

**Music Rituals and Social Division: Constructing, Performing, and  
Legitimizing the Social Self**

**Maria Papadopoulou  
Cardiff School of Journalism, Media & Cultural Studies  
Cardiff University**

**This thesis is submitted to Cardiff University in fulfillment of the  
requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy**

**September 2015**

## DECLARATION

This work has not been submitted in substance for any other degree or award at this or any other university or place of learning, nor is being submitted concurrently in candidature for any degree or other award.

Signed ..... (candidate)      Date .....

## STATEMENT 1

This thesis is being submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of .....(insert MCh, MD, MPhil, PhD etc, as appropriate)

Signed .....(candidate)      Date .....

## STATEMENT 2

This thesis is the result of my own independent work/investigation, except where otherwise stated.

Other sources are acknowledged by explicit references. The views expressed are my own.

Signed .....(candidate)      Date .....

## STATEMENT 3

I hereby give consent for my thesis, if accepted, to be available online in the University's Open Access repository and for inter-library loan, and for the title and summary to be made available to outside organisations.

Signed .....(candidate)      Date .....

## STATEMENT 4: PREVIOUSLY APPROVED BAR ON ACCESS

I hereby give consent for my thesis, if accepted, to be available online in the University's Open Access repository and for inter-library loans **after expiry of a bar on access previously approved by the Academic Standards & Quality Committee.**

Signed .....(candidate)      Date .....

## **Acknowledgments**

I would like to thank all the people who helped me with my PhD research and supported me during this difficult process. First of all I would like to thank my supervisor Dr. Paul Bowman who guided and motivated me these last years, always encouraging me to develop my own ideas and ways of thinking. His support, both psychological and academic, was invaluable. I am also grateful for all the people I met during my PhD and the talks we had, sharing our “roses” and “thorns”. Similarly I owe my gratitude to my research participants without whom this research would not have been possible. Finally, I would like to express my deepest thanks to my family and friends for being enthusiastic about my research and believing in me, and more particularly to Filippas, who despite the obstacles and difficulties always remained positive and supportive.

## Abstract

This research explores the functions of music by analyzing the relationship between musical and social classification. More particularly it focuses on the manifestation of this relationship during the active participation of audiences in music events where the individual and the collective, the musical and the social are argued to be experientially interwoven. The main argument proposed is that music categories as well as the ritualistic structures and expressions that shape their corresponding live performances are linked with perceptions and fantasies of the social self. Considering elements such as representations, performativity and the constitution of identity within social interaction, this study questions the class-focused approaches conventionally employed to explore the subject. Contrarily it proposes that the 'reality' or fantasy of the social self is not 'a given' but it is personally configured, and relates the construction of social identities to notions of the *spectacle*. The interplay between the mediatized representations that shape music categories and individuals' agency to choose and construct their identity is argued to produce different discursive and performative expressions of 'the ideal'. In this context, music rituals are sketched as opportunities for the celebration and legitimization of their embodied values, and idealized social identities and relationships. The empirical part of this investigation focuses on Greek music audiences. Employing semi-structured interviews it examines the way individuals with different music identifications construct their understandings of music categories and their rituals, as well as their perceived interconnections with social identities. Its findings suggest that music categories are perceived as naturally linked with different aspects of individuals' social selves and realities that are expressed and actualized in music performances, verifying the performative and discursive intertwinement of the two modes of classification. However, the analysis of the data collected also indicates that the values expressed or experienced during such immersive processes, which combine social relationships, cultural categories, and multisensory experiences, necessitate widening the theorization of the 'ideal'.

## CONTENTS

Introduction .....	1
Chapter 1 - Theory I: Talking about music .....	8
1.1 Perceptions and processes .....	9
1.1.1. Understandings of 'music': a verb or a noun? .....	12
1.1.2. Music in this research .....	18
1.1.3. Conceptions and misconceptions about genre .....	20
1.1.4. Genre discourses today .....	24
1.2 Music myths .....	29
1.2.1. An archaeology of music myths .....	31
1.2.2. Nineteenth century transformations .....	35
1.2.3. The musical and the social .....	45
1.2.4. The naturalization of the musical trichotomy .....	51
1.3. Summary .....	55
2. Theory II: Class, cultural agency and <i>spectacular</i> identities .....	57
2.1. Cultural capital and <i>omnivorousness</i> .....	58
2.2. Cultural consumption, <i>spectacle</i> and status .....	71
2.3. Music mythology and identity .....	79
2.4. <i>Musicking</i> and the performance of the self .....	86
2.5. Summary .....	93
3. Theory III: Music rituals .....	94
3.1 Terminological issues with ritual: sacred or secular? .....	95
3.2. Characteristics, functions and effects of ritual .....	101
3.3. The ritual of the live event .....	110
3.4. Summary .....	120
4. Methodology .....	123
4.1. General premise and aims of methodology .....	124

