The music classroom in focus

Everyday culture, identity, governance and knowledge formation

Claes Ericsson
Monica Lindgren
Bo Nilsson

ABSTRACT

The music classroom in focus. Everyday culture, identity, governance and knowledge formation

This article is based on a larger research project with the purpose to study how market aesthetics and student's music culture are expressed in the Swedish music classroom. The empirical material consists of video observations of classroom activities in secondary school settings in Sweden. The theoretical framework consists of poststructuralist and social constructionist theory combined with theories of late modernity, while our methodological point of departure is discourse analysis. Some important analytical concepts are identity, dominance, governance and knowledge formation. Three different strategies for incorporating market aesthetics and students' music culture into music education were identified: learning about, reflecting on and applying. An ideological dilemma occurred when the fostering mission of school was confronted with the will to meet the students' demands for freedom of expression. The results of the project also suggest that standardised and regulated forms of activity were counterproductive to creativity in music making. Six different strategies of gentle governance in the music classroom were identified. Popular music was presented by the teachers in a way analogous to the canon of art music that is predominant in the teaching of music history at school.

Keywords: Music classroom, market aesthetics, everyday culture, discourse, identity, music education

Approach and design

The project is a continuation of a research interest founded in our earlier studies (Ericsson 2002, 2006, Ericsson & Lindgren 2007, Lindgren 2006, Nilsson 2002) where the main focus has been music teaching in comprehensive school. The empirical material in those studies consists with some exception of focus group conversations and interviews with students, teachers and headmasters. With this study we enter a new phase through focusing

on interaction in the classroom, on what actually happens, instead of, as in earlier studies, focusing on how the agents talk about what happens. A reason for that is an ambition to discuss characteristic features of specific music teaching practices, something that has not been possible in our earlier studies.

Another factor, crucial for the demarcation of the study, is the interest in the students' use of music in everyday contexts (Campbell 1998, Ericsson 2002, Green 2008, Gullberg 1999, Stålhammar 2004). A presupposition is that there exists a distortion between the way youth music is defined and applied in the everyday life compared to in the school. Considering music as an important element in adolescent's identity work we have found it interesting to study if such a work also occurs in school, or if that dimension of musical learning is non-existent there. The phenomenon identity has also a strong connection to governance and dominance. When students' everyday culture is applied in the classroom this may result in identity negotiations where techniques of governance and dominance work are used by all agents. In addition to this we have also been interested in studying how the counter cultural message of some rock music is transformed into a school context. Finally knowledge formation has been of interest. What kind of knowledge is produced in a classroom where the intention is to work with students' everyday culture? Thus, the conceptual framework consists of identity, governance and knowledge formations.

We have documented the music teaching using video recording in nine schools year nine for one term, and the material have been analysed on a micro- a middle- and a macro level with the point of departure in different forms of discourse analysis. On the micro level we have analysed specific situations carefully with the help of an analytic toolbox developed within the so called *discursive psychology*. On the middle level we have described the specific features of the different practices and this analysis is inspired of Foucault's work, since our ambition has been to describe and discuss the discourse within the respective practice. On the macro level we have connected the analysis to modern theories of society, but Foucault's genealogical method has also been a model.

The aim of this article is to expose and discuss overarching themes crystallized from the macro analysis of the study, which means that the micro analysis of the classroom situations and the analysis of the discursive practises are points of departure rather than the focus of this particular article. The analysis on the macro level consists of identifying themes similar for most of the discursive practises or themes of special interest and confronting these themes with theories of late modernity, and if possible discussing the origins of discourses present in the themes. Accordingly the article does not expose one single aspect of the study; rather it presents all the aspects identified in the empirical material.

We have left the definition of market aesthetics and students' everyday culture to the teachers in the study. When the project was initialised we made clear that the aim was to study how market aesthetics and students' everyday culture was applied in the teaching. One of the reasons for doing so was a presupposition that those concepts could be defined in many ways, an assumption that also came true. It is possible to state that it to a greater extent is the teacher's everyday culture than the students' that was applied, a result that is interesting in itself.

