules, 2003, p. 9). As a philosophy of action, human behaviour is not thought of simply in terms of responses to external stimuli, but as an '*interaction* between elements of human nature and the environment, natural and social' (MW14: 9). In other words, '[a]n organism does not wait passively and inertly for something to impress upon itself from without; it acts upon its surroundings and undergoes the consequences of its own behaviour' (Kivinen & Ristelä, 2003, p. 365).

Dewey understood the manner in which people behaved as habitual,

not in the sense of performing repetitive actions unthinkingly, but through the development of 'patterns of possible action' (Biesta & Burbules, 2003, p. 11) that allow for, and frame future interactions. These habits are the basis of organic learning (Dewey, LW13, *Experience and Education*) in that they signify a 'special sensitiveness or accessibility to certain classes of stimuli, standing predilections and aversions' (Dewey, MW14: 32). This idea forms the foundation of Dewey's conception of meaning as 'a property of behavior' (LW1: 141), knowledge and learning, as habits allow us to reconfigure the world from 'a vast penumbra of vague, unfigured things' to 'a figured framework of objects' (Dewey, MW14: 128).

According to Dewey, learning is experimental and always active, coining the often-quoted pragmatist maxim: 'learning by doing' (Dewey, MW9: 192, *Democracy and Education*). Through such a perspective, *experience* is central to learning and education. Experience refers to 'the whole matrix within which the human being confronts the world – the material and social environment, the ever-chancing [sic] flux of every-day life, and simultaneous doings and sufferings' (Westerlund, 2002, p. 49). Accordingly, like human behaviour, experience is not apart from social life, and may be understood as arising in connection with others, and contextualized within a broader historical framework of meaning and values,

> Experience is already overlaid and saturated with the products of the reflection of past generations and by-gone ages. It is filled with interpretations, classifications, due to sophisticated thought, which have become incorporated into what seems to be fresh naïve empirical material. (Dewey, LW 1: 40).

One task of schooling is then to attend to the habits and actions that function unreflectively in line with 'stupid and rigid convention' (Dewey, MW14: 115) as a means to enhance *growth*.

Highlighting the importance of experience in learning, Dewey called upon schools to recognize that the majority of what people learn is not done with their heads buried in books, reciting *facts* ad nauseam or through rote repetition. In focusing on learning by doing – as action – the purpose of schooling is not a matter of pouring information into the empty heads of the naïve and immature, but rather to direct growth in a manner that encourages students to continue learning and growing (I think here of the current research and policies promoting lifelong learning). This growth not only develops the student's capacity to live within the existing society, but to exert influence upon it, to change it (D'Cruz & Hannah, 1979). It may thus be seen that tension, or resistance, is a prerequisite for such growth, as Dewey explains,

> Nor without resistance from surroundings would the self become aware of itself; it would have neither feeling nor interest, neither fear nor hope, neither disappointment nor elation. Mere opposition that completely thwarts, creates irritation and rage. But resistance that calls out thought generates curiosity and solicitous care, and, when it is overcome and utilized, eventuates in elation. (LW10: 65, *Art as Experience*).

Schooling is then not concerned with the inculcation of habits, but their disruption in such a way that requires individuals to reconstruct experience. The manner in which experience is reconstructed is referred to as *deliberation,*

> an experiment of finding out what the various lines of possible action are really like. It is an experiment in making various combinations of selected elements of habits and impulses, to see what the resulting action would be like if it were entered upon. (Dewey, MW14: 132–3).

As such, the individual thinks of or imagines 'various competing possible lines of action' (Dewey, MW14: 132) and through this process of experimental learning, habits are modified. This disruption of habits does not concern the individual in isolation, but in interaction with others, in a process of mutual adaptation and change (Dewey, LW1, *Experience and Nature*). As Dewey states, 'all human experience is ultimately social: that it involves contact and communication' (LW13: 21). This is what he referred to as *transaction,* as the means by which meanings are produced, contextualized in action.

The purpose of growth, as the aim of education, is for all of the members in a society to have equal access to participation in the activities of a community (both within the school and external to it), requiring constant reflection, disruption and adjustment of habit in transaction with others. This is what Dewey envisioned as a democratic society (MW9, *Democracy and Education*). The role of the school is thus to equip the child with the skills required to participate *fully* in democratic life. By this, Dewey argues that we should 'demand for and from the schools whatever is necessary to enable the child intelligently to recognize all his social relations and his part in sustaining them' (MW4: 270). In other words, to recognize the political influences that construct and confine the opportunities for experience. The school is a continuum of democratic social life, 'school cannot be a preparation for social life excepting as it reproduces, within itself, typical conditions of social life' (Dewey, MW4: 272). So, schooling should be democratic, facilitating equal opportunities and access to participation and promoting

'constructive change' (Westerlund, 2002, p. 89). Thus, when the 'typical conditions of social life' are fragmented and fluid, the role of the teacher and the school – more than ever – cannot rely on fixed notions of content or values. Identified by Dewey over a century ago (MW3, Essays, *Democracy and Education*), the challenge of integrating knowledge and practice in an education that serves, and is of relevance to, an increasingly diverse student (and teacher) population is only intensifying.

3.2 Tales of morality and deviance

Locating the school in a liquid modernity with diverse and changing student populations, traditional notions of ethical standards as a fixed set of agreed upon values, may no longer be appropriate (if indeed they ever were). Accordingly, notions of morality and deviance emerge through interactions with others, and undergo constant reconstruction and negotiation. In this section I first look to writings by Dewey and Bauman in proposing that morality and ethics, as judgements, choices, and actions deemed good and right, are situational, and socially negotiated (3.2.1). Secondly I outline the sociological and criminological theories of deviance that this dissertation relies upon, as the other side of the proverbial coin to morality (3.2.2).

3.2.1 Beyond ethics

Part of Dewey's holistic understanding of human growth and education was related to 'moral motives and forces' (MW4: 285). For the purposes of this dissertation, morality is not seen as a fixed set of beliefs and values, but as socially negotiated ideals determining which values and conduct are considered *good* and *right* (Dewey, LW7: 11, *Ethics*). Dewey understood the moral imperative of the school as a matter of promoting 'social intelligence -- the power of observing and comprehending social situations, -- and social power -- trained capacities of control -- at work in the service of social interest and aims' (Dewey, MW4: 285). In striving to develop such an inquiring social intelligence, Dewey's ethical theory stands in contrast with the absolutism of institutionalized ethics that 'tend to distrust the capacity of human intelligence to find innovative ways of coming to terms with experienced problems' (Pappas, 1998, p. 102). Rather, Dewey's ethical theory is grounded in experience, and thus is neither a framework of universal absolutism nor moral relativism. This approach to ethics may be seen as *situational* (see also Allsup & Westerlund, 2012), in that applying Dewey's ethics is unique to specific contexts and interactions. The actors involved may be seen to engage in moral decision-making and experimentation, informed by the moral experiences of one's family, one's culture, and the experienced past. Thus, individuals act on

moral *principles*, as 'general maxims of frequent validity but their validity ultimately depends on their applicability to a situation; they alone have no normative force' (Pappas, 1998, p. 115).

Similarly, Bauman (1995) has proposed that we live in a post-ethical world (p. 36). By this, he argues that ethics, as (ideally) 'a code of law that prescribes correct behaviour ¨universally¨ – that is, for all people at all times; one that sets apart good from evil once for all and everybody' (p. 11), is impossible in a diverse and fragmented liquid modern world. Such views resonate with Dewey's situational ethics, in dismissing the purpose of ethics as aiming towards a singular, overarching good for all and recognizing a plurality of goods dependent on context. However, Dewey suggests that individuals do not toss the moral baby out with the bathwater as it were, and that there is a difference between 'throwing away rules previously developed and sticking obstinately by them' (MW14: 165). As habit-forming beings, the meanings individuals construct through the figured frameworks (Dewey, MW14: 128) of experience are already imbued with historical and cultural meanings. Accordingly, although teachers may approach moral decisions *situationally,* they are not approached naïvely. As Bauman (1995) notes, moral deliberation is not a 'straightforward preference for good or evil, each clearly, unmistakably defined' (p. 2). Moral deliberation is thus a matter not only of deciding on the values or actions that are good, but also of defining the good in the first place.

3.2.2 (Re)constructing deviance

If, for Dewey, ethical deliberation requires a moral agent to imagine possible consequences of 'various competing lines of actions' (LW14: 132), moral *problems* are those in which competing values and ideas of what *is* good, meet. Such conflicting moralities may be seen to result in the generation of power, and the negotiation of moral boundaries (Ben-Yehuda, 1990, p. 13). It is through these conflicts and negotiations that notions of deviance arise, defined as 'behaviour which somehow departs from what a group expects to be done or what it considers the desirable way of doing things' (Cohen, 2009, p. 35). In this section of the dissertation, I outline the approaches in cultural criminology that have framed understandings of deviance as (re)produced through moral deliberations and negotiations. As cultural criminology has built upon the sociology of deviance of the 1960s and 70s, I begin from the starting point of *labelling theory* as advanced by sociologist Howard Becker in the early 1960s, including its application to education contexts. I then turn to two more recent theories that have built on the labelling theory legacy: the notion of *stigma contests* as devised by Edwin Schur, and Colin Sumner's *censure theory*.

In his groundbreaking book *Outsiders: Studies in the sociology of deviance* (1963), Becker's *labelling theory* described the process by which individuals become thought of as deviant as one dependent on social interaction. Deviance is thus socially constructed as '…*groups create deviance by making the rules whose infraction constitutes deviance,* and by applying those rules to particular people and labelling them as outsiders' (p. 9). In this sense, the concept of deviance is dependent on the creation of a set of moral norms to which an individual, event, object or action stands in opposition (Kotarba, Merrill, Williams & Vannini, 2013, p. 84). In other words, deviance is 'always the result of enterprise' (Becker, 1963, p. 162) on the behalf of individuals creating and/or enforcing social moral norms and rules, individuals Becker terms *moral entrepreneurs*. The role of moral entrepreneur may be seen to resonate strongly with the role of educator, as these individuals are 'not only interested in seeing to it that other people do what he thinks right. He believes that if they do what is right it will be good for them' (Becker, 1963, p. 148).

Labelling theory has a long history in sociological research on educational cultures, dating at least as far back as Becker, Geer, Hughes and Strauss' (1961) study *Boys in White.* The researchers investigated the student culture of a medical school, stating that 'human behaviour is to be understood as a process in which the person shapes and controls his conduct by taking into account… the expectations of others with whom he interacts' (p. 19). This view resonates with Dewey's (MW9, *Democracy and Education*) understanding of the school as a society that not only exists '*by* transmission, *by* communication, but it may be fairly said to exist *in* transmission, *in* communication' (MW9: 7). As such, 'what rules are to be enforced, what behaviour regarded as deviant and which people labelled as outsiders must… be regarded as political questions' (Becker, 1963, p. 7).

With the idea that behaviour is influenced by others' expectations, there has been a focus on how school institutions shape student behaviour and educational outcomes, depending on the labelling of students as high or low achievers (see Rist, 2015). For instance, Rosenthal and Jacobson (1968) looked at the effects of labelling certain primary school children as intellectual 'growth spurters' based on imaginary test results. Focusing on teacher expectations as a 'self-fulfilling prophecy' (p. 20), they argued that telling teachers that certain students were 'bright' and intellectually promising would result in the increased academic achievement of these so-labelled children. The results of this provocative study align with consequent studies in the early 1970s that suggested that teacher expectations of particular students led to differential treatment (Rist, 2015). The differential treatment was seen to shape the students' achievement and behaviour, with high-expectation students' performance increasing, and low-expectation

students failing (Good & Brophy, 1973).

Rising to prominence in the 1960s, labelling theory has its limitations when considered in the diverse and dynamic contemporary contexts of liquid modernity. When acts of labelling are seen as one-directional, deterministic actions, deviance may be understood as a relatively arbitrary phenomenon. However, if positioned as the antonym of a dialogical, negotiated and processual morality, deviance may better be understood as processes of *becoming* (Matza, 2010). Sociologist Edwin Schur (1980) referred to processes of *deviantization* as resulting from the negotiation and (re)construction of moral boundaries. Schur (1980) termed the processes that produce deviance *stigma contests.* Stigma contests arise as individuals or social groups seek to (re)enforce moral boundaries in order 'to obtain general social acceptance of their particular values and world views' (Anleu, 2006, p. 174). In this way, Schur expanded upon the political dimensions of Becker's (1963) notion of *moral entrepreneurship* (p. 147), suggesting that the act of labelling involves moral dialogue and deliberation. As Schur (1980) summarises,

> In these continuing struggles over competing social definitions, it is relative, rather than absolute power that counts most. (p. 8).

> Deviance-defining is not a static event but a continuous and changing process. This is so because… it is a way of characterizing and reacting, exhibited by individuals and groups whose interests and favored values, and their ability to impose them, vary greatly and in many instances change over time… the distribution of power among persons and groups crucially shapes deviance outcomes. (p. 66).

Deviantisation is thus seen as an attempt to control (Anleu, 2006, p. 173), and the moral legitimation of power in assigning meaning and value, may be understood as a strategy of domination (Ben-Yehuda, 1992, p. 76).

Researchers' critiques of traditional labelling theory have also raised the need to recognize the institutional politics that frame and constrain interactive potentials and stigma contests (see Apple, 2004, p. 132). These views are echoed in Georgii-Hemming and Westvall's (2010) claim that '[o]ne can never escape the fact that a school is an institution with some, more or less, defined frameworks and conditions' (p. 23). Thus, schools may be understood as part of the 'cultural apparatus of society' that provides the foundations and frames for the stigma contests that determine 'what is socially valued as ¨legitimate knowledge¨ and what is seen as merely ¨popular¨' (Apple, 2013, p. 21). As Apple (2004) argues,

> As children learn to accept as natural the social distinctions schools both reinforce and teach between important and unimportant knowledge, between normality and deviance, between work and play, and the subtle ideological rules and norms that inhere in these distinctions, they also internalize visions of both the way institutions should be organized and their *appropriate* place in these institutions. (p. 134).

Expanding upon labelling theories in order to attend to these multileveled social layers of deviantization, sociologist Colin Sumner (1990) refines the concept of deviance, as

> not defined by a set of distinguishable behaviours offending collective norms, but by a battery of flexible, interconnected ideological terms and feelings of disapproval which are expressed, in varying strength, regularity and openness, in the practical networks of domination. (p. 17).

Thus, it may be seen that stigma contests are not waged on neutral ground, and are 'highly acculturated terms of moral and political judgement' (Sumner, 1990, p. 26). The idea of contests and negotiations of morality and deviance as they manifest in music classroom contexts, may thus be seen to resonate with Dewey's (LW4, *The Quest for Certainty*) assertion that discrepancies of value are reliant on taste.

Dewey referred to taste as a 'sense of an appreciation at once cultivated and active, one may say that the formation of taste is the chief matter wherever values enter in, whether intellectual, esthetic or moral' (LW4: 209). Similarly, Bourdieu (1979) argued that judgments of taste, may be used as a means of social orientation, a guide for

> the occupants of a given place in social space towards the social positions adjusted to their properties, and towards the practices or goods which befit the occupants of that position. (p. 466).

Taste may thus be employed not only in asserting and identifying oneself and one's community, but also as part of the processes of classifying what (or indeed who) is considered deviant, undesirable and inappropriate. Thus, musical taste is not wholly a musical matter, but also a sociological one. As Frith (2004) explains, labelling something as *bad music* is often 'a judgment of something else altogether, the social institutions or social behavior for which the music simply acts as a sign' (p. 20).

Extending Bourdieu's (1979) writings to contemporary music practices,

Bennett et al (2009) have suggested that such tastes and corresponding social hierarchies are not clearly divided between 'high' and 'low' culture (problematizing the educational arguments put forth by Bloom, Hirsch, and Scruton for example). Indeed they suggest that music 'is the most divided, contentious, cultural field' (Bennett et al., 2009, p. 75). Related to values and social positioning, tastes are then culturally and historically informed. In the classroom context, this supports a pluralist understanding of the classroom, as a thick democracy. As such, rather than envisioning the teacher as an undisputed expert with regard to matters of taste, tastes 'are the one thing worth disputing about' (Dewey, LW4: 209).

As unstable and negotiated matters of taste, Sumner (1990) advises that 'it makes most sense to treat [social categories of deviance] as elements of highly contextualized moral and political discourses, i.e. as negative ideological categories with specific, historical applications' (p. 26). He thus proposes a *theory of social censures* (1990, 1997, 2004) offering a perspective by which the complexity of stigma contests may be understood as competing ideological agendas that are enacted through multiple levels of censure. By *censure,* Sumner (1997) refers to 'the practical process of disapproval and stigmatization which arises so frequently in situations of relational conflict' (p. 48). These censures, he explains, 'are not *just* labels, or mere words uttered in the heat of the moment, but categories of denunciation or abuse lodged within very complex, historically loaded practical conflicts and moral debates' (1990, p. 28).

Without a stable, monolithic ethical framework, and understanding censures as the result of stigma contests and moral conflicts, *censure theory* allows for a more complex understanding of the processes of deviantization. For instance, Sumner (2004) suggests that the roles of deviant and labeller are constantly reconfigured and negotiated, according to the power relations embedded in changing political ideologies. He provides (2004) the illustration of Nelson Mandela as an example of how the role of deviant, in the sense of a departure from the status quo, may be productive, even desirable. Here, the once 'outsider' is exalted as hero of progressive change, and the familiar becomes increasingly disrespected and distrusted (p. 24). Sumner (2004) argues that understanding deviance as the product of social censure requires a focus on the social and interactive ways in which processes of deviantization occur. It may be seen that labelling theories still hold relevance, highlighting the consequences of censure and stigma contests. However, recognizing these social interactions is not the answer to the question of deviance, but merely the beginning of an inquiry (Sumner 2004, p. 27) as to what, or who, constitutes *the social* in the first place, and how interactions are manifest in different contexts.

3.3 From deviance to censorship

Johnson and Cloonan (2009) have criticized the focus of media censure and research on deviantized musics on the "usual suspects" such as rap or Marilyn Manson' (p. 161, see also Muzzatti 2004 for a discussion of the contextual meanings and understandings of Marilyn Manson's public persona and performances). Instead, they argue that *any* music may ostensibly be consumed or performed in a way that arouses, incites or causes harm, and be considered a *problem*. However, understanding morality and becoming deviant as processual, politically, and socially (re)constructed, the stigmatization and censure of certain popular genres as *problem music* (e.g., North and Hargreaves 2005, 2006, 2008) is not an inherent characteristic of the music itself. However, neither is it the result of arbitrary labelling based on majority disapproval. Rather, the censure and deviantization of popular musics in formal music education may be understood as contextualized within the interactions and conflicts between ideological discourses – what Street (1997) has termed the 'politics of judgement' (p. 168).

As stigma contests are waged between agents of unequal power, one strategy to reinforce certain moralities and sanctify social censure has been the *censorship* of deviantized voices, and teacher's decisions to exclude certain popular musics from school repertoires may certainly be understood in this light. However, Johnson and Cloonan (2009) note that many forms of music 'are deployed by all sectors, all generations, ethnic groups, gendered positions, classes, by public and private corporate interests, in ways that create conflict or attempt to control behaviour' (p. 186), suggesting that the censorship of music in the classroom cannot be operationalized in a way that positions the teacher as autocratic censor. For the purposes of this dissertation, censorship is rather understood through the complex processes proposed through what has been termed *New Censorship Scholarship* by legal scholar Robert Post (1998) or *New Censorship Theory* by theatre scholar Helen Freshwater (2004) and historian Matthew Bunn (2015). Although this theory does not represent a unified approach to understanding the objects and contexts of censorship study, there are a number of consistencies that have extended understandings of censorship from negative acts of state repression, to a multifaceted, inclusive and even productive process. The New Censorship Theory has built upon the work of four key philosophers: Karl Marx, Michel Foucault, Pierre Bourdieu and Judith Butler. This section of the dissertation offers a brief schematic presentation of the contributions of these philosophers as a means to explicate how the term *censorship* has been applied in this research and dissertation.

3.3.1 Constructing new censorship theory

As an antecedent to major developments in censorship theory, the Marxist traditions have not made significant departures from the more conventional conceptions of censorship as acts of state repression that control speech or behaviour. The contribution of Marxist scholarship was rather through asking the questions: *what for? Why censor?* In keeping with Marx's analysis of the social sphere, these approaches have attended to the ways in which censorship is employed to maintain a certain social order, reinforce class-divisions and conceal oppressive power relations. As Bunn (2015) notes, '[a]lthough the state does act as a repressive force in Marxist society, it does not do so at the *expense* of civil society but rather at its *behest*' (Bunn, 2015, p. 34). Post (1998) alerts us to the ways in which Marxism unsettled traditional understandings of censorship, noting that the concept 'used to be… [a]ligned along predictable and venerable divisions separating liberals from conservatives, oriented toward ancient and well-rehearsed chestnuts such as obscenity and national security' (p. 1). Marxism's reconstruction of censorship as not only a (albeit justified as necessary for the *greater good*) repressive force, but as *benefit*, dissolves these simplistic distinctions in bringing to the fore notions of censorship as acts of domination and power. If censorship was *for the people,* Marxist scholarship interrogated the assumptions of *who* these people were, and whether censorship and similar acts of repressive power were for the greater good of society as a whole, or for the good of a select few. In addition to this contribution, New Censorship Theory is indebted to Marx's concept, or rather troubling of the concept of *free speech.* Whereas traditional understandings of censorship envisioned free speech as the *absence* of regulation and control, freedom – or at least *absolute* freedom – for Marx, is a fiction. In this sense, state censorship may be best understood as a subsidiary of broader, *ideological* forms of social control.

Applying these ideas beyond the analysis of social life in terms of class divisions, many scholars aligning with New Censorship Theory have turned to writings by Michel Foucault in seeing 'a multiplicity of possible loci of power/knowledge that produce and regulate docile bodies and ideological conformity' (Bunn, 2015, p. 37). Foucault's (1980) writings suggest that in attending to matters of power and politics in social life, we (also as researchers) 'must escape from the limited field of juridical sovereignty and State institutions, and instead base our analysis of power on the study of techniques and tactics of domination' (p. 102). In this way, the focus is shifted from individual acts of censorship, to the techniques of power (p. 39) - active processes of domination and subordination between censorious agents (Freshwater 2004, p. 225). As film scholar Annette Kuhn (1988)

explains,

> [C]ensorship is not reducible to a circumscribed and predefined set of institutions and institutional activities, but is produced within an array of constantly shifting discourses, practices and apparatuses. It cannot, therefore, be regarded as either fixed or monolithic. [It…] is an ongoing process embodying complex and often contradictory relations of power. (p. 127).

Foucault's contribution to contemporary views of censorship may also be seen in a reconceptualization of censorship as an act of silencing, to *productive* (in the generative sense) processes. For instance, in the *History of Sexuality, volume 1* (1978), Foucault noted that during the Victorian era, what could be said about sex and/or sexuality was tightly controlled,

> where and when it was not possible to talk about such things became much more strictly defined; in which circumstances, among which speakers, and within which social relationships. (p. 18).

The effects of this censorship were not (only) seen in the deployment of discretion and tact when discussing such topics, or the silencing of the subject altogether in public discourse. Foucault (1978) notes that the censorship of talk about sex and sexuality resulted in 'a veritable discursive explosion' (p. 17). Thus, censorship not only created new forms of discourse or ways of speaking that permitted communication in a way that avoided the moralizing gaze of the censors, but functioned as an 'incitement to speak about it' (p. 18) in the first place. New Censorship Theory has relied upon these ideas in considering the effects of other forms and instances of censorship, as not only silencing, but *productive*.

With such a polyvalent, multitudinous reconceptualization of censorship, some scholars aligning with New Censorship Theory have also turned to Pierre Bourdieu's notion of discursive fields, for an analysis of how power intertwines with the frames and potentials for communication. Bourdieu (1991) conceptualized the ways in which power and language construct and constrain one another, beyond the dichotomy of freedom versus repression. The overt act of repressive censorship is recognized as only *one* force governing 'access to expression and the form of expression' (p. 138). In his essay *Censorship and the Imposition of Form* (1991), Bourdieu writes, 'it is the structure of the field itself which governs expression by governing both access to expression and the form of expression' (p. 138). In other words, one's values, lifestyle, background, socially constructed norms

and everyday experiences function in a way that permit certain thoughts and actions, and prohibit others a priori, and determine the manner in which they may be expressed. This means that censorship may not only be seen in overt repressive acts or exclusion, but as manifested in the authorization of certain voices in certain spaces. Censorship then may occur in seemingly consensual relationships, as Bourdieu (1991) explains,

> censorship is never quite as perfect or as invisible as when each agent has nothing to say apart from what he is objectively authorized to say: in this case he does not even have to be his own censor because he is, in a way, censored once and for all, through the forms of perception and expression that he has internalized and which impose their form on all his expressions. (p. 138).

Censorship may also be seen as frames and constraints that legitimize participation in particular cultural forms. Post (1998) suggests that censorship is then omnipresent, 'censorship is the *norm* rather than the exception' (p. 2, emphasis added).

These conceptualizations of censorship as processual, productive and omnipresent have also been extended by Judith Butler. Butler (1998) distinguishes between explicit and implicit forms of censorship as forms of power, raising important questions regarding the applicability of the term *censorship*, when extended to situations where 'implicit operations of power… rule out in unspoken ways what will remain unspeakable' (p. 249). She proposes the term 'foreclosure' to refer to the means by which communication is structured, either through abiding by the dominant norms that govern speech, or the reworking or resignification of utterances as a subversive act. Similarly to Foucault, she understands censorship as not only a restriction upon what can be said, but also a means by which speech (or action) is *generated*, as she claims (1997), 'speech depends upon censorship' (p. 140). Foreclosure is thus not a repressive act by one subject against another, but it is rather repression that 'makes possible the formation of the subject… a reiterated effect of a structure' rather than a singular action (Butler, 1998, p. 255). In this sense, Butler (1998) refocuses analyses of censorship from the issue of *speech* or *silencing,* to the political aims that legitimize and strengthen particular views over others. She gives the example of nation building to illustrate how censorship may be employed to 'build (or rebuild) consensus', to aid 'in the codification of memory… or in the insistence that certain kinds of… events be narrated only one way' (p. 252). In this way, Butler looks more closely at what censorship is used *for*, and the relations between censorious processes and the exertion, and formation of

individual agency.

3.3.2 An interactive new censorship theory for the music classroom

Building on the work of Marx, Foucault, Bourdieu and Butler, New Censorship Theory has reconsidered censorship as process, as productive, as omnipresent, and as necessary. Thus, as is in keeping with recent scholarship (e.g., Bunn, 2015; Butler, 1997, 1998; Freshwater, 2004; Holquist, 1994; Moore, 2013; Post, 1998), the term *censorship,* as it is applied in this dissertation, extends beyond instances relating to the silencing of musicians by governmental forces, the banning of music on radio airwaves or the teacher pressing the stop button on a music video in the classroom. Rather, censorship may be seen as a *heterogeneous continuum* between repressive silencing, and the productive framing of agency.

It is important to note that as a framework focused on the structural, societal and power structures that frame and determine the potentials for individual agency (indeed, Marxist traditions have suggested that agency is an illusion), New Censorship Theory's reliance on Marx, Foucault, Bourdieu and Butler may be seen to exist in conflict with the theoretical understandings of school context in this dissertation or the methodologies employed in this research, interpreting the school as interactive and aiming for thick democracy. For instance, a theoretical approach focused on the institutional frames that construct or constrain the *subject* (as opposed to agent), may not trust that individuals would be, or could be, aware of the censorship of their thoughts, speech, and actions. Through such a perspective, interviewing teachers regarding their popular repertoire decisions may reveal little about the censorious frames that they work within. However, this is not to say that these theoretical perspectives are wholly incompatible with or inapplicable to the research context of the school if it is seen as an interactive, democratic context.

Understanding individual agency through Dewey's notions of habitual and reflective intelligence (as discussed in section 3.1), the concept of censorship is here extended. For the purposes of this dissertation, censorship is understood as processual, productive, omnipresent, necessary, and also as *interactive.* Locating censorship as part of dynamic, interactive, powerful relationships, just as silence is not defined as the absence of speech or music, censorship is not simply the *means* by which interaction is framed or constrained. If silence is integral to expression, censorship may be understood as part of interaction itself. In other words, both the manifestations and effects of censorship may be seen *in* and *through* interactions between people, or groups of people as part of the processes of meaning or community making. Considering censorship as interactive also highlights the political nature of social censure, silencing (the self, or others), and participation in

the thick democracy of music education.

In considering the questions: *who censors? Why censor?* in the context of this research project, I do not position the music teacher as autocratic censor. If censorship is not a discrete act and is located in the *interactions* between individuals and groups, *who* censors is not a simple matter of who is in charge of classroom activities. If interactions involve constantly negotiated and dynamic power relations, who is in a position to censor is constantly changing. This raises an important ontological problem. If censorship is located in interaction, and is an omnipresent, and even necessary part of communication and expression, there may be little 'point in saying that some people are silenced, some are not; some are silenced at some times, not at others; some are silenced here, but not there; some are silenced in a bad way, some in an innocent way' (Langton, 1998, p. 261). As argued by Rae Langton (1998), '[i]f censorship is everywhere, it might as well be nowhere' (p. 261). Similarly to traditional understandings of censorship as the repressive silencing of the state, this view does not allow for a productive exploration of silencing, deviantization, legitimation or social censure. The conclusion is already apparent.

In retaining the analytic power of *censorship* as a descriptive term rather than ascriptive conclusion, this research focuses on processes of the censure and censorship of music, as part of the daily interactions of the school community. In doing so, I focus specifically on teachers' popular repertoire choices, understanding these choices as both the realization and negation of 'freedom' (Brown, 1998). Beyond the welfare concerns for impressionable youth, the aims of censorious narratives and forces in the school may be seen as engaging with a project of community building. Censorship, both repressive and constitutive, is thus about making situational, although historically and contextually informed, judgments in order to delimit who the school community is (or should be), and actively forming the values and knowledge within that community. When considered in relation to the processes of social censure, the concept of censorship also provides a useful lens with which to understand the creation of outsiders from school music education and the implications of popular repertoire selection for the inclusive, democratic music classroom. With such an understanding, I do not take a position arguing for, or against censorship. As literature sociologist Michael Holquist (1994) reminds us, '[t]o be for or against censorship is to assume a freedom no one has. Censorship is' (p. 17).

3.4 Politicized topographies and a critical sense of direction

In proposing that musical meaning and censorship are the result of pluralistic social conflict by which dominant groups censure and deviantize certain musics, it

is necessary to mention *what/who for*. As Apple (2004) cautions '[b]y examining… labelling process… we can forget that it *is* an indicator of something beyond itself as well' (p. 131). The narrowing of musics taught and learnt in school classrooms, and understandings of schooling as separate and distinct from everyday life, may be seen as symptomatic of a broader 'quest for certainty' (Dewey, LW4, *The Quest for Certainty*) in a world characterized by change and insecurity. In labelling certain musics (and in turn individuals) as what and who *we* are *not,* a certain sense (however illusionary) of stable community and social cohesion may be achieved. Who compromises this 'we', and who is excluded, is of interest to *moral entrepreneurs* (Becker, 1963, p. 147-63), as they 'try to generate power and influence in order to restructure societal moral boundaries and consequently to redefine morality, values and conduct norms which in turn define the ideological and behavioral parameters of the social order' (Ben-Yehuda, 1990, p. 54).

Dewey argued that the control of social order has traditionally been 'vested in an oligarchy' (MW14: 5), an oligarchy which fails an increasing number of students in times of social change and diversification. This poses clear problems for public schooling if it is to be inclusive, democratic and develop all students' skills for engaging with social change and uncertainty. The dilemma is thus raised: if we are to think of schools as communities united by shared values, this community may be constructed more through coercion and exclusion, than diversity and inclusion. Thus, the very concept of school as a cohesive community in a pluralistic, post-ethical society is questionable, if in being inclusive there can be no stable consensus. There can be no 'we'.

As an approach that has been concerned with matters of 'justice, values, ethics, and power' (Giroux, 2011, p. 3) critical pedagogy offers a valuable perspective in,

> thinking about, negotiating, and transforming the relationships among classroom teaching, the production of knowledge, the institutional structures of the school, and the social and material relations of the wider community, society and nation state. (McLaren, 1998, p. 45).

In music education, critical pedagogy may be seen to align closely with the principles of informal learning that have been used to advocate for a flexible approach to school repertoires and take into account students' own preferences and out-of-school musical experiences, and the pragmatist ideals of hands-on music making. Underlying these approaches is a commitment to the realization of democratic practices in schools, and a belief that education may serve as a transformative medium for social justice and social change. Building on the legacy

of Paulo Freire, the attention of critical pedagogues to power relations in schools, and disrupting the unquestioned assumptions of the status quo, takes the idea of participatory, thick democracy seriously. Accordingly, critical pedagogy scholars have argued that a view of democracy 'as conflation, as consensus, but also as consciousness of negation, segregation, or inequality – seems to be an essential part of any sociological, political or educational practice' (Schmidt, 2008, p. 14). In other words, conflict is an important, and essential, aspect of democratic practices (such as those implemented in schools) that warrants considerable (and critical) attention.

If schools are envisioned as sites not merely mirroring the society in which they are located, but 'in which citizenship is developed and nurtured' (Giroux, 2011, p. 169), and if participatory citizenship is inherently political (e.g., Apple, 2004), it is precisely *in* schools that notions of propriety, censure, knowledge, culture and value should be contested. As Giroux (2011) writes,

> [c]ritical pedagogy is about more than a struggle over assigned meanings, official knowledge, and established modes of authority: it is also about encouraging students', and I would add to this, teachers, 'to take risks, act on their sense of social responsibility, and engage the world as an object of both critical analysis and hopeful transformation (p. 14).

The daily popular repertoire decisions made by music teachers thus warrant ethical and critical reflection if they are to support and enact visions of inclusive, thick democratic policies and practices in schools (see Giroux, 2011, p. 170).

4 Implementation of the research project

Kvale and Brinkmann (2009) have suggested that an 'interviewer *may* learn throughout an investigation' (p.112, emphasis added), and this was definitely true in this particular project. As a researcher, I assumed the role of student in many ways, learning not only about the phenomena under investigation, but also about *how* to study them in an effective, meaningful way. As a result of these learning processes, the methodological approach changed during the course of study in response to particular challenges that arose, and adapting to the particular cases that were the focus of this investigation. It would not be possible to pinpoint the exact moment these challenges became apparent, nor describe the construction of solutions as discrete moments in the research process. However, if in relating narratives through stories, one makes the often chaotic flow of everyday life coherent, and draws events together into a 'temporally organized whole' (Polkinghorne, 1995, p. 5), then this chapter on the methodological approach of this project may be understood as synthesized in storied form. What follows is a more structured, linear account of the many and continuous decisions, evaluations, and adaptations to theoretical underpinnings, research questions, interview guides, questions and analyses, with hopes to give the reader a clear understanding of how the research was conducted, even though such clarity required many murky revisions.

The methodological story of this research is told in five parts. The first introduces the methodological framework within which this research project is situated (4.1), followed by an introduction of the cases under investigation (4.2). The third and fourth sections outline the methods of data collection and analyses, the challenges encountered, and the methodological revisions that were made (4.3, 4.4). The final section presents a number of practical and ethical reflections on the methods employed in this project (4.5).

4.1 Methodological framework

In keeping with the theoretical framework of this research, which views Dewey's (LW13, *Experience and Education*) notion of transactional experience as central to the socially constructed self, the methodological framework of this project rests on an epistemological dismissal of an objective reality. As explained by Stake (1995), '[s]ubjectivity is not seen as a failing needing to be eliminated but as an essential element of understanding' (p. 45). In dealing with human subjects, and their reflections on human action, the focus of this research is not to prove that any particular popular musics are more challenging for teachers than others, or to establish clear categories of musics that presented a problem for teachers, but

rather to learn, understand, and describe the relationships and processes that are involved in teachers' popular repertoire decision-making.

Understanding words as a means of interaction and communication, and story as one way in which experience is characterized, expressed and made meaningful (Pinnegar & Daynes, 2007, p. 5; see also Bowman, 2006; Connelly & Clandinin, 2006; Leavy, 2013), narrative inquiry was selected as an appropriate methodological approach. As narrative researchers in the field of music education Margaret Barrett and Sandra Stauffer (2009) have noted, the term *narrative* has been used with reference to story, to a mode of knowing and as a method of inquiry (p. 7). This research project is perhaps best understood as all three simultaneously. As story, this research investigates and indeed, *stories*, individuals' constructions of their own experiences, related in a particular context and time. Beyond a question-answer interview approach, I sought structured narratives, that is, teachers' stories of their everyday classroom experiences (Connelly & Clandinin, 1990). As individuals construct and relate stories to one another, they construct and represent themselves and others (Bruner, 2004) in a process of 'world' and 'life making' (pp. 691-692). This dissertation is doing the very same thing, constructing and representing myself, the participants of this research project, the process of investigation and the findings. Thus, the stories constructed during interviews, and the stories of the interviews themselves, may be seen as a mode of knowing, providing both the means to experience the world and to make sense of it (Barrett & Stauffer, 2012, p. 4). As a method of inquiry, this research also constructed stories based on interview data, sharing them with the teacher participants and engaging in a process of 'collaborative storytelling' (Connelly & Clandinin, 1990, p. 12), meaning-making and inquiry.