<b>4.2. Samples and methods .....</b>	<b>135</b>
4.2.1. Sampling concertgoers .....	135
4.2.2. Sampling music 'experts'. .....	141
4.2.3. Interviews and observation .....	143
<b>4.3. Methodological issues .....</b>	<b>147</b>
4.3.1. Practical issues .....	148
4.3.2. Ethical issues .....	150
4.3.3. Theoretical issues .....	152
<b>4.4. Summary .....</b>	<b>157</b>
<b>5. Interviews analysis I: Contextualizing music discourses, categorizations and evaluations .....</b>	<b>159</b>
5.1. Experts' views on music categories .....	160
5.2. Experts' views on audiences .....	183
5.3. Experts' views on <i>musicking</i> .....	192
5.4. Summary .....	204
<b>6. Interview analysis II: concertgoers' accounts. ....</b>	<b>206</b>
6.1. Concertgoers' views on music categories .....	207
6.2. Concertgoers' views on audiences .....	226
6.3. Concertgoers' views on <i>musicking</i> .....	241
6.4. Summary .....	258
<b>7. CONCLUSION .....</b>	<b>260</b>
<b>APPENDICES .....</b>	<b>268</b>
Appendix A: Greek music and music genres index .....	268
Appendix B: Consent form.....	277
<b>Bibliography.....</b>	<b>279</b>

## **Introduction**

Today there is an abundance of live music events with distinguishable structures, styles and aesthetics that correspond to different 'sounds' and types of artists. The connection between these elements is most often considered self-evident, defining both music and event (Shuker 2011). While there can be certain similarities between particular kinds of music performances, like popular music concerts for example, each music type entailed in this broader category is usually associated with certain features that depend on its 'sound' as well as its performance's specificities. Particular combinations of the instruments used, the spectacular elements of the event, its setting, the organization of space, artists' behaviors, etc. shape an identifiable formal structure akin to that of ritual, that defines each performance's character (Holt 2007).

Additionally, each type of performance is assumed to attract, or express particular music identities and/or collectivities linking music, event, and audience in a 'natural' relationship. Rock concerts concern 'rockers' who find the music's amplified, electric guitar sound, the 'energy' of the artists' performance, as well as the parameters of their own participation, appealing. Similarly, classical concerts speak to people who enjoy the acoustic, 'refined' aesthetics of the particular music, as much as their quiet, intellectual rather than physical, participation in the performance, fostered by its concert-hall setting. Even if not all individuals in a given audience appreciate equally all of the performance's features, preferring to contemplate rock music instead of physically responding to it, for example, they are still aware of them and will not mistake one concert for the other. That is because, audience members know beforehand what they should expect from each particular event, both in terms of their participation and the music performed, which to certain extent determines their decision to attend one type of performance or the other (Abercrombie and Longhurst 1998). Thus, the ostensible formal differences between events mark their musical or aesthetic differentiation, but also indicate that they, and the music performed, satisfy different needs and serve different functions.

Small (1997, 1998) posits that, in fact, music *is* performance; it is an interactive process that entails the artists, the music performed, the structures of the event, as well as all dimensions of its audience' participation and the musical meanings it produces. Separating the concept from popular notions that delimit its understanding to 'sound', he explains that the aforementioned elements, are not ancillary but rather constitutive parts of music, while the differences between their combinations construct and represent its various categories. Music/performance is thus sketched as the ritualistic embodiment and expression of particular qualities, functions, and audiences' identifications that regardless of their individual shapes constitute what Small (1997, 1998) calls, the act of *musicking*.

Even though the relationships between the elements that simultaneously construct and distinguish performances, their functions and their audiences' needs and tastes seem self-evident and practical, they are far from natural. For any of these features to inform people's musical or 'entertainment' choices, they must be, at least to a certain extent, aware of how these are linked together, drawing on commonly accepted sources of information to shape their connection. This process depends on information systems that divide music into categories, construct the elements that presumably define their character as well as that of their rituals, communicate to people what these might be, what function they serve and, consequently, who might find them appealing (Holt 2007). Thus, individuals' partaking in music performances is informed by the simultaneous and interconnected, discursive classification of music, its functions and its audiences.