Three different ways to work with market aesthetics and students' everyday culture could be identified: *learning about, reflecting on* and *applying*. Below we are going to discuss a couple of themes that has been generated from the material.

The content is changing but the form remain

Especially when the ambition is that students should *learn about* rock- and pop music there is a tendency to see market aesthetics and students' everyday culture as synonymous with the history of rock- and pop music. An account of the history is undertaken with the starting point in the middle of the 1950´s and a couple of years forward, particularly focusing the most prominent rock icons. This implies that the account for the history will be stereotype as well as it can be questioned if it concerns the students' everyday culture at all, since they were not born at the time. An argument against this argumentation can certainly be made considering that many adolescents are fond of older popular music, but still the fact remains that hardly any contemporary rock- and pop music was treated. One important feature is that the form of the teaching is traditionally school orientated, even when the content is supposed to relate to the students' everyday culture. Because the purpose of the teaching is to orientate the students in rock- and pop music there will be no ideological dilemma between the fostering mission of the school and the doubtful message, from the establishment's point of view, of certain rock music. With such a treatment of rock- and pop music it is even possible to put forward music that is strongly critical against teachers' repressive techniques towards students at the same time such techniques are applied in the classroom. Through a transformation to a traditionally school orientated form the original message of the music will be removed, something that within the discipline of culture theory is considered to be problematic. In that perspective school can never be something else than just "school," and teachers should not sponge on youth cultural forms of expression (Fornäs et al. 1984, 1988, Fornäs 1996, Ziehe 1980, 1986a, 1986b, 1989, 2000). The teacher can also maintain the identity as an *enlightener*, which means a transmitter of knowledge, something that is deeply rooted in the profession (Ericsson 2006).

Market aesthetics as a reference thief

In one of the studied practices an interesting phenomenon occurs in relation to western art music. The students are able to identify many of the pieces that are played, but instead of comprehending them as pieces of Western art music, they relate the music to commercials in TV or films where they have a function as recurrent themes. Thus, *Morgonstämning*,

which is a piece in Edward Grieg's *Per Gynt* suit for the pupils represent a commercial for Grumme tvättsåpa and Tjajkowsky's ballet music *Swan lake* is related to the movie *Barbie of Swan lake*. The empirical material provides more examples.

If the teacher's ambition is to put the music in its original context, the correct musical reference obviously should be made clear to the students. On the other hand it is possible to argue that children and adolescents otherwise probably never might be exposed to Western art music. This demonstrates the problem of musical representation in a society where musical expression to an increasing extent is pulled out of its original context, followed by transformation and hybridisation and with the result that the original message will be wiped out. Within postmodern theory this phenomenon is comprehended as the so called "reality" crackles because of concurring claims of truth. It also implies a fragmentarisation of the music since it is only certain parts that will be exposed with the result that an overall impression of the music is not possible to get. As the music is a part of a multimodal concept its original message also will be transformed.

A canonised or a shopped repertoire

Some decennia's ago the musical repertoire in the Swedish school consisted of something that was commonly called "school music," which implied that the subject of music was a reserve in the sense that the music the students listened to in their everyday life had little connection to the music that was used in school. Often it was a repertoire constructed exclusively for the purpose to be used in school. However a discursive brake occurred and the concept "school music" was replaced by "music in school," which could be understood as the music that existed in society, including youth music, should be used in school. The purpose was to eliminate the musical canon that dominated in school, which also had the result that all schools in fact had the same repertoire. The discursive brake was under-pinned by different factors. A broad societal change, which among other things involved demystification and democratisation of institutional practises such as the school (Ziehe 1986b, 1989), called for a more open attitude towards the repertoire of music in school. The higher music education was also subject to reformation (the so called OMUS reform) which ended up in a new modernised music teacher education (SÄMUS). A prominent feature was thereby the change from "school music" to "music in school" (Olsson 1993).