With narrative employed as story, a mode of knowing, and a method of inquiry, this research project may be seen to bridge the divide between Polkinghorne's (1995) distinction between *analysis of narratives* and *narrative analysis*. The analysis of narratives is a paradigmatic approach whereby themes are constructed across stories, types of stories, cases or contexts; and narrative analysis rather produces storied accounts of descriptive data. Through analysis of narratives this research looks at teachers' stories, but also engages in storytelling together with the teachers as a means to understand the processes of popular repertoire selection and the implications of these decisions for music education.

4.2 The cases of five Finnish secondary school music teachers

In exploring the narrative world of teachers' popular repertoire decisions, the project adopted a multiple case study approach, defined 'by interest in individual cases' (Stake, 1995, p. 236). Case study, in this research, allowed for an in depth exploration of five secondary school (in Finnish, *yläaste*) teachers' daily work and decision-making as they selected popular repertoire for their 13 – 15 year old students. Stake (1995) outlines two types of case studies: intrinsic and instrumental, of which this project is the latter. Whereas the case itself is the focus of an intrinsic case study, in an instrumental case study the cases are investigated in order to 'provide insight into an issue or refinement of theory' (p. 237). Thus, in this project, the stories of five Finnish music teachers offer a window into understanding teachers' decision-making processes with regards to popular repertoire, and their experiences and navigations of popular repertoire in secondary school classrooms. The analysis of music teachers' stories of popular repertoire selection also contributes towards the development of theoretical tools or concepts that may be utilized to reflect upon the processes (and implications) of censure and censorship that occur as part of classroom interactions.

4.2.1 Case selection

In selecting cases for this research project, a purposive sample (Creswell, 2009) was sought based on certain criteria. These criteria were not established with hopes to maximize the generalizability of findings through the 'sampling of attributes', but to maximize 'opportunities to learn' (Stake, 1995, p. 6). Aiming for opportunities to intensively study teachers' repertoire decision-making, the criteria for selection targeted individuals according to a typology of geographical region, school and years of teaching experience.

Without a national database of music teachers working in Finland from which to select research participants, the contact details of approximately ten schools from different regions of Finland (Northern Lapland, Lapland, Central Finland, Eastern Finland and the Capital region) were compiled. Schools were located in large to medium sized cities resting on the assumption that teachers working with larger and more diverse populations would be more likely to be employed full time and be proficient in the English language, the language of the researcher. From this list, I selected different kinds of schools (including comprehensive schools, Swedish speaking schools and music specialized schools) and sourced the music teachers' email addresses from school websites. Teachers were contacted via email with a letter introducing myself, explaining the research project, and inviting them to participate (see appendix 5). In order to participate it was made clear that teachers were to have graduated from one of the three

Finnish universities that offer school music teaching qualifications, were currently employed full time, available, and comfortable to be interviewed in English (as I am not yet fluent in Finnish nor Swedish). Teachers were also requested to mention how many years they had worked as a music teacher in their response to the invitation, with hopes to select teachers at varying career stages. It was clearly stated that participation in the research project was voluntary and that neither they, nor their schools, would be identified in research reports. Of the initial five contacts, three agreed to participate in the research and two did not respond. This may have been because they did not wish to participate, did not meet the requirements for participation, or because they did not understand the letter, which was written in English. Two additional teachers were contacted from the original school lists based on geographical location. These teachers responded and agreed to take part in the research.

4.2.2 Introducing the teachers

The five participating secondary school music teachers are referred to in this dissertation by the pseudonyms: Maria, Outi, Julia, Risto, and Iida. All teachers held master's degrees in music education. As a requirement of their teacher training, all teachers reported that they were comfortable teaching and performing a variety of popular music styles, and popular musics featured as part of their classroom repertoires. In what follows I briefly introduce each participant, including some information on their personal musical histories and teaching careers, as they related to me at the time of data collection.

Maria

Maria was in her late forties. She began her music education playing classical piano and violin, which extended also to folk styles and performing with a pops orchestra.[3] Enrolled in a general classroom teacher education degree, she was inspired by one of her professors to become a music teacher. After working as a classroom music teacher for five years while developing her music performance skills, she applied to university for both the church music programme as an organist, and the music education programme, and was accepted into the latter. Her first experiences with many popular music styles and instruments were as part of her music teacher training. At the time of data collection, Maria had been teaching for 22 years, of which 17 were as a specialist music teacher. She was working in a Swedish-speaking school.

3 A pops orchestra is one that performs popular music (primarily pop), show tunes, and well known classical works.

Outi

Outi was in her early forties. Her musical background was in classical piano, but she had chosen popular musics as her specialization during her music teacher training. Consequently, Outi considered herself well versed in popular music performance styles, and these musics formed the bases for many of the lessons she taught. She had been teaching classroom music for 14 years, the last 11 of which had been spent in the music specialized school she was working in at the time of data collection.

Julia

Julia was in her mid forties. Her musical experiences began in improvisation, and group piano lessons. Continuing with classical piano, she felt that the ensemble work at university was a turning point for her musical identity. She embraced group improvisation, and after the second year of her studies she changed her primary instrument from piano to voice. She stated that she had known that she wanted to be a music teacher from the age of nine, and after 16 years in the classroom, it was still her dream job. She was working in a comprehensive school.

Risto

Risto was in his mid thirties. He began his musical career as a self-taught guitarist, playing rock and heavy metal as a teenager and experimenting with various instruments. He applied to the university music education programme numerous times before he was accepted, as the examiners asked him each time to improve his keyboard and music theory skills. His goal in becoming a music teacher was to share his love for music with young people, and offer the kinds of formal education that he felt he had missed out on growing up. Risto was an accomplished jazz guitarist and composer, performing and recording professionally alongside his teaching career. He had been teaching music for seven years in schools, universities, conservatoires and community colleges, and at the time of data collection, was working in a comprehensive school.

Iida

Iida was in her early thirties. Her musical background was in folk musics and folk instruments such as the Finnish kantele, singing, and playing piano. Although she had dabbled in popular musics and jazz growing up, these became much more of a focus for her as part of her university training. She had assumed her first (and only) teaching position six years prior to the data collection for this research project, at a comprehensive school at the opposite end of the country to her home

city. When she began teaching at the school, the region in which she worked had been without an extracurricular music school and without a permanent music teacher for 17 years. Although she loved and took great pride in her work, she stated that it had taken time for her to learn to handle not only the workload, but the sense of responsibility she felt for her students' musical learning.

4.3 Stage one: Asking questions and telling stories

As mentioned earlier, the methods evolved during the course of data collection in response to particular challenges. As such, the methods are discussed here in two stages. Stage one outlines the first two rounds of interviews and preliminary analyses. Stage two describes the challenges encountered during data collection, and the changes in methodological design that were implemented to attend to these.

Data collection was initially designed to follow a semi-structured interview format, similar to that outlined by Seidman (2006). This approach involves a series of three interviews, each serving a different purpose increasing in specificity. The first interview is designed to locate the 'participants' experience in context' (p. 17), aiming for what Seidman terms a *focused life history*. The second interview attends to the *details of experience*, seeking concrete, storied examples of experiences relevant to the topic of study. The third interview is seen as an opportunity to *reflect* upon what these experiences mean to interviewees, and explore these meanings in relation to the information gained in the first two interviews (Seidman, 2006, pp. 16-19). The final interview was also designed as an opportunity to clarify any uncertainties or interpretations, and member check (Creswell, 2009, p. 196). Interviews were scheduled at the convenience of participating teachers over a period of seven months from 2011–2012.

Teachers were met individually in their classrooms. There were two exceptions to these meeting locations, as Iida's first interview was conducted in a practice room at the Sibelius Academy, as she was visiting nearby, and Julia who requested that the final interview be held in her home to accommodate childcare needs. The first two interviews, scheduled between one and three weeks apart, were largely in keeping with the format outlined above, and lasted between one and two hours each, following a semi-structured interview guide (see appendix 6), including an outline of topics with 'suggested questions' (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009, p. 124).[4]

4 Prior to interviewing these five teachers, I conducted a pilot study in order to refine the interview questions. This pilot study was a single interview conducted with a colleague from the Sibelius Academy, who was enrolled as a pre-doctoral candidate and working full time as a secondary school music teacher. As part of the

The first interview focused on teachers' personal musical histories and education, their experiences of teacher training, and their attitudes towards popular musics in school. The second interview focused on particular instances where they felt that they had encountered problems in relation to popular musics, and how they had responded to these challenges. The interview approach differed from that suggested by Seidman (2006) in that I freely followed up on points of interest, taking the lead from the teacher participant rather than adhering strictly to the format of the interview guide. For example, if one of the teachers told a story of their experiences of popular musics in the classroom during the first interview, this often led to more detailed discussion and exploration, rather than putting the topic aside to deal with in the second interview, as Seidman recommends (2006, p. 19). This was in order to preserve the flow of conversation, and enact 'respect through deep listening… with humility and perseverance' (Barrett & Stauffer, 2009, p. 21).

It was clear through shared discussions and interview responses that the participating teachers had positioned me as an 'outsider' to the Finnish secondary school music classroom. Although informed as to Finnish music education policy and practice, and having worked in a very limited capacity as a music teacher in Finnish international schools, I assumed the position of being 'genuinely näive' (Yin, 1994, p. 85) and teachers took time to explain the Finnish music education system, their teacher training, and their day-to-day work as music teachers. In the first two interviews, teachers often elaborated on their responses through generalized statements in explanation or illustration of what was expected of Finnish secondary school music teachers, and what their daily work entailed.

Interviews were audio recorded and transcribed as verbatim as possible, including pauses, 'ums and ahs' with researcher translations of any words or phrases in Finnish or Swedish written alongside the main interview text. Alongside verbatim transcription I occasionally made notes such as reflections on tone of voice or moments of laughter in order to retain a sense of the emotional

doctoral student community that meet regularly to discuss and critically comment on each others' work, the interviewee was aware of my study, research aims, and questions. Meeting in his classroom after school hours in 2011, the pilot study interview lasted approximately one hour and was conducted according to an interview guide devised by myself. After the interview, the interviewee and I discussed at length whether any questions were unclear, how we felt about the interview questions and style, whether the interviewee found the focus relevant to his work as a music teacher and how the interview could be improved. This discussion led to a revision of the interview guide and questions, which were further critiqued and revised during doctoral seminars with other students and professors. The pilot study data was not analyzed, nor does it contribute to the findings of this research project, as the main purpose was to develop and evaluate the interview guide.

content and atmosphere of discussions. Transcriptions were made as soon as possible after each interview, often providing an opportunity to carefully consider what was said and make notes to improve future interviews (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009).

After the transcription of the first two rounds of interviews, a preliminary analysis was conducted following Kelchtermans' (1994) *narrative-biographical approach*, whereby data was thematically analyzed in two stages. The first stage was a vertical analysis, with each case taken as the unit of analysis. Analyzing each teacher's interviews individually allowed for personalized professional profiles to be composed by the researcher, as an attempt to understand each teacher's backgrounds and approach to teaching music in schools. In order to maintain the anonymity of teacher participants, an excerpt of this vertical analysis is not provided as part of this dissertation. However, the constructed themes, and sub themes that contributed towards these personalized professional profiles are illustrated in table 1.

Table 1: *Thematic categories of the vertical analysis*

Background	Becoming a music teacher	Reasons for becoming a music teacher
		Teacher preparation studies
		Specialization
		Challenges
	Music as a subject	Importance
		Uniqueness
	Aims as a music teacher	Cultural
		Students' overall growth
		Empowerment
	'What makes a great music teacher?'	Adaptability
		Reflection
		Ethical responsibility

The second stage was a cross case analysis where, as a comparison of their personalized professional profiles, recurring themes and similarities between the teachers' responses were constructed. Alongside this analysis, 24 longer narratives of individual teachers were kept intact (Maria: 3 stories, Iida: 5 stories, Julia: 7 stories, Outi: 4 stories, Risto: 4 stories), allowing for a 'cyclical repeated pattern of close reading, developing more general interpretations and controlling these interpretations by confronting them with the data' (Kelchtermans, 1994, p. 99). Each theme that was constructed based on interview data was divided into a number of sub themes, as illustrated in table 2.

Table 2: *Thematic categories of the horizontal analysis*

Expectations of a music teacher	National curriculum
	Cultural
	Religious
	School & Staff
	Parents
	Students
Popular music in the classroom	Popular repertoire sources
	Choosing popular repertoire
	Student's own music
	Popular music history
Musical considerations	Lyrics
	Music videos
	Sounds/atmosphere
Problems, solutions and uncertainties	

As these preliminary thematic analyses progressed, a number of issues that concerned me became apparent. Although the interview guide was designed to increase the depth and specificity of discussions, the first and second interviews largely remained at surface level description, with teachers often noting that what they explained to me was based on assumed or generalized knowledge or understandings. Although there may have been many reasons for this, two are discussed here: the solitary nature of music teaching, and the perceived importance of educating me as foreigner to the Finnish education system.

Teachers all expressed curiosity regarding whether the other participating teachers experienced similar challenges and concerns as they did in selecting popular repertoire, what their responses to interview questions were, and what each other thought about the issues being discussed. Only one of the teachers, Outi, worked alongside another music teacher, and noted that she rarely discussed her pedagogical approaches with the other teacher, rather collaborating only in the production of school concerts and events. Highlighting this sense of isolation, Iida, was the only music teacher for the entire region, assuming a school teaching post that had been filled by casual or supplementary teachers (not necessarily trained in music education) for almost two decades. If one of her students wanted to learn an instrument that she was unable to teach, they had to travel over 300km away for tuition. Three of the teachers related the work of a music teacher to the Finnish proverb, 'Siperia opettaa', translating to 'Siberia teaches'. Understanding this in relation to the political history of Nordic and Eastern Europe, the urgency and hardships under which a music teacher must learn in isolation, is no mean feat. Perhaps relating to this sense of solitude, teachers were not always confident in expressing their personal thoughts or beliefs, and responded to questions outlining what they had been taught as part of their teacher training, or as broader ponderings on how Finnish music teachers *should* make decisions and act in the classroom.

Adding to this sense of uncertainty, discussions were often limited to broad descriptions of the Finnish music education system, rather than an in-depth, personal and active inquiry. Positioned in the role of foreigner, I did not share common experiences as a musician, student, nor teacher with the research participants. Consequently, they took considerable time to describe the action of their individual classrooms, without addressing why, or what for. Thus the 'genre in which ¨acceptable¨ description [was] communicated' (Eraut, 2000, p. 118) was one of educating me on a general level, which resulted in the preclusion of the specific, tacit knowledge 'often acquired through a process of socialization through observation, induction and increasing participation' (p. 122).

Understanding stories and storytelling as a relational experience whereby meaning is constructed collaboratively between teller and listener, *what* is related or understood is dependent on the assumptions of who each other are, and what each other know (Barrett & Stauffer, 2009, p. 7). In an attempt to attend to the *why* and *what for* of teachers' experiences of popular repertoire selection, it was necessary to disrupt the relationship that had been established that had positioned myself as ignorant immigrant, and the teachers as translators of official policy or cultural norms. As Squire and Tamboukou (2008) note, the etymology of narrative may be found in 'knowing' rather than 'telling' (p. 12). Thus, in moving beyond

telling description, the methodological approach was reconsidered as a process of collaborative inquiry.

4.4 Stage two: Constructing factional stories and engaging in collaborative inquiry

In disrupting the relationship of informer and ignorant that had been established, I felt that it was necessary to communicate to teachers that their stories had been heard, and were the focal point of this research. This was not only with regards to their explanations of official policy or cultural norms as they were manifest in their classrooms, but also to their descriptions of personal experiences, and the emotionality and uncertainty that these often entailed. A heuristic solution was sought, focusing less on what we may know *from* stories and more on what we can know *through* them.

Barrett and Stauffer (2009) have suggested that story is 'a means by which we might trouble certainty, and raise questions concerning the ¨taken-for-granted¨' (p. 1). If story is understood through Dewey's notion of experience (LW13, *Experience and Education*), the collaborative potentials of telling, hearing and interpreting stories may see them not only as a reflection of human experience, but as experiences in themselves. With these potentials of story in mind, the focus shifted from the telling and listening to teachers' stories to a process of storying. This was done with hopes that by retelling and sharing teachers' own stories (and the researcher's interpretations), I might promote dialogue and 'lead participants and researchers to see their experience from different perspectives and… lead to a new spiral of retellings' (Olson, 2000, p. 350). This focus on learning *through* story, and the consequent process of story writing, aligns with internationally renowned arts-based and qualitative researcher, Patricia Leavy's (2009) assertion that researchers are no longer limited to an existing set of methodological tools, but may craft their own.

Reconsidering the interview as a collaborative endeavour in meaning-making (e.g., Ellis & Berger, 2003) through story, I scrutinized the preliminary horizontal analyses and narratives that had been collected, highlighting not only similarities and common themes, but dissenting voices, uncertainty, researcher and/or teachers' questions that remained unanswered and issues that were unresolved. Whereas the horizontal analysis may be seen to fit with Polkinghorne's (1995) definition of *analysis of narratives,* the arts-based processes of constructing stories based on this aligns with *narrative analysis*. I began crafting (Coulter & Smith, 2009, p. 587) a series of storied narratives. The writing of what I have termed *factional stories* combined narrative threads, taken from each teacher's interview data, merging similar stories into single narratives of experience and

bringing others in juxtaposition with each other to highlight contrasting voices or experiences. Thus, factional stories may be defined as researcher-written vignettes assuming a reconstructed, (re)storied 'fiction[al] form... laid over a ¨fact-oriented¨ research process' (Agar, 1990, p. 74); a bricolage of raw data, analyses and questions. Written in the anonymous teacher first person, these stories voiced a polyphony of each of the five teachers and myself as researcher. In order to focus on the meaning of experiences, the factional stories were written in an ethnopoetic structural style (Blommaert, 2006), attempting to capture the emotionality of the written text and shape the knowledge that was to be generated through the sharing of these stories in a way that extended beyond description.

I shared early drafts of these factional stories with the doctoral student community at the Sibelius Academy, many of whom were working music teachers, perhaps with similar experiences as those participating in this research project. The doctoral students were able to give considerable feedback and critique that resulted in numerous revisions, the condensing of certain narratives and expansion of others. This process of writing and revising (see article IV in appendix 4 for a detailed account of the crafting process of factional stories) resulted in four factional stories, each approximately a single page long, titled: (I) Trust, (II) Real rap, (III) Music speaks what words cannot and (IV) We wish you a rockin' Christmas (appendix 7b).

Whilst the stories produced through Polkinghorne's (1995) narrative analysis approach are often the end point of narrative inquiry, as a means to present data and communicate research findings, factional stories were rather a methodological tool to communicate with participants, and generate data, aiming to enrich the process of inquiry. The third round of interviews was scheduled four to five months after the second interviews, with factional stories shared with each teacher two to three weeks before the final interview meeting. Accompanying the stories, teachers were provided with explicit instructions (appendix 7a) regarding how the four stories had been written, and that they would provide the bases for our discussions in the final meeting. It was emphasized that as composite narratives of six voices, teachers were not expected to agree, nor disagree, nor respond with any degree of certainty about what was written. Rather, the factional stories were tools for reflection and meaning-making. Three of the teachers, Iida, Julia, and Outi, had written notes reflecting upon the factional stories, which they brought to interviews to discuss.

The relationship between myself as researcher and the teacher participants changed considerably in the third interviews, as the factional stories introduced many other entities: the other teachers participating in the research project, my own reflections (which were also theoretically contextualized), and an anonymous

teacher narrator. Together, teachers and I engaged in a process of learning and 'problem finding' (Bruner, 2002, p. 20). Without any particular person positioned as teller or listener, the factional stories served as a methodological space within which the teachers and I were able to engage in inquiry collaboratively, and negotiate and reflect upon the meanings of the stories and the ensuing discussions.

This third round of interviews lasted considerably longer than the first two, averaging two and a half hours, with Julia's interview lasting five hours as she drove me to the airport to allow for a few extra minutes of discussion. These third interviews were audio-recorded. It was at this point that the collaborative work of the research project ended. The transcriptions, analyses, and interpretations that followed are mine alone.

The third interviews were transcribed in the same manner as the first two interview rounds. The data from the third round of interviews together with the data from the first two rounds was then approached through Polkinghorne's (1995) analysis of narratives to identify emergent themes. This paradigmatic approach emphasizes 'a recursive movement between the data and the emerging categorical definitions during the process of producing classifications that… organize[s] the data according to their commonalities' (p. 10). These thematic categories are illustrated in table 3. Although many of these thematic categories appear similar to those of the preliminary analyses, there was considerably more data relating to each, and the data was more rich, deep and detailed (see article IV).

Prior to submission for publication, participating teachers were given the opportunity to read article manuscripts, in order to gain their full consent to what was written and provide the opportunity for them to withdraw from part, or all of the study, or clarify particular points if they so wished to do so.

Table 3: *Thematic categories of the analysis of narratives*

Expectations of a music teacher	Cultural	Multiculturalism and Pluralism
		Majority 'Finnish' Culture
		Minority Cultures
	Religious	Lutheranism as 'traditional'
		'Traditional' school festivities
		Diversity and exclusion
		Relations between school and church
	Curricular	Starting point
		Freedoms vs. the unknown
	School	School as institution
		Recontextualization of popular musics in the classroom
	Staff	Hierarchy vs. autonomy
	Parents	Lack of communication
		Imagined offense
	Teacher self	Professionalism
	Students	Conceptualization of adolescence
		Diversity
		Challenges
Musical Considerations	Lyrics	
	Imagery	
	Emotion	
	Mood	
Uncertainty	Situation and context	
	Identifying problems	
	Teacher's role	
	Guidance and support	

4.5 Reflections on the methodology of the research project

Without an official ethics board regulating research conduct at the University of the Arts Helsinki, the research design, implementation, analysis and reporting was conducted in a manner in keeping with the recommendations from the Finnish Advisory Board on Research Integrity's (2009) 'Ethical principles of research in the humanities and social and behavioural sciences and proposals for ethical review'. With ethical responsibility resting with the researcher, this section of the dissertation takes the opportunity to address a number of ethical issues relating to this particular project. This is not only in order to explicate the ethical principles that were adhered to, but also to reflect upon potential concerns and limitations of the research in aiming towards what Barrett and Stauffer (2009) term 'resonant work' (p. 8): engaging in research practice that is responsible, rigorous, respectful and resilient.

In aiming for transparency from the very beginning of this research project, all of the music teachers involved in this research project gave their informed consent prior to participation. On contacting teachers via email (see appendix 5), I introduced myself and the research project, also making it clear that participants had the right to withdraw at any time without consequence. It was stated that neither participants nor the schools they worked in would be identified by name in any research reports or publications. It should be noted that being a relatively small country with relatively few trained music teachers, the information on teachers' personal backgrounds and their responses to particular questions *may* result in their identities being known, in particular by those who already know them well. However, participating teachers were given the opportunity to read draft versions of article manuscripts, at which point it was again stated that they were able to suggest changes, or withdraw in part, or entirely from participating in the research (and thus all information relating to their interviews from research reports, if they were uncomfortable with any quotations or descriptions that they felt may reveal their identities or reflect badly upon them. None of the teachers withdrew from any part of the research.

By locating this project within broader discussions on popular music in school classrooms and through a firm and thorough grounding in theory (see chapters 2 and 3), this dissertation aims at a responsible explanation and argumentation of the research project to both the music education research, and music teacher communities. However, whilst it may be possible to position this research in a wider discourse, it is me alone as the researcher, who tells the story of this dissertation, and as such, it is necessary to provide some reflection on issues of power. This is particularly relevant when considering the methods crafted in this

project, as *I* restoried teachers' experiences, and by sharing these, was in a position of control to legitimize certain narratives of popular repertoire selection as the focus of the research, and intentionally or not, silence others. Although care was taken to ensure that these factional stories were closely based on data analyses, the possibility remains that teachers felt that important issues were sidelined, or that they had not been heard. Efforts to minimize or overcome this were twofold: Firstly, a focus on the literary construction of storied texts to adequately reflect teachers' experiences; and secondly, engaging in numerous negotiations and collaborative work, in both the interviews, and during doctoral seminars at the Sibelius Academy. This was a way to member check (Creswell, 2009) and gain alternative interpretations and critique, to ensure that teachers had indeed been *heard,* and that the research project was deeply connected with their experiences and knowledge.

Although the five teachers of this research project were, from the onset of the study, positioned as *participants* (as opposed to, for instance, informants) in the research process, the relationship between the teachers and myself was not always symmetrical. One example where this is evident was through teachers' positioning of me as 'outsider' and themselves as 'insider' to the Finnish music education system. In this instance, teachers were seen as *more powerful* when it came to *knowing about* and *storying* what the experiences of teaching music in Finland entailed. However, as the researcher I guided our discussions, probed further into stories that I saw as relevant to the research project, and tried to avoid dwelling on stories I saw as less relevant. In this way also, the analysis of teachers' stories, and the theoretical grounding of this project were entirely in my hands. I do not claim to speak on behalf of the teachers participating in this research. By writing this dissertation, I do not mean to relay their stories to others – as interesting as I think they are. This dissertation is rather an attempt to understand and theorize the *meanings* of the participating teachers' stories and the implications of these for broader discussions in music education practice and scholarship. These meanings are based on my own interpretations, and I alone hold the power of definition.

As Barrett and Stauffer (2012) argue, resilient texts are those that 'are sufficiently rich to compel previous readers to return and re-read, while simultaneously flexible and open to new interpretations and new audiences' (p. 12). The process of crafting resilient factional stories was accordingly intricately related to not only the theoretical grounding of the project, and the data, but also representational form, and involved numerous reconsiderations and revisions. Writing factional stories was neither a fast, nor easy task. I aimed for stories to be intricately connected to teachers' experiences, and also open to interpretation, elaboration or disagreement. The careful crafting of these stories (as detailed in

article IV in appendix 4) was done in collaboration with the researcher's doctoral supervisors and doctoral student community at the Sibelius Academy, as a forum to discuss, revise and critique.

Understanding the reliability and validity of knowledge as related to objectivity, Kvale and Brinkmann (2009) suggest that attaining objectivity may be achieved through *dialogical intersubjectivity*, as a 'conversation and a negotiation of meaning' (p. 243). Engaging with others in this way aims towards mutual understanding in 'rational discourse and reciprocal criticism between those interpreting a phenomenon' (p. 243). With this in mind, as with the writing of the factional stories, each stage of the research process was openly discussed and critiqued as part of my doctoral supervision meetings, and as part of the weekly doctoral student seminars at the Sibelius Academy. In addition, I presented the research project at various stages at numerous academic conferences in music education and related fields (for instance, conferences on music censorship). These meetings with other researchers provided numerous opportunities for feedback, revision, dialogue and negotiation, in working towards 'a communicative validation' (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009, p. 243) with regards to the research design and interpretation of data.

A *dialogical subjectivity* was also sought between myself, and the participating teachers as the central figures of this work. However, as this research was conducted in English, the issue of language deserves some attention. As teachers were relaying stories of personal experience in their second, or even third, language, there were clearly barriers to communication where subtle meanings or understandings may have been overlooked or misinterpreted. Kapborg and Bertero (2002) argue that 'different languages create and express different realities, and language is a way of organizing the world – one cannot understand another culture without understanding the language of people in that culture' (p. 56). I disagree. Conducting research in a language other than your, or the participants' own, of course presents challenges, but I do not believe that these are obstacles worthy of avoiding a project altogether. In searching for meanings and having to explicate them in a second or third language, teachers noted that it required them to think carefully about what it was they intended to convey, often leading to a clearer understanding. As Julia exclaimed, 'this makes me crystallize some things beneath my own thinking, realize, and crystallize better than I'm able to do in my own language, Finnish' (Julia, third interview, May 10, 2012). This suggests that using the language of participants may not be necessary to gaining a deep understanding of the topic investigated, particularly if the participants are proficient in the language of the researcher (Liamputtong, 2010, p. 137). However, although teachers that were comfortable being interviewed in the English

language were sought, the possibility that teachers were unable to adequately or accurately express themselves, or that I missed or misunderstood some of the more subtle nuances of meaning, remains.

In this research, I was not a complete outsider. I had some knowledge of the Finnish language, and had lived in the country for two years at the point of data collection (and six years at the completion of this research). Whilst this did not afford effortless communication, it did affect the positioning of researcher and research participants, and my contextualized interpretations of data. Teachers and I shared a common home, if not a common cultural background. We shared a background of teaching which established some rapport from the very beginning. Teachers were aware that I had also been trained and had worked as a music teacher, and part of our early conversations were initiated by comparisons of the Australian and Finnish school systems. Although I was positioned as the researcher, wanting to learn about teaching music in Finland, they also wanted to learn not only about teaching music in Australia, but about what was unique to their own culture as well.

Understanding all stories as interpretations in kind, and storytelling as a transactional experience between storyteller and listener, it was seen as important to engage in a constant, continual and reflexive process of member checking (Creswell, 2009, p. 196). Member checking was viewed here as a way to continually test researcher interpretation, and to ensure preliminary analyses were in keeping with, and grounded in, participants' experiences. This was done through asking qualifying questions, or by rephrasing teachers' responses to clarify their intended meanings, as part of individual interviews, or as follow-up in subsequent interviews. When stumbles in communication did occur, they were seen as opportunities for negotiated, collaborative meaning-making, together searching for a nuanced and deep understanding of what either teachers or I were trying to communicate. In addition, the writing and sharing of factional stories offered a more distanced, and leisurely opportunity for member checking, and critical reflection on the meanings of teachers' experiences. With the factional stories serving as the bases for discussion in the final interviews, teachers and I engaged in inquiry together, and interpretation became a common, shared, and negotiated task.

Given the clarity that can only be afforded by hindsight, there would be a number of changes I would implement given the opportunity to repeat the research. Firstly, a number of reviewers of the journal articles comprising this dissertation raised interesting questions that focused on the relations between teachers' personal backgrounds, both musically and educationally, and their approaches to popular repertoire selection. This would indeed be an interesting

inclusion to the current project, and would require a more in-depth questioning of teachers at the beginning of the project. Indeed, a more detailed life history of each teacher may reveal additional considerations and influences upon their repertoire choices. Secondly, without the limitations of time and language, it may have been a more equitable collaboration had teachers written the factional stories together with the researcher, or written their own factional stories to share and discuss during interviews. However, this option would also bring new challenges of (re)presentation.

5 A discussion of findings as reported in the four research articles

As outlined in the introduction of this dissertation, the narrative of Finnish education has been presented as a success story, one that many other nations are aiming towards (Allsup, 2011). The incorporation of popular music, teaching approaches aligning with critical pedagogy, informal learning styles and a student-centred curriculum have all been understood as important steps towards a more equitable, democratic school music education. Although the teachers interviewed as part of this research enjoyed training and professional freedoms many researchers and practitioners view as the ideal, the experiences and discussions they shared with me during the course of this research suggest that these features of the Finnish education system do not necessarily simplify the teacher's work, nor ensure more democratic practices in the classroom. The results of this research thus shed new light on *what happens next* for Finnish music education, and the nations embarking upon a similar path of informal, critical, popular music education.

In aiming to better understand the complexities involved in Finnish music teachers' popular repertoire selections, I attended to both the narratives that frame their decision-making and their understandings of the music itself. In avoiding repetition, this chapter extends beyond the reporting of findings as presented in the four articles that contribute to this dissertation (appendices 1–4). Here, I elaborate upon what was reported in the articles, and discuss the research results in light of the theoretical framework of the project (as outlined in chapter 3) and the four research questions:

1. In what ways do censorious narratives frame teachers' popular repertoire decision-making?
2. Which musical features do teachers identify as contributing towards the censure of certain popular musics?
3. What are the implications of popular repertoire selections for enacting inclusivity and democracy in formal music education?
4. What can be learnt about the teaching of music, if story is viewed as both the source and representation of knowledge and experience?

In the first section of this chapter I discuss the *school censorship frame* as a framework grounded in New Censorship Theory (section 3.3) by which the exclusions of popular repertoire may be better understood (5.1). I then discuss the features of popular music that were identified by teachers as contributing towards the censure of certain popular musics, illustrating that music was not

reified as a passive object acquiring meaning only through the labelling actions of the powerful (5.2). In the third section, I explore how the teacher, as ethical agent, may navigate the school censorship frame when there can no longer (if there ever was) be a universal code of ethics to rely upon (as discussed in section 3.2.1) (5.3). Finally, I address the methodological developments of the research, and discuss the potentials, surprises and continuing uncertainties of using *factional stories* in narrative research on teachers' understandings and experiences (5.4).

Whilst I have attempted to firmly ground this research in individual music teachers' experiences or narratives and the stories we constructed together during interviews, the findings of this instrumental case study extend beyond the individual. Accordingly, the music teachers I interviewed as part of this research project are not presented here as models for good teaching. Nor are my criticisms of school music teaching done lightly, or directed towards any one teacher in particular. As I hope I managed to illustrate in the prelude of this dissertation, I am painfully aware that the vast majority of teachers are doing their very best.

5.1 Constructing the school censorship frame

A theoretical contribution of this research and dissertation, as reported in the first article (appendix 1), is my construction of the *school censorship frame*, which I defined as an array of broad and specific narratives drawing associations between particular musics or songs, and constructions of deviance. Attending to this theoretical construction in more depth, this section of the dissertation focuses on the first research question, *in what ways do censorious narratives frame teachers' popular repertoire decision-making?*

My construction of the school censorship frame was based on sociologist Christopher Schneider's (2011) *censorship frame,* which he defined as media narratives that 'culturally associate music and (collectively shared and culturally agreed-upon) perceptions of deviance' (p. 38). Schneider argued that through the labelling affects of media reports, certain popular music and cultural forms are 'constructed… as a widespread social problem' (p. 37), also extending to 'the status of those who perform, enjoy and approve' of such musics (Schneider, 2011, p. 38). However, whereas Schneider's (2011) notion of the censorship frame focused on media reports on popular musics from the standpoint of a new conservatism (see Grossberg, 1992) in America, the censorship frame in the school context may be considerably more complex. From sheer quantity of publications or airtime alone it is perhaps easier to get a sense of *who* assigns *which* labels to *whom* and investigate the agendas behind the labelling practices of the media. If, as Dewey claimed (MW8: 320; LW9: 183–184), classrooms are envisioned as microcosms of society, students, parents, teachers, staff, principles, religious leaders, governments,

minority communities and policy makers all have a stake. Consequently, *which,* or rather *whose,* norms and voices comprise the 'majority-group' (Schneider, 2011, p. 37) and hold the upper hand in the formation of school curricula may change with every teacher, every lesson, every student and every piece of music.

In investigating the ways in which the fluid narrative constructions of the school censorship frame influence teacher's repertoire selections, I turn to Wright and Froehlich's (2012) claim that '[c]urricular choices and institutional practices are not personal predilections alone, but also the result of socio-political mandates and demands' (p. 214). The socio-political mandates and demands that Wright and Froehlich refer to are here seen to emerge through 'stigma contests' (Schur, 1980) as negotiations of power that 'involve culture (i.e., norms, values, and their practice) as a politicized terrain' (Dotter, 2004). Upon this politicized terrain, through the school censorship frame, different actors and groups struggle for the power to label musics as legitimate or deviant, fundamentally determining 'the meanings of social practices and, moreover, which groups and individuals have the power to define these meanings' (Jordan & Weedon, 1995, p. 5). In this sense, understandings of popular musics as problematic and their social censure in the classroom may be understood not, or at least not *only*, as a means of social distinction between majority group and deviant *Others*, but as 'the result of a pluralistic social conflict' (Dotter, 2004, p. 11). As teachers make situational decisions regarding the inclusion/exclusion of popular repertoire, 'conceptions of deviance and conformity emerge as intertwined biographical and sociocultural narratives linked to the stigma contest as social problem construction' (Dotter, 2002, p. 419). Thus, the *school censorship frame* as conceptualized in this research, extends Schneider's (2011) work not only through relocating the notion of a censorship frame to the school context, but by extending his application of labelling theory to attend to the complex, non-linear, political nature of censure and censorship in a liquid modernity.

As reported in the first article of this dissertation (appendix 1), I identified eight censorious narratives that framed the music teachers of this research project's popular repertoire decisions. Three of these were 'big stories': cultural, religious and curricular stories, and five were 'small stories': stories of school, staff, parents, the teacher self and stories of students. These narratives were presented in a diagram, as seen in Figure 1.

Figure 1: Big and small stories of the school censorship frame as identified by teachers (Article I, Kallio 2015, p. 199).