While linking together these different taxonomic schemes that shape the various dimensions of music and its different rituals seems to construct their functions in relation to each of its individual categories separately, this thesis wishes to argue the opposite. Instead of approaching music events in relation to categories' 'inherent' qualities and performance structures that attribute each of them with one function or another, it proposes that the intertwining of these classification processes itself, in fact, constructs their underlying and commonly



shared social function. Considering that “hegemonic taxonomies will tend to reproduce the same hierarchic system of which they are themselves the product” (Lincoln 1992, p.8), it posits that the discursively defined systems of music classifications emerge from, adopt, and, therefore, reproduce particular structures of social organization. As such, the interconnected way different music types, audiences, and rituals are shaped, differentiated and unavoidably hierarchized, emulates and expresses a corresponding system of values intrinsically linked with social division.

Past theories have explained the intertwinement of these classification systems with individuals’ class positions that determine their tastes, the ways they use music, and their access to cultural commodities. In this context, the classification of audiences was seen as resulting from their already established social one, whether fixed or developing, constructing a more or less predetermined relationship between the two. Music categories and their aesthetic and functional differences were, thus, pre-accepted and correlated with those between social positions, identities or classes, using the two systems of classification to substantiate one another.

This study questions the validity of this position arguing that while music and social categories are to a certain extent ‘objective’, being products of socially determined hierarchic systems rather than individual interpretations, the placement of individuals in both results from agency. Drawing on identity formation theories it proposes that, on the one hand, the discursively constructed social associations music categories embody teach individuals how to think of musical difference, and actively relate to the category they believe that suits them better. On the other, it suggests that, similarly, the media construct representations of social positions and patterns of cultural consumption that defy notions of class even when modeled in their image, which individuals actively emulate to shape their sense of self. Thus, music and social identifications are argued to be complementary constitutive elements of identity, resulting from the same process of self-classification and the contrasting categorization of others.

To illustrate that such intertwined categorizations do not define music's function but rather exemplify it, this thesis examines how the elements that characterize music categories are constructed, separated, and associated with the notion of *musicking*, and explores the processes that define the appeal of its different rituals to particular audiences. In considering the classifying parameters that are hypothesized to determine individuals' participation in music events in conjunction, this research has two aims: a) to establish *musicking* as a means of identifying with, expressing and enacting musicosocial ideals, and b) to explore whether this 'naturalized' process of (self-) categorization helps legitimize music categories' associative social division patterns and collectivities.

Comprised of seven chapters, this thesis first analyzes each one of the theoretical steps that shape its main argument separately, addressing different notions and aspects of music as well as social classification, and the way they are linked with ritual structures and functions, and then relates the theories discussed to the topic's empirical investigation. More specifically chapter one examines the way music categories are shaped, what elements this process might entail, and how they are connected to social division. Starting with discussions of the term music itself, it contextualizes the adoption of Small's notion of *musicking*, justifying, as well as clarifying the unconventional aim of this research to investigate music's functions as whole rather than with reference to particular categories, scenes, or communities. It continues addressing the discursive formation of music categories and their gradually naturalized, musicosocial characters that affect the construction of tastes as well as the classification of self and others. The mythic frameworks within which music categorizations operate are exemplified with a historic investigation of the nineteenth-century popular/serious music division. This last part aims to demonstrate the interconnections between music categories, social identities and live music performances, as well as identify particular discursive elements that continue to regulate music classification today.

Chapter two focuses on how the relationship between music and social categories might be formed and function today. Examining firstly prevailing

theories of social classification and cultural consumption, and identifying certain issues with the way these approach the topic both theoretically and methodologically, it clarifies the conceptual disengagement of this thesis from class. In response to the identified problems, this chapter draws on different theories that situate identity formation within processes of representation, interaction and performance, to re-conceptualize the understanding of social division, sketching Debord's theory of the *spectacle* as a more appropriate theoretical alternative.

Chapter three explains how the relationship between music categories and social identities manifests in music events and links this process to the concept of ritual. Analyzing different theoretical approaches to the term it relates the structures, functions and effects of ritual to *musicking* and demonstrates their conceptual and structural similarities. The combined formal and performative stylization that structures music rituals is associated with both the identification with, and reproduction of the social ideals entailed in music categories, as well as the argued agency behind individuals classification. Emphasizing the experiential relationship of categorization and performativity during music events, this chapter, additionally, links the presumed functions and effects of rituals with its (audience) participants, introducing the parameters that define its methodological framework.