The question is if it has been successful all the way. In this study a phenomenon of canonisation in shape of a standardised school music repertoire could be identified, a repertoire that to a great extent was identical in all the schools. This repertoire consisted of older well established songs from the popular music genre, which were easy to sing and play. The school music repertoire has actually resurrected in a new shape without any connection to the music the students listen to in their everyday contexts. In one of

the schools new technology had been applied as a tool for selection of repertoire. It was possible to download songs from the Internet in the classroom and the students could spontaneously choose songs to play. Thus, the repertoire could be influenced of the spur of the moment, something that could be illustrated by the metaphor *shopping* (Ericsson 2002). Instead of an in advance decided repertoire it was possible to adjust the repertoire to more individual preference. A tendency towards individualisation regarding preference can also be identified within the late modern aesthetic culture (Beck 1992, Ericsson 2001, 2002, Giddens 1991, Featherstone 1994).

Youth expression or enforced construction?

A dominating task in the studied schools has been composition of music in small groups. The students were supposed to create music and lyrics and then perform the song alternatively for the class or in a wider context. In research of music education (Gullberg 1999, 2002, Johansson 2002) as well as within postmodern theory (Jameson 1986) the problems connected to different cultural transformation processes has been discussed. In this study such a process has been identified in relation to musical creativity since this often is forced into the costume of the school and thereby become highly influenced of a phenomenon that could be called *the task culture of school*. There have been regulations surrounding the composition process, which has transformed the composing to being a task built on a standardised procedure, something that has been identified as putting a damper on the students' joy to create and there lust for experimentation. There are for example rules connected to the composition process; it should be undertaken in groups, gender mixed or gender segregated dependent on the teacher's preference. More skilled students are supposed to join groups with less skilled and thereby functioning as some sort of assistant teacher. The composing process is supposed to take place at a special time and the lyrics expected to be written first, followed by the melody and finally the harmonic structure. The music should also be constructed in a special form, containing verse, refrain, bridge and so on. All together it can be stated that the governance in the shape of the *task culture of school*, in many respects turn out to create a reducing effect on the actual possibilities of musical learning of the students.

The subject of music might be in a more exposed situation than other subjects, since students' everyday culture is represented in a more explicit way which might cause a conflict with the school culture, where phenomena like time division, structure, governance, discipline and judgment can be considered as central. Furthermore many teachers have also described the aesthetic subjects as a free zone or counter culture in school (Ericsson 2006, Lindgren 2006), that in certain respects are articulated as neutralising the strangeness and distance that occur in an instrumentalised school (Ziehe 1980, 1986a,

1986b, 1989, 2000). The question is if the school per definition can be something else than just "school" (Ziehe 1986a), or if it is possible to find forms where students' everyday culture can be transformed without too much violence on youth expression.

The conditions for an ideological dilemmas establishment

In the introduction three ways to comprehend students' everyday culture in the material was outlined: *learning about*, *reflecting on* and *applying*. One of the points of departure in the study was to identify possible ideological dilemmas that could be related to a distortion between the fostering mission of the school and the students' desire to express themselves freely and without censorship. When the focus of the teaching was to *learn about* and to *reflect upon* rock- and pop music, no ideological dilemma could be distinguished. In the first case this can be expected because the content is objectified. The teacher can be seen as a transmitter of the content and the student as a learner of for example the history of rock- and pop music, something that do not call for a standpoint regarding the values of the music. In the second case reflection upon music also presupposes a problematisation and a discussion of controversial aspects of the music, a critical scrutiny where the preferable result is that the student will be aware of the problematic sides of the music. Thus, such a strategy can construct legitimacy for listening to controversial music in the classroom. However, when it came to *applying music* the ideological dilemma became apparent. At one of the schools this was silenced through transforming the original message of the music. A song with a strong critical message against the repressive techniques of discipline in school was represented as an attractive and easy song to play in class ensemble. At another school the ideological dilemma came out in full bloom when the students should create a cabaret with certain satirical elements.