In describing the school censorship frame as a site of stigma contestation and as part of the processes of the social censure of popular musics, the above diagram has clear limitations, constricted by the stasis of the printed page and the boundedness of the research project. Firstly, the diagram suggests that there are a limited number of fixed narratives that constitute the school censorship frame. This is not my intention. The school censorship frame may well include other stories, and I would expect that interviews with other teachers in different contexts, or even further interviews with the teachers involved in this project, or interviews held a different week, after a different lesson, with different students, would identify additional or alternative narratives that influence and guide teachers' popular repertoire decisions. Secondly, the diagram above suggests that all big stories are of equal weighting, and all small stories are of equal weighting. This is most definitely not the case. In describing the alternative, I turn to one of the participating teacher's description of her repertoire decisions that distinguish between musics that are acceptable for class use and those that are not, as 'a line

drawn in water' (Julia, Third interview, May 10, 2012). In keeping with this watery metaphor, the circles of the school censorship diagram may be seen as bubbles, 'rising to the surface at different times, though never inseparable from others' (Article I, Kallio, 2015, p. 198). In this way, the stories would never be of equal size or importance; some would recede into the background as others come to the fore, waxing and waning in constant motion. Thirdly, the narratives are not mutually exclusive or necessarily combative, and may overlap, reinforce or reconstruct each other depending on the situation. Stigma contests may thus emerge between *groups* of narratives, or overlapping agendas. Additionally, within each story is not a single, stable dominant narrative, and stigma contests may be seen to occur *within* each of these frames themselves. For instance, teacher stories, how teachers envisioned their own roles in the school and classroom, were not uniform, and indeed varied not only between teachers but according to situation, task and circumstance (as seen through the first factional story included in appendix 7b). Accordingly, within each bubble are competing narratives and tensions, smaller bubbles jostling to reach the surface.

The stigma contests of these censorious narratives provide teachers with *suggestions* or *frames for action* in at least two ways. The first encourages teachers to act as, or on behalf of *moral entrepreneurs* (Becker, 1963, p. 147). The teacher aligns his or her teaching with the dominant narratives of the school censorship frame, and creates and/or enforces rules that establish what is, or what is not, permissible in the classroom *after* the musical event, in the form of repressive censorship. This was the case for Outi who regretted encouraging her students to modernize the nativity story after other teachers expressed their disapproval. She had made a decision to 'never touch that kind of subject' (religion) in school (Outi, Second interview, December 7, 2011). It was also the case for Maria, who felt an obligation to address a student's offensive lyrics in a self-composed rap, performed at the school open day. Both instances illustrate the teacher (re)enforcing moral boundaries, valuing and legitimizing certain musical practices and excluding others as a means to delimit who the school community *is,* who it should be, and who it is not.

Related to establishing a sense of school community, the second way in which the school censorship frame directs teacher experience and action is through the creation of boundaries, however impermanent, that constrain the potentials for musical and social agency *before* a musical event can take place. These boundaries predefine which kinds of musical events are made possible or conceivable in the first place. This aligns with Dewey's concept of habit (MW14), and Bourdieu's (1991) suggestion that censorship may be invisible and at times seem consensual. Through the legitimation of particular cultural forms in certain

spaces, individuals do not, and cannot, imagine an alternative. Butler (1997) suggests that in such situations certain utterances are rendered 'unspeakable' (p. 249). Similarly, the very powers that make possible the formation of community may render deviantized musics, those that lie outside the legitimized values, 'unplayable' or 'unhearable'. Thus, there is no space made available for the musics that lie outside the perceived and codified 'we' (Butler, 1997, p. 252). One example of this may be seen in teachers' stories of parents' beliefs and values influencing and guiding their selections of music for the classroom, despite teachers never having been contacted by parents regarding their popular repertoire decisions. The perceived community values govern what is playable or listenable. In this way, the school censorship frame may be understood as *productive* (in the generative sense), through excluding certain musics and values, engaging in processes that produce shared notions of who the school community is, and what the *good* of popular music education *is* – establishing both the limits and the potentials for popular musics in the classroom.

Writing on music education in schools, Minette Mans (2009) has suggested that the values promoted through informal learning in schools may more often align with the teacher's ideas of what is *good* and *right.* Consequently she argues that an *interactive* pedagogy will 'seldom be informed by *all* the values present in the classroom' (p. 89). At least with regards to the situation in Finland, the results of this research suggest that this is not quite the case. As an educational context that has focused on creating a participatory, learner-centered curriculum, of which content is negotiated between students and teacher, repertoire decisions *cannot* be made in isolation from social conventions and norms, *or dissenting discourses or values*. The interactive pedagogy between teacher and students is not constructed in ignorance of the values of the school community. However, simply being informed by all the values present in the classroom does not necessarily promote democratic learning or overcome the problem of 'mindless conformity' (Mans, 2009, p. 89). Certain meanings and values inevitably dominate others as a result of unequal power relations, and the teacher is required to make pedagogical decisions that take into account, and navigate the contests that arise between the fast-changing narratives of the school censorship frame. In light of this, the school censorship frame aligns with Sumner's (1980) *censure theory,* suggesting that processes of deviantization are always in 'practical conflict with opposing groups' (p. 27), and undergo constant, situational reconstruction.

However, it is important to note that understanding the school censorship frame through censure theory (Sumner, 1980) and as grounded in New Censorship Theory, this inequality of power does not automatically result in relations that victimize (as is so often described by traditional labelling theories for

instance). For instance, one of the participating teachers, Iida, recounted similar experiences to those I described in the prelude of this dissertation, stating,

> maybe [the students] just wanted to shock me. It can be so, that they wanted to shock and say 'it's possible that we also listen to *this* kind of music'. (Iida, Second interview, December 20, 2011).

The deviantization of popular music may thus provide affordances for exercising opposition and resistance against what is perceived as the musical authority of the school, and to push against the moral boundaries of the school censorship frame. As Foucault (1978) noted, '[t]here is not, on the one side, a discourse of power, and opposite it, another discourse that runs counter to it' (p. 101). Rather, within one strategy, such as social censure resulting in the deviantization of music, 'there can exist different and even contradictory discourses' that 'can… circulate without changing their form from one strategy to another, opposing strategy' (p. 102). In bringing deviantized musics to class as a means to (re)define and negotiate the boundaries of propriety, the idea that students share musics that reflect their *own* preferences, identities, or values, is called into question. As Julia remarked when I shared with her the story in the prelude of this dissertation,

> (Laughs) you know the reason why [the students] brought in that [video]! … it's not so much about boobs and laughing at them, but they want to see how the teacher reacts. It's more about getting the teacher embarrassed and flustered. (Julia, Second interview, November 18, 2011).

The stigma contests of the school censorship frame are then not only negotiations that resulted in powerful agents weakening the status of certain popular musics in the classroom. Social censure and deviantization may also be *resources* of power, that can be employed by students to assert contrary values or beliefs, differentiate themselves from the perceived expectations of the school status quo, and define, disrupt or negotiate the adult-imposed boundaries of propriety. Thus, as the labelling of a music as problematic or inappropriate creates *outsiders*, it is also necessary to note that this is not *necessarily,* or not *only* detrimental. Indeed, the exclusion of students (or others) may produce potentially desirable alternatives. In keeping with these findings, and the theoretical framework of this research, it is important not to conflate non-conformity with a failure to conform. The stigma contests of the school censorship frame may thus be seen to present 'multiplicity in every possibility' (Schmidt, 2008, p. 15).

5.2 The social presence of deviantized popular musics

Suggesting that the stigma contests over meaning and values in the music classroom relate to situational power relations is not to assume a position of excessive relativism. To do so would be to claim that music is inherently meaningless and the labels applied by the individuals or social groups that make up the school censorship frame are arbitrary. If music is defined as socio-cultural practice (e.g., Elliott, 1995; Elliott & Silverman, 2015; Small, 1998), the idea that music itself is meaningless is absurd. Arguing against music as 'a passive receptacle of social spirit' (DeNora, 2000, p. 3), Tia DeNora (2000) and Simon Frith (1992, 1996) have regarded music as not only reflective of culture, of people, but as playing an active role in the construction of culture and individual identity. DeNora (2000) summarizes, music has a 'social presence' (p. 5). However, this is not to suggest that musical meaning is static, as Green (1988) reminds us, 'music can never be played or heard outside a situation, and every situation will affect the music's meaning' (pp. 143-144). With understandings of popular musical meaning located in the nexus of music and society, as a 'framework for how people perceive (consciously or subconsciously) potential avenues of conduct' (DeNora, 2000, p. 17), certain musical features were seen to play a significant role in the social censure or deviantization of popular musics, and teachers' school repertoire decision-making.

With the social powers of music constraining or creating potentials for agency (as 'feeling, perception, cognition and consciousness, identity, energy, perceived situation and scene, embodied conduct and comportment' DeNora, 2000, p. 20), the features of popular music that the teachers participating in this research attended to were seen to present opportunities for, or highlight instances of, moral conflict. Whereas the stigma contests of the school censorship frame were often seen to occur in the background, or enforce censorious frames prior to the performance of a music, producing understandings of the moral and the deviant incorporated as part of teachers' tacit knowledge, the musical features of deviantized musics brought the tensions between different meanings and values to the fore. The features of popular music that were seen to be of particular interest to teachers when deciding whether to include or exclude them from classroom repertoires were: lyrics, imagery, mood and emotional affect. I here expand upon the discussion of these four features in the second article of this dissertation, in addressing the second research question, *which musical features do teachers identify as contributing towards the censure of certain popular musics?*

As noted in the second article of this dissertation (appendix 2), lyrics were seen as perhaps the most clearly problematic feature of music for teachers,

primarily through the inclusion of profane language, or 'adult themes' such as sex or drug use. This is in keeping with Frith's (2004) observation that many 'indictments of ¨bad music¨ leading to censorship… concern lyrics' (p. 25). The lyrics that aroused concern for the participating teachers were seen to exist in conflict with the dominant values and norms promoted through the school censorship frame. In particular, teachers referred to a conflict between deviantized lyrics and stories of teachers that construct their roles as protectors, role models and mentors, and stories of the school as an institution concerned with student wellbeing and 'the development of character and identity' (Bowman, 2002, p. 64). As Risto noted,

> It's quite an interesting situation, because rock and roll is very much telling about bad habits… but you still have to teach [it]. (Risto, Second interview, November 29, 2011).

Although lyrics and lyrical content were agreed to be a clear example of tensions between the school censorship frame and popular music cultures, the ways in which teachers handled deviantized lyrics and popular musics containing such lyrics varied, and many remained unsure on how best to react. For instance, following an incident (described in more detail later in section 5.4 of this dissertation) where a student composed a rap with offensive lyrics, Maria had firmly labelled rap music as deviant, and unless it was reconfigured in a way that left no room for improvisation, or where students 'beeped out' offensive lyrics, she felt that it could not be included in her lessons. Iida suggested that such understandings of rap music as inappropriate were the result of a perceived incompatibility between contexts,

> school and rap, it doesn't… fit together… what they talk about in rap lyrics, it's… not about school life… I think the context is the biggest reason for putting limits [on what can and cannot be included]. (Iida, Second interview, December 20, 2011).

However, Iida also noted that the tensions between rap lyrics and historically and culturally constructed narratives of the school as institution did not mean that rap had to be excluded entirely. She felt that her students could recontextualize rap compositions in a way that maintained a sense of rebellion and 'underground', within the boundaries of the school censorship frame. For instance, her students had created 'Christmas raps' where they rapped about their reluctance to go on the annual family ski holiday, or the tedium of making gingerbread with their mothers

or grandmothers *every year*. In contrast to both Maria and Iida, Outi argued that offensive lyrics *could* be included in a way that did not require them to be recontextualized or explicitly censored (such as 'beeping'), but in a way that bent and occasionally crossed the boundaries of the school censorship frame. Indeed, she saw profane lyrics as a *necessary* part of teaching certain types of music,

> it's hard to [include] any kind of punk music if you don't allow [students] to hear any [offensive] words… this is the style… that wants to [stand in opposition] to everything… so there has to be the bad words… so you can understand why… it is called punk music. (Outi, Second interview, December 7, 2011).

In this way, Outi saw it as impossible to pasteurize the music in such a way that would make it compatible with the dominant narratives of the school censorship frame. Doing so would negate the stylistic and semantic meanings of the music itself, and contradict her intentions of including it as part of students' education in the first place. For Outi, music afforded opportunities for students to deviate, albeit momentarily, from the established norms. This may be understood according to Dewey's reflective thinking, challenging habitual modes of thinking and acting (Dewey, MW14: 115), with the confines of the school context that provides a 'safely insularized… [form] of reality' (Foucault, 1978, p. 4) within which to experiment.

Many teachers noted that the boundaries of the school censorship frame were often flexed or crossed unintentionally, as much of the popular music students brought to class was in the English language (the second, or third language for many teachers and students),

> In some cases when the lyrics are in English, it's easier to [include], because maybe they don't think so much about it. Maybe I will think twice, but it *is* easier to [include deviantized musics when they are in English]. (Risto, Third interview, May 18, 2012).

> When [the song is] in English, sometimes I don't realize… I don't even notice… there might be a beautiful melody and nice chords, then 'Oh! What was that? Did it say *fuck*?' Some of [the students] are listening quite carefully and they are [giggling in the corner]. (Outi, First interview, November 24, 2011).

Such instances may be understood as fissures in the school censorship frame, where the selection of content goes undirected and deviantized musics and meanings may enter the classroom, bypassing the filtering censorship processes. For a moment the narratives of culture, religion, curriculum, or actors of the school community are silent. In the event that such instances are brought to the attention of the teacher, such as the students giggling in Outi's class, this research suggests that s/he may respond in one of two ways. The first may be seen as a correction, reinserting and reinforcing the narratives of the school censorship frame and thereby re-establishing such musics as inappropriate,

> then I say 'oops! Sorry, I didn't notice this before, the words are not okay so let's not take this one'. [The students always respond], 'no, it's okay for us' [and I have to say] 'no, please, let's not take this one, sorry I did not notice this' (laughs). (Outi, First interview, November 24, 2011).

The second response may be seen as a challenge to the boundaries of the school censorship frame, pursuing an opportunity – introduced through music and a language barrier – to engage in inquiry into, and potentially challenge and reconstruct, the narratives of the school censorship frame. Iida recounted such a response, when students performed their own compositions or improvisations, either unaware of, or intentionally contradicting, the normative narratives of the school censorship frame,

> We had a rapping competition, five groups [of students]. The lyrics [were so offensive]! My ears were burning when I was there at the mixing desk… there were so many bad words! The headmaster came to speak to me afterwards, I was thinking 'now it comes! Maybe the truth comes out now and he will say ¨now this is too much, this doesn't fit¨' but the headmaster was saying 'they were really good, and they knew it! They know how to rap!' he was surprised how talented [the] youngsters [are, that] we have here [at the school]. Then I was thinking, 'ok if he doesn't care, then I don't care!' (Iida, Third interview, May 16, 2012).

When deviantized lyrics were in songs sung less familiar languages, or deviantized themes or words were included in classroom activities through students' own compositions, teachers noted that they had two possibilities for moral action. The first possibility was to *fill in the gaps* of the school censorship frame, and *correct* the fissure by looking to the dominant narratives that proscribe what is, and what is not, appropriate in the classroom. The second was an opportunity for innovation,

for situational and contextual moral deliberations. Democratic participation was then seen as an important element in navigating any music in the classroom, deviantized or otherwise.

The visual imagery associated with popular musics was only discussed by two of the participating teachers, Risto and Maria, as the other three either did not have the resources (such as DVD players or computers) in their classrooms to facilitate the sharing of music videos or imagery, or did not report the sharing of music videos or other imagery as part of their lessons. Risto noted that a lack of resources and equipment had presented challenges for sharing music videos in the past, though had just received a new projector for the classroom that presented new opportunities relating to popular music,

> In the future I could change the way of my teaching and show some more videos… I think that's today's music culture. (Risto, Second interview, November 29, 2011).

As such, teachers saw the imagery as part of the music culture, not something 'extramusical' (e.g., Green, 2003, p. 266). This calls into question conceptualizations or analyses of musical meaning that distinguish the meanings located within 'music itself' from those that are *added on* as part of the 'social context' (Green, 2003). Such distinction and analyses are perhaps unfruitful given the ideological importance of the visual imagery of many popular musics as they combine with lyrics, melodies and beats in communicating musical meaning. In this way, music imagery is part of a broader 'scheme of interpretation' (Frith, 1996, p. 249), a scheme which cannot be divided into its component parts.

Maria's decisions to exclude certain musics as a result of videos or imagery she felt were inappropriate *even though the imagery was not shown in class*, reflects this understanding of popular music as a broad scheme of meaning-making. As such, even if the sonic properties of the music were presented independently from the visual, the meanings constructed through both sonic and visual features of the music were inseparable. The way in which Maria foreclosed (Butler, 1997) musical meanings and possibilities in her classroom reflect how she envisioned her role as teacher, and how this role related to the broader school censorship frame. Whereas the four other teachers reported allocating the vast proportion of lessons to popular musics, Maria grounded many lessons in what she felt she was most skilled in: Dalcroze Eurhythmics, and the traditional musics relating to the Swedish speaking minority identity which she saw as aligning with the overall ideology of the school. With this sense of purpose to reinforce the minority identity, Maria also was the only teacher who recognized a clear, unified code of

ethics in her school, although there were no explicit rules or principles that she was expected to adhere to. She stated that her role as the teacher was to establish the 'safe border lines' that adhere to the 'values that… the majority accepts' (Third interview, May 11, 2012). As such, Maria's classroom and the way she envisioned her role as teacher stood in contrast with Dewey's notion of the democratic school that promote the participation of *all* students. Her idea of protecting students from the 'tacky' lyrics and imagery (Maria, First interview, October 31, 2011) associated with the musics they introduced to classes themselves also contradict Dewey's notion that school does not prepare students for social life, but is part of social life itself (MW4: 272). In envisioning the classroom as a safe haven from the perceived perils of popular culture and society outside of schools, the boundaries established by the dominant narratives of the school censorship frame may remain steadfast and unchallenged.

Perhaps less straightforward for all teachers were their considerations of the mood and emotional affect of popular musics. Both the mood and emotional affect of musics was seen as situationally defined and constructed, and although a music could be considered appropriate with certain students in a particular lesson, this did not mean it could be assumed to be appropriate for others, or in another lesson at another time,

> Of course I have to think about that if I would know that there is a student [who suffers from depression or has just been through a traumatic event, I would not] be playing [sad or aggressive] songs with them. (Risto, First interview, November 29, 2011).

The situational nature of these decisions also related to the broader context of the school and everyday life, such as disruptions to the daily schedule, the weather, or time of year (Iida in particular mentioned *kaamos* time, dark polar nights, as an important factor in her repertoire decision-making, First interview, December 11, 2011), or using more positive, uplifting musics as a way to balance the negativity of major news reports (Julia referred to recent instances of hate speech in a nearby town that had influenced her repertoire decisions, Second interview, November 18, 2011).

It is clear that popular musics were not reified by the teachers participating in this research project as passive, inert artefacts that assumed meaning only through the labelling mechanisms of the school censorship frame. Understandings of musics as deviant were not confined to (though were certainty related to) the teachers' labelling of musical genres (as suggested through North and Hargreaves' 2008 notion of *problem music* focusing on particular genres such as hard rock, hip

hop/rap and punk, or the censorship frames of the mass media as discussed by Schneider, 2011), but were constructed through negotiations between individual and social interactions with musical material itself, as embedded in the school censorship frame. In this way, popular music was seen as neither object nor agent. Rather, music may be understood as 'constitutive of agency' (DeNora, 2000, p. 152) and the power of music is located in the ways a socially contextualized individual *engages* with music. Music may thus serve as a vehicle for students (or indeed teachers) to oppose the norms and values established by the school censorship frame, or to reinforce the boundaries of propriety, and further ideas of who the school community is, and is not.

5.3 The teacher as critical, post-ethical agent

Envisioning music education in terms of supporting students' 'overall growth' (Finnish National Board of Education, 2004, p. 230) and wellbeing, it has been argued that there is a different 'ethic of care' (Elliott, 2012, p. 22) on the shoulders of the music teacher, than if we were to understand the purpose of music in schools as merely the transmission of musical knowledge or skill. Accordingly, whether the teacher works within the confines of the school censorship frame or seizes opportunities to challenge or question it, holds significant implications for what content is included or excluded from school lessons, and in turn, the inclusion or exclusion of students. Without fixed notions of what is appropriate and what is not, and without any stable voice of authority to which to turn, the teachers participating in this research project noted that reflection and deliberation was crucial, asking 'what is right?' (Julia, Third interview, May 16, 2012) for each student, and each situation. Although this appears to align with the approaches put forward by critical pedagogues, teachers suggested that the instability of the school censorship frame, and the unique meanings that emerge through individual students' engagements with musical material, presented particular challenges for them to teach in a way that may promote a 'common good' for all (Giroux, 2011, p. 13). The third article of this dissertation (appendix 3) explored the role of the teacher as ethical agent (Allsup & Westerlund, 2012, p. 127), a theoretical concept that I wish to extend and expand upon in addressing the third research question, *what are the implications of popular repertoire selections for enacting inclusivity and democracy in formal music education?*

In navigating the school censorship frame and selecting popular repertoire in a way that may facilitate inclusion and democratic practices in schools, I suggest that the teacher's decisions may be understood on a continuum between curatorship and censorship. The notion of curatorial teaching was introduced in the second and third articles (see appendices 2 and 3), in opposition to visions

of the teacher as transmitter of knowledge and purveyor of the high art canon to the young and naïve. The curatorial teacher may be seen to act similarly to a contemporary art gallery curator, tasked with deciding *which* (or *whose*) musics (or knowledge) to put on display (the term *display* is not to suggest that musical material is not engaged with in a creative, collaborative, embodied way, in the same way that many art galleries include interactive, temporal, or collaborative works). In this sense, the teacher is not a content expert (e.g., as proposed by Hirsch, 1988), though s/he may certainly be knowledgeable and skillful in popular musics. Rather, envisioning the teacher as curator resonates with the praxial music education tradition that has emphasized the value of a ground level up approach to curriculum development, and the multidimensionality of curriculum as 'teacher's decisions about the *why*, *what*, and *how* of teaching and learning cannot be realistically separated from questions of *who*, *when*, and *where*' (Elliott, 1995, p. 251). Curatorial teaching also relates to informal learning approaches that have cast the teacher as 'facilitator', 'helping students make things happen for themselves' (Rodriguez, 2009, p. 39; see also Green 2008). Thus, the curatorial teacher, faced with ostensibly limitless options of musics to teach, is directed to select musics that are relevant to their students' own lives and experiences outside of school, that represent works of high musical standards (Elliott, 1995, p. 263, however what exactly is meant by high standards by Elliott here is unclear). With the teacher seen as curating content, *all* musics, as long as they relate to their students' lives and knowledge, are valid. On the other end of this continuum is the overt, repressive censorship of musics, as a teacher outright forbids certain songs, genres, styles and practices in favour of a predetermined, *safe* selection of acceptable, worthwhile musics. In light of the findings of this research project, both of these extremes may be seen as impossible *ideals*.

On the one hand, curatorship is impossible, as the formation of the curriculum through content selection is *always* a contentious process, *someone's* selection of *someone's* knowledge as legitimate and valid for educational use. Thus, music and musical selections for school use are *never* neutral. At the other extreme, repressive censorship is an unattainable absolute. In the Finnish school system that takes students' own experiences as central to teaching and learning, and curricular directives for students to compose and create their own music, the music teacher's control does not, and cannot, extend this far. Although the teacher can certainly strive for such certainty, as censorship may be applied *after* students' musical initiations or creations take place, the outright exclusion of deviantized musics is impossible.

Writing with respects to geographic and ethnic diversity in Canadian school bands, Mantie and Tucker (2012) claim that 'schooling, as a state

institution, cannot avoid dealing with the issues of *the right* and *the good*… necessary not just for social cohesion, but for social functioning' (p. 266). However, it is precisely these ideals of social cohesion and social functioning that are potentially problematic in diverse school environments. This was also recognized by some of the teachers participating in this research project. Acknowledging that their students were from diverse backgrounds, and also reflecting on their own backgrounds and those of other staff members, teachers' sense of 'responsibility as an educator' (Julia, Second interview, November 18, 2011) was seen as increasingly important but also increasingly unclear. As Julia noted, this required significant critical reflection,

> I think it's very important that I'm aware of my own ethical and moral principles because they always affect on how I see things and how I respond to questions. I always, time after time, question myself and my own principles. (Julia, Second interview, November 18, 2011).

Complicating these moral deliberations were teachers' understandings of the nature of music as a subject, and it's role in the wider school community through performances at school festivities, celebrations, and events. In this way, concerns over *whose* values count *had* to extend beyond themselves and their own students. As Iida reflected upon a performance by a group of her ninth graders,

> My [version or level of] accepting [popular repertoire] is not everyone's accepting. Many teachers came to me to ask me [after the performance], 'do you think this was a good idea?' I was thinking maybe we should have kept this song just for our class and not for a performance… When it's an open situation we need to think that there are the grandmothers sitting over there, we should make the school party [a particular kind of festive atmosphere]. (Iida, Third interview, May 16, 2012).

However, she also noted that there were limits to the extent to which she considered the potentials of causing offense,

> Of course if you thought about *everybody* there would be almost no music you could choose. (Iida, Third interview, May 16, 2012).

Iida's statement confirms the idea that popular repertoire selection is not a neutral or arbitrary process. Her statement also suggests that although it is important to critically reflect on how repertoire selection may include or exclude

certain members of the school community, there was a point where it became unproductive. For her, reflecting on the school censorship frame in a way that aimed to please *everyone* was paralyzing, raising important questions regarding ideas of what constitutes *best practice*. If it is thought to be *enough* to include *most* students, do the censorious narratives of the dominant powers of the school censorship frame perpetuate one-sided and perhaps detrimental agendas of education, serving a limited population and limited educational aims?

Whether music was listened to, discussed, or performed, was seen by the participating teachers as an important consideration in their navigations of the school censorship frame, and engaging with deviantized musics in the classroom. All of the teachers noted that deviantized musics could often be included in a way that did not 'celebrate' (Allsup & Westerlund, 2012) the cultural values they appeared to promote, but rather engaged such musics critically,

> Quite deep Satanic metal I might not rise up to singing and playing material, but I have discussed about it, and some metal music lovers have told the whole group there what black metal means and what kind of bands there are, and there have been some presentations, we have listened to that kind of music... but not playing. (Julia, Third interview, May 10, 2012).

> [Students] are not expecting that I'm teaching *all* the music in the life. Of course we can talk about [deviantized musics that don't seem to fit in the school context], I don't think there is any such subject which we cannot take to the discussion. (Iida, Second interview, December 14, 2011).

Certain musics could then be included, but in a way that potentially reinforces their deviance in classroom contexts, relegated to critical discussion as a means to 'learn… and understand what is appropriate' (Julia, Third interview, May 10, 2012). This approach runs the risk of emphasizing

> 'appreciation rather than power, an emotional readiness to assimilate the experiences of others, rather than enlightened and trained capacity to carry forward those values which in other conditions and past times made those experiences worth having' (Dewey, MW4: 278).

This draws a clear distinction between the enjoyment and engagement with these popular musics outside of school, and their distanced critique within classroom walls. This *inclusion* may not result in the welcoming of musics and students, and is potentially a more potent form of exclusion, emphasizing a 'failure to conform'

(Dewey, MW 4: 278) by taking the time to explicate the norms and values of the school censorship frame and demarcate such musics (and by association the students who enjoy and identify with such music) as outsiders.

In addition, the critical discussion of deviantized musics may (re)enforce traditional power relations in the classroom, positioning the teacher in a powerful role, casting students as passive and naïve. Moral learning is then understood to pertain only to students, not teachers. Julia questioned the propensity of critical pedagogues to afford the teacher the status of *saviour* through the notion of empowering students in lessons,

> I think we should talk about empowerment as a word first. In my opinion if you think about the basic ideology of critical pedagogy, they understand it wrongly I believe. Because there is not about that 'I empower you' because then, I'm kind of above you and I give you something and then you get empowered. I only try to create the kind of situation or learning environment where it's possible for you to become empowered, but I'm not the one who is giving the power to you. That's a very important philosophical detail. I'm very critical to this empowerment word because people use it like a verb, they 'empower them' or something like this... Shit. And empowered for what? (Julia, Second interview, November 18, 2011).

Envisioning the teacher as empowering saviour aims to produce a certain kind of society through designing a certain kind of child (Popkewitz, 2008), with the teacher guiding the child towards full participation in society. Allsup and Westerlund (2012) have criticized these goals, and proposed that the teacher may better be thought of as *ethical agent*. In this way, the teacher navigates the situational conflicts and uncertainties of students' engagements with popular musics as contextualized within the school censorship frame. S/he may do this through inquiry and moral deliberation as a way 'to reconstruct the means and ends of teaching into a constant *re*-organization of values for the good or the growth of oneself and others' (p. 126). Teachers may then be seen to engage in, and acquire, as much moral learning as students. However, in recognizing the political dimension of popular repertoire selection, and the diversity and inherent conflicts of schooling in a thick democracy, it may be questioned whether the teacher is able to rely on stable ethical understandings of what the 'good' is, if they are to apply to life as 'a moving affair in which old moral truth ceases to apply' (Dewey, MW14: 164).

In living in, if not a post-ethical world, at least one in which a universal, normative ethical view does not apply, 'morality does not vanish, but, on

the contrary, comes into its own' (Bauman, 1995, p. 11). Simply recognizing the situatedness of moral decisions is thus only the very beginning of moral reflection and decision-making. As Dewey argued, doing away with a universal ethical framework 'does not destroy responsibility; it only locates it' (MW12: 173). Moreover, the attempts of critical pedagogues to 'influence how and what knowledge, values, desires, and identities are produced within particular sets of class and social relations' (Giroux, 2011, p. 159) may simply replace one unquestioned ethical framework with another, being selectively critical and stultifying the moral work that is necessary for democratic practices in the classroom. If morality is all that there is, the teacher, together with students, is required to recognize and critically reflect upon the historical and cultural ethical baggage that accompanies each music and each situation. These situations and contexts that require ethical and moral deliberation are by no means given, and require definition and interpretation (Ben-Yehuda, 1990). By this, we may understand that in a thick democracy – without governing ethical guidelines of truth, right and good, the moral deliberation the teacher engages in is not only restricted to the *'whats, hows,* and *whys'* (Allsup & Westerlund, 2012, p. 140) and *whose,* of music education, but also the *what for*, and the *who for* and *to what ends.*

In locating the school in a world without ethics, without prescribed rules of moral conduct, the teacher may draw upon disagreement and diversity as moral resources in a thick democracy, rather than viewing them as hindrances to ethical consensus. With each situation being culturally and historically informed, and in critically reflecting upon these accumulated meanings, the teacher may engage in repertoire decision-making with a complex degree of moral concern, rather than imposing an unquestioned moral indignation through a fixed ethical framework. As Apple (2013) argues, assuming a monopoly of '*the* correct answer, the correct ethical and political stance' (p. 21) endangers the ideals of justice and equality. If education is to change society for the (undetermined) better, it must be of, and for, that very same society.

Thus, without a common ethical framework to which teachers may rely upon in teaching *critically,* it may be seen as crucial to critique what constitutes a good in the first place. What *is* socially responsible? What *are* student rights? When we speak of inclusion, what is it that students are to be included in? Why? For what/who? In enacting a democratic music education that promotes students' overall growth, it may be questioned what growth is, how we recognize its and what or who it is for.

5.4 The uncertainties of factional stories

One of the unexpected outcomes of this research project was the development of a narrative method that addressed challenges that arose during the course of study and aimed towards a more collaborative, meaningful exchange between participating teachers and myself. Reported in the fourth article of this dissertation (appendix 4), the crafting of *factional stories* may be understood as introducing an element of uncertainty, of troubling taken-for-granted assumptions, and questioning teachers' and my own tacit knowledge. In this section, I discuss the methodological developments of the research project, addressing the final research question, *what can be learnt about the teaching of music, if story is viewed as both the source and representation of knowledge and experience?*

I began the process of data collection with an element of certainty with regards to what I was going to ask, and what it was that I wanted to investigate. With an interview guide at the ready I asked teachers to describe themselves, their daily work, and to recount particular moments that they had found challenging, and essentially I got the information I asked for. It was only after the first two rounds of interviews that I realized that the focus had been on *what,* whereas what I was really interested in was *why*.

As described in the fourth article and chapter 4 of this dissertation, the crafting of factional stories to address the challenges I felt, and to dig deeper into teacher's understandings and beliefs of their teaching practice, was an experiment. The changes in methodological approach and the uncertainty with which I implemented these changes were perhaps a luxury afforded by a system of doctoral education that does not require prior approval of methods, allowing for considerable flexibility during the course of study. Indeed, I did not know if sharing these stories would be productive, well received or understood, and I did so with considerable trepidation.

The consequences of sharing these four, short, factional stories were surprising to me in a number of ways. The first was the extent to which teachers *engaged* with the texts. Shared approximately two weeks before our final interviews, most of the teachers claimed that they had spent significant time thinking about the issues these stories raised, and three had written notes that they wanted to discuss. The only teacher who did not have an opportunity to spend a significant amount of time engaging with the texts was Risto, as he was in the middle of coordinating performances for an upcoming school event. Perhaps as a result, his final interview was the shortest of the five, though still allowed for a longer, and deeper, discussion than in earlier interviews. Outi noted that the language of the factional stories was at times challenging for her as a

Finnish speaker, but having the texts for some time before our meeting allowed her to translate sections, and think about what they meant, both semantically and relating the ideas to her own work. The sharing of factional stories afforded teachers access to other teachers' thoughts and experiences, and the time to consider not only words but also meanings that was not afforded in the immediate, face-to-face interview situations. In addition, I was surprised that in following the teachers' leads, the discussions that took place in the third interviews extended far beyond the four factional stories.

Another surprise for me were the truly polyphonic narratives that the factional stories not only embodied but produced. Sharing the stories I had some concerns that certain factional stories were too heavily based on particular teachers' accounts, or that I had not attended to each teacher's experiences or thoughts evenly. However, as a result of including teachers and my own doubts, questions and uncertainties, the factional stories opened the doors for considerable reflection and deliberation with regards to the meanings and values of teachers' everyday classroom experiences. Each teacher approached the factional stories from their own unique context and personal history. Accordingly, the final transcripts read as a complex fugue, or variation upon a theme, with each teacher in conversation with the same voices in different ways.

Up to the final interviews, teachers had mostly shared descriptive narratives of what 'Finnish teachers' do, and what 'Finnish teachers' think. In going beyond this, to the level of personal reflection and deliberation, I was also surprised by the dissenting voices, and how each teacher focused on different aspects of each story as they related it to their own work and experiences. These moments of disagreement or uncertainty presented opportunities for deep discussion and collaborative inquiry between teachers and myself.

One voice in particular stood out in the transcripts. I noticed an inconsistency in Maria's interview transcripts, where she seemed to contradict or at least take a very different stance towards popular repertoire (rap music in particular) in the third interview, to what she had told me in the earlier interviews. The second factional story (real rap, see appendix 7b) was largely constructed on a story she shared with me during the first and second interviews,

Maria: There's one very talented boy who can make his own rap music, and also the background, and he had some difficulties writing down the words because he also wanted to improvise for some of the time. So I could never really see the words beforehand. That was my mistake… I learnt that you never do this like that!

Alexis: What happened?

Maria: There were some words that should not have been said in front of an audience of pupils. But then it is many times in rap that you have this 'uh, motherfucker, yeah yeah' and all of that. They imitate it… we had a teachers meeting after [the performances] where we have to grade these performances… I think this boy would have gotten 'excellent' if there hadn't been the swear words, because he did a fine job with the musical background, these loops he did on the computer. And the lyrics he came up with them himself. (First interview, October 31, 2011).

Alexis: What did the other teachers say?

Maria: They said that because of these swear words it was not 'excellent'. We have only three levels: 'excellent', 'ok' and 'fail'. So his was just 'ok'… it was a little bit difficult for me to say, because I know it's part of the culture, the rap culture that you use such words. (Second interview, November 7, 2011).

However, after I shared the factional stories with Maria, in the third interview, when asked to discuss the second factional story, she was quick to judge the anonymous teacher,

Maria: Hmmm (shaking her head), the teacher should have said something beforehand. This is the teacher's fault.

Alexis: What would you have said beforehand?

Maria: That you cannot have swear words.

Alexis: So you would have anticipated this?

Maria: Yes! She should have said. *Every* teacher knows that swear words are part of the rap culture. We have had similar cases here. (Third interview, May 11, 2012).

This inconsistency in Maria's transcripts may be the result of a number of factors. The first may be a methodological limitation, either as a result of design or a misunderstanding with regards to how the factional stories were to be interpreted. For instance, Maria may have read the factional stories as models of teaching to praise or critique. This suggests a failure on my own behalf, to adequately explain that the factional stories were grounded in the five teachers' own experiences, and a failure on Maria's behalf to recognize them as such. Secondly, this contradiction may point to the difficulty that has often been noted in educational research, of distinguishing experiences from values; distinguishing what teachers do, from what they say. However, through the narrative inquiry approach adopted in this research project, this is not problematic in itself. Rather, Maria's reaction to her own experiences may be seen as one instance where the normative judgements of the school censorship frame are reinforced, with the social censure of certain popular musics rooted in particular understandings of schooling, students, and teachers. This may be seen as a tension or conflict between Maria's individual narrative and the social narratives of the school censorship frame, taking on the form of a 'cover story' (Olson & Craig, 2005). Narrative education researchers Olson and Craig (2005) applied Crites' (1979) notion of cover stories to educational research, as a lens to understand the 'intersections where teachers' personal knowledge – constructed and reconstructed from experience – meets knowledge constructed by others' (Olson & Craig, 2005, p. 163). Cover stories are understood as 'socially authorized' stories (Olson & Craig, 2005, p. 163). The later discussions with Maria may illustrate such a cover story, more reliant on the dominant narratives of the school censorship frame than her own experiences. The school censorship frame is here seen at work, telling a 'canonical version of ¨how things should be¨' (Olson & Craig, 2005, p. 164), constructing and constraining not only what is considered legitimate classroom content, but legitimate teacher roles and stories as well.