The empirical part of this investigation that seeks to validate the argued common function of music rituals focuses on the (professional) music events and audiences of Greece. Chapter four defines the parameters that shaped the methodological structure of this examination and links them with the theoretical foundation of the first three chapters. Through an interactionist prism, and in accordance with the previously defined focus on *musicking* participants, this chapter approaches the relationships between music categories discourses, social division, and ritual performativity, with reference to individual concertgoers, and identifies interviews as the most appropriate method for their investigation. In addition, given the sociocultural particularities found in each national context, it explains the necessity for a wider frame of reference

regarding Greek music discourses, categories and their presumed associations. The decision to include a supplementary group of interviews with music 'experts' to sketch this musicosocial discursive context is explained, analyzing the advantages of the particular approach. The methodological structure of both sets of interviews are discussed and related to the subsequent methodological decisions these necessitate, such as the construction of samples. Lastly, this chapter presents the practical and ethical issues often triggered by the particular methodological approach, while certain theoretical considerations it entails are discussed in relation to ontological and epistemological orientations.

Chapters five and six concern the two sets of interviews, discussing the accounts of 'experts' and concertgoers respectively. Following the structure of the three theory chapters, the two chapters present a step-by-step analysis of how individuals perceive music categorizations, their links with audience identities and representations, as well as the uses and effects of *musicking*. More particularly, chapter five presents the positions 'experts' expressed regarding the three set areas of interest, and contextualizes them further, when necessary, to demonstrate the connection between social and musical types of discourses. The aim of this chapter is to both identify the links between experts' personal positions and broader musicosocial discourses and to sketch a relative context of music evaluations and hierarchies that might facilitate the understanding of the beliefs expressed by music audiences.

Chapter six analyzes concertgoers' interviews in order to explore the way they divide music, audiences and rituals, and relates their expressed views with the way they perceive and experience *musicking*. Focusing on the musical features and social ideals interviewees themselves use to understand and construct music categories, and identifying any points of convergence between their accounts, this chapter validates the hypothesis concerning music rituals' common function as fulcrums of identity construction and legitimization. Finally, it explores concertgoers' descriptions of their own *musicking* and correlates the way they perceive their actual experiences and the elements they consider most important in them, with the way they theorize it. This last aspect aims both to further

support the links between *musicking* and the expression of social ideals and to demonstrate the different shapes these might take, linking them with idealizations of interaction and social relationships.

Finally, chapter seven reiterates the aims and arguments of this thesis and discusses how its hypotheses were addressed. Drawing on the discursive patterns identified in both sets of accounts it relates anew the objectives of the thesis to its theoretical framework. The positions interviewees expressed on the links between music and social identities are summarized, demonstrating how these, in fact, merge into one intertwined category of musicosocial understandings and associations. It concludes that the data collected validate the main arguments of the thesis that sketched *musicking* as a mechanism of separating, performing and legitimizing social identities and explains the wider implications of the findings. Subsequently, this chapter indicates certain aspects of music ritual function that need to be explored in future studies to help further decode the role of music in different notions of social division. Lastly it discusses certain limitations of this research that even though do not negate its findings should be considered in the design of future ones.

## **Theory I: Talking about Music**

In order to investigate the aspects of social organization that music categories, practices and experiences might entail, it is necessary to first explore the processes that shape the concept of music itself and its constitutive elements, as well as those that form its divisions and their characters. This chapter consists of two different parts that examine how different understandings of 'music' and its categorization are constructed, and exemplify the social processes that help establish their commonly accepted shapes, respectively. More particularly, the first part discusses the different angles from which music as a term can be approached and the bilateral relationship these have with its everyday, as well as academic understandings, and contextualizes the focus of this thesis on the concept of *musicking*. It continues clarifying the central and commonly used terms in music categorization, genre and style, analyzing their properties, functions, and extramusical structures. Finally, its last section focuses the formative effects of musical and social discourses on music differentiation and how they might define people's perceptions and appreciation of music.

The second part deconstructs theoretical positions, popular beliefs and attitudes towards music and its audiences, examining the processes by which certain music discourses might have been gradually naturalized. Relating this process to the concept of myth, it proposes music's division into popular and serious as the foremost example of music-myths' function that determined, and at the same time typifies subsequently created classifying structures. With reference to the social and cultural context of the nineteenth century, it sketches an archaeology of music categorizations and their associative myths, illuminating the links between social and musical categories. The aim of both sections is to demonstrate how the interconnections between all these elements shape current perceptions of music as well as people's relationship with, and use of it, that is essential to the development of this thesis' arguments in the following chapters.