Three different positions could be discerned: the teacher's-, the students'- and the official position of the school, the last one defined as the prevailing discourse among colleges and the leadership of the school about what could be considered as acceptable to present within the frame of a school activity. The teacher, who had the operational responsibility for the presentation, had to take a position as a mediator between the students' demands of free expression and the official policy of the school. His professional identity can thereby be understood as ambivalent oscillating between the other two positions, something that theoretically could be explained as an *overdetermined identity* (Laclau & Mouffe 1985). He gave expression for solidarity towards the students but also of an ambition to keep the project inside the settled frames. To control the situation he had to develop a number or rhetorical strategies to neutralise the polarity between the students' wishes and the official policy of the school.

Rock and pop in the classroom: a domain of the boys?

There is a commonly established conception, which also has been confirmed by research (Bergman 2009), that there are gender problems connected with playing rock- and pop music in the school classroom. To be able to play in a rock band, it seems to be necessary to act in a typical masculine way, which boys do more easily. In addition boys to a greater extent are playing music within those genres in their leisure time and thereby have developed a greater familiarity with rock- and pop music. However, in this study we can not find anything that confirms this. A couple of grounds for that standpoint have been identified. A prominent feature is that there in general exist a lack of skills in playing the instruments that are used within rock- and pop music. Certainly there is a group of boys in one of the studied practices which is well acquainted with playing music within the genre, *but this fact are neutralised by the task culture of the school*, which put up such frames for the activity that the group of boys can not fully use their skills. Another factor that also has to do with the form of the teaching is that the prevailing activity is to *learn about* rock- and pop music, which also confirms how well this kind of music fits into a traditional form of teaching. Maybe it is easier for girls to adapt, read and accept the code that is valid in school and considering that also a content as rock and pop is carried out through traditional forms of teaching a presupposition that this neutralises a possible dominance from the boys seem reasonable. The subject positions that could be taken in an everyday context are not available in school, at least not in this study.

Working in groups as garage rock bands

Something that has been discussed during the last decades within the music education field is the significance of the context for musical learning. In view of young peoples increased possibilities to take part of and learn music via other contexts than those offered by the school, everyday informal learning environments have become important teaching models. In this regard, rock and pop music contexts, such as 'garage rock bands', has gained special status as a model (Cambell 1998, Green 2002, 2006, 2008, Gullberg 1999, Westerlund 2006).

At first sight the teaching in the studied schools seem to have an informal approach since group work appears to be the optimal form for learning. In a pursuit of resembling what is presented as a more authentic garage rock band practice outside school, the groups are given free hands to run their own learning independently and choose by themselves what type of music and lyrics they wish to create and perform. The music genre is obvious, it is rock and pop music, and the instruments the students are expected to use are thus electric guitar, electric base, keyboard and drums. As we have discussed earlier

in addition to *the task culture of school*, our analysis shows that group work functions as a limiting frame when it comes to the students' musical learning. Instead there are other types of abilities that are developed. The free working method contributes to interrupting the work and instead it is concentrated on different ways of passing the time. The freedom the students are offered is transformed to a kind of self-discipline in order to learn how to manage the time and also in front of the teacher account for where they find themselves in the learning process as well as their feelings about it. In these situations the rock band practice is portrayed as a model. It is for example described as important being aware of whether they physically are in the "rock garage," with its specific rules, or not. It may also concern disciplining oneself to practice on one specific instrument, and not on several different, which is described as authentic in the contexts of garage rock bands.

The analysis shows how the free group work gets a normative function when it comes to construction of gender. In contrast to Bergman's study (2009) it is, which has been mentioned before, not possible to observe any gender problem related to musical ability in our study, in spite of the rock musical framing. However the free group work invites other types of gender constructions, which deal with leadership. The boys often take the leadership in the group works by taking the power over what is allowed to take place in the room. In different ways they prevent attempts to create music for example by showing their lack of interest. The girls most often adopt a more distanced wait-and-see attitude or make more or less unsuccessful attempts to take on the responsibility for the group task. The exception is when musically skilled students have been allowed to form their own groups. In these groups it is not possible to see any obvious gender related power relations. Here playing and creation of music comes to the fore. To learn how to construct gender, as well as to learn how to handle the time, seems to be something that mainly takes place in groups where the students do not have enough musical skills to handle the tasks they are given.