6 Beyond and between dichotomies of democratic music education

Recent scholarship has questioned a number of established dichotomies in music education, such as the casting of popular musics in opposition to classical musics (e.g., Bennett et al. 2009; Frith, 1992, 1996), and formal learning in opposition to informal learning (e.g., Folkestad, 2006). Similarly, in navigating the school censorship frame, attending to the features of popular musics and selecting repertoire that actively engages with processes of inclusion and democracy in the school, there is a need to look beyond a number of dichotomies that may be seen to have been particularly influential in guiding popular repertoire selection thus far. In looking beyond and between these boundaries, it is possible to further question the frames that guide popular repertoire selection not only in terms of how they function, but *what*, or *who* they benefit, why, and what for. As illustration, in this chapter I address three dichotomies that relate to the research findings regarding music teachers' popular repertoire decision-making. The first dichotomy addressed in this section of the dissertation was established through the work of Lucy Green (1999, 2006, 2008) and has been an important consideration for informal learning approaches and the teaching and learning of popular musics in schools: the positioning of student alienation in opposition to student affiliation and understanding of music (6.1). Related to this, is the dichotomy of oppression – emancipation, which has long been associated with critical pedagogy (6.2). The third dichotomy discussed in this section of the dissertation extends these ideas to broader understandings of inclusion as diametrically opposed to exclusion, often seen as the barometer of democratic practices in the classroom (6.3).

6.1 Alienation – Affiliation and understanding

As described earlier in section 2.4 of this dissertation, in Lucy Green's (1999) work on the sociology of music education, and later (2006, 2008) work on popular music in schools, she poses that students experience alienation from a music when they do not understand the inherent/inter-sonic meanings of a music, and when they feel that the music represents 'social or political values of which [they] disapprove, or social groups from which [they] are excluded' (Green, 1999, p. 164). Conversely, she suggests that students have a celebratory experience of music when they both understand the inherent/inter-sonic meanings of music, and feel an affiliation with its delineated meanings. This approach affords music a certain autonomy, if through manipulating and better understanding the inter-sonic meanings of music, the delineated meanings may change, or new delineated

meanings may be produced. This same idea may be read in the pluralistic policies of the Finnish Core Curriculum for Basic Education (Finnish National Board of Education, 2004), with the task of instruction to communicate to students that music 'is different at different times and in different cultures and societies, and has a different sort of meaning for different people' (p. 230). With such a perspective, in her (2008) book *Music, informal leaning, and the school: A new classroom pedagogy,* Green argues that the delineated meanings of music are *arbitrary* (p. 91). Such an approach aligns with more simplistic, one-directional, deterministic interpretations of traditional labelling theory (see section 3.2.2 of this dissertation) which sees delineated musical meanings as subject to the whim of the labelling forces of the 'context of reception' (Green, 2008, p. 90), reliant on who is listening, when. Green (1999) argues that students' alienation from a music, as a result (in part) of negativity towards the delineated meanings, may be overcome if the teacher is able to 'teach [students] something about the music's inherent meanings' (p. 166) through a hands-on, informal engagement with the music in question. In turn, the delineated meanings of the music will change, 'and slowly they will begin to understand it – perhaps even to like it' (p. 166). This research suggests that the matter is considerably more complex.

Alienation is *not* the result of misunderstanding on behalf of the student or the inability of the teacher to present material in a comprehensible manner. Nor is it *necessarily* a result of being unable to relate positively to the music at hand. If, as Green (1999, 2008) suggests, alienation is caused by an incapability to understand or relate to music, the problem is located within the students themselves (and perhaps by extension to the teacher who is ostensibly unable to explain or present the music in an accessible way). This erases the political dimensions of the processes of exclusion from music education, and limits reflection on, and inquiry into how alienation may best be addressed. If the alienation of the student is the result of the students' own deficiencies or difference, the processes by which certain musics are deviantized and cast as outsiders to the music classroom are depoliticized and the narratives of the school censorship frame rendered invisible.

As this research illustrates, at least with regard to school repertoires, alienation may be the result of students understanding very well that the music that they enjoy, and the musical cultures they identify with, are *not* considered worthy of classroom attention. The delineated meanings that students or teachers (or others) label musics with are anything but arbitrary. Rather, the labels assigned to musics, or the delineated meanings, reflect the (re)enforcement of moral boundaries that determine which musics are legitimized as worthy of classroom attention, and which are relegated as deviantized outsiders. The classroom is an inherently political space, and the processes of content selection for this space

determines who music education serves, who is left out, and the justifications for these choices. As Sumner (1990) emphasizes, 'deviance is an outcome of a relation between people in conflict' (p. 18).

Green (2008) also neglects the political dimensions of alienation in advising that students may achieve a critical musicality through

> being able to listen to music more attentively and knowledgeably; hearing more synchronic parts and/or diachronic relationships within it; being more aware of how it came to be made; and having a more informed, percipient, and a less alienated, biased response to both its inter-sonic and its delineated meanings. (2008, p. 91).

Constructing a view of alienation in binary opposition to affiliation and understanding is coercive at best, and at worst may reinforce the censure of the students' musical preferences as illegitimate, and certain students as outsiders to the music classroom.

The dichotomy is thus not between affiliation and understanding, and alienation. Indeed, it is not a dichotomy at all. As the stigma contests of the school censorship frame result in continuous processes of legitimizing certain musics, and marginalizing others according to power relations embedded in situation and circumstance, the teacher and student are *together* navigating competing, complex and multifaceted constructions and censures of musical meanings and values. The task is thus not one of explanation, but of critical, ethical inquiry, and an inquiry with an uncertain end.

6.2 Oppression – Emancipation

Critical pedagogy has achieved considerable ground in socially and politically contextualizing teaching and learning as a means to 'empower the powerless and transform existing social inequalities and injustices' (McLaren, 2003, p. 186). In recognizing that schooling is not a neutral endeavour, critical pedagogues have struggled to disrupt oppressive relations of 'exploitation, domination and subordination' (Apple, 2013, p. 23) creating new, emancipatory potentials for individuals and groups. In this light, the dichotomy that much of this critical work has hinged on is that between oppression and emancipation. Not wanting to diminish the important contributions by critical pedagogues, but if censorship is understood as one process by which oppression occurs, and if, as discussed earlier in this dissertation, censorship is inevitable and even necessary, there are a number of problems in viewing the project of educating students in terms of this binary that warrant attention.

If censorship is omnipresent, polyvalent and multifaceted, the critical project is by definition, ongoing. This is in line with the arguments put forward by Freire (e.g., 1990, 1994) that regard agency, and the potentials for agency, as central to the education project. In this way, the work of teachers is to promote 'a concern with keeping the forever unexhausted and unfulfilled human potential open, fighting back all attempts to foreclose and pre-empt the further unravelling of human possibilities, prodding human society to go on questioning itself and preventing that questioning from every stalling or being declared finished' (Bauman & Tester, 2001, p. 4). However, in light of the results of this research, the unfinishedness of the critical and democratizing project may be seen to be curtailed by the way in which empowerment has been conceived and applied in formal music education contexts. The results of this research align with critiques of critical pedagogy by Apple (2013) that have pointed to an arrogance in assuming that "¨we¨ know the best and only paths to emancipation and we will bring it to ¨you¨" (p. 29).

In attending to the techniques of power (Foucault, 1980, p. 39) employed as part of the 'constantly shifting discourses, practices and apparatuses' (Kuhn, 1988, p. 127) of the school censorship frame that assign and control musical meaning, there *cannot* be an a priori good or truth to uncover or promote. A liberatory approach that substitutes one truth for another runs the risk of being duplicitous, engaging in circular processes of manumission, unreflectively partaking in the very censorious processes of domination and oppression it aims to eradicate. In committing to a singlular idea of social justice, in solidarity with marginalized or subordinated groups (notably identified by critical pedagogues themselves), new power relations are established, new assumptions taken for granted and new outsiders created. Thus, it may be seen that the fight has been for impossible freedoms.

As the results of this research suggest, and recalling Holquist's (1994) claim that 'censorship is' (p. 17), the foreclosure (Butler, 1997) of possibility is inevitable and indeed necessary. The legitimizing of certain individuals' knowledge is *always* at the expense, or as Marxist traditions have reminded us, at the behest (Bunn, 2015), of others. Thus, it may be argued that in creating a school community among diverse student and teacher populations with cohesive 'ceremonies, rituals, beliefs, morals and values' (Dillon, 2007, p. 94), music education 'is *always* both inclusive and exclusive' (Bowman, 2007, p. 110, emphasis added). Accordingly the task cannot be to empower certain narrative morals, goods or truths, strengthening them to be equal to, or to succeed others. The school censorship frame is constantly changing according to the situation, teacher, students and musical materials. This is not to suggest a cynical view that change for the 'better'

(I hesitate to use such a word here without being precise with regards to or for whom it would be so, but there it is) in schools is impossible, nor is it a futile utopian dream. It does however, argue that it is not enough to shift the boundaries of who is included and who is an outsider, neglecting the censorious processes by which outsiders, and also importantly insiders, are produced.

6.3 Exclusion – Inclusion

Extending this reconsideration of the aforementioned dichotomy between oppression and emancipation to a discussion of the processes that produce the insiders and outsiders of the school community, poses challenges for the ideals of democratic music education. The dichotomy of exclusion and inclusion presents an apparent contradiction between the ideals of full participation, and the valuing of social consensus. Just as censorship is not defined in opposition to free speech, the binary between exclusion and inclusion warrants attention if we are to envision a music education that serves *all* students in the classroom.

Looking at popular music cultures beyond the school context, the popularity of Elvis, the Beatles, N.W.A, Ice-T and numerous contemporary artists are testament to the notion that inclusion in the mainstream, and acceptance by dominant social groups is not the only means by which music, and individuals, may become powerful. All of these artists have experienced extreme forms of exclusion such as repressive censorship and silencing, yet they continue to be immensely popular – indeed part of their popularity and success may be attributed to this very outsider status. Processes of social censure, and exclusion may thus be of 'political value, a means of preserving certain practices and dimensions of existence from regulatory power, from normative violence, and from the scorching rays of public exposure' (Brown, 1998, p. 314), or part of the political strategies of public exposure in itself. Thus it may be seen that inclusion does not necessarily equate with freedom, and freedom does not equate with 'voice and visibility' through a 'compulsory discursivity' (Brown, 1998, p. 315). Students whose musics are deviantized or censored in the classroom, the outsiders of school music education, may not *want* to be included as this may not be the most effective arena or way for them to exercise agency. Just as there is a power in being included, there can also be a power in existing outside of the *mainstream,* as Foucault (1978) suggested, 'silence and secrecy are a shelter for power' (p. 101). Becker's (1963) labelling theory suggested that the creation of outsiders might go both ways,

> the person who is thus labeled an outsider may have a different view of the matter. He may not accept the rule by which he is being judged and may not regard those who judge him as either competent or legitimately entitled to do so… the rule breaker may feel his judges are *outsiders.* (p. 2)

In this way, the exclusion of deviantized musics may even be preferable to submitting such musics to the labelling processes of the school censorship frame, if such processes are *assimilation* strategies, including outsiders through critical discussion (Georgii-Hemming & Kvarnhall, forthcoming) or coercive explication (e.g., Green, 1999, 2008). Although writing on racial and cultural diversity in schools, American music education researcher Randall Allsup (2010) has critiqued the assimilatory Nordic approach to difference. Such coercive practices are often paved with the best intentions, as he notes 'the impetus behind assimilation is one of welcoming' (p. 21). He suggests that difference may be seen as a resource, rather than a challenge to overcome, posing the question '[d]o we speak of a common community or an expanding one?' (p. 20). With such a notion of an expanding community, the conflicts and tensions of the stigma contests of the school censorship frame may not *only* be repressive, excluding processes. They may also be seen as the same processes that develop new courses of action, new possibilities and new resistances to patterns and habits of interaction that reproduce inequalities and exclusions. In this sense, the stigma contests within, and in conflict with, the school censorship frame may be seen to pose invitations; invitations to the new, and potentially, to the better (see also Schmidt, 2008).

7 Final words: Expanding the discussion of inclusion and democracy in music education

The freedoms afforded to Finnish school music teachers regarding what and how to teach have often been the envy of the international music education community, seen as something to be *enjoyed*. However, the situations these teachers face as a result of these freedoms may, at times, be acutely uncomfortable. Attending to some of these potentially challenging moments, the task of this research was to develop theoretical and practical understandings of music teachers' experiences of the censure and censorship of popular music in school contexts, considering the research findings within the broader discourses of inclusion and democracy in schools.

With popular repertoire selection being neither laissez-faire, anything-goes relativism, nor a straightforward selection between *good* and *problematic*, decided upon through the application of a stable ethical framework, teachers are caught amidst a maelstrom of ambivalence and uncertainty. *What* is seen as *good* for *who* is constantly changing. Accordingly, the musics, practices and values seen as good in school music programmes are inextricably intertwined with dynamic power relations and the inclusion of certain individuals at the exclusion of others. As such, the matter is not so much *what* is good, but *whose* good counts *when*, and *what for*. The legitimation of certain morals, knowledge and goods through repertoire selection is *always* at the exclusion of others, and is both the site and product of immense contestation. In moving beyond the idea that an agreed set of ethical guidelines exists for everyone at all times, the everyday act of selecting popular musics to teach and learn in the classroom has powerful implications for inclusion and democratic action in schools. Accordingly, it is necessary to discuss what *is* good, beyond and between the dichotomies that so often guide the teaching and learning of music, such as the binaries of alienation and affiliation and understanding, oppression and emancipation, and inclusion and exclusion.

In envisioning a music classroom as the locus of democratic actions, it has been argued that music education ought 'to extend the reference of ¨us¨ as far as we can' (Woodford, 2005, p. 89). Such an idea suggests that democracy is a state of consensus, or at least a harmonious ideal with few conflicts or disruptions. In light of this research, this practice of extending the *us* denotes a process of assimilation, of imposition and of moving identifiable boundaries for the once outsiders to yield to, in order to become insiders. Democracy is not an adjective that signifies smooth sailing, an achievement or to describe a well-oiled machine. Rather than extending the *us* of music education, the processes and enactments of thick democracy may be found in the political interactions and transactions between the

'us' and the constructed 'them'. In a liquid modern world these notions of *us* and *them,* ideas of who comprises the school community, and who are cast as outsiders, are continually changing and (re)negotiated. Indeed, in defining the school as a cohesive community in the first place, we engage in processes of legitimation and also exclusion. In moving beyond such an idea, the social aims of music education cannot be a fixed goal that we may all strive towards as a united team.

In focusing our attention on the constructions of, and the relations between, *us* and *them,* it may be seen that dissensus is an *essential* component of thick democracy. Thus, contestation, exclusion and uncertainty are not something to overcome, or override, but vital components of a democratic music education. If a student is to 'not only adapt himself to the changes that are going on, but have power to shape and direct them' (Dewey, MW4: 27) difference and contestation may be seen as *resources* for educators rather than hindrances. This requires not an expansion of the *us,* as critical reflection on *practice,* but an expanded discussion of inclusive and democratic practices in music education, entailing a critical reflection on *purpose*. This is in line with the notions of democracy in education as put forward by Dewey, who wrote that '[t]here is more than a verbal tie between the words common, community, and communication' (MW9: 7). Such understandings of the school as an expanding community founded on disagreement and dissent are also in line with the writings of Freire (1990, 1994) and Bauman (Bauman & Tester, 2001) who both view the 'limits of justice' (Giroux, 2012, p. 120) as forever unreached, and the questioning of possibilities unending. With this in mind, the school censorship frame, *problem music* and processes of social censure, deviantization and exclusion may present the teacher and student with *opportunities.* These are opportunities to learn beyond bias and assumption, to inquire what lies in-between and beyond the dichotomies that so often guide the selection of musics in the classroom, and to understand who music education serves, when, why, how and to what ends.

As an interdisciplinary work combining the fields of music education and cultural criminology, this dissertation has covered considerable theoretical ground and offers new perspectives on inclusion and democracy in the school music classroom, as well as new insights on social censure and censorship as a means to understand the processes of deviantization. Popular musics were introduced to classrooms as part of a broader diversification of school repertoires, valuing and promoting a multicultural and multimusical ethos and approach (see chapter 2 of this dissertation). Regarded as more accessible, more readily intelligible for young learners, more *authentic* and inclusive, popular musics have often been seen as democratizing practices in themselves. This research has suggested that this is not *necessarily* true, and the assumption warrants closer attention. Through focusing

on processes of censure and censorship in the music classroom, this dissertation contributes towards an increasingly complex understanding of the role popular music may play in schools. As such, this research offers a critical counterpoint, and suggests that the process of selecting popular repertoire is as fraught with as many complexities and potentials for exclusion as any other music.

With the concept of censorship of relevance to the field of cultural criminology, this dissertation introduces the considerable theoretical work done by scholars associated with New Censorship Theory, affording a more complex perspective than traditional understandings of censorship have thus far provided. In addition, by augmenting the work associated with the developments of New Censorship Theory by understanding the phenomena of censorship as *interactive,* this dissertation proposes an expanded view of censorship as an analytical concept, whereby scholars may attend to the frames for, and constraints upon, individual agency beyond the structural perspectives of the theoretical frameworks that have been employed thus far. The development of this theoretical lens, locating censorship in, and through, interaction, may hold implications for research in other contexts, where the socio-political and cultural circumstances may shed new light on censorship processes as means of both silencing and generating human expression.

Through adopting a cultural criminological perspective in analyzing the censure and censorship of *music*, this dissertation contributes towards the developing engagement of the field with different cultural forms and practices, extending the discussion beyond the 'usual suspects' of rap and heavy metal music (Johnson and Cloonan, 2009). In addition, in investigating these social processes in the school environment, cultural criminological perspectives are applied to new contexts of cultural production. As described in chapter 1 of this dissertation, one of the purposes of education is to nurture autonomous individuals capable of living in, and contributing towards democratic society (Heimonen, 2014). In recognizing the processes of social censure and censorship that stigmatize and devalue certain musics and individuals in the classroom, we may be one step closer to realizing the ideals of *thick,* participatory democracy. As argued by Apple (2013), if school is considered not as preparation for, but as part of society, as 'work places, as sites of identity formation, as places that make particular knowledge and culture legitimate, as arenas of mobilization and learning of tactics, and so much more' (p. 158), attending to issues of power, social justice, deviance and exclusion *within* schools may have significant implications for transforming and understanding social life outside them.

Turning the focus back to music education in schools, although it is impossible and perhaps undesirable to be able to prepare teachers in a way that would allow them to anticipate *all* future challenges in their work, this research project offers a window of understanding that may be of use as part of teacher preparation studies. Through the practical and theoretical findings of this research, teachers and future teachers may be better able to recognize deviantized musics, and through critically reflecting on the processes of deviantization, censure and censorship frames that guide their understandings, be better equipped to foster inclusive and democratic practices in their classrooms. Indeed, this dissertation serves as a critical guide and reassurance for my younger teacher self as described in the prelude of this dissertation.

Considering teacher preparation studies as a potential extension of this research project, I have already collected quantitative data from a broad sample of recent music education graduates working in Finnish secondary schools. This data will provide insights regarding the extent to which secondary school music teachers reflect upon the constraints of the school censorship frame, and the musical features that highlight or contribute towards the social censure or deviantization of popular music in school context. Moreover, teachers were asked whether or not these issues were addressed as part of their teacher preparation studies. This extension of the project also allows for investigation of the relations between teachers' personal (both musical and educational) backgrounds and their approaches to popular repertoire selection – as was suggested by reviewers of the journal articles that comprise this dissertation. In addition, the quantitative approach offers a broader overview, and provides an opportunity to attend to differences in teacher responses according to their gender, location, type of school, years of teaching experience, cultural or religious identity and other demographic information. In this way, it may be seen that the results of this research project have already informed future research that may contribute more concretely to how tertiary studies may address and promote a more complex understanding of inclusion and democracy in school music education.

To summarize the main contribution I offer here in this dissertation, I suggest that popular music is not an easy answer to inclusion or democratic practice in the music classroom. Indeed, the introduction of popular musics to school classrooms have made the processes of selecting repertoire in a way that reflects and fosters the diversity of the school music classroom, considerably more complex. This may be a good thing. A recognition of the social censures and censorious narratives that politicize repertoire selection, and the school classroom as a heterotopy of musical preferences, identities and cultures, may enable teachers and students to engage in critical reflections and negotiations that extend beyond

fixed notions of what constitutes a good music, or a good student. The invitations and surprises embedded in such necessary conflicts may create new opportunities and spaces for inclusive, democratizing practices in schools. This involves taking a risk; to open the doors to the outsiders of school music lessons, the uncomfortable tensions and disagreements of curriculum making and enacting, and to recognize a sense of possibility and promise in the uncertainty that these entail and engender.

Only those who will risk going too far can possibly find out how far one can go.

T.S. Eliot 1931, ix

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Appendix 1: Article 1

Drawing a line in water: Constructing the school censorship frame in popular music education.

Alexis Anja Kallio

Abstract

The apparent ideological tensions between popular musics and formal school contexts raise significant issues regarding teachers' popular repertoire selection processes. Such decision-making may be seen to take place within a school censorship frame, through which certain musics and their accompanying values are promoted, whilst others are suppressed. Through semi-structured interviews with five Finnish music teachers, the narrative instrumental case study reported in this article aims to explore secondary school music teachers' understandings of the school censorship frame and its influence on their popular repertoire decisions. The findings suggest that the school censorship frame is composed of dynamic and interrelated big stories: teachers' cultural, religious and curricular narrative environments; and small stories: stories of school, staff, parents, themselves as a teacher, and stories of their students. This study illustrates the complex, situational and multifaceted negotiations involved in including or excluding popular repertoire from school activities, suggesting that teachers' decisions require ethical deliberation in aiming towards an inclusive, democratic music education.

Keywords

censorship, classroom music, narrative, popular music, repertoire selection

With one of the most established histories of popular music education, in both school and music teacher education (Westerlund, 2006), many nations are now looking to Finland to determine to what extent and *how* to introduce a popular repertoire into school curricula (Allsup, 2011). During popular music's 40 year history in Finnish schools, teachers have been and are afforded considerable freedoms in selecting popular repertoire, popular pedagogies and methods. The Finnish National Core Curriculum for Basic Education (2004) imposes few directives, indeed the music curriculum for secondary school students is but a single page, without prerequisite repertoire or specified content. There are also

numerous textbooks from which teachers are able to choose from, and students often bring their own music selections to learn in class.

This apparent liberty of choice and whole-hearted acceptance of popular musics has thus far remained relatively unexamined, with little information available regarding how teachers decide which popular musics to include and which to exclude from classroom activities. This is of particular interest taking into account arguments that 'the very reason for the existence of "students' own" music is to rebel against the established conventions that school music represents' (Väkevä, 2006, p. 128), functioning for young people in part 'as a source of identity and différance from the adult and school worlds' (Regelski, 2004, p. 30; Stålhammar, 2000). This study explores Finnish secondary school music teachers' understandings of their popular repertoire selections, given the freedoms afforded by the curriculum, and taking into account the apparent ideological conflicts and tensions that exist between some popular musics and formal school music education.

A democratic Finnish music education

Popular repertoire is often regarded as a feasible realm in which to achieve 'real music-making' in the classroom in an enjoyable way, and in Finland, as in other Nordic countries, it is largely 'considered self-evident that music education in the schools should build on young people's everyday musical experiences' (Lindgren & Ericsson, 2010). In part, popular music has been invited into the classroom with hopes to encourage democratic education through 'cooperative learning, thematic teaching, child-centered curricula' (Allsup, 2003, p. 27). In Finland, democracy in education refers to a 'socially fair and inclusive education system… based on equality of educational opportunities' (Sahlberg, 2011, p. 45).

One way in which this has been manifested in music education has been through the classroom garage band model (Westerlund, 2006) in which students learn electric and acoustic guitars, bass guitar, drums or other percussive instruments, and are encouraged to sing, working in small peer groups and often rotating instruments and roles. Through this model, each student is offered the opportunity to both participate and perform in music-making as the basis for learning. The repertoire for many classes is in-keeping with this instrumentation and format, with textbooks providing simplified notation for classic, or recent, chart-toppers, many teachers sourcing music online, and students regularly requesting songs to be played in class.

As part of the discussion surrounding the role of popular musics in classrooms, and justifications for a pluralistic approach to repertoire, general music teachers have been called upon not only to 'justify the value of music education

in general education, but also defend the specific musical repertoires that they use' (Väkevä & Westerlund, 2007, p. 98). If we understand all music as activity rather than artifact (e.g. Small, 1998) and thus each and every music *belonging* to someone or some group of people, this is of particular interest. While encouraging democratic participation in music education, teachers must also justify decisions regarding *whose* music is excluded.

Constructing a school censorship frame

In determining which popular musics are excluded from school practices, Väkevä (2006) has suggested it is 'obvious that certain explicit themes just do not fit within school curricula' (p. 128). The 'explicit' music Väkevä refers to may be defined in a way that is 'reflexive of the dominant group's membership and social reality' (Schneider, 2011, p. 2), suggesting that pejorative constructions of popular musics are, in part, a process of 'other'ing, as dominant social groups attempt to 'control human conduct by setting up predefined patterns of conduct, which channel it in one direction as against the many other directions that would theoretically be possible' (Berger & Luckmann, 2002, p. 42). Thus, the attention given by the 'majority-group' contributes towards a dominant discourse regarding musical meaning and affect. This, in part, may be attributed to what sociologist Schneider (2011) terms the *censorship frame*, with reference to media activities, informed by both formal and informal censorship campaigns, that 'culturally associate music and (collectively shared and culturally agreed-upon) perceptions of deviance' (p. 38). According to Schneider (2011) the media becomes a site for the competition and negotiation of ideological structures, prioritizing certain constructions whilst suppressing 'particular messages and styles associated with this music' (p. 37).

Given the continuous ideological negotiations that occur in schools, this situation may be less stable, less linear and altogether more complex than mediated portrayals of popular musics simply being funneled into the classroom. Björck (2011) has noted the linkage between popular music forms and ideologies of freedom and autonomy in the Swedish context, with 'popular music-making… portrayed as a way to escape the demands of mainstream society' (p. 19) suggesting an ideological conflict when in a formal education context, with schools representing mainstream demands, serving 'as vigorous mechanisms for the reproduction of dominant… values of the dominant socio-political order' (McLaren, 1995, p. 229). In navigating the various discourses and ideologies in the school, teachers may be seen to work within a *school censorship frame*, through which certain musics and their accompanying values are promoted, whilst others are suppressed.

In exploring the construction of the school censorship frame through which teachers may be compelled or directed to exclude popular musics, this study addresses the two following research questions:

1. How do Finnish music teachers construct the school censorship frame?
2. How does the school censorship frame influence teachers' decisions to include or exclude popular musics?

These questions were not intended to procure definitive answers, as prescriptions for future practice, nor to 'seek certainty about correct perspectives on educational phenomena but to raise significant questions about prevailing policy and practice that enrich an ongoing conversation' (Barone, 2007, p. 466), or at least aid in the beginnings of one.

Beginning conversations

Participating in this instrumental case study (Stake, 1995) was a purposive sample (Creswell, 2009) of five lower-secondary school music teachers (involved with students at grades 7–9[1], between the ages of 13 to 16) from different regions of Finland. Three semi-structured interviews were conducted with each teacher over a period of seven months between 2011 and 2012, following a similar three-interview format as suggested by Seidman (1991). The teachers invited to participate in this study lived and worked in medium to large sized cities or towns (capital region, Eastern Finland, central Finland, Lapland and Northern Lapland), resting on the assumption that teachers working in such environments were more likely to be employed full time, and have some proficiency in the English language. As I am an immigrant to Finland, and not yet fluent in neither Finnish nor Swedish[2], interviews were conducted mostly in English with some communication taking place in teachers' native languages when participants found it necessary for clarification. Given the teachers' facility with the English language, clarification that was achieved in teachers' native languages, ensuing discussion, and understanding that all narratives are translations and interpretations in kind, the researcher and participants speaking different native languages was not seen as a major impediment to the study. Teachers worked at a variety of comprehensive schools, including Swedish speaking, music specialized and local secondary schools, and had between six and 17 years of teaching experience.

The first two interviews, each approximately two hours long, sought to gain a broad understanding of the individual teacher's experiences of teaching, their personal musical and educational histories, their understandings of the dominant

ideologies of their school, curriculum and music programme, and sought stories to illustrate their understandings or opinions on their processes of popular repertoire inclusion/exclusion. Interpretative analysis followed Kelchtermans' (1994) narrative-biographical approach, thematically analyzing the data in two stages: a vertical analysis, and a cross-case analysis. This analysis identified two types of stories: big stories and small stories (Chase, 2011). Big stories were reflections on broader cultural issues, the teachers' communities and their understandings of Finnish music education in general: in other words, their narrative environments. Conversely, small stories were teachers' recollections of specific daily events, talk about practices and classroom activities. In this sense, the interviews revealed a 'reflexive interplay between narrative environments and narrative practices' (Chase, 2011, p. 425): an ongoing dialogue between big and small stories. st suppressing 'particular messages and styles associated with this music' (p. 37).

Resting on a belief that the retelling of stories 'can lead to seeing experience from different perspectives and can lead to a new spiral of retellings' (Olson, 2000, p. 350), analysis of these first two interviews was used to produce four factional stories[3]. These were based on themes that emerged from the cross-case analysis: a reconstructed, (re)storied 'fiction[al] form… laid over a 'fact-oriented' research process' (Agar, 1990, p. 74) and were shared with teachers two weeks before the third interview, as 'a tool for reflection, until the teller and listener, writer and reader, delve beneath the surface of the anecdote to examine motives, implications, and connections' (Jalongo & Isenberg, 1995, p. 9). Factions[4] addressed the big stories of religious influences and cultural traditions on repertoire selection, and small stories of teacher-student relationships in music classes, the unique attributes of music as a subject, school as a formal education institution, and the emotionality of music. These factions provided the bases, but not boundaries, for discussion, serving 'a heuristic purpose… to evoke… a vicarious experience that reduces certainty about the matters in which the dimensions of the "outside" world are regarded' (Barone, 2001, p. 738). Interestingly, perhaps having afforded some distance between the self and the topics of discussion, these interviews were significantly longer, lasting between two and five hours. The inquiry shifted from recollections of past events, the 'told stories of participants' (Clandinin et. al., 2006) to an 'invitation to problem finding' (Bruner, 2002, p. 20), a collaborative inquiry between teachers and the researcher. Together with earlier data, transcriptions of the third interviews were approached through the process of 'analysis of narratives' (Polkinghorne, 1995) to identify emergent themes.

Veteen piirretty viiva: A line drawn in water

It is important to emphasize that the analysis found that the school censorship frame cannot be defined by clearly demarcated boundaries of propriety, but rather was constructed by teachers as a 'big grey area' within which various ideologies and values are contested and negotiated. Repertoire decisions were seen as situational, and fluid, described by almost all of the teachers as *veteen piirretty viiva*: a line drawn in water. Rather than a stable, solid frame, the school censorship frame may be seen as this watery metaphor, with different actors, issues and concerns like bubbles, rising to the surface at different times, though never inseparable from others. The line may be seen as the decisions teachers make in including or excluding popular repertoire – firm decisions that almost immediately dissolve and disappear, requiring teachers to 'begin again' (Greene, 1995) with each situation. Big and small stories are always lived, present and if not equal, interrelated, and in 'reflexive interplay' (Chase, 2011, p. 422), as illustrated in Figure 1. This makes theoretical and practical knowledge and understandings difficult, if relevant, to distinguish, suggesting that stories of repertoire selection are multifaceted and complex, as one teacher, Julia noted, 'we are swimming in deep waters'.[5]

Stories extended beyond specific recollections of repertoire decisions, to considerations of broader issues that teachers felt influenced popular repertoire inclusion or exclusion. The big stories described by teachers during interviews addressed: cultural stories, religious stories and curricular stories. Teachers told five kinds of small stories: stories of the school community, including the overarching values and ideologies of the school, stories of school staff, parents, themselves as a teacher, and stories of their students. Each of these is discussed in turn below.

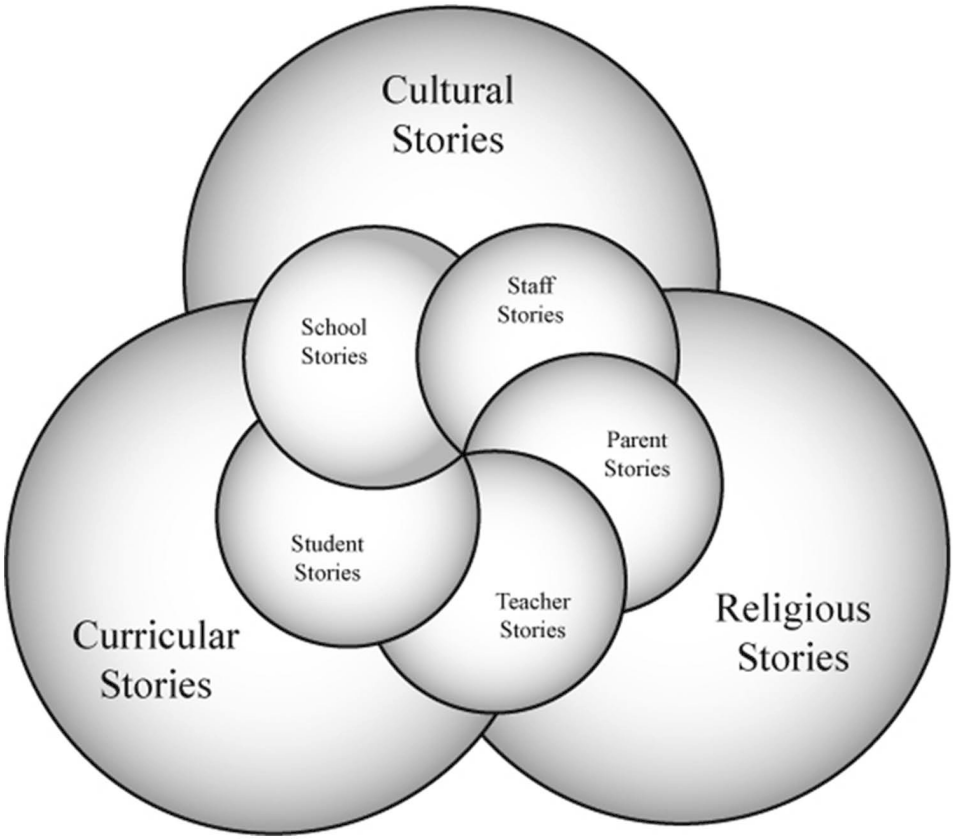

Figure 1. Big and small stories of the school censorship frame as identified by teachers. [6]

Big stories

Cultural stories

Educating students within broad cultural narratives, and processes of enculturation, were seen as priorities for many teachers, particularly in schools catering for those who identified as outside the majority culture of Finland. For example, the teacher working in a Swedish speaking school articulated,

> [I would like my students to] know a few songs that I think is a part of being upplyst [enlightened]… that they may be allmänbildad [broadly culturally educated] (Maria)

This focus on the reinforcement and/or cultivation of cultural identity may be a result of minority cultures' marginalization in broader schooling (Georgii-Hemming & Westvall, 2010). An example of this may be seen as a number of teachers expressed that musics 'belonging' to immigrant students was seen as complementary, but not necessarily essential repertoire. While teachers acknowledged the importance of teaching musics of different cultures, these were often distant 'world musics', found in textbooks, rather than among their diverse student populations. Bresler (1998) has suggested that such approaches to diversity in music education reflect those of the wider society, 'often a superficial rather than interpretive or experiential exposure to musics of other cultures…. [which] reflects a dutiful "lip service" stance, rather than a curious attitude recognizing complexity and drawing on students' personal experiences' (pp. 32–33). Similar observations have been made regarding recent Finnish cultural policy and multiculturalist projects where 'cultures were represented through exotic artifacts without creating enduring social bonds between individuals and groups' (Saukkonen & Pyykkönen, 2008, p. 15) and the cultivation of immigrant cultural practices and identities are not intrinsically valued, but 'rather as an instrument for achieving/facilitating societal integration' (p. 19).

These tensions surrounding multicultural musics, which were often popular musics 'belonging' to different cultures, were also clear when the teacher themselves identified as 'other'. Iida was a teacher to many Sámi students (the indigenous population of Northern Finland), and felt it inappropriate to teach 'their' music, given that she was not from that cultural background herself, explaining,

> the Sámi people don't want somebody foreign coming to teach them how to practice their own culture… I understood from the beginning that I cannot be teaching Sámi music.