## 1.1 Perceptions and processes

“it is impossible to speak of music ‘itself’ since [...] all discourses ‘about’ the musical object help to constitute that object” (DeNora 2000, p.30)

Music is a word that is often used in everyday conversations, the media, or even by music professionals and academics, somewhat lightly and without being defined or explained (Davies 2012). More importantly it is used as if it is a word that does not *need* to be defined or explained. Even in dictionaries and encyclopedias, the definition of music is often taken for granted and the focus is placed instead on other parameters such as its etymology, or music categorizations (Nettl 2001). Davies aimed at explaining this lack of definitions with the argument that “music is ancient, pan-cultural, and, given the spontaneous emergence of song in children, virtually universal. Moreover, we can immediately and almost infallibly recognize it, even where it comes from a culture that is foreign to us” (2012, p.535). Other theorists, however, contrarily argue that the meaning of ‘music’ is far from self-evident and, as it depends on a series of cultural parameters, viewpoints, and prioritizations that affect how the word might be perceived or constructed, its presumed shapes can be conflicting and contested (Nettl 2001).

In his investigation of American and European dictionaries Nettl (2001) observed that those that do offer a particular definition of music tend to explain the concept in similar terms, relating it always to beauty, organized sound, rhythm, melody, harmony and the concept of art<sup>1</sup>. However logical or natural these perceptions might sound, according to Nettl (2001) they are far from objective, but rather result from a western art music perspective that continues, even if unconsciously, to drive current definitions, and affect people’s understandings of music accordingly. Stressing the westernized undertones and localized notions of ‘music’, Nettl argues that, in fact, “not all human cultures would agree that they “have” music; the concept doesn’t exist everywhere, and where it does its shape varies”; rather, “all societies have something that sounds

---

<sup>1</sup> In the Grove Music Online Nettl references Italian, French, English and German dictionaries.

to us <sup>2</sup>[...] like music” (1998, p.171). While this position allows for a concept of ‘universality’ like the one Davies suggested, it equally emphasizes the vagueness and subjective shape of the concept, and indicates the necessity for the clarification of its meaning when it is used.

As the vocabulary employed to describe music’s meanings or associated practices depends on privileging certain elements or even their naturalization as inherent universals at the expense of others (Nettl 2001), putting such a general concept into words is a rather challenging process. Gilbert and Pearson, having considered these issues, offer a quasi-definition of music shaped by its ineffability, arguing, “exactly what forms of organized sound constitute ‘music’ will always depend on the cultural contexts we inhabit, and even when these are taken into account there can never be one simple answer” (1999, p.39). This attempt to demonstrate the cultural dependence of music’s definition, however, exemplifies how deeply imprinted certain perceptions are, that even when one’s intention is to demonstrate their subjectiveness they cannot be completely eliminated. Even though Gilbert and Pearson’s understanding of music intentionally aimed at being open-minded and inclusive, one can still detect the influences of westernized thinking and the privileging of certain elements like ‘organized’ sound, and most importantly ‘sound’ itself. According to Sterne, “the treatment of music as purely a kind of sound (as opposed to a whole ensemble of practices such as dancing, playing and so on) is a specific cultural construct, and not universally valid”, and therefore the perception of music as such cannot be generalized (1997, p.24).

Similarly to Gilbert and Pearson’s cultural ‘Freudian slip’, most musicological and sociological studies of music, whether consciously or unintentionally, link the concept with very particular positions. In some cases music is associated only to classical music, in others to Western music in general, or to tonal music specifically, sometimes only to written music, or to the sum of works of music, and so on, excluding correspondingly other aspects of the musical spectrum. At the same time fields such as ethnomusicology or anthropology have tried to

---

<sup>2</sup> Italics in the original



widen music's definitional parameters by introducing a variety of elements that might constitute or qualify as 'music' in non-western cultures. Approaching the subject in relation to specific cultural contexts, and therefore without making any generalizations as to what 'music' might be, these disciplines have introduced new elements and perspectives one should consider when defining music that are perhaps ignored by other theoretical perspectives, such as the blurring of the line between audience and musicians, dance as music, performance, ritual and many more<sup>3</sup>. Likewise, philosophy scholars have presented a variety of ontological viewpoints on the topic of music (Davies 2012), such as the perception of music as works, as performances, or as one autonomous entity, which, even though cannot be easily assimilated into non-specialized discussions, they can still have an impact on the way music is perceived.

Considering all these positions, it becomes clear that depending on individuals' point of departure, music can have many different meanings that emerge from and reflect particular focal points (Bohlman 1999; Alperson 1987; Fisher 1929; Nettl 2001, 1998; Ball 2010; Davies 2003, 2010, 2012). It can be a formalistic term that focuses on strictly musical elements, it can refer to an art, a mathematical science, a language, an act (the act of listening, of 'playing', of creating, of repeating etc.), it can define and differentiate musical sound from noise, it can be the expression of stereotypical perceptions that are simply aesthetic and others that are much more, as well as countless other things.