The analysis shows that the discursive ideas of music playing and creation within the rock- and pop genre prevent the students' learning possibilities. To create and play music is presented as something fun and easy. Just as in the early music curriculums in compulsory school, the student in this study is constructed as a creative, competent subject with inherent knowledge to create music together with others. To let the creativity flow is here articulated as the method of deliverance. Similarly the discourse of the harmonious music collective gets a limited function. Since the middle of the twentieth century, group work in music education contexts has been seen as an alternative to the often reproducing and authoritarian music education in school (Strandberg 2007). The informal learning within the practice of garage rock bands, as the harmonious music collective, can be seen as a part of this music education ideology. In contrast to previous discourses the teacher is no longer a part of this collective. Instead the students are directed to manage the tasks by themselves. Ideas of earlier music education discourses about music creation through experiment, inspiration and intuition have been put together with today's somewhat contradictory discourses around self reflection, control and rules.

The deceiving nature of a 'creative' school project

'Creative' projects in school are considered to be a successful model for teaching and learning in the music classroom. A school musical is such an example, since it contains several components that are supposed to develop creativity, learning and social skills simultaneously. The relation between creativity and play has been discussed (Nilsson 2002, 2003, Nilsson & Folkestad 2005). Nilsson (2002) found that creative processes were inhibited when students interpreted a situation as an assignment, taking place within a *didactic framing* (Saar 1999). When a suggestion instead was interpreted as an invitation to play, within a *musical framing*, the activities became more innovative. Play is free and always contains a certain amount of uncertainty (Caillois 1961, Nilsson 2002, 2003).

In one of the schools studied, the spring term is scheduled to create a musical, a project assumed to reflect the students' everyday popular culture outside school. The class is organised in groups by choice; each group working with different parts of the project, such as music, script, dance and properties. Much of the work is carried out in an ordinary classroom with no musical instruments, thus mediating 'school', 'assignment', 'governing' and the class instantly identifies the project as part of the earlier mentioned *task culture*. The activities in the classroom lack concrete relations to music activities – during one lesson the only musical content is a girl whistling a few bars from a song. Since the musical project is regarded as a task governed by the school, even though the teachers never mention the word 'task', the students expect the teachers to ensure that the project is concluded.

The music group is gently governed by the teacher to 'recycle' songs from a mainstream repertoire. The 1980 Grammy winner *I Will Survive* is a leading number, a choice made by the teacher because the song is 'well-known and good for dancing´. The song's strong relation to female empowerment, gay empowerment and HIV/AIDS awareness is never mentioned. When a group of girls finds the song on *YouTube*, they saw an actor in the role of Jesus dancing and then being run over by a bus. They were not certain if this was the original version or not. This again demonstrates how musical artefacts in school become separated from their original context and lose their substance and meaning.

The students are not encouraged to create music and none of them suggests that they should write songs of their own. The notion of the musical project as a *school assignment* instead of an *invitation to play* moves the project development away from a playful imitation of the creation of a 'real' popular culture musical. Instead it shrinks to becoming just another school assignment. The students display passive resistance by showing little interest and modest commitment. The canonisation of the repertoire also suggests that the musical project belongs to the teachers rather than to the students.

Interestingly, the script group, the most self-governing of the groups, succeeds in writing a synopsis and screenplay for the musical with a plot close to the well-known television series, *Lost*. This achievement can be explained by the fact that text composing was the only area left to the students' creativity where the teacher did not interfere. The

text composing can also be described as a form of imaginary play (Caillois 1961, Nilsson 2002, 2003), where the script group pictures itself as writing for a famous TV series.