The curriculum states that 'the school must provide [Sámi] pupils with conditions… to preserve a Sámi identity without being absorbed into the main population' (p. 32), suggesting that cultural identity and belonging is regarded as an 'either/or' option, perhaps heightening teachers' awareness of difference. As the curriculum intends to communicate to students that music 'is different at different times, and in different cultures and societies, and has a different sort of meaning for different people' (Finnish National Board of Education, 2004, p. 230), in practice, it may emphasize these differences, drawing clearly demarcated boundaries between 'Finnish' culture and others. Indeed, as sociologist Bauman (1999) has noted that if 'cultural plurality is theorized as plurality of cultures,

students of culture cannot but see cross-cultural communication and cross-cultural comparison as one of their central problems' (p. xlv, italics in original). However, teachers also recognized that a simplified notion of 'majority Finnish culture' was increasingly problematic. As Julia noted, increasing diversity has brought with it additional challenges for teachers wanting to select repertoire in a culturally sensitive way,

> …as schools have become more and more multicultural, where lie these boundaries of sensitive traditions and topics? It comes even more difficult all the time for us teachers to even recognize what topics are sensitive.

It is interesting to consider whether sensitive traditions and topics are culturally defined, or defined by power relations (Hydén, 2008, p. 125–127) – or perhaps both. Defined culturally, these findings express a tension between the communication of normative 'ideals, hopes, expectations, standards, opinions' (Dewey, 1916, p. 2) and the implementation of national curriculum directives for 'acceptance and appreciation of a diversity of cultures and skills' (Finnish National Board of Education 2004, p. 230) – embracing a plurality of cultural narratives. Julia continued,

> [It is difficult to determine where boundaries of sensitive traditions and topics are] even within our own teacher group, who usually are originally from our own culture and are in a certain way representing the same cultural backgrounds as we ourselves do!

Her choice of words and surprise suggest that while Finnish classrooms may be increasingly diverse, and thus repertoire decisions increasingly complex, notions of our culture, and a common cultural background clearly exist. However, if we are to understand this sensitivity as defined by power relations, it suggests that cultural hierarchies between 'high' and 'low' have not at all dissolved (Georgii-Hemming & Westvall, 2010) but have been relocated from the discussion of Western art music vs popular or multicultural discussions, to within the popular realm. Relocating the dichotomy arguably runs as many risks of 'othering' and exoticism as other cultural valuations.

Religious stories

Assumptions of a shared culture extended also to discussions of religion. While not as explicitly prohibited as in other educational curricula (Bresler, 1998, p. 27), school instruction in Finland is 'nondenominational' (Finnish National Board of

Education 2004, p. 12), 'school is school. Church is church' (Outi). However, with a majority[7] of Finnish society formally belonging to the Evangelical Lutheran Church, and societal attitudes towards Christian religious practices being generally positive (Taira, 2012, p. 23), the church is seen as not only one of the primary institutions to uphold Finnish traditions (p. 24), but a Finnish tradition itself. This view is reflected in school repertoires, particularly for festive occasions, which often feature popular musics that refer to religious events or popular adaptations of hymns, etc. A number of teachers recalled instances when certain students were excluded from 'traditional' events or celebrations, as Risto explained,

> you have to maybe think more often nowadays about selecting repertoire that won't offend people – those who are religious people, but also the people who are not so religious. It's a balance. Sometimes there is the situation when a Muslim student doesn't come to school celebrations because there are some religious elements.

However, teachers noted that there has been an increase of alternative programming and events for non-Lutheran/Christian students, with alternative music repertoires – that are distinctly areligious – or the exclusion of all music altogether. Teachers noted that despite this alternative programming for students, staff were often, if not always, expected to attend Christian school services and events regardless of their individual convictions, again perhaps fostering a focus on difference and ideas of the traditional 'us' and 'other'.

In adhering to perceptions of shared traditions, teachers felt obliged to include religious repertoire in a small number of festive occasions such as Christmas events. All teachers performed religious repertoire in the 'traditional' way. This was seen as the case even if the repertoire for most classes was predominantly popular, although Outi and her students had once tried to unite the musics her students enjoyed with the expectations that accompanied a festive occasion, as they updated a familiar school performance,

> We had one project for the Christmas celebrations where we modernized the nativity story, it wasn't good! We didn't touch the story, but adapted it for modern times – with the music too, there was some pop and metal and all kinds of things. Some teachers were very unhappy, so maybe we went a little bit too far. I learnt that we should never touch that kind of tradition, I think it is too sensitive!

Outi continued to reflect on the public nature of music as a subject, noting that

there may be more restrictions and considerations for whole-school performances that might make a traditional approach more 'appropriate'. In addition to being aware of the sensitivity of public audiences, teachers were also wary of including religious repertoire, or allowing students to bring religious music to normal classes, which they saw as being related to the increasing polarization between religious and atheist discourses in Finland (Taira, 2012). One teacher noted that while expressions of atheism were increasingly visible and accommodated, she felt that her own expressions of faith were suppressed,

> I cannot be openly Christian. One has to be very alert… some parents are very, very strict that they don't want to have anything to do with religion in the classroom. (Maria)

Even with alternative programming, and with school and church separate in policy, questions may be raised regarding the potential for religious repertoire to ever be inclusive and democratic in a school context. This is particularly relevant as an 'easy' answer to the increasing diversity of school populations appears to be the increasing exclusion of religious repertoire altogether.

Curricular stories

Interestingly, despite its breadth and brevity (the music curriculum for secondary students is but a page long), teachers all identified the national curriculum as the most important resource when selecting repertoire,

> The starting point is in a certain way the curriculum, and it has the power on me. I have to follow. I would not be professional, I would not do my duty if I didn't follow the curriculum (Julia)

However, while acknowledged as the 'starting point', it may be seen that Finnish teachers challenge the 'conduit' understanding of the curriculum as described by Clandinin and Connelly (1995) where external 'others' provide information to teachers and their classrooms. Teachers acknowledged the variety of personal and situational interpretations afforded by the curriculum, allowing for 'so many roads to Rome' (Julia) and that 'nobody follows it like the bible' (Julia). Initially, this gives an impression of almost total freedom in repertoire selection. Bresler (1998) has suggested that 'autonomy means that teachers are not required to push themselves beyond their "comfort zone"' (p. 33). Indeed one teacher noted the lack of career steps in teaching (unless you want to be a principal), explaining that there are not many external challenges to extend oneself.

Many teachers also mentioned preferring to teach music that they felt comfortable with, or enjoyed, rather than contemporary popular musics. Just as an exclusive focus on any or anyone's music, remaining within teachers' comfort zones may have the 'unintended consequence of narrowing of musical possibilities rather than expanding them' (Allsup, 2008, p. 3), with school repertoires composed of white, predominantly male, Finnish or Anglo-American, guitar-based rock circa 19-the teacher's hey-day. This is in-keeping with research conducted in Sweden that found that popular repertoires in schools are not 'truly representative of pupils' everyday culture. It might more accurately be characterized as teachers' everyday culture' (Lindgren & Ericsson, 2010), though further problematized by considering other influences of the school censorship frame as well. In this sense, these comfort zones may not only be musical, but sociological and ethical, maintaining and strengthening dominant sociopolitical values, whilst suppressing voices and stories that challenge or contrast.

All five teachers emphasized that they appreciated the freedoms afforded by the national curriculum, and indeed found it difficult to openly critique. This may be seen as a cover story, canonical stories 'that teachers publically claim to know (or show)' (Olson & Craig, 2005, p. 161). Teachers often compared the open and permissive national curriculum to others that they viewed as overly restrictive and directive, suggesting that these two extremes may be viewed as the only alternatives, compelling teachers to publicly defend the curriculum they have, lest it be replaced with another. Difficulties in publicly and openly critiquing the curriculum may silence moral and ethical issues through taking on 'externally prescribed roles and responsibilities, predetermined scripts set within a seemingly necessary hierarchical order, with some members of the community holding *power over* others' (Huber & Keats Whelan, 2001, pp. 221–222). The imperative to accept and appreciate such freedoms may make it difficult for teachers to identify the foundational values that are intended to inform their teaching, thus making it difficult to determine whose values should guide repertoire inclusion and exclusion.

Small stories

Despite many teachers noting the solitary nature of music teaching, usually being the only music specialist in the school with few other staff members to turn to for advice, 'I didn't have anyone to talk to' (Risto), they recognized that others in the school community influenced their repertoire decisions. Different actors in the school community were seen to be,

> not equal, but like puzzle pieces. To get to the whole picture you need all of the pieces. Some of them are bigger, and some are more meaningful. For instance one piece might be the head of a character whilst another might just be a green area, but all of them are needed. (Julia)

Teachers' understandings of these different actors were described and reflected upon in five small stories told by teachers: the school as an institution, school staff, parents, themselves as a teacher and their students, and described a process of constant negotiation regarding the values and ideologies of their teaching, and repertoire selections. Each of these small stories is discussed in turn below.

School stories

Understandings of the school as a historical institution were seen to greatly affect what repertoire can, and cannot be taught. Indeed 'one can never escape the fact that a school is an institution with some, more or less, defined frameworks and conditions' (Georgii-Hemming & Westvall, 2010), as Iida explained,

> I select repertoire partly based on ideas of what students are supposed to do in school, what people are expecting and why.

While frameworks are perhaps less defined in Finland than in other national education systems, 'there are no school rules… they are trusting that I can do the job, and that's the important thing' (Risto), expectations and aims associated with school were often seen as incongruent with experiences and understandings of popular musics. Teachers explained that,

> even if the students listen to the music at home, it's different when it's in the classroom (Risto)

This often resulted in the exclusion of particular popular musics. Many researchers have suggested that 'school music is likely to be associated to some degree at least with Western classical music, and associated with parents and teachers, whereas pop music is associated with out-of-school activities, peer activities and the media' (Boal-Palheiros & Hargreaves 2001, p. 105; also see Green, 2006). Whilst these discussions have focused on the broader Western classical music/popular music dichotomy, Risto's comment that music's meaning and purpose are re-appropriated when in the classroom suggests that even when popular repertoire is the focus of school music, there is a persistent understanding that school music is not, or is no longer, students' music, but belongs to an older, more conservative authority.

This appears to maintain the 'cultural dissonance' previously established between Western and Classical, now visible between popular musics in school, and popular musics outside of school.

Staff stories

Within the framework of 'school music', teachers considered the values or expectations of school principals and other teachers when selecting popular repertoire, despite many teachers initially claiming considerable freedoms and autonomy. This autonomy was often seen as a result of professionalism and trust, as Maria proudly stated,

> When I started here the principal said to me, 'you are now the music teacher of the house, and you will do as you please'.

However, teachers were not simply left in isolation, nor were expectations simply set and fulfilled. Defining their roles as teachers in relation to those of the principal was seen as an ongoing negotiation, a dialogue necessary for ethical reflection (Allsup & Westerlund, 2012). These negotiations were, however, not necessarily on equal ground. Principals were often seen to align more with traditional notions of schooling and what should be included as part of it, which was seen as difficult and slow to change, particularly in relation to popular pedagogies and 'what sounds normally come out of a music classroom' (Iida). As Iida articulated,

> Sometimes headmasters want school events and classes to go the same way as they always have, because it's the known way, the easiest way, we know this is working, it's safe.

This raises questions whether these negotiations are processes of inquiry, or whether they are confined by predetermined ends, each of which has very different ethical implications. As Allsup and Westerlund (2012) have noted, 'if dialogue is taken to mean compromise across the particularities of difference and perception, this… may inadvertently inhibit growth. If dialogue affirms or intends to affirm the preexisting values that a community holds dear, dialectics as a teaching stance hold no guarantee for ethical reconstruction on the one hand, or re-imaginative practice on the other' (p. 141).

Parent stories

Unlike relationships with school staff, '[parents were seen as] outside. They are not so close' (Maria). On the periphery of school life, the influence parents had on teachers' views and practices varied from very little, to being 'quite demanding' (Outi). Professional interactions with parents were, for all teachers, primarily done through online school-home communication systems, and for most teachers were infrequent and primarily related to assessment. While teachers noted that parents had never contacted them regarding their selection of repertoire, they were acutely aware of being contacted, should an 'inappropriate' decision be made,

> I don't want to play in the classroom (sings): 'lick it up, lick it up, woah, it's only right now' (laughs). Yes, it's a very good guitar riff and that could be very nice to play with these kids, but I would not choose that song. If I choose that song, maybe I will get some phone calls from their parents. (Risto)

The imagined values of parents were in the minds of many teachers, perhaps not so much as processes of reflection (Dewey, 1933) but rationalization (Loughran, 2002) that reinforce and rationalize preconceived ideas. With limited communication between parents and teachers, there appears to be very little information on parents' values to reflect upon. Thus, reflection becomes something of a hall of mirrors, where 'reflexive discourse runs the risk of leading the experience of the outside back to the dimension of interiority; reflection tends irresistibly to repatriate it to the side of consciousness and to develop it into a description of living that depicts the "outside" as the experience of the body, space, the limits of the will, and the ineffaceable presence of the other' (Foucault, 1966/1998, pp. 151–152).

Teacher stories

The teachers' own values and how they envisioned their role in the school and classroom was also seen to influence their popular repertoire decisions. This was seen as primarily related to professionalism, as Julia explained,

> I may be a sadomasochist at home, but at work I am not. I represent the official teacher profession. I represent my profession here and not my person.

Ideas of teacher professionalism have been seen as inseparable from the 'moral demands of education' (Allsup & Westerlund, 2012, p. 125). The moral imperatives

for teachers to teach 'authentically' (e.g. Elliott, 1995) may be problematic with particular popular musics that are seen to epitomize anti-authoritarian rebellion. Teacher professionalism may thus be drawn into question when conflicts arise between mainstream values or expectations regarding *what* the teacher *should* teach and *how*, and broader social constructions (particularly pejorative constructions) of popular musics.

Related to understandings of professionalism, how teachers perceived their role in relation to their students was also seen to influence the repertoire they chose for them. Teaching students between 12 and 15 years of age, teaching music and teaching the 'whole' student was seen as inseparable, which was often seen as a justification for excluding particular popular musics. Maria noted this was particularly relevant for teenage students,

> I'm responsible for everything else as well as students' musical development. I must look out for their well-being. I am responsible for my group, but maybe I try to teach values a bit more to the secondary school students [than younger or older students]. One tries to teach every little thing you can, squeeze in values, democracy and all the good things in life.

Student stories

Working with this particular age group, teachers saw students very differently: 'as a child. Absolutely. Until they are 18' (Maria); 'they are not children. They are young people' (Outi); and 'it's not about the age, but their individual maturity levels' (Risto). Lower secondary school was seen as a transitory period between childhood and high school, when students 'are still learning how to be, and how to be themselves' (Iida), and it was generally accepted that students would test boundaries during this period. In this sense, it may be seen that 'discipline and classroom management, central to the school context, shape all music instruction' (Bresler, 1998, p. 26), including repertoire selection. Some teachers saw the need to protect students, seen as naïve or innocent, whereas others recognized that students were often more 'worldly' than themselves. Many teachers were mindful of the diverse backgrounds their students came from, as Outi pointed out,

> there are pupils who are so motivated and behave exactly as you would like them to, and then there are pupils who are thinking only what to drink, when to drink and when to have sex with somebody – with anybody! We have to handle all of these young people.

Consequently, when teachers had students that exhibited behaviors they found

challenging to deal with, or were particularly energetic, certain musics may be excluded from their classes, for fear of 'losing control'. In response to asking why she chose not to include particular genres of heavy metal, Maria answered,

> I have just visualized how one of my pupils would react if I played really heavy metal, he would start banging his head up and down with his hair flowing and jumping and really start moving around with the music.

In other circumstances, 'calming' music was intentionally selected to fulfil a prescriptive function to 'soothe the beast in the child' (Bresler, 1998, p. 9). Both views appear to rely on normative understandings of how teachers and school students should behave and how they should relate to music in school settings.

The school censorship frame: An invitation

Whilst on face value Finnish teachers may be seen to have almost complete freedom in repertoire selection, this study illustrates the complex, situational and multifaceted negotiations involved in deciding whether to include or exclude popular repertoire. These negotiations may be seen to take place through a school censorship frame, composed of intertwined big and small stories, with different situations raising different concerns and considerations.

Thus far, the censorship frame has been understood as constructed and perpetuated by the mass media. Indeed the 'censorship frame' as coined by Schneider (2011) refers to mass media reports that collectively construct particular popular musics as a social problem. However, in understanding negative constructions of popular musics, and by implication those who identify with them, surely it is not only relevant, but imperative to also look to their role in mass education. As this study suggests, the situation appears altogether more complicated than pointing the finger at the 'big bad media', at least in the school context. Rather, a variety of narrators, from broad cultural traditions to individual students, construct particular popular musics as educationally, and thus, ethically problematic. This may result in their exclusion from or at very least, marginalization in formal music education. As a process, this censorship frame in the school context is not one that is developed and maintained over prolonged periods of time as is the case with media activities, but may be seen to change more rapidly, with the rules changing with the next song, the next lesson and the next student. This suggests that the school censorship frame presents teachers with greater pedagogical and ethical challenges than critical media skills or the simple exclusion of inappropriate musical material.

Decisions by teachers on repertoire inclusion or exclusion are distinctly

ethical in nature, with ethical implications. As school music is intended to reflect the musical world outside classroom walls, there are significant ethical questions regarding the exclusion of popular musics from educational activities. Has introducing popular repertoire to the classroom achieved the intended goals of democratic music education? Or has it in fact reverted to a peculiar form of *school music* (Regelski, 2006, p. 11), which does not reflect the musical world outside classrooms, where a large portion of repertoire is disregarded as inappropriate for young students? In excluding, or marginalizing particular popular musics, in turn, so are those young people who enjoy and identify with such musics excluded from and marginalized in school music education.

As other nations look to Finland as exemplar, with its permissive and open national curriculum and welcoming of popular musics to the school classroom, it is worth noting that such a music education system does not necessarily present the teacher with an easier path, indeed it may be more challenging. As Woodford (2005) has argued, the 'avoidance of politics in education serves no one well, except perhaps those who would dominate and control' (p. xii), thus in recognizing music as process and belonging to people, discussions of democracy regarding equal access and participation of students, should extend too to repertoire decisions. Such decisions are distinctly ethical in nature, as 'a pedagogical practice [the teacher] contends is undemocratic – is one she considers unethical' (Allsup, 2003, p. 28). If teachers are not encouraged to engage with complex issues presented by the school censorship frame, and to solve the 'problem' of popular music education by excluding musics that ideologically conflict with the perceived values of the school, the curriculum or the community, significant questions are raised regarding the ethical implications of a pasteurized popular music education. However, if we see decisions regarding the inclusion or exclusion of popular repertoire as drawing a line in water, the school censorship frame may be seen not as a solution, boundary, solid framework or limitation, but as an *invitation*. In identifying the components of the watery school censorship frame, and examining their influence on 'lines drawn' as decisions are made, there is an invitation to reflection, to ideological mediation, to questioning, raising and exploring new problems.

Notes

1. Music classes are compulsory in Grade 7, and are offered as an optional elective for students in Grades 8 and 9.
2. Finnish and Swedish are the two official languages of Finland.
3. Also referred to as semi-fictional narrative or creative non-fiction (Whiteman & Phillips, 2008) or representative constructions (Bold, 2012).

4. Factions were titled (I) Trust; (II) Real Rap?; (III) Music Speaks What Words Cannot; and (IV) We Wish You A Rockin' Christmas.
5. All participating teachers are referred to by pseudonyms.
6. It should be noted that these particular stories are not necessarily the only components of the school censorship frame, but were expressed during the interviews as the most significant for these particular teachers, working in their specific contexts.
7. Of the Finnish population 77.2% formally belonged to the Evangelical Lutheran Church at the end of 2011. http://evl.fi/EVLUutiset.nsf/Documents/F9015267D433F41EC225799500443630?OpenDocument&lang=FI (Accessed 17 August 2012).

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II

Appendix 2: Article II

Popular 'problems': Deviantisation and teachers' curation of popular music.

Alexis Anja Kallio

Abstract

Despite many music classrooms welcoming popular musics in striving towards a inclusive and democratic education, there has been relatively little research into teachers' decisions regarding which popular musics are included, and which are excluded from classroom activities. This is of particular interest taking into account arguments that the norms and values associated with some popular musics or songs exist in conflict with the ideals and ideologies of formal schooling. Through interviews with five Finnish music teachers, this article explores the identification, and navigation of 'problematic' popular musics in school contexts. Teachers noted that four musical features: lyrics, imagery, musical mood and emotional affect, influenced their constructions of popular musics and their repertoire selections for students. This study suggests that popular repertoire decisions are ethically, ideologically and politically loaded, and that welcoming students' own musics does not necessarily result in a more inclusive, democratic classroom culture.

Keywords

classroom music, deviance, labeling theory, popular music, repertoire selection

With schools increasingly aiming towards democratic and inclusive practices and policies, the music teacher is no longer restricted to teaching a narrow selection of repertoire. Many music classrooms are seen as meeting places for musics of varying origins, practitioners, styles and purposes, and students may also be encouraged to draw upon their own musical worlds and experiences as a source of knowledge construction (Bowman, 2007; Elliott, 1995; Green, 2006, 2008). With broad curricula, strong emphases on students' own musical backgrounds, experiential, practical approaches to popular music and established histories of popular music education (Lindgren & Erikson, 2010), the Nordic countries are now seen as

exemplars for many nations looking to promote democratic and inclusive practices in music education (Allsup, 2011; Georgii-Hemming & Westvall, 2010; Väkevä & Westerlund, 2007). This embracing of pluralism and welcoming of students' own musical experiences and preferences, means that an increasing variety and quantity of popular musics are considered to be of educational value. However, if we understand the meanings ascribed to different musics as determined by their use (Regelski, 2004), and that young people often use popular musics as a means of differentiating themselves from adults and school life (Ståhlhammar, 2000), it is perhaps unsurprising that certain popular musics may be problematic for classroom use, existing at odds with the norms and values relating to formal schooling (Väkevä, 2006). Indeed, it has been argued that 'sex, drugs, and rock and roll' simply do not belong in formal education institutions designed not only to further the knowledge and skills of young people, but to also guide their social, emotional, and moral development (see for example, Bloom, 1987; Hirsch Jr., 1988; Scruton, 2007). Attending to teachers' repertoire decision-making beyond the familiar issues of time management, resources, skill acquisition or technical difficulty, this article aims to better understand Finnish teachers' understandings of the musical features of popular repertoire that contribute towards the perception that certain popular musics or songs are inappropriate for school use, and how such musics are navigated in the democratic, inclusive music classroom.

Context: The teacher as curator

With one of the most established histories of teaching popular musics in schools, the typical Finnish secondary school music classroom is equipped with guitars, keyboards, drum kits and microphones, school text books contain both 'classic' and recent popular music hits, and many lessons resemble garageband rehearsals (Westerlund, 2006). Individuals are accepted into music education degrees at one of the three universities that offer music teacher training (the Sibelius Academy of the University of the Arts Helsinki, Oulu University and the University of Jyväskylä) on the basis of their versatility as musicians, requiring them to demonstrate practical music skills in more than one genre. This means that although some applicants are classically trained, they are also well versed in folk, jazz, popular or world musics. Music teacher training requires five and a half years of study at university, including a masters degree, and popular music features as a key component of these studies (Väkevä, 2006). Consequently, music education graduates enter the teaching profession competent 'in the use of the instruments commonly associated with rock bands, as well as knowledge of studio techniques, making arrangements in different popular music styles, and on-stage performance' (Westerlund, 2006, p. 119). These highly qualified, versatile, and popular-music-

savvy music teachers are afforded considerable freedoms, by and large working independently, without supervision or inspection by governing authorities or school officials. In addition, there are few curricular directives, with the page-long National Core Curriculum for Basic Education (2004) predicated on valuing pluralism, with a focus on student-centered, constructivist learning and music-making, embracing difference and diversity as the ideal, rather than outlining particular musical content for classroom teaching and learning.

With students bringing their *own* musics to schools, and the abundance of textbooks, online platforms and other popular repertoire resources available, it may seem as though any or all music could, and indeed should, be welcomed to the classroom. The Finnish teacher's role with regards to repertoire may thus be seen as that of curator. This is not the curator solely concerned with preservation, found alone in dusty museum archives. Rather, the curatorial teacher is flexible in their adoption of pedagogical methods (Kocaturk et al., 2012) and creates a learning environment in which students are able to generate, explore and process knowledge. An expert in the subject being explored, the curatorial teacher is also an 'expert learner' (Siemens & Tittenberger, 2009, p. 31) working in collaboration with students. Thus, instead of explicitly outlining content that students must learn, the curatorial teacher provides the map to extend students' own, outside-school musical knowledge. Although students may make suggestions, it is ultimately the teacher who decides which popular musics or songs will feature in school lessons or activities, and he/she explains and contextualizes it for students, 'helping them to see it in ways they may not have discovered if left on their own' (Eeds & Peterson, 1991, p. 118). This aligns with Green's (2008) student-centered approach to incorporating popular musics in school lessons or activities, 'metaphorically taking the learner by the hand, getting inside their head and asking 'What do they want to achieve now, this minute, and what is the main thing they need to achieve it?" (p. 34).

While popular musics are not solely the domain of teenagers, they have been understood to play an important role in the identity construction and cultural affiliations of young people (Hargreaves & North, 1997; McPherson, Davidson & Faulkner, 2012), making them of particular interest when envisioning music education as a 'social force and a constituting element of community' (Allsup, Westerlund & Sheih, 2012, p. 462). With students' welfare and positive overall growth being one of the primary mandates of Finnish schooling, the influence of certain popular musics (positive or negative) upon the malleable identities of growing adolescents, is an important consideration for the curatorial teacher when selecting music for school use.

What's the problem?

Ascribing music with the tendency or potential to influence the character of the listener or performer is nothing new, and research in recent decades illustrates a wariness of particular popular musics and their influence on young listeners (Christenson & Roberts, 1998; Johnson & Cloonan, 2009; Lacourse et al., 2001; Miranda & Claes, 2004; ter Bogt et al., 2012). North and Hargreaves (2008) have referred to the popular musics at the receiving end of such criticisms as 'problem music'. This suggests that certain musics are potentially detrimental for teenagers, making them particularly inappropriate for school use, as contexts that aim to nurture and educate young people both academically and socially. However, it may be seen as impossible for the teacher to simply exclude this category of music altogether, as *which* musics are considered problematic ostensibly varies according to context and situation. Rather, it may be more fruitful to attend to the processes by which certain musics or songs come to be seen as problematic: processes of *deviantisation*.

For the purposes of this article, deviance is defined as non-conformity 'to the norms or values held by most of the members of a group or society' (Giddens, 2006, p.1013) and 'behaviour which somehow departs from what a group expects to be done or what it considers the desirable way of doing things' (Cohen, 2009, p. 35). In his groundbreaking book, *Outsiders* (1963), Becker stated that 'social groups create deviance by making the rules whose infraction constitutes deviance, and by applying those rules to particular people and labelling them as outsiders' (p. 9). It may thus be seen that musics or songs are not intrinsically deviant, but are rather understood as such as a result of the interaction between the music itself, and those with the power to label music as problematic. Hargreaves, Hester and Mellor (2012) built upon these interactionist theories through the introduction of the term *routine deviance,* referring to minor instances of deviance by students that the teacher is required to rapidly identify, process, and react to, as part of his/her everyday class teaching (p. 23). In extending this even further it may be seen that ideas of routine deviance apply not only to students and disruptive behaviours, but also to the 'labelling of those people, events, or objects that stand contrarily' (Kotarba, Merrill, Williams & Vannini, 2013, p. 84), such as some popular musics in formal education contexts.

Understanding music as a 'social, political, religious, economic, and psychological force' (Jorgensen, 2003, p.90), the labels we apply to particular musics both reflect and influence our labelling of the individuals associated with them. As Elliott (1989) has written, 'because music is something that people make or do, a people's music is something that they are, both during and after the

making of music and the experiencing of music' (p. 12). Thus, the deviantisation of certain musics or songs in the classroom also makes outsiders of the individuals who identify with, or enjoy those musics. Indeed, Mantie and Tucker (2012) suggested that students may be 'punished (through grades or exclusion) or simply cast as deficient in some way; they are said to have not yet developed proper musical appreciation or taste' (p. 267). This raises significant challenges for the music teacher to navigate deviantised musics in a way that does not exclude students, but upholds the educational values determined by Finnish policy makers, including political neutrality, diversity and equal opportunities for participation (Finnish National Board of Education, 2004, p. 12).

Earlier research (see Kallio, 2015a) found that Finnish music teachers mediate between both broad and specific social narratives of popular music, each with different norms and constructions of deviance, influencing what repertoire is considered (in)appropriate for classroom use. The broad narratives were identified as cultural, religious and curricular, addressing issues of enculturation, cultural diversity, the role of religious repertoire in secular schooling, tradition versus transformation, teacher autonomy and confidence, and curricular critique. The specific narratives included those of the school as institution, school staff, parents, personal narratives of the self as teacher, and narratives of students. Contextualised within these social narratives that label particular popular musics as problematic, this article focuses upon teachers' understandings of the music itself, the *labelled*, through addressing the following research questions:

1. Which features of music do Finnish secondary school music teachers identify as contributing towards the deviantisation of popular musics or songs?
2. What are the implications of this for teachers' popular repertoire decisions?

Research design and methods

This research was designed as a multiple case study with an instrumental interest, where a particular case offers insight into an issue or aids in refining theory (Stake, 1995, p. 237), in this study, aiming to gain insight into the musical features influencing teachers' popular repertoire decision-making. Without a national database of music teachers working in Finland from which to randomly select teachers, the selection of research participants was based on a purposive sample (Creswell, 2009) of five lower-secondary school music teachers (teaching students between the ages of 13 to 15 years old in compulsory grade 7 and 8 music classes and elective classes in grade 9). These teachers were selected according to criteria

based on typologies of geographical region, type of school, and years of teaching experience. This was not in order to maximize the generalizability of findings through the "sampling of attributes", but to maximize "opportunities to learn" (Stake, 1995, p. 6) from teachers in different contexts and career stages.

Initially, the contact details of approximately ten schools were compiled from different regions of Finland (Northern Lapland, Lapland, Central Finland, Eastern Finland and the Capital region). These schools were based in medium to large cities, resting on the assumption that teachers working in environments with larger and more diverse populations would be more likely to be employed full time and be proficient in the English language, the language of the researcher. From this list, the researcher chose different types of schools (comprehensive schools, music specialized, and Swedish speaking schools) and sourced teacher's contact details from the school websites. Five teachers were contacted via email, introducing the researcher, informing them about the purpose of the study and inviting them to participate. It was made clear that requirements of participation were that they had completed their teacher training at one of the three Finnish universities, were currently employed full time, available to meet with the researcher and comfortable to be interviewed in English. If they agreed to participate, teachers were asked to mention how long they had been working as music teachers, with the hope to select teachers at different career stages. Two of the initial five contacts did not respond, perhaps as they did not wish to participate, did not meet the requirements for participation, or because they did not understand the email written in English. Two more teachers' contact details were found from the initial lists based on geographical location, were contacted and agreed to participate in the study. The participating teachers are henceforth referred to by the pseudonyms: Outi, Maria, Julia, Iida and Risto. These five teachers represented varying levels of experience, ranging between Iida's six years as a music teacher, and Maria and Julia's sixteen and seventeen years of music teaching respectively.

As all teachers had graduated from music education degrees requiring engagement with, and knowledge of, popular musics and pedagogies, teachers were not selected according to their personal musical histories. Maria, Outi and Julia had all begun their music education in the western classical music tradition, only later engaging with popular styles and idioms. Iida had begun her music education in folk musics, though from her time at university onwards had immersed herself in popular musics and performances. Risto however, had never been classically trained, was a jazz guitarist and had dabbled in various 'rock' instruments in his youth (such as keyboards, drums etc).

Although English was not the first language of any of the participants,

and there were occasional stumbles in linguistic comprehension between the researcher and teacher participants, these often provided opportunities for elaboration or to spend time on particular issues to clarify or clearly delineate what was intended. In addition, in instances where a word or phrase could not be translated, communication occasionally took place in Finnish or Swedish, the two official languages of Finland and the native languages of teacher participants. For example, teachers often used popular Finnish proverbs or sayings to describe their work or beliefs, which were often familiar to the researcher. If they were not familiar, teachers took time to explain the meanings of such phrases in detail to the researcher, as not only an outsider to their work in Finnish schools, but as an immigrant to Finnish culture more generally. As such, language differences between the researcher and participants were not seen as a significant impediment to understanding or communication.

Three interviews were conducted with each teacher, following a semi-structured format similar to that suggested by Seidman (2006). The first two interviews, each approximately one to two hours long, sought to gain a broad understanding of the individual teacher's experiences of teaching, their personal musical and educational histories, and their understandings of the narratives that influence their popular repertoire decisions. The first stage of analysis was conducted following these first two interviews according to Kelchtermans' (1994) narrative-biographical approach, thematically analysing the data in two stages: the first phase being a *vertical analysis*, where each participant was taken as the unit of analysis, and the second phase, a *cross-case* analysis, where recurring themes and similarities between cases were identified. This analysis was used to craft four factional stories (see Kallio 2015b; Kallio 2015a; Coulter & Smith 2009) based on themes that emerged from the *cross-case* analysis: a reconstructed, (re)storied 'fiction[al] form... laid over a 'fact-oriented' research process' (Agar, 1990, p. 74). These factional stories were shared with teachers two weeks before the third interview, as a heuristic tool for reflection, to generate deeper, more reflective, and critical data through inspiring a new spiral of retellings (Olson, 2000). Perhaps a result of distancing the discussions from teachers' personal experience, the third interviews were considerably longer, averaging around two and a half hours, with one interview lasting five hours. These discussions shifted the focus to an inquiry involving the teachers and the researcher, a process of collaborative reflection, negotiation and meaning construction (for more information regarding the narrative technique used see Kallio, 2015b). The data from all three interviews was then approached through the process of *analysis of narratives* (Polkinghorne, 1995), applying paradigmatic thinking to identify and describe themes emerging across types of stories and storytellers. In this study, the themes that were constructed

were the broad and specific social narratives that frame teachers' repertoire decisions (see Kallio, 2015a), and the features of music that teachers identified as contributing towards their understandings of popular musics as deviantised. In addition, there were a number of themes that related to *how* teachers navigated these musics in their classrooms, such as professional ethics, a sense of uncertainty, the uniqueness of music as a school subject, and student welfare.

Curating music, constructing deviance

Although the participating teachers recognized tensions between many of the musics or songs their students enjoyed or identified with, and the school as 'an institution with some, more or less, defined frameworks and conditions' (Georgii-Hemming & Westvall, 2010), they emphasized that the exclusion of all deviant popular musics or songs from school activities was impossible, and indeed undesirable. This was not only a result of the music that entered the classroom unexpectedly (through student initiatives or compositions), but also challenges in identifying which songs were problematic in the first place. As one of the teachers Outi noted,

> Of course there are some songs I definitely know I cannot include, and others that I know will not be a problem at all for students. But then there is a big grey area, and I have to be the boss in that area.

With the responsibility of curating classroom repertoires, deciding which popular musics are included, and which are excluded, the teachers in this study described the decisions within this grey area as complex, situational, and personal, and noted that they required significant reflection, as Julia explained,

> These decisions are tied into my own morals and ethics all the time, which is why I have to ask myself questions where I'm right, and where I'm not right, and 'what is right?'

Thus, while popular musics may be seen to create a more inclusive environment for democratic participation, the music that is ultimately taught and learnt during lesson time 'is always part of a selective tradition, someone's selection, some group's vision of legitimate knowledge' (Apple, 1996, p. 22). Participating teachers recognized that their repertoire selections were not made in isolation, but were framed and guided by broad and specific social narratives that label certain musics or songs as deviant. As mentioned earlier, it has been found (Kallio, 2015a) that competing social narratives in, and of the school community may result in

the labelling of certain popular musics or songs as problematic, and influence a teachers' repertoire selections. Within these dynamic and situational narratives, there is a second level of concern that teachers consider when selecting music for the classroom: *the music itself*. With this as the focus of the current study, teachers identified four musical features that contributed towards the deviantisation of popular repertoire:

- The *lyrics* of popular songs;
- The visual *imagery* of the music, presented via media such as music videos;
- The *mood* of the music, determined by aesthetic, dynamic and expressive qualities of music;
- The *emotional affect* of the music, the perceived relations between popular musics and students' behaviours, emotional understanding and expression, individually and socially.

These four features will be discussed in turn below, not as an attempt to categorize popular musics, but to explore how they have been constructed by the teachers in this study as factors that contribute towards understandings of deviance in popular music, and the implications of these constructions for the democratic, inclusive classroom.

Lyrics

The prevalence and widespread acceptance of popular musics in Finnish school music classrooms was seen to complicate teachers' judgments regarding the appropriateness of song lyrics or the use of particular words. Accordingly, teachers noted that certain musics or songs could not be automatically excluded, as Risto explained, 'rock and roll is very much telling about bad habits... But you still have to teach [these kinds of musics]'.[1] Particular profane words or themes were often seen as characteristic of particular popular genres that teachers wished to include in classroom activities, perhaps mitigating the potential offence theses musics may cause, as Outi described,

> It's hard to listen to any kind of punk music [in the classroom] if you don't allow students to hear any swear words. It is part of the genre… There *has*[2] to be bad words in the music so you can understand that [non-conformist ethos or attitude].

Particular genres were identified by many teachers as more often lyrically problematic than others, however, this did not entail their automatic exclusion.