The fundamental differences between all these approaches clearly demonstrate that contrary to popular belief we do not, and we cannot, all talk about the same thing when we use the word 'music'. Similarly, they also indicate that pinning down a single meaning for the word, and giving an absolute definition that encapsulates *all musics*, or one that makes "distinctions between musical and non-musical sound" (Ball 2010, p.10), as most existing definitions do, that would

---

<sup>3</sup> Similarly, sciences such as Music Psychology, Biomusicology, Neuroscience and Physics to name a few, have added quite distinct and often rather complicated and specialized understandings of what music is, like the frequency of sound waves, or the chemical or hormonal reactions of the body to sounds which can alter the way music and its functions might be viewed.

satisfy everyone, is far from possible. Considering, that both in academia and everyday discourses, music is additionally perceived and divided into distinct categories like classical, popular, folk, western and non-western, or specific genres and styles, the matter of such a definition becomes even more complicated. If 'music' itself can have many shapes that are far from objective, its divisions and subdivisions, as well as the means by which these came to exist and inform people's tastes, become part of a rather entangled process, which needs to be clarified before any study attempts to explore the subject further.

### **1.1.1. Understandings of 'music': a verb or a noun?**

Despite the absence of music's definitions and the impossibility of providing one that would satisfy all aspects of the music spectrum, in terms of sounds and aesthetics as well of cultural understandings, there are certain constants by which people understand 'music'. According to Bohlman "the metaphysical condition of music with which we in the West are more familiar is that music is an *object*<sup>4</sup>. As an object music is bounded, and names can be applied to it that affirm its objective status" (1999, p.18). Here, the term object does not refer to the idea of music as a material object but rather to a "unique product of a special creative activity" (Goehr 1992, p.2); to music's conceptual units, that is, 'works'. Regardless if we are talking about classical, folk or popular music, the idea of the 'work' is used to express music as something particular, yet transcendental, something that exists beyond the score, that lives past its creator, its composition or its performance; an absolute, independent entity<sup>5</sup> (Goehr 1992; Frith 1996; Hennion 1997; Bohlman 1999; Davies 2001).

Goehr argues that even though this position today might be considered natural or logical, especially in regard to classical music with which the term is mostly associated, it is in fact a relatively "recent" conception (1992, p.111). Investigating the historical establishment of the work concept Goehr suggests

---

<sup>4</sup> Italics in the original

<sup>5</sup> Perhaps works could be thought of as 'songs', or 'pieces' when referring to popular and folk expressions of music. However there are theorists, Davies (2001) for example, who ascribe a wider meaning to the concept of work including pieces from any kind of music.

that sometime in the late eighteenth century what was perceived and understood as music in western societies underwent a big transformation. Due to a series of aesthetic, social, artistic and political interconnected changes an ontological shift took place, repositioning the 'essence' of music from performance or functionality, to the concept of 'the work'<sup>6</sup>. Since then, music works, autonomous products of a genius mind that embody beauty, function in western thought as "the paradigm for all music", both in philosophical as well as musicological terms (Wolterstorff 1987, p.127). Even though the timeframe Goehr proposes for the creation of the concept of 'work' is not accepted by everyone, while some even consider it historically debatable (Davies 2003, p.87), the argument regarding people's shift in musical understanding itself, is rarely, if at all, refuted (Dahlhaus 1982; Alperson 1987; Wolterstorff 1987; Goehr 1992; Small 1987, 1997; Bowen 1999; Bohlman 1999).

Despite the common acceptance of music-as-works, however, there are certain issues that arise from the particular theorization. Firstly, accepting that music is indeed an 'object', even if a somehow abstract one such as the 'musical work', creates the rather problematic conceptual corollary of the performance as a separate and distinct entity from the object that *is being* performed (Davies 2001; Wolterstorff 1975). The outcome, the 'product' of performance that one experiences, whether live or repeated in a recording, is not *the work*, is not *the music*, but *an* expression of it. Alperson (1998, p.1) characteristically draws this demarcating line between what can be considered as music and what an auxiliary, interpretive process referring to performance as a 'subpractice' of music. This, in essence hierarchical separation of music from its performance is not particularly strange, as in western cultural settings both performance and performer are subjugated to the ideas of the work and the composer correspondingly (Firth 1996; Goehr 1992; Davies 2001). Beethoven's Fifth, 'itself', will always hold a superior place in people's minds than any of its particular performances might.