The school environment can be regarded as contradictory when it comes to handling creative processes and popular culture. This is particularly obvious in the music classroom. At an early age, children develop their own distinct references to popular culture and wish to be a part of the popular culture communicated through the media. At the age of 6-7 years they already reveal the gap between their own popular culture and that of the school (Nilsson 2002, 2003). The musical project can be understood not as a model of a musical related to popular culture outside school, but as an unreflected *simulation* of such a project.

The analysis demonstrates how the teachers' governing of a presupposed creative project ends up with a product close to their own concept of popular culture. The lack of elements significant for play and creative processes prevents students from full engagement. The teachers seem to believe that the classroom is an authentic part of popular culture. Ziehe (2001) maintains that the school should open up for experiences other than those offered by everyday culture. When the gap between school and students' everyday culture is reduced, this may prevent the pupils from making important *counter experiences* (Gegenerfahrungen) (Ziehe 1998, 2001). Creative processes require presence of unexpected components which may not be provided in a school where the students teach themselves.

Techniques of governance

Our standpoint is that different forms of governance are present in all classroom activities, often so well embedded that neither teachers nor students are fully aware of them. In this study six different techniques have been identified, which all can be understood as mild to its character, maybe because more repressive techniques do not work in our contemporary school.

Governance through charisma and competence presupposes a teacher with a possibility to take a subject position as admired in one way or another, for example through a talent of being entertaining and humorous or through possessing musical or pedagogical competence. In a *deauratised* school (Ziehe 1986a) where the teacher's authority and status is deconstructed, every teacher is left to use personal qualities to bring about a tolerable work situation. Sometimes teachers also see themselves as some kind of motivators and salesmen (Ericsson 2006), something that further confirms that it is not uncomplicated for a teacher to carry out her/his task, and that the professional identity plays an important role when constructing a proper milieu of learning.

Governance through delegating responsibility is a technique that draws on a new liberal discourse of individual responsibility for personal development that in fact has its origin in the liberalism of the early nineteenth century, but had a renaissance during the

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1980: s, when it also entered the educational system to a greater extent then before. This technique of governance is contradicting a discourse of collective responsibility for the individual that has its origin in socialist ideology. Self regulation is an important element of this form of governance, something that Foucault (1969/2002, 1971/1993,1972/1986, 1974/2003, 1976/2002, 1984/1987) has discussed as a radicalised form of governance, that also can be considered as a typical form of governance in a developed society.

Governance through making mantras of instruction and examination strategies manifest itself through a continuous emphasising of meaning, something that could be related to Adorno's (1941/1987) concept *plugging*, which can be understood as a continuous exposure of artists and songs in media. This phenomenon manifests itself in a meticulous account of examination procedures. This way of constructing examination situations as special, have the effect that the attention of the students will be increased. Ziehe's concept *potentiation*, which means to load something artificial with meaning (Ziehe 1986b), can offer a way to understand the phenomenon theoretically.

Governance through solidarity and polarisation is constructed through an articulation of the music education as a free zone and a counter culture with different norms than the rest of the school. The starting point is that the school with its instrumental learning and rigid rules has been developed into a hostile apparatus from the students' point of view and that they therefore need a zone of freedom. A teacher who shows solidarity towards the students also constructs polarity towards the rest of the school, which will have the effect that a capital of thrust between the teacher and the students is built up, which also strengthens the teacher's position among the students. Ziehe (1986a) is critical towards such a strategy, which he discusses by using the concept of *intimacy*.

Governance through disciplining the body and organisation of time and space is a technique that is significant for the school, a technique that also has been discussed by Foucault (1974/2003). The technique is often not understood as a technique of governance, rather as an inevitable organisational feature of school. It manifests itself in listening and writing, to be present at the lessons, in one way or another be out positioned in the room and participate in the rituals that is associated with the school, for example such that occur in the beginning and in the end of lessons. Furthermore this technique manifests itself in the rules that surround for example group tasks and such activities.