Maria noted that reprimanding students for singing or composing inappropriate lyrics was more complex, when it was recognized as 'part of the [musical] culture… that you use such words'. Teachers also suggested that profane or taboo language in songs could present opportunities for 'teachable moments' (Greher, 2009) to reflect upon ethical or sociological issues, as Iida explained, 'for instance, black metal. I think it's good to talk about the ethical aspect of lyrics'. This may contradict research that suggests that educational institutions are particularly conservative with regard to swear words, or profane language (Ravitch, 2003). However, it is worth considering how such musics are recontextualized (Bernstein, 2000) when considered in a formal education setting. A popular song with potentially offensive lyrics means something very different when used for educative purposes by a teacher, than for entertainment by a student. The educative purposes of the school context also raised concerns among teachers, as Iida noted,

> I think that there must be some safety limits to what you can say in class. It's not only the bad words, but also the meaning and the intention of using them… what they *do* to people.

Although the role of the school was not necessarily seen in direct opposition to the norms and values of popular musics with offensive lyrics, it was also assumed that the school 'cannot avoid dealing with the issues of *the right* and *the good*' (Mantie & Tucker, 2012, p. 266, italics original). It was thus understood that when recontextualized in the classroom setting, the use of such musics was guided by 'educational rules or principles, by which we can learn, and understand what is appropriate' (Julia).

Imagery

While not all teachers had access to video or online material in their classrooms, Risto and Maria discussed the inclusion of such material in their teaching lessons. Risto had shared the music videos of Michael Jackson songs the students had been learning, and Maria had allowed students to bring their own videos to class as learning tools, adopting an approach similar to that described by Green (2008). Whereas Risto had not experienced any problems with his limited use of video material, Maria noted that she had encountered significant challenges with popular music imagery, and had made conscious decisions to exclude certain songs based on imagery she felt was inappropriate. She offered a particular example of a student who had shared an online video of a recently released duet by a popular rapper and R&B singer. The video included images of one of the artists singing with a background of a burning house, and artistically styled scenes of the song

narrators (actors in the music video) in flames. Maria explained her reaction to the video,

> I don't like to encourage anyone to play with fire, and it was just too suicidal. I felt uncomfortable with it. From then onwards I said [to the students] that I need to know the particular songs and videos before [we can watch them together in class]. Otherwise there come such things that I don't like the students to watch.

Maria thus saw her role as a gatekeeper with respect to the use of music videos in class. Her concerns extended to songs played without accompanying imagery in classroom activities, assuming that students could watch the video outside of class time and may be familiar with the video imagery of certain songs,

> We don't even have to watch the video [during the class], if there's pole dancing or something [I am uncomfortable with in the video] I would not let students play the song in class.

Since the particular incident Maria shared during the interviews, she explained that although she felt it unfortunate, she had stopped including music videos altogether due to the additional practical demands that vetting material demanded of her time.

Musical mood

The mood of a music refers to affective states that, unlike emotions, do not involve 'a synchronized response in components like expression and physiology (e.g. gloomy)' (Juslin & Sloboda, 2010, p. 10). Musical moods such as 'aggressivity' or 'melancholy' were noted to affect teachers' decisions whether to include or exclude particular popular songs or musics. Iida explained her awareness of musical mood was heightened when she moved from the capital region in the south of Finland, to the school in which she currently worked, in northern Lapland,

> It's also the atmosphere, the strong spirit that the music makes. When it's very hardcore, aggressive or so deep somehow. I have noticed [that I consider these moods] when we have been playing grunge music or metal... I have noticed this year especially, with kaamos time [polar nights], it has been so black. The music really makes a difference. I had one class who were in such a bad mood. I changed the song I had planned to something more energetic and [cheerful], they needed a nicer atmosphere.

As Iida's comment illustrates, teachers' concerns regarding the musical mood were situational, and often related to student welfare. In addition, with the Finnish curriculum prioritizing learning through music-making, *playing* popular musics was seen by teachers as a more intense, and potentially influential experience for students than listening to or critical discussions of musics, and popular repertoire was often selected accordingly. As Julia explained,

> At least for some very aggressive musics I might not rise them up to singing and playing material, but I have discussed them with students... so we don't play it... but I haven't totally excluded it. Even though [I imagine] somebody might ask 'what are you doing there?' [in surprise or disapproval].

Teachers were more aware, or wary, of potentially problematic popular musics, and their effects (as discussed below) when students experienced making it themselves, rather than a more distanced, appreciative, or analytical engagement with musical material.

As also illustrated by Julia's comment, in addition to their own concerns regarding musical moods, teachers were particularly aware of the potential concerns of other social actors (such as parents, other staff members, principals, students etc). Risto agreed that external actors influenced his repertoire choices when it came to musical moods,

> I think it is important for me to try to balance the aggressive kind of sounding songs and the ballads… because I imagine the situation that a student may tell their parents at home that we were playing angry or bad songs, or the parents would call me or the principal.

Considerations of other teachers', principals' and parents' reactions to their lesson contents did not necessarily lead teachers to exclude certain musics, but rather increased their awareness of what the overall music repertoire of their classrooms 'looked like' to others (see Kallio, 2015a).

Emotional affect

Music was emphasized by all teachers as a unique subject in schools, affording opportunities 'to discover, share, express, and know about aspects of the human experience that we cannot know through any other means' (Hodges, 2000, p.54). These musical insights are referred to as emotional affect, involving a synchronized, 'subjective feeling, physiological arousal, expression, action tendency

and regulation… e.g. happiness, sadness' (Juslin & Sloboda, 2010, p. 10). The importance and value of popular music for teenage students, as well as the connections they make between particular songs or pieces and events in their own lives, were seen as especially relevant to how songs or musics may affect students emotionally. Risto recalled one incident,

> We were playing quite a sad song, nothing *really* depressing, but one student's emotions came very strongly. I was surprised… someone had recently died in her family, and she explained to me that the song was the reason for this emotion, why she was crying… music brings [these thoughts and emotions] to mind.

With this understanding of music as 'lived experience... like emotionally learnt stuff, not skills or knowledge only. It's about identifying with emotions' (Julia), teachers' justifications for including popular musics with emotional variety in school repertoire were tied to utilitarian goals of developing social/emotional skills and to the curricular directives to give students a 'means of expressing themselves musically, and to support their overall growth' (Finnish National Board of Education, 2004, p. 230). This was also related to student welfare as Iida said, 'I think it's like therapy for the students'. However, while acknowledging the therapeutic potentials of music, Julia warned against repertoire selection with such goals in mind as 'it is a long road to become a well-trained music therapist. I would be a dilettante!', and Maria believed this was an avenue students could follow in their own time, not at school, as she explained,

> I try to find happy music. Not a variety. Music is good... for your own therapy, then you can have these sad songs... but I think you can sing them somewhere else. School music, it has to be uplifting, and pepped up, and joyous.

While Maria's choice was for the benefit of the student group as a whole, other teachers emphasized that individual students' emotional reactions to music were situational, and therefore, unforeseeable. The national curriculum states that teachers should 'help the pupil understand that music is tied to the time and situation. It is different at different times, and in different cultures and societies, and has a different sort of meaning for different people' (Finnish National Board of Education, 2004, p. 230). In line with these directives, students' identifications and reactions to music were seen to be uncertain, as Julia explained, 'we all have our individual breaking points... it's the same thing with... the emotions which

music raises up... basically we can never know what will happen'.

As illustrated by Julia's comment earlier regarding the difference between talking about and playing deviantised musics, critical discussion was often used as a way of mitigating the potential emotional affect of popular musics introduced to the classroom by students themselves. Iida recalled one particular incident that had caused her concern. A young female student shared a song with the class that included particularly aggressive sounds, and also particularly misogynistic lyrics, illustrating also how these features often combine and/or overlap,

> The song was really talking about women like they would be dogs, and the sound was really very rough… I was thinking this is psychological violence against the whole group if we listen to the whole song. I didn't know how to react, and I was so shocked as it continued, as we listened and listened and listened... I had to just turn down the volume at one point. We were discussing it a very long time… how music affects you.

As a relatively early-career teacher, Iida noted that instances like these provided teachable moments for herself, as well as her students. Outi emphasized that responding to these situations was learnt 'kantapäänkautta', from the ground level up – something that was learnt the hard way.

Balancing curricular directives and popular calls for school music to reflect the wider society (Elliott, 1995; Green, 2006) with student welfare and protection was seen as complex and requiring significant deliberation. The responses to these challenges varied between teachers, according to the different situations they faced in their everyday work. For instance, whereas Maria kept a collection of 'tried and tested' textbooks from which she drew upon 'safe songs', Outi noted that,

> We can't make a path for students that is entirely safe. They will face these things in their own lives, so if we are all the time ensuring that they are protected from these issues, perhaps they will not know how to react when they face these things on their own.

Teachers' contrasting ideas of how repertoire selection may best promote student welfare illustrate the complexity and contextual nature of such decisions; an interplay between the teacher, the student(s), and the music itself, within the social narratives of the broader school community (see Kallio, 2015a).

Deviant popular music education: An invitation?

The findings of this study suggest that constructions of deviance in music, potentially affecting a musics inclusion or exclusion in school activities, do not allow teachers to easily categorize music as problematic or otherwise. Rather, teachers may be seen to make careful and considered repertoire decisions, taking into account constructions of deviance informed by at least four features of popular music: lyrics, imagery, musical moods and emotional affect. However, teachers understood interpretations of these features, and the deviantisation of popular musics as personal, complex and uncertain, dependent on context and situation.

If what is understood as deviant is dependent on contextualised cultural values and norms (Giddens, 2006) and music classrooms increasingly welcome diversity, it is perhaps unsurprising that teachers found it difficult to outline straightforward categories of musics that were problematic, and those that were not. As many school systems adopt a pluralistic approach to music education and, in principle, consider *all* or *any* music worthy of classroom attention, considerations of not only 'the good', but also the 'deviant' are relevant for music educators when selecting repertoire for their students. This is particularly so if we consider the ethical encounter between teacher and student, that is, the encounter concerned with best teaching practice, as 'grounded in commitment, caring and responsibility' (Bowman, 2002, p. 69). Indeed, the direct affect (if it were possible to establish such an etiologically robust relation in the first place) of certain popular musics or songs on the individual *must* be taken into consideration when selecting music that addresses not only who students are but also, who they are becoming. As Bowman (2002) writes, 'education is distinctly ethical in character, concerned ultimately with the development of character and identity' (p. 64). However, guiding students towards a single vision of what constitutes good character or positive identity, rests on an assumption that there is a consensus of values, morals and behaviours (Taylor, Walton & Young, 1973). In aiming towards a single 'good', or by unquestioningly censoring the 'deviant', there is a risk that the teacher's work is more a matter of coercion (Mantie & Tucker, 2012) than curation, legitimating certain popular musics and delegitimating others through an unequal 'distribution of social power and control' (Wright, 2012, p. 26). In this way, a coercive approach towards popular repertoire selection may naturalize ideas of certain musics or songs as 'deviant' according to majority-group ideas of what is 'good' and 'appropriate', degrading and excluding the cultural meanings of these musics, and the teenage students who enjoy and identify with these musics. This appears incongruent with the ideals of democratic schooling, which promote the

equal participation and inclusion of *all* students in musical learning.

In order to challenge this notion of repertoire selection as a matter of coercion, the teachers in this study suggested that it is not only necessary to recognize the complex interplay between musical features and the competing situational narratives and contexts that lead to the labelling of certain musics as deviant, but also necessary to continually reflect and reevaluate one's own values and beliefs in considering what is right, for whom, when. In other words, teachers believed that it would be impossible to draw up a list of specific musical features that allowed teachers to identify musics as 'good' nor 'bad', and nor are there prescriptive models of repertoire selection that would fit every teacher's personal approach or context. However, this is not to suggest that teachers work in a position of total relativism in which the deviantisation of popular musics is simply a matter of ideological censure (Taylor, Walton & Young, 1973, p. 310), based on who is judging when. Rather, this study suggests that teachers' mediations and selections of popular repertoire take into account specific musical features, however, the identification of such features as problematic or otherwise is done situationally, in relation to one's own professional values and personal ethics, and contextualized within the wider school community (Kallio, 2015a) – 'amid the contradictions, complications, and ambiguities of teaching music' (Allsup & Westerlund, 2012, p. 125).

Whilst popular music is often thought of as more conducive to a democratic, inclusive music education, this study suggests that popular repertoire selection, and the justifications for popular music in the classroom, warrant further attention. If popular musics in schools receive little critical attention, are regarded as an 'easy solution' to student motivation or participation, or as a culture-lite panacea for educating the masses in an accessible way, there is a risk of undermining the great strides that have been made towards a democratic and inclusive music education. As Mantie and Tucker (2012) have argued, these issues of essentialism and coercion 'should be a vibrant conversation within the music education community', yet this topic is met with a 'glaring silence' (p. 267). If schooling is to offer democratic opportunities for participation and learning, the story does not end with the censorship of popular music in the classroom, adhering to an unquestioned 'good' and perpetuating 'particular visions of who people should be, both individually and collectively' (ibid). Both teachers, and students, may learn more through a greater focus on questioning the processes by which certain popular musics are deviantised, than identifying categories of 'problem music' to avoid. Although North and Hargreaves (2008) *do* note that 'labelling music as problematic clearly causes it to be perceived as such' (p. 210), in educative contexts it is important to remember that the processes that label

musics, also implicitly label our students, and we need to engage in decisions about repertoire accordingly. This is not to suggest that all popular musics should be welcomed unquestioningly, but rather that the teacher must engage in a practice of inquiry, questioning the uncertain *whats, hows,* and *whys* of popular repertoire selection (Allsup & Westerlund, 2012, p. 140). A democratic, inclusive approach to selecting music for the classroom also necessitates an ethical questioning of *whose* music is legitimised, and whose is excluded from school music education, within the broader concerns of student welfare. Moreover, if and when these musics *do* enter the classroom, these ethical concerns need to be critically explored *together* with students, if one of the tasks of schooling is indeed to guide students towards full participation in a world characterized by diversity, and moral uncertainty. If 'what we play, or to what we listen either asserts or questions the power relationships in which we find ourselves' (Froelich, 2002, p.10), deviantised popular musics may offer an invitation to learn beyond social bias, to question the labelling that occurs within and beyond our classrooms, to reconsider assumed values and understandings, and to ethically reflect upon the musics and practices that are in students' musical worlds, and the school - an altogether different kind of problem.

Notes

1. Square brackets are used to indicate instances where the author has paraphrased what was said during interviews, either abbreviating lengthy responses or the respondents using their native languages (Finnish or Swedish) to express themselves.
2. Italics within quotations are used to indicate teacher respondents' own emphasis, not that of the researcher.

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Appendix 3: Article III

Popular outsiders: Censorship frames and the deviantisation of popular musics in school music education.

Alexis Anja Kallio

Abstract

In recent years, popular musics have been promoted as particularly democratic and inclusive means to encourage music-making and learning in schools. However, many popular musics or songs are argued to be inappropriate or problematic for young students in formal education settings .Through exploring the censorship processes by which certain popular musics are labeled as deviant, and the teacher's role in navigating such repertoire, this article argues that teaching popular musics is a complex and ethical endeavour, requiring moral deliberation and reflection by the teacher, on the political dimensions of popular music education.

Keywords

censorship, deviance, music education, school, teaching

Whilst the ideological discourses surrounding musics have been addressed from a critical perspective in philosophy, musicology and other disciplines, music education has largely resisted addressing issues of censorship or exclusion, at least in part on the basis of arguments that art is intrinsically valuable and good in itself. In formal education contexts, popular musics have been thought of as those that are principally enjoyed by young, school-aged students (e.g. Allsup, Westerlund & Shieh 460), defined in binary opposition with the traditional, hierarchical pedagogical models often associated with the teaching and learning of western classical musics. In line with these ideas of what popular music is, and the meanings it holds for students, much music education policy and research has promoted popular musics as a means to achieve democracy and inclusivity in the classroom through valuing students' preexisting musical knowledge, and ensuring a continu-

ity between the classroom and their musical worlds outside of school (e.g.Folkestad). Consequently, ideas that certain popular musics are inappropriate for young students in a formal education context have not received significant attention, and it is seen as ¨obvious that certain explicit themes just do not fit within school curricula¨ (Väkevä, ¨Teaching Popular Music¨ 128). This article questions the obviousness of excluding these certain popular musics, understanding them as deviating from the ideological norm and labeling them as problematic, rather locating teachers' popular repertoire decisions among diverse and competing narratives that demand complex and moral deliberation. Before illustrating the teacher's role as curator of popular repertoire, including or excluding certain musics or songs based on instructional and pedagogical rationales, this article outlines recent developments in educational philosophy and practice that have led to the welcoming of popular musics in music classrooms. The subsequent section of the article explores popular repertoire selection through the perspective of labeling theory, as certain musics are deemed undesirable and deviant, and labeled as outsiders. Through this perspective, and contextualized within the Finnish school music education system, the teaching of popular music may be seen as a complex task with ethical implications, as the questions are posed: By what processes are certain popular musics excluded from the inclusive, democratic music classroom? and what are the roles and responsibilities of the music teacher in navigating these popular musics that ¨just do not seem to fit¨?

The place of popular music in schools

In recent years, the Nordic countries have been promoted as exemplars for many nations introducing or expanding upon popular music classroom practices (Allsup, "Music teacher preparation"). Similarly to other Nordic school systems, Finland introduced popular music to comprehensive schooling through the National Core Curriculum for Basic Education in 1970, and it has since held an established position in school and tertiary music education. University music education graduates are required to demonstrate proficiency in popular music practices and pedagogies as part of their teacher training, school classrooms are typically equipped with acoustic and electric guitars, drum kits, microphones and keyboards, and school lessons have been described as garage band rehearsals (Westerlund). However, the popular music training and resources made available has not meant that the inclusion of popular music content and pedagogies in Finnish schools have gone unquestioned or remained isolated from broader international debates regarding what should be taught in school music classrooms. Indeed teachers are increasingly required to not only "justify the value of music education in general education, but also defend the specific musical repertoires that they use" (Väkevä and West-

erlund 98). In understanding contemporary justifications for popular music in school curricula, it is worthwhile to reflect on the developments in international music education scholarship that have seen a shift from the devaluation of popular musics, to its increasing inclusion in school lessons.

The exclusion of popular music

In the 1970s and 80s, British and American scholars associated with the liberal education paradigm saw the purpose of schooling as the "pursuit of knowledge… seeking the development of the mind according to what is quite external to it, the structure and pattern of reality" (Hirst 90). The purpose of music education was thus to enculturate students into the 'great tradition', introducing them to a 'high art' canon - notably, a narrow selection of western art musics. Popular musics were seen as a harmful distraction, interfering with students' potentials to realize the good in music. Educational leaders Allan Bloom and E.D. Hirsch Jr were particularly influential in shaping international educational responses to popular culture. Bloom's seminal work, The Closing of the American Mind drew connections between popular music and "a barbaric appeal to sexual desire", rebellion, homosexuality, drug use, nihilism, "sexism, racism and violence" (75-78). However, he emphasized that his focus was not upon the etiological links between popular music and deviant behavior as such, but rather its unwarranted place in formal education. Arts education was to involve "the taming or domestication of the soul's raw passions - not suppressing or excising them, which would deprive the soul of its energy - but forming and informing them as art" (Bloom 71). Popular music was seen as an obfuscation, a wrong turn away from and the silencing of (or deafening to) the truth and the good,

> The issue here is [popular music's] effect on education, and I believe it ruins the imagination of young people and makes it very difficult for them to have a passionate relationship to the art and thought that are the substance of liberal education (Bloom 79).

The teacher in Bloom and Hirsch's music classroom was to be particularly conscientious with regards to lesson content, as Hirsch emphasized, "we must be traditionalists about content... The greatest human individuality is developed in response to a tradition, not in response to disorderly, uncertain, and fragmented education" (126). The teacher's role may also be seen to have been particularly censorious, protecting students from the deleterious effects of popular musics and prescribing the right and the good as cultural antidote.

Building upon this liberal education legacy, philosopher Roger Scruton

has called (and continues to call) for a revival of the intellectual and the preservation of high art's status in schools, with masterworks upholding a universal, ideal 'truth'. Scruton's doubts regarding the potentials of popular musics as educational material are based on the relationships people form with them. Derived from Arnold's Culture and Anarchy, Culture (with a capital C) for Scruton, is characterized by a canon of masterworks that capture the intrinsic values of western society as passed on through the generations. In his 2010 book, Culture Counts, Scruton derided the popular, inclusive cultures of contemporary music and education, and heralded a call to arms for the academically privileged to recall and preserve the high culture we have forsaken. This was not so much an attack on the music itself, but of the ways in which he saw popular musics distracting the mind, and educators disregarding value judgments in favor of mass consumerism. He suggested that the process of cultural communication of knowledge from generation to generation should preserve and enhance the experiences in which human existence is raised to the level of ethical reflection - as referred to in the Aristotelian ideal of leisure. Scruton argued that leisure, in this sense, is absent from much popular entertainment, which rather allows us to

> … switch off from work without switching on to any higher purpose. We can pass from activity to passivity, in which our mind does not engage the world but is rather engaged by it, distracted by external things rather than interested in them... leisure, in the sense intended by Aristotle, has vanished from the world of popular entertainment ("Art, Beauty and Judgement" 19-21).

By this, Scruton implied that music can, and should, provide us with "images of the ideal and the transcendent" (Scruton, "Culture Counts" 2), as aspirations. In Scruton's view, much (though with a few notable exceptions) popular entertainment has ceased to aspire to such 'goods', and consequently the aesthetic is "stunted and grotesque" (ibid). The dangers of including popular music in schooling then include the lowering, or elimination, of high art, western classical ideals and a dumbing down of music and cultural education. The result of such arguments in music education, was a widespread ignorance that popular musics have "anything very much to live up to" (Scruton in Hegenbart & Simoniti 13).

The inclusion of popular music

In recent years attitudes towards the inclusion of popular musics in school music education have changed dramatically (although this shift is by no means universal). Many nations' curricula include popular music as prerequisite content, and

some, such the curricula of Finland and other Nordic countries, have established popular musics as the bases of most, if not all, music instruction. These changes have been brought about by numerous responses to scholars such as Bloom and Scruton by music education philosophers, researchers and practitioners. These responses have argued for the inclusion of popular music in schools as a way to acknowledge the diversity of classroom populations, as a turn to student-centered pedagogies and informal learning styles, placing an emphasis on democratic practices and exploring the critical potentials of music education in a media-driven society.

As school classrooms have been recognized as increasingly diverse, ideas of the teacher's role as transmitter of knowledge and the high art canon, or guide to musical taste as argued by scholars such as Bloom, Hirsch and Scruton, have been called into question. Praxialist music education philosopher, David Elliott ("Music as culture") has suggested that the acknowledgement of the pluralism of classrooms has recognized the world as multicultural, in the sense that it is culturally diverse, but has also employed the term 'multicultural' in an evaluative sense: connoting a "social ideal; a policy of support for exchange among different groups of people to enrich all while respecting and preserving the integrity of each" (151). Through this, schools have turned away from reductionist policies purporting that a single musical idiom could encompass the ideal, right and good, casting other musics as inferior (e.g. Elliott, "Music Matters"), rather seeing this multicultural world as multimusical (Reimer). Consequently, the focus has shifted from qualitative judgments of what music is of educational value, to how to teach music in a meaningful way for students of different backgrounds and experiences, as Elliott and Silverman argue, "the what of education cannot be realistically decided apart from the why and the who" (393). This emphasis on students' engagement with musical materials in the classroom has perhaps sidelined questions of what musical materials are to be included, or envisioned content as a natural and simple byproduct of situational teaching methods.

Focusing on how music is taught and learnt in schools, it has been argued that a music education that places the student, rather than the teacher, at the center, is more democratic in the sense that it is inclusive and offers students equal opportunities for participation in music-making and activities (e.g. Georgii-Hemming & Westvall; Kallio & Väkevä; Karlsen; Lindgren & Ericsson; Väkevä & Westerlund; Westerlund). In Finland, this has been referred to as student-centered teaching and learning, reflected in the current Finnish National Core Curriculum for Basic Education, which emphasizes that learning is both an "individual and communal process of building knowledge and skills" (16), encouraging "student access to decision-making regarding their own lives and studying in school" (Sahl-

berg 167). Internationally, this aligns with so-called informal approaches to music learning, seen as a means to bridge the divide between music in the real world (Green, "Music, Informal Learning") and music in schools. Folkestad has argued for the acknowledgement of the "multidimensional character" of music teaching and learning in schools, noting that despite the necessary formality of teaching in school situations, there may be both formal and informal learning styles present in the classroom. Suggestions by Lucy Green ("How Popular Musicians Learn"; "Popular music education"; "Music, Informal Learning") among others, to look at "how popular musicians learn", have been seen as a way forward in facilitating informal learning styles in the classroom. Seen as a link between in-school music and students' musical worlds outside of schools, informal learning and popular musics have been seen as a way to motivate and engage students in a meaningful, authentic music education (Väkevä, "The World Well Lost"). In this way, informal learning has been seen to follow a Deweyan idea of experiential learning, in realizing a curricula that welcomes student-driven, collaborative work (Allsup, "Mutual Learning" 27), affording individuals agency in their own learning (Mans 81). Thus, students are involved in deciding what, and how, music will be taught and learnt, and develop skills and musical knowledge through hands-on engagement with the music they enjoy and/or are familiar with.

Towards a critical, democratic, popular music education

Given the challenges that arise from aims to teach music within a "socially fair and inclusive education system... based on equality of educational opportunities" (Sahlberg 45) and following mandates to develop student-centered classrooms (e.g. Finnish National Core Curriculum for Basic Education), popular musics have been seen as a particularly democratic and inclusive medium for school music education for a number of reasons. Widely perceived as more accessible, and more readily intelligible for novice learners, it has been implied that popular musics provide for more equal opportunities for music making and learning, allowing students to engage in real or authentic musical experiences faster than they would with instruments and styles associated with western art musics, that traditionally take many years to master (Westerlund; see also, Campbell; Green "How Popular Musicians Learn"; "Popular Music Education"; "Music, Informal Learning"). Popular musics have also been seen as particularly relevant for young people as they shape their own self images and individual identities, related to students' sense of ownership and autonomy of their own music-making (Hargreaves & Marshall 269). Whether teachers select recent hits, or classics (often presented as such in school textbooks, with bands like Creedence Clearwater Revival or the Beatles), it has been implied that students will be familiar with songs or genres taught (at

least more so if compared with western art or other musics) due to popular music's sheer ubiquity (Tagg; Björnberg). As a student-centered, democratic music education, students have also been reconceptualized from "uninformed adults or mini grownups whose developmental deficiencies need filling by the more mature" (Allsup, Westerlund & Shieh 469) to knowledgeable, agential individuals. Accordingly, students' own musics have been seen as a legitimate source of musical knowledge, and students are also given opportunities to bring their own repertoire selections to classes.

While it has been noted by musicologists and others that popular music is by no means the domain of young people alone (if at all), nor is it representative of a universal youth culture (e.g. Bennett; Frith), these have been persistent assumptions in school contexts and popular music has been seen as a way to include students' own musical knowledge and expertise (e.g. Lindgren & Ericsson; Muukkonen). Popular music has also been seen as a means to guide students towards critical media literacy, as Björnberg suggests, "since the socially determined meanings mediated by various types of popular music are often used with a more or less explicitly manipulatory purpose... music education should try to provide the student with the means to interpret these meanings in order to be able to form a conscious judgment of the messages being communicated" (70). These approaches have also been seen to align with the principles of critical pedagogy (e.g. Giroux; McLaren, "Life in schools"), in viewing the task education not only as preparation for the workforce, but as "creating the formative culture of beliefs, practices, and social relations that enable individuals to wield power, learn how to govern, and nurture a democratic society that takes equality, justice, shared values, and freedom seriously" (Giroux 4).

In-keeping with these critical, democratic aims of music education, the teacher's role in the music classroom is significantly different from the models provided by the liberal education paradigm. Indeed, the commitment to participatory inclusion in music education that has accompanied the introduction of popular repertoire to many classrooms, demands a reconceptualization of the teacher's role and actions. No longer the sole source of musical knowledge, the teacher is directed to stand back, relinquish control, learn and discover in a flexible and dynamic relationship with hir students (Rodriguez 38). With diverse repertoire sources, and as students are encouraged to bring their own repertoire selections to class, the teacher's role may be seen as a curator. As curator, the teacher is involved in deciding which songs will feature in school lessons or activities, guiding students in their own learning, "metaphorically taking the learner by the hand, getting inside their head and asking 'What do they want to achieve now, this minute, and what is the main thing they need to achieve it?'" (Green, "Music, Informal Learning"

34). The teacher-curator is not an expert in the sense that they are able to transmit knowledge and skills to students, but an expert "in helping students make things happen for themselves" (Rodriguez 39).

Outsiders to the music education curriculum

In replacing the hierarchical models of music education that value a narrow selection of musics as educationally valid, with those that prioritize discourses of musical pluralism and polyvalency, discussions of exclusion, essentialism, values and choice have been silenced, or at least sidelined (Mantie & Tucker 267). In advocating for the place of popular musics in schools, and engaging in cultural arguments between high and low art, there has not been much discussion regarding how teachers select repertoire from within the popular realm, beyond the practical concerns of time, resources and technical difficulty (Kallio & Väkevä). The welcoming of popular music and valuations of pluralism pose particularly interesting questions considering recent arguments that young people enjoy popular musics particularly because they are not about conforming to the conventions of adult worlds or school (e.g. Väkevä, "Teaching popular music" 128; Regelski, "Social Theory" 30; Stålhammar). Allsup, Westerlund and Shieh have suggested that the relationship between popular music cultures and education "is fraught with issues of immense responsibility, risk and confusion" (462), raising questions about the ideological complexities involved in selecting popular repertoire for adolescent students in a formal education context. Viewing "schooling as a resolutely political and cultural enterprise… as cultural arenas where a heterogeneity of ideological and social forms often collide in an unremitting struggle for dominance," (McLaren, "Life in Schools" 186) repertoire selections within popular music idioms ostensibly run as much risk of exoticism, alienation and creating outsiders to the music classroom, as in the traditional "transmission model of teaching… limited to the propagation of a culture of conformity and the passive absorption of knowledge" (Giroux 5).

In line with Lawton's definition of the school curriculum as "a selection from the culture of a society" (vii), and taking into account increasing social diversity, education theorist Michael Apple has argued that curriculum cannot be seen as "a neutral assemblage of knowledge, somehow appearing in the texts and classrooms of a nation. It is always part of a selective tradition, someone's selection, some group's vision of legitimate knowledge" (Apple 22). The pluralist discourses of contemporary music education have not accounted for the selection process that teachers must engage in, when deciding which musics will be included (and which will be excluded) in the (often increasingly) small amount of class time allocated to teaching and learning music in schools. If all popular musics were of equal

value, there would be no need for teachers to spend any time on repertoire decisions, as any selection would be as good as another. However, the idea that some popular musics are constructed in opposition or contrast to school culture suggests otherwise, raising questions about how teachers decide which popular musics to teach. If we accept Jorgensen and Bowman's ("Universals") suggestions that music education is always inclusive and exclusive, repertoire selection may be seen as a matter of "culture (i.e., norms, values, and their practice) as a politicized terrain" (Dotter 280). In better understanding how the teacher makes repertoire decisions, and identifies particular musics as prudent or problematic, interactionist approaches to deviance as derived from sociologist Howard Becker's labeling theory, offer a useful starting point. Whilst contemporary music education has been dominated by discourses of pluralism and inclusion, the perspective of labeling theory focuses on instances of exclusion, offering a critical alternative.

The deviantisation of popular musics

In focusing on the exclusion of popular musics from school curricula, it is first necessary to outline how labeling and interactionist theorists understand the processes by which certain musics (and thereby individuals) are cast as deviant. Understanding deviance as non-conformity "to the norms or values held by most of the members of a group or society" (Giddens 1013) and "behaviour which somehow departs from what a group expects to be done or what it considers the desirable way of doing things" (Cohen 35), the interactionist approach understands deviance as socially constructed. As Becker states, "social groups create deviance by making the rules whose infraction constitutes deviance, and by applying those rules to particular people and labeling them as outsiders" (Becker 9, emphasis orig). In other words, through the creation of normative values and practices, formal education labels individuals, events, or objects that exist outside of, or in opposition to these norms (Kotarba, Merrill, Williams & Vannini 84), suggesting that deviance is not an inherent quality, but rather a result of "interaction between the 'deviant' and those in a position to apply the label" (Tierney 15). This notion of the outsider also has a second application, as

> the person who is thus labeled an outsider may have a different view of the matter. He may not accept the rule by which he is being judged and may not regard those who judge him as either competent or legitimately entitled to do so… the rule breaker may feel his judges are outsiders. (Becker 2)

Through these perspectives, as certain musics are labeled as deviant and excluded, it may be seen that the students who identify with and enjoy these musics are also

labeled as outsiders and excluded from formal music education (Kallio; Mantie & Tucker). In turn, the student may not accept this judgment upon his or her music (and thus, his or herself), and label the school as outsider to his/her experiences and musical world.

In this way, the labeling of musics, and by association students, is not a simple, one-directional instance of the teacher deciding a particular song is inappropriate and excluding it from classroom lessons. Rather, the interactions between students, teachers, principals, staff members, parents and others may be seen to determine which musics are appropriate, and which are not, processes of becoming deviant (Matza): of deviantisation.

The school censorship frame

The negotiations and interactions involved in the deviantisation of popular musics, and determining their inclusion in, or exclusion from, music classes have been referred to by Kallio as a school censorship frame: an array of broad and specific narratives drawing associations between particular musics or songs, and "collectively shared and culturally agreed-upon" constructions of deviance (Schneider 38). In Finnish schools, the broad narratives of the school censorship frame have been identified by Kallio as cultural, religious and curricular, addressing issues of enculturation, cultural diversity, the role of religious repertoire in secular schooling, tradition versus transformation, teacher autonomy and confidence, and curricular critique. The specific narratives include narratives of the school as institution, school staff, parents, personal narratives of the self as teacher, and narratives of students. In this sense, the teacher is not seen as a censorious authority per se, as censorship is understood as a "process, realized through the relationships between censorious agents, rather than a series of actions carried out by a discrete or isolated authority" (Freshwater 225). Rather, the teacher is required to navigate these "complex, situational and multifaceted" (Kallio 12) relationships, negotiating between competing censorious narratives, with the labeling and deviantisation of popular musics reflecting the relative power of these narratives (Clinard & Meier 9).

As repertoire selection is negotiated upon this politicized terrain, the normative values and ideologies of schools expressed through both policy and practice are contested as definitions of particular popular musics emerge as "a form of production through which different groups both define and realize their aspirations through unequal power relations" (Ryoo & McLaren 105). In this sense, the school censorship frame is not developed and maintained over long periods of time, but is rather an unstable, fluid changing of the rules, requiring situational, rapid responses by the teacher. The firm decisions made regarding popular musics

may be seen to instantly dissolve and disappear, requiring the teacher to "begin again" (Greene) with "the next song, the next lesson and the next student" (Kallio 12).

As the school censorship frame constructs certain musics as good or appropriate and deviantises others, it may be questioned how achievable the pluralist and participatory ideals of popular music education really are. Indeed, how are the interactive ideals of informal learning to be realized if certain musics, and thereby certain students' preferences, values and identities, are excluded? If deviantised popular musics are excluded from school activities, and students are provided with a pasteurized popular music education, what Ericsson, Lindberg & Nilsson term a "safe simulation" (113), the ideal of continuity between music in and out of school is unattainable. School music thus runs the risk of being reduced to a peculiar institutionalized idiom, little changed from the liberal education models proposed by Bloom or Scruton, and with little relevance to students, or anyone else for that matter. Similarly, the inclusive ideals of music education are hindered, with particular students (albeit perhaps inadvertently) told that the musics they identify with and enjoy are not legitimate or worthy of attention, consequently alienating those students from school music.

If we understand this school censorship frame as "driven by the desire to control mass behavior" (Korpe, Reitov & Cloonan 239), repertoire decisions may then be seen not so much as matters of curation, but of coercion (Mantie & Tucker). This is not inherently detrimental, as teachers are required to make ethical decisions regarding popular repertoire that balance students' needs of nurture and protection with ideals of critical engagement and inclusion. As noted by Mantie & Tucker, schools, as public institutions must engage with constructions of the right and the good (266) as they endeavor to educate students not only academically but socially. However, without critically reflecting on the labeling influences of the school censorship frame in assessing or navigating such constructions, schools as institutions cannot be seen to serve the needs of students, but rather as mechanisms that serve to reinforce and reproduce dominant social relations and norms (McLaren, "Critical Pedagogy" 229). Thus, it may also be seen that schools must also engage with constructions of the wrong and the bad if they are to educate democratically, rather than unquestioningly perpetuating "particular visions of who people should be, both individually and collectively" (Mantie & Tucker 267).