---

<sup>6</sup> These will be discussed in detail in subsequent sections of this chapter.

According to Wolterstorff (1975), however, if we accept the position that the work *is* the music and not its performance, then we are faced with the question ‘when is the music work created?’ and the issues that this unavoidably brings forth. When does music start to exist? Is it during its inception in the mind of the composer, or when it is written down, taking actual and specific form? In that case, where does this leave music that is not written but passed down orally, music that is not created only by one composer but is the product of years of repetitions and transformations such as folk music, or musical improvisations that primarily come to life during performances, have no permanent physical form in a score and are rarely repeated? Are the forms of music that do not fit into the particular conceptions of composition and performance, forms that can be found in abundance in our western cultures, not music?

Several theorists have grappled with these questions, examining the ideas of scores, compositions and improvisations, trying to negotiate the ‘boundaries’ of works and introducing small differentiations in their understandings of the term, without however clarifying the topic particularly. Discussing the relationship between ‘score’ and ‘work’ Alperson argues that the latter is “determined but not identical with” the former (1998, p.8) while Hennion introduces the score as a mediator between music and “the masterpiece” (1997) creating even more questions as to how the latter is differentiated from both ‘music’ and ‘score’. Davies similarly explains the relationship between work, performance and score arguing, “scores [...] are vehicles by which the composers issue instructions to performers for the instantiation of their works” (Davies 2001, p.110), clearly constructing performance as a momentary expression of the work that is not actually music itself.

Davies (2003) approaches the topic of improvisations in a similarly complicated way. Even though he argues that improvisations are not works he does not dismiss them as ‘non music’, but characterizes them as music that is performed; a performance that is not *of* works. At the same time he argues there are also works that are only for studio and others only for live performance (Davies 2003, p.15, 151). On this ground, Davies dismisses certain compositions of

electronic music and avant-garde, as “pieces that are for mechanical playback not for performance” (Davies 2001, p.101) constructing thus not only the boundaries of what he considers performances to be, but unavoidably also of what a performer is, or should be. Davies’ extremely complicated system of understanding and classifying different types of works and performances is perhaps the product of an attempt to create an inclusive theory of music and its different understandings. Its success to do so is, however, highly debatable and the limitations of the conception of music-as-work are on the contrary highlighted.

Wolterstorff (1987) acknowledges that there are many problematic areas in the particular perception, and argues that the “presence of music in a society requires neither composition nor works. Before ever works of music were *composed*<sup>7</sup> there were works of music” (Wolterstorff 1987, p.215). Additionally, he points out the embedment of the concept of ‘work’ into social practices, without however rejecting the concept’s centrality to music, to demonstrate how the two might actually be separate ‘entities’ (Wolterstorff 1987). Even though Wolterstorff defends the idea that music can exist beyond the idea of works, the line he draws between a type of intentional composition, as such, and the ‘mere’ making of music creates yet another problematic set of boundaries within the conceptualization of music, which are arguably linked with the ideals of western art music.

Even though one might think that this type of ontological positions do not actually affect everyday approaches to music, Bohlman (1999, p.19) argues that these are not “separable from the practices of music” and they can have very important extensions in a series of matters, both artistic and social. They can define not only how we learn to regard music but also what (and whom) to exclude from musical practices and understandings, who can be called a musician and who not, creating subsequently very arbitrary and, in many aspects culturally hegemonic differentiations between what can, and what cannot, be called music.

---

<sup>7</sup> Italics in the original

Taking these ontological, as well as social issues into account, the last few decades another school of thought has emerged which argues that music is not about works but rather is a social activity or a process (Walser 1993; Frith 1996; Small 1987, 1988, 1997; Bohlman 1999). According to Bohlman, the idea of music-as-process is contrasting to that of music-as-work “because a process is always flux, it never achieves a fully objective status; it is always becoming something else” (1999, p.18). In this ontological framework, where music does not exist in an unchanging, transcendental form, but takes a particular shape through a process, performance re-enters the discussion of music as something more than a mediator, or a subpractice. The particular conceptualization of music, however, is far from straightforward, as performance is not easily separable from the idea of the work. Performances are often perceived in relation to authenticity, faithfulness to the ‘spirit’ of the work, the capabilities of the musicians to capture it, and most importantly to the clear distinction between audience and musicians, listeners and performers, that are, more or less, work-bound notions.