Governance through ignoring can be illustrated through the metaphor "to bury your head in the sand," which means to pretend that something does not exist through not giving it explicit attention. The ignored situations can be for example when pupils are not participating in the classroom activities, when they continually leave the classroom without permission or act disturbing and provocative in other ways. The practising of this technique indicates that the balance of power is shifted from the teacher towards the student as the teacher has to take a subject position where the only possibility to solve a dilemma of authority is to pretend that a problem does not exist. Still, the strategy can be comprehended as a technique of governance, because problematic situations are made invisible through a denial of their existence.

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The integrity abusive dimension of music teaching

The subject of music has always been close connected to performance, but also to creation of music which is supposed to end up in a product which can be comprehended as some sort of self exposure. It can also be asserted that confidence in performance situations often is considered as an important end of the music teaching (Ericsson 2006), as performance skills could be seen as a kind of social competence, a personality development that the student could have use for in different situations. Furthermore, surface is a concept which seems to be important when discussing typical features of the contemporary phase of modernisation (Baudrillard 1986, 1990, Beck 1992, Ericsson 2001, 2002, Featherstone 1994, Giddens 1991, Heiling 2000, Lyotard 1984, 1986). In addition to music this have caused that other parameters than the music in itself such as charisma, choreography, clothes etcetera has been equally important to the music. Another parallel phenomenon is that the private life has became public to a greater extent than before, which also contributes to the establishment of a discourse of self exposure as positive and developing.

Considering this, it may not be seen as strange if a normalising discourse about self exposure in the music education exposes the students who have difficulties with their self confidence in performance situations, with the consequence that they feel uncomfortable. A number of such situations have been identified in the material, situations that the teachers apparently have been totally unaware of, maybe because of the hearty self exposure discourse that colonises the subject of music. These situations often occur in addition to activities as singing, when the students are supposed to move themselves along with the music or act in a manner they do not feel comfortable with. There is also an abusive dimension connected to situations of text writing or creation of music, activities where self exposure is a central feature. The same is apparent when certain types of clothes are not tolerated in the classroom, something that puts the student in a problematic situation, when she/he is forced to renounce her/his identity or openly refuse to obey the teacher.

Epilogue

It can be stated that the existence of popular culture in the form of rock- and pop music is frequent in the studied schools. However, it is doubtful if this can be considered as the students' everyday culture. Rather it could be seen as a 60 year old music culture that gradually has been integrated in the subject of music. The content has changed focus from western art music to popular music, but the educational forms are in many respects still traditional. An opening towards more free forms can be distinguished, but still the school culture influences the activity so strongly that a transformation is necessary. These problems have been discussed from both a culture theoretical and a pedagogical perspective,

where the first mentioned could be said to take a sceptical position concerning an unreserved integration of students' everyday culture in school. However, from a pedagogical perspective integration is seen as positive, because it might increase the motivation of the students and thereby strengthen the position of the subject of music in the students' point of view. In this study we have tried to problematise the phenomenon of market aesthetics and students' everyday culture in the meeting with the music teaching in school and also try to discuss how this meeting turned out. Something that has materialised itself the more the analysis has advanced is if it really is the music culture of the students that is dealed with, or if it is a mutation which more can be understood as a *safe simulation* (Ericsson 2002, Hargreaves 1998).

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Associate Professor, Ph.D.
Claes Ericsson
School of Teacher Education
Halmstad University
Box 823
SE-30118 Halmstad, Sweden
E-mail: claes.ericsson@hh.se

Associate Professor, Ph.D.
Monica Lindgren
Academy of Music and Drama
University of Gothenburg
Box 210
SE-40530 Gothenburg, Sweden
E-mail: monica.lindgren@hsm.gu.se

Lecturer, Ph.D.
Bo Nilsson
School of Teacher Education
University of Kristianstad
SE- 29188 Kristianstad, Sweden
E-mail: bo.nilsson@hkr.se