The teacher as ethical agent

As certain popular musics are labeled as deviant through the school censorship frame it is important to note that the music itself does not necessarily challenge the ideological norms of formal schooling, but rather that it is perceived by the

teacher (as the individual largely in control of repertoire selection) as doing so. This is also not to suggest that the teacher feels affronted by deviantised popular musics, indeed they may enjoy such musics themselves. However, in the classroom context the teacher is required to assume the role of "moral entrepreneur" (Becker 147) in making repertoire decisions, and promoting the adoption or maintenance of dominant social norms. Becker divided the enterprises of the moral entrepreneur into two related categories: rule creators and rule enforcers. However, in the school context, the teacher may be seen to complicate both roles, as the creation of rules involves complex negotiations between the different actors and social groups of public schooling and those of popular musics. Thus, who comprises the dominant social group is dynamic and changeable, affecting the norms that are promoted in the classroom. Similarly, the enforcement of rules is not a disengaged matter of following the mandates of curricular documents or school principals, but rather presents the teacher with situated, ethical dilemmas.

Becker illustrated the rule creator as an individual "crusading reformer" (147). In many respects, the role of the teacher aligns with Becker's descriptions. Concerned with achieving a music education that fosters "human rights, equality, democracy, natural diversity, preservation of environmental viability, and the endorsement of multiculturalism… promotes responsibility, a sense of community, and respect for the rights and freedoms of the individual" (Finnish National Board of Education 12), the teacher enforces rules that encourage such values in students, believing "that if they do what is right it will be good for them" (Becker 148). However, while the Finnish National Curriculum for Basic Education promotes particular values, and teachers undoubtedly teach with particular educational and social values in mind, these ideals are difficult to equate with actual teaching practice, making it difficult to prescribe particular ways, or content of teaching to achieve them (Becker 130). This gives little guidance to teachers with regards to how educational values should (if at all) guide popular repertoire selections, or how to engage with deviantised popular musics that students bring to classes.

All of this being said, it would be a mistake to assume that the teacher enforces the rules and norms of the school censorship frame as an unquestioning rule enforcer. Nor do the ideals of pluralism mean that the teacher necessarily accepts every, and any music as equal and valid. Rather, it may be seen that the teacher does not only implement curricula, he or she creates and develops it, considering the context in which s/he is teaching. In this way, we may reconceptualize the teacher's role as "neither scapegoat nor saviour, but as agent" (Allsup & Westerlund 127). Envisioning the teacher as agent suggests that conflict, and uncertainty, are not hindrances to good teaching, but rather a prerequisite. This is particularly true if we return to Giddens' definition of deviance "as widely variable as the

norms and values that distinguish different cultures and subcultures from one another" (687). Given the increasing diversity (or at least our acknowledgement of such diversity) of music classrooms, it may be seen that a normative consensus of values, morals and behaviors is impossible, and indeed undesirable.

However, this is not to imply that teachers' repertoire decisions are wholly relative, with equally valid musics labeled as deviant dependent on who was judging and when. Indeed it may be seen that whilst a useful lens, labeling theory is only the starting point in explaining the censorship of particular popular musics or songs in school contexts, where norms and values often comprise part of teachers' tacit knowledge, enforcement is situational, decisions are momentary, and deliberation is swift. A necessary addition to this lens is an aspect central to the profession of teaching and conceptualization of teacher as agent: the ethical. In this sense, teachers may be seen to be "guided by commitment to acting rightly where "rightness" is not (and cannot be) set in stone" (Bowman, "Practices" 7) and engaged in moral deliberation, involving "doubt, hesitation, the need of making up one's mind, of arriving at a decisive choice" (Dewey, "Theory of the Moral Life" 134).

As argued by Dewey decades ago, "all the aims and values which are desirable in education are themselves moral" ("Democracy" 369), suggesting that "education is distinctly ethical in character, concerned ultimately with the development of character and identity" (Bowman, "Music's significance" 64). The teacher is required to ethically justify the inclusion of particular popular musics, but also the exclusion of others. For instance, Allsup and Westerlund have suggested that "the study and performance of Death Metal… may be an inappropriate way to 'celebrate' certain preferences or values, given that schools are public institutions devoted to nonviolence" (134). However, their assumption that the teacher sees a clear solution in excluding Death Metal altogether from school curricula, is questionable in its apparent certainty. As Dewey suggested,

> The conventional attitude sees… only a conflict of good and of evil; in such a conflict, it is asserted, there should not be any uncertainty. The moral agent knows good as good and evil as evil and chooses one or the other according to the knowledge he has of it… it is not right in a great number of cases. The more conscientious the agent is and the more care he expends on the moral quality of his acts, the more he is aware of the complexity of this problem of discovering what is good; he hesitates among ends, all of which are good in some measure, among duties, which obligate him for some reason. ("Theory of the Moral Life" 156-157).

And so it may be seen that the outright exclusion of death metal may be seen as equally problematic, if we understand constructions of the genre as varied with respect to the musical, and ideological content and also how it is consumed, and to what ends. It is also problematic to assume that teachers are unified in the values with which they (ought to) approach popular repertoire selection. Rather, complex moral and ethical deliberations may be seen as inseparable from understandings of the teacher as ethical agent, and of the role of the school in nurturing the development and growth of diverse, capable, agential young students, as Bowman ("Music's Significance") suggests, "the ethical encounter is grounded in commitment, caring, and responsibility" (69). This raises additional concerns in the moral deliberations over the role of deviantised musics in the music classroom, as imperatives of child welfare may collide and intertwine with those of inclusion. Interestingly however, these complex issues of ethics and morality have been largely absent from discussions on teaching and learning music (Allsup & Westerlund 127).

Letting the outside in: An invitation

The passionate advocates for popular musics inclusion in school curricula have done much to address opportunities for student participation, the diversity of musics in schools, and the methods by which they are taught. At least when compared with the liberal education models and philosophies, the welcoming of popular musics and informal pedagogies have indeed encouraged more hands-on music-making in classrooms with more students. However, while arguments justifying popular music's place in the curriculum (in dichotomous relation to western art musics) have made great strides towards an inclusive and democratic music education, in silencing the complexities and conflicts involved in teaching popular repertoire, these ideals may remain distant goals.

In addition, how teachers navigate deviantised popular musics "is an important aspect to the overall understanding of the ways in which people negotiate social meanings" of popular music (Schneider 51). Without reflecting upon the processes by which popular musics are deviantised, contextualized within the school censorship frame, popular repertoire selection may assume the form of well intentioned coercion: normative judgments of deviantised popular musics, normative understandings of the right and the good, and unreflective justifications to exclude particular popular musics in the name of child welfare. Labeling popular musics as a problem for school music education, and students, is an understanding and act "invariably predicated upon who the teacher believes the student is or should be" (Mantie & Tucker 262) and also upon who we believe the teacher ought to be. Although informal pedagogies have called for the teacher to assume new roles, and popular musics have found established positions in school curricula,

it is important to remember that "the mere entrance of a wider variety of musical styles into an education system does not simply halt the construction and perpetuation of ideologies of musical value" (Green "Why ideology" 268), and does not necessarily influence student alienation for the better.

It is important to emphasize that the introduction of popular musics and accompanying informal pedagogies do not make the teacher's job simpler. Whilst they may call for him or her to relinquish control, they also call for more complex decisions than traditional educational models may have necessitated. If the teacher's role is to pass on the masterworks, a canon of the right, good and true, there is little ethical deliberation necessary. However, with so many musics now made available to the classroom, the teacher is required to question not only the "whats, hows, and whys" but also the whose, "between uncertain options" (Allsup & Westerlund 140). If we envision schools as more than institutions for the transmission and reproduction of the status quo, and as institutions of change, development and transformation (e.g. Mantie & Tucker; The Finnish National Board of Education 12; Regelski, "Critical Education"), teachers' repertoire decisions are caught between two visions of schools: as regulating institutions that promote particular values and norms, and as sites that encourage individual agency, emancipation and social change. These moral deliberations may be seen as central in teachers' navigations of the curricular and political conflicts that inevitably arise in school popular music education. The moral tasks of teaching are then not so much a matter of following a path of the right and the good, but rather one of questioning what is right, for whom, and when, with definitions and boundaries of propriety and deviance in constant flux.

With the music teacher envisioned not as curator but as ethical agent, popular music teaching may be seen not as a practice of instruction, but as one of inquiry; not as a practice of certainty, but as one of uncertainty; not as only a practice of value-creation, but as one of value examination and interrogation. Although writing with regards to racial and ethnic diversity in teacher education, Cochran-Smith's argument holds true in this context as well, as she cautions, "we cannot shy away from unpleasant and uncertain conversations because the failure and unwillingness to look, listen, and learn about diversity, oppression, and the experiences of the cultural other significantly interfere with the ability to critique and problematize schooling or 'teach against the grain'" (xii). By adhering to the guidance of the school censorship frame unquestioningly, ideologies remain invisible, as values "are perceived… as objective, self-evident, neutral and - especially - universal" (Spruce & Matthews 121). With an assumed consensus of values and beliefs, the politics of music education are relegated to the margins of school life, a scenario only serving those who "would dominate and control" (Woodford, xii) -

which is seemingly incompatible with the democratic and inclusive aims of music education policy and practice. And so, if we are to take the democratic and inclusive ideals of popular music education seriously, classroom doors should be opened wide, to let the outside(rs) in.

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Appendix 4: Article IV

Factional stories: Creating a methodological space for collaborative reflection and inquiry in music education research.

Alexis Anja Kallio

Abstract

Stories have been one means by which qualitative researchers have attempted to engage participants and construct, analyze and present data or findings in a meaningful way. In this article, I look at the impetus for, and potentials, of crafting and sharing researcher-written factional stories with research participants as a means to generate rich, meaningful data, and facilitate collaborative inquiry. Factional stories may be understood as a bricolage of previously collected data, analyses and fictive elements, combining research participants' and researcher voices and presented as a short, first-person story. Through the use of factional stories in my own research study as illustration, I examine how factional stories may create a methodological space, within which participants and researcher may collaboratively construct meaning, engage in reflection, negotiation and inquiry. This article suggests that as a heuristic methodological tool, factional stories may be a particularly appropriate methodological means to attend to the complexity so often characteristic of teaching and learning music.

Keywords

Collaboration, Fiction, Narrative inquiry, Qualitative methods, School music education

Introduction

The telling, listening to, reading and retelling of stories are familiar features of everyday life. Encompassing the personal, contextual, emotional and interactive, stories have been one means by which qualitative researchers have engaged participants and constructed, analyzed and presented data or findings

in a meaningful way. Seen by many researchers as a means to attend to the complexity and emotionality of educational phenomena (e.g. Barone, 2001; Connelly & Clandinin, 2006; Coulter & Smith, 2009; Polkinghorne, 1995), stories and narratives have "become a powerful means of exploring aspects of the teaching profession" (Barrett & Stauffer, 2012, p. 14). In this article, I look at the impetus for, and potentials of using researcher-written stories as a *means* to conduct research. In doing so I draw upon my own research study, describing the challenges I encountered in interviewing five Finnish secondary school music teachers about their processes of popular repertoire selection, and the means to overcome the challenges I found in crafting what I term *factional stories.* Factional stories are presented as researcher-written vignettes, based upon interview data conducted in two stages of individual interviews and incorporating early analyses and interpretations as participants' and researcher voices are woven together. These stories were shared with teacher participants as a heuristic tool for data collection. Through reading, interpreting and responding to these stories, this approach led beyond the generation of rich and meaningful data, to the creation of a methodological space within which the teacher participants and I were able to (re)construct, (re)interpret and refine meaning. Thus, factional stories may be seen to encourage interaction and shared inquiry between research participants (and the researcher), without necessitating a face-to-face group meeting. Responding to Ellis and Berger's (2003) call to "examine the collaborative activities of interviewees from which ... outcomes are produced" (p. 469), I suggest that factional story writing may be an appropriate means to attend to the complexities of teaching and learning music in schools through their ability to facilitate communication and collaborative, reflective meaning-making.

Theoretical bases of factional stories

Stories have been seen as particularly apt means to characterize and express human experience (e.g. Bowman, 2006; Leavy, 2013), allowing individuals to convey, construct and communicate meaning with others. Conceptualizing narrative as the inquiry and stories as the phenomenon (Connelly & Clandinin, 1990), it has been argued that all life is narrative (Polkinghorne, 1988), and story may be seen as "a portal through which a person enters the world and by which their experience of the world is interpreted and made personally meaningful" (Connelly & Clandinin, 2006, p. 477). As stories are written or told to others, and audiences contextualize writings within their own knowledge frameworks and experiences in making them intelligible, they may be seen as "first and foremost a way of thinking about experience" (Connelly & Clandinin, 2006, p.

477). Clandinin and Connelly (2000) have made clear links between Dewey's philosophical writings and narrative inquiry, understanding this experience as not confined to that of an isolated individual, but as socially constructed (Dewey, 1938). In this way, story may be seen as a way to promote dialogue, "which is critical to cultivating understanding" (Leavy, 2009, p. 14). Seen through Dewey's notion of experience (1934, 1938), the collaborative potentials of stories mean that they may be seen not only as a characterization of human experience, but experiential in themselves, as "a changing stream that is characterized by continuous interaction of human thought with our personal, social and material environment" (Clandinin & Rosiek, 2007, p. 39). Thus, research into, using or producing stories is unique in its "temporality or processual nature, together with its situatedness or particularity" (Bowman, 2006, p. 7). In viewing stories as contextualized products of ongoing interaction, research on stories and storytelling cannot search for accurate depictions of past events; as Riessman (2005) has noted, "narratives do not mirror, they refract the past" (p. 6). By refraction, Riessman implies that stories are not simply products that represent the meanings that have already been constructed (Bochner, Ellis, & Tillman-Healy, 1997), but are rather a means to construct, share and communicate meaning with others, through (re) tellings that involve interpretation, imagination, emotion and strategic interests. In this way, understandings of story as experience may be seen as twofold, "as both the essence of being and the source of knowing" (Barrett & Stauffer, 2012, p. 4), as a means to experience, and as a means to make sense of experience.

Qualitative researchers have approached stories in a myriad of ways: collecting stories, paradigmatically analyzing stories (Bruner, 1986) and of particular interest here, producing stories themselves (Leavy, 2009, 2013). Researchers' processes of narrative construction (Barone, 2007) have often drawn upon fictional forms, such as poetry, the novel, portraiture, autobiography, film, and other literary genres, as a means to make sense of data and communicate research findings, broadening ideas of whose stories are of use in research, and to what ends (Barone, 2007; Coulter & Smith, 2009; Watson, 2011). However, as Barone and Eisner (2012) have noted, the inclusion of fiction or fictive elements is "one of the trickiest issues confronted in considering the possibilities of arts based forms of social research" (p. 101). Indeed, Watson (2011) has warned that by declaring one's work as simultaneously fiction *and* social science, researchers run the risk of not having their work read as social science (or indeed at all) and consequently dismissed. This is of particular concern to educational researchers, as the field has generally experienced a "narrowing of the officially sanctioned methodological spectrum" (Barone, 2007, p. 454).

Skepticism over the inclusion of fiction or fictive elements in research

persists despite many researchers acknowledging the notion of an empirical reality as problematic (see, e.g. Denzin, 1997; Watson, 2011). As argued already by Clifford Geertz (1973), "the line between mode of representation and substantive content is as undrawable in cultural analysis as it is in painting" (p. 16), suggesting that the line separating the dichotomy between fact and fiction is itself fictional (Barone & Eisner, 2012, p. 102). In addition, whilst fiction *has* been introduced into scholarly and narrative work, it has primarily been limited to data or a means to present data. It has been noted that scholars "rarely *create* it and even more rarely do they mix fact and fiction together into a bricolage of research findings" (Whiteman & Phillips, 2008, p. 291), or employ fiction or fictive writing as method. However, despite the wary reception of fictional approaches in social research, it has been suggested that such writings "may be particularly provocative for telling ethnographic tales from the field" (van Maanen, 1988/2011), and

> through their recasting of the empirical particulars of the world, achieve extraordinary power to disturb and disrupt the familiar and commonplace, to question and interrogate that which seems to have already been answered conclusively, and to redirect the conversation regarding important social issues. (Barone & Eisner, 2012, p. 101)

In what follows, I explore the use of story as method in my own research study, incorporating fiction and assuming an experiential perspective to story, through the writing and sharing of *factional stories*. Factional stories were not the *ends* of research, presenting or communicating data or analyses, but were employed as a heuristic *means* to gather rich, meaningful data and deepen inquiry. Through this example, I raise the question: what might we learn about the teaching of music, if we view story as both the source and representation of knowledge and experience? In casting our gaze to the experience of story(ing), the processes of telling, reading, and responding to stories, the focus of the following discussion is not what we can learn *from* stories but what we can learn *through* stories.

Factional stories as method in music education research

Focusing on learning *through* stories, rather than what we can learn *from* them, the use of stories as a methodological tool may allow for research participants and researchers to spend time living "in the story, becoming in it, reflecting on who one is becoming, and gradually modifying the story" (Frank, 1995, p. 163), reflectively searching for, and creating meaning. Story's ability to generate or facilitate reflection and interaction with others' perspectives and meanings may make it a particularly appropriate means for research on the teaching of music

in schools, where teachers constantly navigate, experience and make sense of their own stories, and those of others (such as students, other staff members, parents and policy makers; see Kallio, 2015). Following the very first international Narrative Inquiry in Music Education conference, Wayne Bowman (2006) suggested that narrative "offers considerable promise as a way of recovering the complexity, multiplicity, and polyphony of musical meanings, and music's deep implication in the construction and maintenance of identities, both personal and collective" (p. 14). In this sense, narrative has been seen as an appropriate lens with which to view the complex world of the music classroom, enabling "the reader to look at educational phenomena with renewed interest and a more questioning stance" (Coulter & Smith, 2009, p. 578), allowing for the articulation of what might otherwise remain tacit knowledge. However, if we are to take the social and communicative aspect of stories and storytelling seriously, one of the main strengths of attending to stories in research may be found in their interactive and processual potentials.

Encountering challenges

In exploring the use of factional stories as research means, I refer to my own instrumental case study (Kallio, 2015) that investigated Finnish secondary school music teachers' understandings of the influences that act upon their decisions to either include or exclude particular popular music repertoire from school lessons or activities. The study focused on popular musics or songs that have often been understood to exist at odds with the values and aims of traditional schooling (see Kallio, 2015; Väkevä, 2006), for instance songs with explicit language or more "adult" themes. The use of story was not a feature included in the research design from the onset of this study, but was, rather, employed to address challenges that arose during the course of data collection.

Participating in the study were five Finnish secondary school music teachers. Teachers were selected to include voices from different regions of Finland, different levels of experience and to represent different types of schools. Whilst a purposive sample (Creswell, 2009) was included in this study, teachers were chosen not with hopes to maximize the generalizability by "sampling of attributes" (see critiques of narrative sampling by Hargreaves, 1996), but to maximize "opportunities to learn" (Stake, 1995, p. 6). To ensure their anonymity, the five participating teachers are henceforth referred to by the pseudonyms: Julia, Iida, Risto, Maria and Outi. As I am an immigrant and had been living in Finland for approximately three years at the time of data collection, teachers were also selected on their willingness to participate using the English language (my native language), though some communication did take place in Finnish or Swedish

(teachers' native languages) when it was considered necessary for clarification. As stories express more than content information (e.g. Leavy, 2013), language barriers present clear challenges where subtle meanings or understandings may be overlooked or misinterpreted. However, given that even within a single language, all stories are interpretations in kind, and in view of the increasing diversity of music classrooms and music education research, the cultural differences and potential confusions were not seen as an impediment to the study but rather as an opportunity. When stumbles in communication did occur, they often provided teachers or myself with an opportunity to spend more time on particular issues, to clearly delineate what either of us intended to convey. Two of the teachers noted that searching for particular words or nuances between two languages often intensified explanations and understandings of particular meanings. As one of the participating teachers Julia exclaimed, "this [interview process] makes me crystallize some things beneath my own thinking, realize and crystallize better than I'm able to do in my own language, Finnish" (third interview, May 10, 2012).[1]

Data collection took place through three individual, face-to-face semi-structured interviews held in each teacher's classroom, over a period of seven months from 2011 to 2012. The interviews were initially designed to follow a similar format to that suggested by Seidman (1991), with the first interview intended to gain data on participants' identities and roles as music teachers, the second focusing on their individual processes of repertoire selection and personal experiences in the classroom, and the final interview reflecting on the meanings of these experiences, providing an opportunity to clarify earlier responses and member check (see Creswell, 2009, p. 196). The first two interviews were between one and two hours long, and were audio-recorded and transcribed. Interpretative analysis of the data from these first two interviews followed Kelchtermans's (1994) narrative-biographical approach, thematically analyzing the data. It was during this first stage of analysis that I realized that I had encountered a problem. If understanding may be seen as a deep lake, the interview transcriptions suggested that I was merely skimming the surface. I wanted to dive in.

One suggestion that my understandings and access to teachers' knowledge was limited came from teachers expressing their curiosity as to what other teachers thought, what others' responses to my questions were, and whether others experienced similar challenges in selecting popular repertoire. Specialized music teaching is often thought of as a solitary pursuit, and indeed four of the teacher participants were the sole music teacher in their schools. One teacher, Outi, worked alongside a colleague at a music-specialized school, though she emphasized that collaboration was usually reserved for school concerts and performances. Another teacher, Iida, was the only music specialist in the region,

and noted that,

> we don't have other [extracurricular] music schools. It's not possible to learn music in other levels, there is no system ... if there is somebody playing violin, they need to go to [a larger city over 300km away] to have the lessons, we have no teachers, so it is in my hands. (first interview, December 11, 2011)

Whilst not all teachers worked in such remote areas of Finland, all expressed uncertainty and curiosity regarding how other teachers might respond, as Maria explained: "I take it that every teacher thinks like this but I'm not sure" (second interview, November 7, 2011). Three of the teachers related the work of a music teacher to the Finnish saying *Siperia opettaa* [Siberia teaches], emphasizing the urgency and hardships of learning fast in isolated environments.

In addition to identifying the uncertainty stemming from this sense of isolation, I also noticed limitations of the data during the preliminary data analysis. Whilst the first stage of analysis following the first two rounds of interviews identified "common and contrasting threads of experience" (Pearce, 2008, p. 44), meaning was often communicated by a generalized description, rather than an in-depth active inquiry. One reason for this may have been my Outsider role in the Finnish music classroom. As a foreigner, I did not share common educational experiences as musician, student or teacher. Therefore, teachers described for me, in detail, how things work in their Finnish classrooms, without addressing *why* or *what for*. Another reason may have been the difficulty for teachers to communicate tacit knowledge of their teaching context and environment, knowledge that is "often acquired through a process of socialization through observation, induction and increasing participation" (Eraut, 2000, p. 122). As a result, there may have been a gap between the knowledge generated or expressed during the research process and tacit understandings of teaching, and the norms and values inherent, though perhaps assumed and unarticulated, in selecting popular repertoire for the classroom. Nevertheless, the discussion often ended at descriptive recollections or generalizations, indicative that "[r]eflection on practice and making explicit one's choices is no easy matter" (Pope, 2012, p. 29).

The collaborative potentials of narrative inquiry have been emphasized by Margaret Olson (2000), suggesting that the sharing and retelling of stories "can lead to seeing experience from different perspectives and can lead to a new spiral of retellings" (p. 350). In thinking about experience and perspective, I approached the data I had from the first two interviews and the preliminary analysis with many questions: What did teachers think of the stories they had shared with me?

What did I think of their stories? What might they think of each other's stories?

A new spiral of retellings

In an attempt to create an opportunity to look again, to interrogate what already seemed to have been answered, and to dive deeper into a new spiral of retellings, I began crafting short factional stories, each approximately a page long, restorying the music teachers' own experiences, combining narrative threads, highlighting similarities and incorporating dissent, raising questions (both teachers' and my own) that arose during previous interviews, and emphasizing issues they had raised that I felt were unresolved or unclear. I here employ Coulter and Smith's (2009, p. 587) term crafting (rather than for example, fictionalizing), to emphasize not only the literary nature of factional stories, but also the inseparability of these factional stories from research data; factional stories thus incorporate fiction "in the sense that they are 'something made', 'something fashioned' ... not that they are false, [or] unfactual" (Geertz, 1973, p. 15).

Written in the teacher first-person, the composite voice of each factional story voiced a polyphony in which each of us (teachers and researcher) were ever-present (Bresler, 2005, p. 174). Simultaneously, the factional stories voiced none of us in particular, with individual voices rendered invisible through an anonymous narrator (Leavy, 2013). The stories allowed me as researcher to join the landscape of music teaching in Finland (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000), to test my interpretations by (re)telling the stories of Finnish music teachers in my own words and to participate in the conversation. The process of story writing was not one that aimed simply to represent interview data in storied form, being neither a matter of "textual arrangement", thematic categorization or rewriting the story in terms of plot, location or chronology (Ollerenshaw & Creswell, 2002, p. 332). Rather, the factional stories may be understood as a reconstructed, (re)storied "fiction[al] form ... laid over a 'fact-oriented' research process" (Agar, 1990, p. 74); a bricolage of the raw data, analyses and further questions as raised by all six individuals involved.

Teachers emphasized in the first two interviews that teaching music was not simply a matter of skill transmission, but a personal, emotional, communicative and collaborative process. In reflecting and attempting to convey this, the crafting of factional stories adopted an ethnopoetic structural approach (Blommaert, 2006). Ethnopoetics is an approach to oral poetry that uses page layouts, stanzas and verses to capture the work "on its own terms" (Foley, 2002, p. 95), so that the performative elements of particular traditions are not lost in written text, including emotion. Building on works from the 1980s by Dell Hymes and Dennis Tedlock, ethnopoetics concentrates on reading, representing and

reperforming (Foley, 2002), three processes that may be seen as closely related to the crafting of factional stories. Riessman (2005) suggests that "an ethnopoetic structural approach is suitable for lengthy narratives that do not take the classic temporal story form" (p. 3). Given that six individual voices were combined and interwoven, an ethnopoetic representation and reperformance was appropriate, in order to condense the stories, emotions and ideas into tightly packed, page long factional stories. This meant that words were often unconventionally placed on the page, and incomplete sentences and non-temporal presentations of narratives were a common feature.

This encouraged readers to pause.

To physically incorporate different angles and sides of the issue

from different angles and sides of the page

To give space

and time

for reflection.

Organizational researchers Whiteman and Phillips (2008) have noted that through "adopting different textual strategies ... scholars shape ... knowledge in different ways" (p. 6). Contrasting with the aims of ethnopoetics, the decision to present the factional stories in an ethnopoetic form was not so much to capture and present the performative elements of a story in a textual representation, but to employ these elements as an intermediate stage in the construction, shaping, and presentation of knowledge.

Factional stories were titled (I) *Trust*, (II) *Real Rap,* (III) *Music Speaks what Words Cannot* and (IV) *We Wish You a Rockin' Christmas*. These stories explored the main themes identified by the first stage of data analysis: the role of the music teacher and the unique nature of music as a school subject; the difficulties of grading compositions that, whilst of musical quality, challenge the values and norms of schooling and the school; the associations between emotions and music for students and the role of textbooks; and the balance between tradition and innovation in music education. After many rewritings, the four factional stories were shared with each teacher via email, approximately two weeks before I met each of them for the third and final interview. Attempting to avoid misunderstandings as to the purpose these factional stories were to serve (Barone

& Eisner, 2012, p. 119), I sent all teachers the same four factional stories and provided explicit instructions regarding how they had been written, and their purpose. It was explained to teachers that the stories had been written by me as researcher, based on my own interpretations of the interviews with all five teachers. They were told that each factional story was a composite of all teachers' interview discussions, my own understandings, and questions that had been raised by either teachers or myself during the interviews or analysis stages. It was emphasized that because of the blending of these six voices, it was not expected that teachers would agree with every (or any) story or perspective, or respond with any degree of certainty. Factional stories were thus not seen as presentations of data or analyses, but as tools for reflection, through which I was seeking their own, personal meanings and knowledge of popular repertoire decisions, no matter how uncertain or contradictory.

The third round of individual interviews were audio-recorded, transcribed and approached in a second stage of analysis, together with the data from the first two interviews, through Polkinghorne's (1995) analysis of narratives to identify emergent themes. Factional stories' role in the research process is illustrated in Figure 1 below.

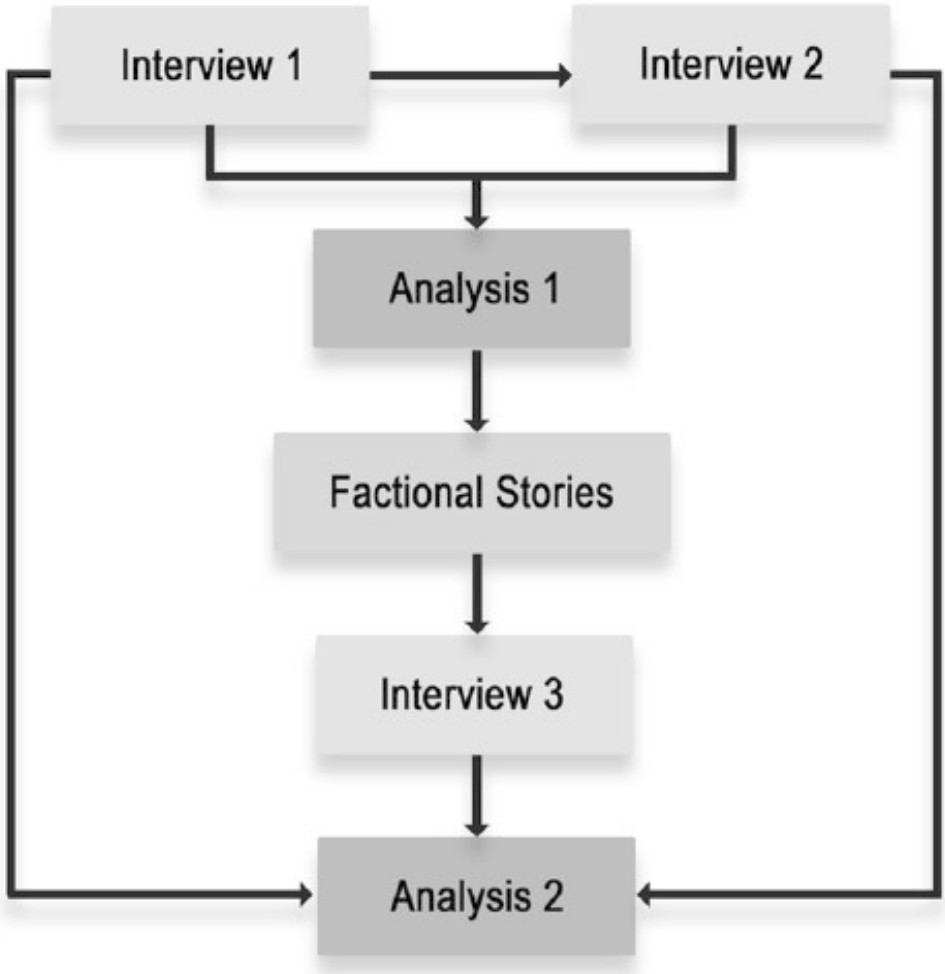

Figure 1. Research process

Crafting factional stories

Before turning to teachers' responses to the factional stories, and their role in data collection and meaning-making, this section of the article focuses on how the factional stories were crafted. For reasons of brevity, all four factional stories cannot be presented in this article; however excerpts have been included to illustrate their construction and function. The first factional story explores a number of important themes that arose during the analysis. All five teachers had emphasized that they felt that as music teachers, they had unique relationships

with their students that differed from those held by teachers of other subjects. As a result, teachers felt that both they and their students were afforded freedoms to engage with music, and each other, in a meaningful and democratic way. However, they too noted that these freedoms made their work as teachers uncertain and more complex, particularly when dealing with popular musics that so often expressed ideas and ideals that may be seen to oppose the norms and values of traditional schooling. These issues are explored in the first factional story, entitled (I) Trust, which is presented in its entirety in Figure 2.

As an example of the relationship between the raw data from the first two rounds of interviews and the factional stories, Figure 3 presents short excerpts from interviews that contributed towards the crafting of the first part of (I) *Trust*, serving as a brief illustration of the writing process.

Whilst a detailed discussion is beyond the scope of this article, it should be emphasized that the collaborative construction and interactive interpretations of factional stories bring with them issues of power and research ethics (see Schulz, Schroeder, & Brody, 1997) that warrant careful consideration. Accordingly, attention should be paid to *whose* stories are included and heard through the construction, sharing and analysis of data gained from factional stories, and these issues should be critically reflected upon to allow for multiple voices, meanings and understandings to emerge.

Factional stories were purposefully written with the aim of nurturing a large degree of "productive ambiguity" (Barone & Eisner, 2012, p. 118), introducing questions raised by both teacher participants and myself as researcher during earlier interviews. As illustration, the second story, entitled (II) *Real Rap* (see excerpt in Figure 4), was based on Maria's experiences of a student's improvised rap on stage at a school event, which he wanted to perform to fulfill the requirements of a graded term project. The performance included profane language, which generated considerable doubt for Maria with regard to assessing the performance. The story elaborates on Maria's experiences, and addresses the issue of age-appropriateness as raised by Maria, Outi and Iida in relation to composition and rap musics (among others), includes my own questions that arose during interviews, and relates to the analyses of the first two interviews and theoretical readings. It also poses questions that all teachers raised during the first two interviews regarding how teachers perceive their roles as teachers, the roles of their students and understandings of school culture. In reflecting upon the factional stories, teachers were able to learn about and negotiate each other's uncertainties and questions.

Instructor. I move fingers on guitar frets and mould hands to drum sticks.
Disciplinarian. I keep the peace.
Friend. I shake bodies to relax them in front of microphones.
Protector. I won't let anyone laugh at others' mistakes.
Composer/Arranger. I alter pitches, rhythms and ensembles to suit my pupils.
Role model. I set an example of musicianship and citizenship.
Confidant. I listen to vulnerable words written of romance and heartbreak.
Mentor. I suggest, advise, and correct.
Counselor. I console, empathize and encourage.
Band manager. I manage new bands, rehearsals, recordings and concerts.
Musician. I join in.

I am not simply a teacher. For me to fulfill all of my roles in the music classroom, there must be trust.

In another subject, topics may be met differently. A textbook is opened in a health class, today's lesson is about drugs:

You cannot read about the experience of taking drugs. There are no words about the emotional or mental effects of smoke or pills or needles. The topic is restricted to the pages of the textbook, a diagram, the biology, the chemistry.

In music class, a young girl brings the lyrics to a song she would like to learn.

'they tried to make me go to rehab, but I said no, no, no'.

There is no biology, there is no chemistry. There is no textbook.
There is much more. There is denial, support, addiction, pride, rebellion, pressure, excitement, expectation, sadness, consequences, stress, culture, celebrity. Life.

With freedoms, come constraints. In order to create an atmosphere of trust and openness, there must also be boundaries.

Figure 2. Factional story (I) *Trust.*

Role	Excerpts of Teacher Interviews
Instructor	'Maybe just play drums with the hands and forget about the foot' . . . 'oh that is good, you just do it like that, just with the hands, don't worry what your foot is doing . . . just like that.' (Risto)
Disciplinarian	There are pupils that are so motivated and exactly how you would like to do with them and there are pupils who . . . are thinking only what to drink and when to drink and when to have sex with . . . somebody, with anybody (laughs) we have to handle all these young people. (Outi)
Friend	We are teaching hand-to-hand and we are discussing all the things at the same time as we are making music . . . I have noticed they have problems maybe at home or with other teachers, they mostly come to me saying 'please, what can we do, can you help us?' because I think I get closer to them because of the subject. (Outi)
Protector	Every time someone makes a mistake here [one student says] 'Whoa fail! fail! fail!' and I've talked to him about it. (Maria)
Composer/ Arranger	The top guitarist is not there today, so we won't take the guitar, or somebody else [won't] play the difficult solo but plays the chords, so it's a lot of arranging, rearranging and improvising during the lessons, even though I have exact plans, it depends on the day and the group. (Julia)
Role model	Culturally educated. This is what I want also my pupils to be after they leave my school. (Maria)
Confidant	One girl said to me about one love song we were singing today 'I was singing this to my girlfriend'. She just wanted to show me that she's dating with a girl, saying it only to me. (Iida)
Mentor	He was a really good heavy, heavy drummer but . . . quite unsure about his playing if we are playing some beat music . . . so it was quite easy to teach, and he was a very . . . he took my advice. (Risto)
Counselor	She was so nervous, obviously very nervous, couldn't watch me in the eyes . . . She was out of tune almost all of the time . . . What can I say? I have to be their support, not the one who judges them, I have to understand my own affect as an educator . . . responsibility—that's the word. (Julia)
Band manager	I am in charge of the [school] performances . . . so I have to have that in my mind also, that we have to practise and have something that you can present. (Maria)
Musician	The students they expect that I can play every instrument as well as possible and I can show everything so they can be disappointed if I am saying 'well, actually I couldn't do this now . . . I need to practise it' . . . they are like 'teacher! So bad! Couldn't play it'. (Laughs). (Iida)

Figure 3. Excerpts of discussions from interviews 1 and 2 that contributed towards the composition of (I) *Trust*.

The degree of indeterminacy has been seen to greatly affect and shape reader responses to text (Barone, 2001; Fish, 1980; Iser, 1974). This is related to "how much 'textual ambiguity' the reader may encounter wherein the reader can insert meaning" (Atkinson & Mitchell, 2010, p. 10). The ambiguity, indeterminacy and questions raised in the factional stories all contributed towards the creation of a space to engage with other voices, within which meaning may be constructed.

A week later I was to give Niko a grade for his performance. A very good performance. I couldn't give him the highest grade, the rap simply was not age-appropriate. What a strange reason. Do we limit what elderly people listen to because it is not "old-people's music"? Do we allow small children to listen to Tchaikovsky even though they do not understand the harmonies or appreciate the meaning? Why does age-appropriateness only relate to young people and the music that belongs to them?

It was difficult for me to explain. "Niko, I know that swear words and all of this rebellious stuff are part of the rap culture, but they are not a part of school culture," I had to say. He really was a very good musician, and rapper,

but I couldn't grade him as a rapper, I had to grade him as a student.

Figure 4. Excerpt from factional story (II) *Real Rap.*

Participant responses to factional stories

Held approximately two weeks after sharing the factional stories with teachers via email, the interviews in the third round were significantly longer than the others, lasting between two and five hours, with informal discussion sometimes continuing beyond the "interview" setting. Three of the teachers came to their interviews with notes that they had written during their two weeks of reading and reflecting on the four factional stories which they wanted to discuss during our final meeting, suggesting that the experiences of reading these stories extended far beyond a traditional member check. The factional stories may be seen to have provided the bases, but not boundaries, for discussion, with degrees of indeterminacy that served "a heuristic purpose ... to evoke ... a vicarious experience that *reduces* certainty about the matters in which the dimensions of the 'outside' world are regarded" (Barone, 2001, p. 738), in other words, making the familiar unfamiliar, and interrogating the seemingly obvious.

Through this uncertainty, factional stories allowed for reflection to take place through interacting with their own, now distanced, stories, and other teachers' experiences and narratives. This weaving together of five teachers' and one researcher's voices, allowed not only for connections between different experiences to be made, but also invited dissent and new questions. With isolation being characteristic of so many teachers' experiences (Little, 1990), it may be seen that there are few voices that are "generic to all teachers and teaching" (Hargreaves, 1996, p. 13). Thus, rather than being representative of the teacher collective, the composite narration of the factional stories created a space for teacher voices to meet, agree or disagree, be comforted or challenged, and raise uncertainties. This highlighted the "interplay between personal interests and experience and societal values, norms and knowledge" (Garrison, 2011, p. 10), foregrounded conversation, and welcomed complexity. In this way, it may be seen that the sharing of factional stories, and discussion that ensued, allowed for social processes that delved deeper into teachers' experiences and the meanings they ascribed to them (Leavy, 2013).

The amalgamation of six individuals' experiences in the single first-person voice of the factional stories did not prevent teachers from recognizing their own words in particular stories, and many were comforted by confirmations or contradictions in the experiences of others, moving from "a state of doubt, hesitation, perplexity, mental difficulty in which thinking originates ... to find material that will resolve the doubt, settle and dispose of the perplexity" (Dewey, 1933, p. 12). This is illustrated by Outi's exclamation on finding the account of her own experiences in the factional stories:

Outi:	Ah! My story! This was the closest to me!
Researcher:	Did it make sense when I retold your story?
Outi:	Yes, for me. What did others say? [Reads aloud passages in the factional story that were based on other teachers' interview data] ... yes ... So this *is* normal! [Laughs].(Outi, third interview, May 29, 2012)

When experiences are distanced from the personal, educational psychologist Kegan (1994) has suggested that it is easier to engage in reflection as "an active demonstration of a mind that can stand enough apart from its own opinions, values, rules and definitions to avoid being completely identified with them" (p. 231). With the addition of five other voices to the discussion, teachers had more material upon which to reflect, and situate their own experiences and beliefs. This may be seen in the beginnings of a conversation with Iida regarding one of the factional stories that elaborated upon one of her experiences in the classroom.

The factional story described her feelings that she had missed some of the signs of a young student's emotional instability and problems, expressed through songwriting. In previous interviews, Iida's focus had remained on the particular student and her reflections on that particular incident. However, when the story was interwoven with other teacher stories about emotions and music education, she broadened her focus from the incident described in the story to address student wellbeing in general, and how students relate to the school as institution:

> I found [my story] there, and I just started thinking about this past year. Is it always good that we listen to so much [popular music that the students choose] to do? I think we need to make a good balance. It is difficult ... a teacher should be able to [ensure] everybody's wellbeing but it's impossible really. I think some people they really cannot feel well in the school, school is a system ... I like to be in the system. But I have learnt that school is not a good place, or the best place for everybody, and they need maybe special support if they just cannot fit in this atmosphere. (Iida, third interview, May 16, 2012)

The inclusion of many voices in the formation of stories may be seen to resonate with Dewey's (1958) understandings of experience as transactional. In this sense, meaning is constructed through the relationships between voices and the relationships and experiences that emerge between textual factional stories and the teacher-reader. Louise Rosenblatt emphasized in her transactional theory of literature (1938/1995) that transactions between the reader and text permit "emphasis on the to-and-fro, spiraling, nonlinear, continuously reciprocal influence of reader and text in the making of meaning ... [which] 'happens' during the transaction between the reader and the signs on the page" (p. xvi). However, beyond a text–reader relationship, the experiences/transactions that took place through the use of factional stories were additionally complex, due to the way in which the stories were constructed. As both representative of, and distanced from, each reader's personal stories and voices, insights and transactions between teachers themselves were facilitated without necessitating a face-to-face meeting. This also allowed for reflections upon the self, one's own pedagogical beliefs and teaching practices, and also those of others. In this way, factional stories aimed to "generate a new relation between a human being and her environment—her life, community, world" (Clandinin & Rosiek, 2007, p. 39), allowing for both personal and broader sociocultural meanings to emerge through collaborative reflection and inquiry.

Beyond the traditional member check

With factional stories distanced from the personal account, teachers were encouraged to further explicate their thoughts and understandings. For instance, discussing the first story, (I) *Trust,* teachers agreed with all of the teacher roles listed, Outi and Maria added further roles that they felt were missing from the list, and all teachers explained how these roles worked in their own teaching practice: which were foregrounded, which were less important, and how these different roles were fluid and interrelated (indeed, sometimes in conflict). As Iida explained:

> For me to be a musician, it's maybe not so important [when I'm teaching at school]. I want to be maybe a mentor more, and sometimes I need to be a band manager. But on the other hand, I want to play always with them, I want to join the group. (Iida, third interview, May 16, 2012)

Although teachers did not disagree with any roles in particular, some took great care to clarify certain roles, ensuring that my interpretation of interview data was correct when they used particular terms, or spoke about particular issues. For instance, one role that was focused upon by all of the teachers was that of *friend:*

> This word *friend* is to have ... a good friendship, but you can't be a friend. (Risto, third interview, May 18, 2012)

> I know that a friend role, it's not the same way that they have their own friends or I have my own friends. I think that friend means that I understand how they feel and I come a little bit closer, but they can't get too close to me. That kind of friend ... I have that responsibility. (Outi, third interview, May 29, 2012)

The inclusion of this role also highlighted dissenting voices between teachers, particularly in the relationships they felt they had, or ought to have, with their students. These roles were also discussed as they related to other factional stories, for example the second story, (II) *Real Rap*. The professional and personal narratives of themselves as teachers—as protector, as leader, as colleague—were not only inextricably intertwined with the unique nature of teaching music as a subject, but also how they perceived their students, as child or as young adult. Whilst Maria emphasized her preference to have a more "adult" role in the classroom, Iida expressed her challenges in separating her teacher identity from that which was closer in age and experience to her students. Julia adopted a more reflective, analytical approach to discussing these relationships, raising the issue of power as a key factor:

> When you are with young pupils, like teenagers, I think most important is that you are a grown-up with a heart and a brain ... you have to also take charge, and say what to do. (Maria, third interview, May 11, 2012)

> I have heard so many things now [from students], I think they really trust me. Sometimes I think should they trust me? Should I now call their parents? About these kinds of topics. I'm not afraid for them, it's not a safety issue, it's only privacy. They really share their thoughts. (Iida, third interview, May 16, 2012)

> I believe I have very deep thoughts about those issues and for me personally in my own life also— empowerment and emancipation are very important, and trusting people is an important thing. To recognize as a teacher that these questions of who is in charge and who has the power, are inevitably present in those situations. Whether you want it or not. You can say that I am a friend with my pupils and we have a very straight relationship and can talk to each other almost about anything ... Even after that, and before that, there are always questions of power present. (Julia, third interview, May 10, 2012)

Reflections on the literary elements of factional stories

The literary elements of factional stories were raised by teachers when describing their initial responses to reading the stories. Using the factional story (I) *Trust* as example, the technique of listing teacher roles was intended to not only convey the content, but also the emotion of previous interview discussions, that the work of a music teacher was at times overwhelming, requiring the ability to navigate many roles and skills instantaneously. Iida's response suggested that this technique brought to mind thoughts about the nature of her work as "*kokonaisvaltaista* [holistic, or all-consuming], that you cannot easily put the work away when you are on holiday or when you are spending your time at home cooking, you think about the kids, or the music" (third interview, May 16, 2012). However, Maria initially found the structure confusing, as she explained, "my first reaction was, are they different lines? Like an instructor says this ... but then I thought they are the pupils, but then I understood, 'composer', 'arranger'—it's the teacher" (third interview, May 11, 2012).

Teachers also reacted to the ethnopoetic structure of the factional stories, noting that the heteroglossic (Bakhtin, 1981) style of the stories was able to capture the experiences and/or emotions of a music teacher, without directing the reader to a specific interpretation. This implied that factional stories were not

neutrally mirroring reality, revealing preconstituted meanings (Bochner, Ellis, & Tillman-Healy, 1997), but rather expanding the scope of what teachers could raise in interviews, urging them to consider additional issues, generate new meanings and additional concerns that any of us felt were relevant:

> There are a lot of things in this page. Big ideas, from different sides, different perspectives. Different views. (Outi, third interview, May 29, 2012)

> This was like reading poetry ... writing a very good report, but at the same time like a writer, like novelist, or artist in text ... You haven't found things from archives, or studied some lists. You have met real people, from real life who have told you real life experiences, some of them very lively experiences, and in themselves very descriptive [yet the stories] let the listener make their own interpretations. (Julia, third interview, May 10, 2012)

If not a mirror, it may be assumed that factional stories serve as prisms, refracting ideas allowing for alternative perspectives, as described by Riessman (2005). However, a prism still serves a passive role. Rather, factional stories may be seen as an active "tool of reality construction" (Czarniawska, 2004, p. 12), reinterpreting and refining the meaning of data in collaboration with the other voices on the page and those of the readers.

Reflective thinking and meaning-making

The distanced account of teaching experiences provided by the factional stories encouraged teachers to question what was previously certain, and reflect critically upon the stories of the composite story-teller. As noted by Golden-Biddle and Locke (1993), working with stories draws upon the "criticality dimension" of convincing narrative texts, challenging readers to "re-examine their beliefs and suppositions about the world and the meaning of research" (Whiteman & Phillips, 2008, p. 291). The descriptions of teacher roles led Iida, the youngest and the teacher with the least years of school-teaching experience, to an in-depth questioning of what it means to be a teacher, and whether she was able to fulfill her own expectations:

> I was thinking, am I able to be [all of these] ... sometimes I have found that I am not as big an authority in the classroom as I would like to be ... Sometimes I am thinking in my own head, what is this role of a teacher? Am I really sure of how I should be? Am I enough adult for them? Should I even talk [with students] about these kinds of subjects [that popular music raises]? (Iida, third interview, May 16, 2012)

In contrast, Julia, a teacher with 16 years of teaching experience, expressed doubt whether any teacher could satisfy all of the roles, and related such expectations to the importance of ethical reflection for her as a teacher:

> This tells a lot about the sides of a music teacher, but it easily gives the impression that this music teacher, or this imaginary music teacher, or the many teachers behind this text, they have a false perception of themselves, that they are perfect ... Nobody can fulfill all of these [roles] ... you have to question your own principles, your own morals and ethics ... you have to understand your responsibility to have a kind of inner discussion with yourself, all the time, "On what moral grounds do I base this idea, or opinion which I try to transfer or give as an example?" It's a constant questioning. (Julia, third interview, May 10, 2012)

Both Iida and Julia's comments illustrate Dewey's notion of reflective thinking, in the sense that the transactions that took place between the individual and the voices included in the factional stories encouraged new meaning-making, through making connections between past experiences and expectations. As Dewey stated:

> To "learn from experience" is to make a backward and forward connection between what we do to things and what we enjoy or suffer from things in consequence. Under such conditions, doing becomes trying; an experiment with the world to find out what it is like; the undergoing becomes instruction— discovery of the connection of things. (1916/2004, p. 134)

Creating a methodological space for collaborative meaning construction

The third round of interviews illustrated a shift from recollections of past events, the "told stories of participants" (Clandinin et al., 2006) to an "invitation to problem finding" (Bruner, 2002, p. 20), learning *through* stories (together). Through approaching factional stories as both the source and representation of knowledge and experience, teacher participants were able to gain insight

into each other's experiences and knowledge, engaging in collaborative inquiry without necessitating a face-to-face meeting. Through the inclusion of both the researcher's and participants' voices in the text, knowledge and meaning emerged not from the capacity of the factional stories to capture them, but were, rather, co-constructed through the provision of a methodological space. Within this space, teacher participants were able to engage in the interpretation and analysis process together with one another and the researcher, mediating, broadening, correcting and deepening understandings. In conclusion, through their potential to facilitate communication, factional stories may thus be seen not only as a lens through which we may look again, look differently, or look more deeply at the complexities of teaching and learning music in schools, though they certainly do encourage us to do so. They may, perhaps more importantly, serve as a tool to create a space within which the reader and researcher may dive in, and "enter the story and vicariously experience the events portrayed" (Phillips, 1995, p. 634), in collaborative communication, negotiation, reflection and inquiry.

Note

1. It should be noted that teachers, when quoted, are quoted directly. Often their words are not expressed in grammatically correct English, but I do not feel it my place to correct them, and do not feel it has affected their ability to express meaning, nor my understandings of what they intended to convey.

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Appendix 5: Participant information form

Hei [participant name],

I hope you don't mind me contacting you. I have found your contact details from your school website. I am a doctoral student in the music education department at the Sibelius Academy, conducting research on how Finnish music teachers make decisions about using popular music with grades 7-9.

I hope that you might be interested in taking part in my doctoral research project. It would involve two interviews in November or December, and one next year. Each interview will be approximately 1-2 hours long and could be held in your classroom at school. Many teachers have great stories to tell and the questions in these interviews will focus on your own stories as a teacher, your students and your experiences with choosing and teaching popular music for grades 7-9. Your identity and the school you work at will remain anonymous when the study is published. You can withdraw from the study, or any part of it, at any time, and any information you have told me will not be included in the research analysis or reports.

There is not very much information about how teachers decide what popular music to, or what not to, teach, and I hope that this study might help other teachers, researchers and education students understand some of the processes involved. If you are interested, please let me know via email [email address], and we can arrange the dates and times for the interviews. I have not booked any particular time to visit [name of city] yet, so we can meet at a time that suits you best!

If you have any questions before you decide if you want to participate or not, please do not hesitate to ask.

Best wishes,
Alexis Kallio
[contact information]

Appendix 6: Interview guides

Interview 1

Could you tell me a bit about your own musical background?

What are your experiences with popular music?

How did you decide to become a music teacher?
- How long have you been teaching for?

In what ways do you think that your personal music history shapes who you are as a music teacher?

What do you feel the expectations are of you as a Finnish music teacher?
- Who expects these things?
- Role of the curriculum
- Who makes up the school community
- What if different people expect different things?
- Are there any expectations you find challenging or difficult?

How do you find popular repertoire to teach?
- What do you look for when choosing repertoire?
- Do students bring their own music to class? Why/not?
- Are there any songs or pieces you would not allow students to share with the class?
- Textbooks?

Can you describe for me a typical class of yours where students are leaning popular music?
- What happens?
- Have you chosen this approach for specific reasons?

What do you see as the point of including popular music in your lessons?
- What do you hope students learn?
  - Why do you think those are priorities for you as a teacher?
  - Could you describe a lesson that shows how these look in practice?
- How do these aims influence which musics you choose?

How do these aims influence the way in which it is taught?

Can you tell me about one lesson or moment that was particularly rewarding for you as a music teacher teaching popular music?

Can you tell me about one lesson or moment that was particularly challenging for you as a music teacher teaching popular music?

Interview 2

The curriculum lists one of the objectives of music education as to 'support students' overall growth'. How do you understand that?

Do you think that this is something music is especially good at, or is it for all subjects?

Responsibility as a teacher

Are there any songs or pieces you feel you could not include in school music lesson?

Why?

Who influences these decisions?

To what extend does the group of students affect what can and cannot be included?

Can you give me an example from your own teaching?

Have you ever been advised or taught about which musics you should, or shouldn't teach?

How do you learn to deal with these challenges that arise?

Interview 3

What do you react to first in this story?

Why?

Can you tell me about your own experiences?

What does this mean for you in your own teaching?

What would you do?

How would you explain this?

Appendix 7A: Factional Story Information

Dear [insert teacher name],

Thank you for agreeing to meet with me for one final interview. I have thoroughly enjoyed speaking with you and the other four teachers and look forward to continuing these discussions.

During the interviews many of the teachers raised questions and wanted to know what each other thought on particular issues. In addition, many teachers had similar experiences, though may have understood them in different ways. In order to explore these ideas further I have written four short stories. Each of these stories is around a page long, and includes things you may have told me, and things the other teachers have talked about too. As such, the narrator of each story is no one in particular, but has elements of all of the teachers I have interviewed, and myself – as I have included some of my own questions and ideas in there too.

I thought that we could use these stories as the basis for our final discussion, though if you have other things you wish to talk about this is okay too.

You are not expected to agree, or disagree with any of these stories. Actually, if you are unsure what you think, this is okay too, they are just a few ideas and themes that I would like to talk about together. If you have any questions about these stories or our final meeting, please be in touch.

Best wishes,

Alexis Kallio
[contact details]

Appendix 7B: Factional Stories

(I) Trust

Instructor. I move fingers on guitar frets and mould hands to drum sticks.
Disciplinarian. I keep the peace.
Friend. I shake bodies to relax them in front of microphones.
Protector. I won't let anyone laugh at others' mistakes.
Composer/Arranger. I alter pitches, rhythms and ensembles to suit my pupils.
Role model. I set an example of musicianship and citizenship.
Confidant. I listen to vulnerable words written of romance and heartbreak.
Mentor. I suggest, advise, and correct.
Counselor. I console, empathize and encourage.
Band manager. I manage new bands, rehearsals, recordings and concerts.
Musician. I join in.

I am not simply a teacher. For me to fulfill all of my roles in the music classroom, there must be trust.

In another subject, topics may be met differently. A textbook is opened in a health class, today's lesson is about drugs:

> You cannot read about the experience of taking drugs. There are no words about the emotional or mental effects of smoke or pills or needles. The topic is restricted to the pages of the textbook, a diagram, the biology, the chemistry.

In music class, a young girl brings the lyrics to a song she would like to learn.

'they tried to make me go to rehab, but I said no, no, no'.

> There is no biology, there is no chemistry. There is no textbook.
>
> There is much more. There is denial, support, addiction, pride, rebellion, pressure, excitement, expectation, sadness, consequences, stress, culture, celebrity. Life.

With freedoms, come constraints. In order to create an atmosphere of trust and openness, there must also be boundaries.

(II) Real rap?

We have a project week in our school, where each student works intensively in one chosen subject instead of normal classes. The music projects were to be performed at the school open day concert and would go towards each pupil's grades for the term. One of the students who had chosen a music project was Niko. He was a talented grade 9 pupil, but I could see he was getting frustrated towards the end of the year, and was more than ready for the freedoms and responsibilities of high school.

Niko had decided to write the music and lyrics for a rap performance. He brought his laptop to school and showed me carefully arranged rhythmic and melodic loops, and had refined his ideas to a well thought-out and quite professionally created piece of music.

¨what's the rap about Niko? Have you got any words written down yet?¨

He pulled a crumpled piece of paper from his pocket. Words had been scribbled over, new words written above them – again, crossed out and rewritten. The rap he had written was a commentary on things he felt were not fair in his world, his responses to the many changes that were happening in the world, as reported on the news, and his own frustrations, being treated as a child in this world, when he felt he was adult. It was personal, cleverly constructed and well articulated, but there seemed far too few words for the accompanying music track,

¨are you planning on writing any more Niko?¨

Niko said that he wanted to freestyle, like ¨real rappers do¨, and I agreed it was a good opportunity for him to try, and we planned some ideas in advance and spoke for a little while about improvisation and the best ways for him to approach it.

The big performance day arrived, and the school hall was full of students, teachers and a few parents who had come to the open day. He had worked on the loops after we met and they were even better, and his rapping was effortless. He had practiced, and was skillfully – and quickly – rhyming along to the beats. I could see feet tapping and a few of the students had started to clap along. His rapping went so quickly, so quickly in fact, that I almost missed...

The news, the rules, it's all a sign
they want to see us standin' in some motherfuckin' line

A few heads turned. A few eyes blinked. A few mouths tensed at the corners.

I hoped that Niko's rap went fast enough that most of the audience missed it, and he continued with the same fluency as the rest of the performance, and walked off stage to an enthusiastic applause. I was ushering a group of nervous seventh graders on stage and didn't have any time to react.

A week later I was to give Niko a grade for his performance. A very good performance. I couldn't give him the highest grade, the rap simply was not age-appropriate. What a strange reason. Do we limit what elderly people listen too because it is not ¨old-people's music¨? Do we allow small children to listen to Tchaikovsky even though they do not understand the harmonies or appreciate the meaning? Why does age-appropriateness only relate to young people and the music that belongs to them?

It was difficult for me to explain. ¨Niko, I know that swear words and all of this rebellious stuff are part of the rap culture, but they are not a part of school culture¨ I had to say. He really was a very good musician, and rapper,

but I couldn't grade him as a rapper, I had to grade him as a student.

(III) Music speaks what words cannot

I turned the corner, coffee in hand, to see Sofia waiting at the classroom door. She was a small, quiet and shy seventh grader, and was waiting almost every day with another song she had written at home to show me. I knew that she had few friends at the school and mostly kept to herself. Except for her music, which she openly shared with me. It wasn't difficult to be supportive, she was a talented songwriter and musician. She wrote beautiful songs, but very sad music, and very sad lyrics.

I often wondered how such a young, silent girl could write such emotionally heavy songs. Did she have such a vivid imagination, or were these really her own experiences, emotions and thoughts?

I wanted to give her the encouragement she needed to find a voice through music, to become empowered by gaining confidence in her abilities, and as a person.

But it was quite extreme.

She would bring me so many songs, and all of them were so depressing. I reassured her there was no pressure to write so much music so quickly, but with each week she came to play me more and more songs.

One day I arrived to school and Sofia was not at the classroom door. I didn't think too much of it. Perhaps she had made a friend to share her songs with. Perhaps she had other activities on that day. There was a teacher meeting in the afternoon. The principal informed us that Sofia had suffered a breakdown and would not be returning to school that term. Sofia did not return to school that term, nor the next. Her parents had enrolled her in a hospital school due to her psychological problems.

I was so upset. I felt terribly guilty. I couldn't see that her songwriting could be anything other than a very talented young girl, now I realized that it was a symptom of her psychological problems. Earlier in the year I felt responsible for supporting her musical creativity and expression, now I felt partly responsible for her illness. I had encouraged her, and perhaps allowed her to go deeper into these thoughts and emotions than was healthy.I now teach Sofia's younger sister. She doesn't write her own music, but often asks if the class can learn particular songs. More often than not, these songs are very negative, sad lyrics and depressing themes, and I feel a tension between giving her confidence by allowing her choices to be learnt in class and my concerns related to her sister's experiences.

I understand that music can act as a channel for emotions, a sort of therapy, but I also understand that music can influence people, their thoughts and feelings.

¨perhaps we could learn a song from the textbook this week¨
is sometimes a much safer option.

(IV) We wish you a rockin' Christmas

Christmas was approaching and each school day seemed to be getting slower and quieter. Snow fell to a white blanket over the playground and roof tops, a tall Christmas tree stood decorated with twinkling lights at the school entrance, and it seemed as though the whole school was ready to spend the holidays with their families. All except for one class. My eighth grade class, who were noisier, more excited, more boisterous than ever. I had given them the traditional task of performing a musical of the Christmas nativity at the end of year concert, and together we had decided to adapt and modernize the story.

In the process, Mary, Joseph and the three wise men (who were now three wise women) had been relocated downtown, the donkey was a scooter, there was no room at the local Scandic or Sokos hotels rather than an inn, and the baby lay in a sled, instead of a manger. The text from the bible was adapted into local slang, and the class were enthusiastically composing music to set the words to.

Groups of students composed the beats, while others sat with guitars, and others debated bass lines. Everyone was involved. I thought it was wonderful, and it had become quite a polished performance by the time the annual Christmas concert arrived, and they performed as energetically as they had rehearsed, clearly enjoying themselves.

After the concert I joined other teachers for our staff celebrations. Candles had been lit, smells of glögi and pipari filled the staffroom and Vesa-Matti Loiri was singing carols through the CD player. A few teachers came to speak with me,

¨*Did you let this happen?*¨ was not what I was expecting.

I hadn't *let* this happen. I had encouraged it, and enjoyed it!
No one told me about any rules about religious topics.

I think I would find my work quite difficult if there were set rules about what we can and cannot do, but it seems that even though there are no written or spoken rules, there are some traditions or topics, that are sensitive.

We only perform religious music at a few occasions, such as Christmas and spring, as I think I would also make some people, such as parents or other staff at the school, upset if I did *too much* religious repertoire.
I often think that if I *did* select too much of one thing, or didn't select something else, a parent might phone me or the school to complain – or at least to ask questions. But that has never happened. Nobody has ever called me about my

choice of repertoire. I do imagine that I might get some phone calls if I did make inappropriate decisions though. It is strange that I imagine what 'inappropriate' music might be, based on imagined disapproving phone calls.

But this experience of the modernized nativity had me asking questions. The curriculum mentions the importance of transferring cultural traditions from one generation to the next, but also revitalizing ways of thinking and acting. Is there a balance between traditional and modern, canon and creativity, familiar and unknown, old and young? Whose values, principles or criteria create and maintain school culture?

Appendix 8: Interview excerpt

Excerpt from Interview 2 with Iida

Alexis: Is that part of the music that doesn't fit too? Like... if it doesn't fit with that school's culture? Or is it more a personal thing for you?

Iida: Well, maybe it's the feeling, like, ghetto. Or something that is very far from school, that it's not so easy to... you cannot make it somehow in a realistic way, in the school. And it would be very hard to describe that, and somehow go into it very deep. Maybe it is also my own experience of life, I haven't been... I have had my way, and for me certain styles are much easier to know or explain.

Alexis: When you say it would be hard, what in particular would be difficult?

Iida: Not exactly the music, but, we say in Finland *ulkomusiikkilistaa* [from outside of music]

Alexis: Like things that are associated with it?

Iida: Yes exactly.

Alexis: Do you mean that there are kinds of music that are automatically associated with those non-school sorts of things?

Iida: Yeah, I think so. Like black metal. I think it's good to talk about the ethical aspect of lyrics... but these, for me, it's very hard to even understand why they... i haven't any - I'm not in the church, I'm not religious, so for me it wouldn't be deserting my own ethical way of thinking, but I think it's so far away when I think of these really hardcore black metal lyrics. Like the singing 'raaaaah', it would be very hard for me to learn how to do it in a very good way, when I'm not just some stupid teacher who's trying to teach something that doesn't fit, or which is just very hard. Of course if there would be somebody very much asking about it or very motivated, I think it's...they - also the kids, they

(Iida cont.) maybe don't bring this kind of music.

Alexis: Do you think that's because they don't like it or because they have a certain understanding of what school music is?

Iida: Yeah, maybe they understand already. They are not expecting that I'm teaching *all* the music in the life. Of course we can talk about it, I don' t think there is any such subject which we cannot take to the discussion.

Alexis: You said that your ethics don't come from religion or things like that -

Iida: Well, my ethics come from many things. My father is anyway a priest, so I have that kind of background, but my parents divorced and I was living with my mother. I think maybe the biggest influence in the ethical aspect is the people I have met and a good way of thinking how life is, or what is... how people are different. I don't know. But I have found somehow the idea of the good person or how you should live, and how you should think. I try to use it as my ethical background but I don't know what all the things are.

Alexis: Do you think that could be seen in your teaching?

Iida: Yeah, I think we are whole persons in the school, so I'm not able to hide it. Sometimes it is possible and I say something and they can notice that I don't respect this side of school rules or some thing as much as some other teacher. I hate for example rules just because of the rules. I need always that there is always some thing... a reason. Many times in the school when there is a lot of the rules, some of them are really stupid ones. Or at least they sound, when they are not fitting with the concept of what we are doing and... yeah... but it's not coming every day, this is only now and then. Once a year, twice a year, something like that. I was also saying that maybe I stay in the school when we are going now, like tomorrow is the day when we go to the church and I am saying that maybe I can stay and put the music equipments on and you know... do the... of course it's also saying for the pupils

Iida (cont.) I'm maybe not respecting the church so much. I don't need or want to be there, I'm staying at the school. I have also been doing some religious stuff at the school, if there is some religious party or something coming. It doesn't make a difference, I can also do it.

Alexis: A lot of the Finnish schools seem ot have church services. Do you feel that your school as a religious foundation?

Iida: No, I don't think so. I think it's quite liberal. Maybe this Sámi culture makes it so, because Sámi people, they can be in the church and be quite religious but also they have these shamanistic beliefs and they are getting along quite well I think. So it makes people more, when people can understand very well many different kinds of people. They are open-minded.

Alexis: You were saying something about the associations of music that make it difficult to include. I thought that was very interesting.

Iida: Yeah, it's not only the lyrics, it's also the atmosphere, the strong spirit that the music makes. When it's very hardcore, aggressive or so deep somehow, also when we have been playing this grunge music or other metal music. It depends also on the persons which I have in this classroom. If I have very sensitive personalities, it goes very... I notice from them, when they take the spirit or how the music influences them. Of course it's not... I think I shouldn't be afraid of these atmospheres when we are not only happy and not only laughing. There could be so deep and also sad feelings that we are sharing in the music, but maybe it's harder when they really need to concentrate the whole day at school then they are just visiting the music class and playing something very, very hardcore. I can think some school groups go in the break to play in the classroom, and I think they have some therapy bands when they are playing very hardcore and they want to put all their energy and all their bad feelings in, also good things, but everything. I think it's some kind of therapy, but I don't know if the teacher fits into this kind of concept.

Appendix 9: Illustration of thematic categorization

In this section of the dissertation I offer a brief illustration of how the thematic categories of the analysis were identified from, and applied to interview data. What follows may be of most use when read alongside the three tables provided in chapter four of this dissertation, of the thematic categories of the vertical and horizontal analyses of this research, and the thematic categories of the analysis of narratives.

Excerpt from the beginning of interview 3, discussing the first factional story with Julia

Julia: Anyway, what would you like to ask? Maybe we can go through one by one. One thing I would like to mention, that I see is missing, this tells a lot about the sides of the music teacher but

it easily gives the **impression that this music teacher, or this imaginary music teacher, or the many teachers behind this text, they have a false perception of themselves, that they are perfect. That they can do everything like Gods, because there are so many roles. Nobody can fulfil all these.**

Uncertainty: Teacher's role

For me, these different roles, I recognize them in the work, and in myself, but like I say, with freedom comes responsibility, also it is with different roles. I try to be a protector and mentor and guide and role model, these go very deep, like role modeling, you have to question your own principles, your own morals and ethics, all the time.

What makes a great music teacher: Reflection

Uncertainty: Teacher's role

(Julia cont.)	So (sigh) you can never be kind of ready, in all of these, and perfect at the same time. But these are things you can recognize in your work, if you think it deeply. And at the same time you have to understand your responsibility to have a kind of inner discussion with yourself, all the time, 'am I giving a good example if I do this?' 'on what moral grounds do I base this idea, or opinion which I try to transfer or give as an example?' it's a constant questioning. **Uncertainty: Identifying problems; Situation and context; Teacher's role**

Alexis: Is that only questioning after things have already happened, like you talked about earlier?

Julia:	Both after and before. If I know I have something coming ahead, of course I try to prepare beforehand and I think what kinds of things we are doing, what kind of roles I am doing and what if this comes, what do I do then, what do I say then, and why do I say this? of course I think about this. I think the nature of reflection is that kind of, both. Then you wouldn't learn from your self-reflection if you only looked backwards, 'oh, I did this oops!' (laughs) (sings) 'oops, I did it again'. I think one part of learning to become better or more skillful as a teacher is to be able to think beforehand, to be able to reflect. I don't believe I'm the only teacher who does this. I believe every teacher does this, more or less, and more or less consciously or unconsciously. But this is just a feeling, that this... this self reflection which consists of also thinking beforehand, it kind of gets more space when you are older teacher and you have more years behind you. First it's more like 'oops, what did I do?' (laughs) **What makes a great music teacher: Adaptability; Reflection** **Uncertainty: Situation and context; Identifying problems; Teacher's role** **Expectations of a music teacher: teacher self: Professionalism**

Alexis: So is this reflecting and thinking beforehand a way to anticipate the challenges and problems that might -

Julia: (interrupts) but then again, school life is always somehow unexpected. You can anticipate and expect things to come, but then again it's always changing and something new comes up. Every day. So what I'm trying to say is that you cannot be prepared for everything. You're never prepared for everything.

Alexis: So did I understand it right that you understand that these different roles take priority at different times?

Julia: It's very flexible. And somehow different ones come out intuitively, depending on the situation, and the more experienced teacher you are, or become, the more consciously it happens. First it happened for me at least very intuitively, and I afterwards understood what roles I took there. But now, I more or less understand it already when in that situation.

Uncertainty: Situation and context;
Identifying problems;
Teacher's role

Alexis: This idea of trust came up in all of the interviews, and it mainly focused on the trust between teacher and students. I wonder if we can talk about the importance of trust in your work more.

Julia: Of course it is important. With your colleagues. But it's a two-way street, meaning that it doesn't only depend on yourself. Sometimes I've recognized that myself, as a teacher, as a member of school professionals, that the trust is more present, the real honest trust, is more present between teacher and pupil than teacher and another colleague. Of course there are exceptions. Every work place I have worked I have had really good colleagues that I can totally trust, but there are other people too. More or less trustworthy.

Expectations of a music teacher: Staff;
Students;
Teacher self: professionalism

Alexis: So do you see the relationship between teacher and student as more simple in a way? The roles are more defined?

Julia: Maybe. I don't know if there are power issues there. Because, always when you are somebody's teacher, even though you don't want to use power, for me particularly I have questions of ownership, emancipation and empowerment, I believe I have very deep thoughts about those issues and for me personally in my own life also – empowerment and emancipation are very important, and trusting people is an important thing. To recognize as a teacher that these questions of who is in charge and who has the power, are inevitably present in those situations. Whether you want it or not.

Expectations of a music teacher: Teacher self; Students

I think many of us teachers don't stop to think about this. You can say that I am a friend with my pupils and we have a very straight relationship and can talk to each other almost about anything, if I exaggerate a little bit, but still. Even after that, and before that, there are always questions of power present. When you work with your own colleague, he or she is equal, in that sense, with you. Because you have the same amount of power, if you express it this way. You are both professionals, both teachers, both adults. One is not teaching the other one, even though I have met those kinds of teachers as well (laughs) who try to teach younger teacher (laughs), and particularly those kind of principals I have met! But if you go to the basic ground in life, in every relationship there are features of power or using power somehow. But particularly in school.

Expectations of a music teacher: School: School as institution; Staff: Hierarchy and autonomy; Students: Conceptualization of adolescence; challenges

Alexis: Hmmm, particularly in school. What are the main power relationships there?

Julia:	Where power relationships are emphasized? well of course between principal and teachers. The principal is the leader of the school and the teachers must go with, but it depends a lot of the principal, or maybe more depends on the teachers, again, it is a two-way street. But, if we go to the basics, the principal leads, the teachers teach and work as they are expected or demanded to work. But nowadays, leadership issues are understood also more flexibly and it's not so strict like in earlier decades, or at least before my time as a teacher, like the 70s or 60s or even earlier, then it was quite strict. **Expectations of a music teacher: School and staff: hierarchy and autonomy**

Alexis: So that makes power relationships maybe more complex because it's less clear – like you said, a two-way street.

Julia:	And I think, when we talk about principals, when we talk about leading a group as a teacher, or leading teachers and the whole school as a principal, it's a two-way street in that sense too, no body can lead by themselves. You need the other one to come forward and participate. It's not like you can come and just be lead, but to participate. Nobody can do anything by themselves, in that sense people in every community, in the school also, are more equal. **School and staff: hierarchy and autonomy**

Alexis: Do you think it's equal or compatible?

Julia: What is compatible?

Alexis: Um, like puzzle pieces, that might not be equal, but they fit together

Julia:	I think it's a better way to express it. Not equal, but as puzzle pieces, to get to the whole picture you need all the pieces. Some of them are bigger, and some are more meaningful, like the head of the character is there and another might just be a green area, but is needed in a way. But of course in teaching, the power issues are always present. They are also present between pupils. **Staff; Students**