Arguing that performance is the only way for music to exist (1996, p.137), Frith contextualizes the concept in a way that divorces it from the above-mentioned parameters. Directly opposing the objectivist belief that works have fixed meanings that preexist and are independent of personal interpretations, Frith claims that performance “defines a social – or communicative- process. It requires an audience and is dependent [...] on interpretation; it is about meanings” (1996, p.205). Wishing to expand the conventional boundaries of the term further, Frith displaces the weight from the work itself to the interaction between music and the listener, arguing that “listening” itself is a performance: to understand how musical pleasure, meaning and evaluation work we have to understand how, as listeners, we perform the music for ourselves” (1996, pp.203-204). Regarding performance in the particular way that includes both playing and listening to music as a means of enabling the interpretation of meaning, Frith (1996) not only emphasizes the role of the audience in the

particular process, but also liberates both listeners and performers from the 'absolute truth' of the work<sup>8</sup>.

Small (1987), emphasizing the influence of western cultural thinking, argues that the main reason we perceive music to be an object, an entity and not a process, is because we have been indoctrinated by our culture to do so, while in other places in the world the exact opposite is common sense. Shifting his focus from the centrality of the work and its analysis to the participants of the musical process, Small argues "*music is not primarily a thing or a collection of things, but an activity in which we engage*<sup>9</sup>. One might say that it is not properly a noun at all but a verb" (1987, p.50). All participants in an event, or even while listening to a CD at home, according to Small (1997, 1998), are creating music together, they are *musicking*, being part of a process that gives meaning to the sounds that are being cooperatively 'produced' and enjoyed. Small's ideas reflect the tenets of performance studies that construct performance in a relational way and situate it in an intercultural rather than a strictly western theoretical perspective (Schechner 2002, p.x, xii). In the particular theoretical context, performance is not *a thing* but "takes place as action, interaction and relation" (Schechner 2013, p.30); it is an out-of-the-ordinary collective event, closely related to the concept of ritual, that is collectively constituted and defined by the collaboration between more actors than just those found on the stage.

However, according to Small (1997, 1998) the collectivity of performance is not limited simply to the co-presence of audience and musicians, or the interpretive role that the former has been given by other theorists. On the contrary, he argues, people in the audience are creating the performance along with the musicians, not only by singing, dancing, clapping their hands, etc., or by interpreting what they see, hear or experience, but also by performing a particular role, a particular identity which is both musical and social. This latter aspect is related to other parameters of music, such as musical categorizations,

---

<sup>8</sup> The fact that Frith emphasizes the importance and meaning of performance does not imply that he refutes the idea of the work, but that he constructs it in a different manner and does not perceive it, as its supporters do, as the essence of music.

<sup>9</sup> Italics in the original

their discourses and their social associations. Both dimensions of audience participation are, according to Small (1997, 1998), integral to *musicking*, as they not only constitute music itself but also construct its fundamentally social character. Consequently, Small suggests, “it is only by understanding what people do as they take part in a musical act that we can hope to understand its nature and the function it fulfills” (Small, 1998, p.8). The categorizations of music and their corresponding organization of space, the role of each audience, as well as the rituals that accompany each music performance, he argues, can uncover significant aspects of how a society is socially and culturally organized<sup>10</sup>. Therefore, in order to explore music’s possible functions, the interconnectedness of such elements needs to be examined.

### **1.1.2. Music in this research**

It is not the purpose of this study to make a conclusive argument as to which theoretical approach to music is valid and which is not, nor to suggest that they can both be equally applied on, and utilized in, all contexts. However, I wish to argue that due to the discussed limitations, employing the concept of music as an object would be problematic for the particular research. On the one hand, the inclusion parameters of the concept restrict its application to a very narrow musical spectrum, as not all genres can be understood through the lens of works. On the other, the sociocultural hegemonic thinking which the exclusive character of works reflects and is based on, would render its application to the examination of music’s social function counterproductive. Finally, the perimeter of the focus of this research would be neither determined by any methodological or practical variables, nor by my personal interest or perceptions of cultural significance, but rather by an ontological position which, as argued previously is, in practice, fundamentally problematic.

On the contrary, the understandings of performance presented in the previous section allow for a more inclusive perception of music, one which unlike the idea

---

<sup>10</sup> Following Schechner’s identification of performance with ritual, Small also characterizes *musicking* as ritual.



of work, is not as strictly bound by hegemonic ideals, neither on an ontological nor on a practical level. Additionally, the particular approach eliminates the need for the theoretical fragmentation of music into works, masterpieces, scores, compositions and performances, and the setting of complex hierarchical relationships between them as those proposed by Davies (2003), as well as the further complications that the definition of these concepts can create. For these reasons it was considered more appropriate to approach 'music' in this research in the sense of a social activity and not of works, employing Small's theorization of performance as a process which brings music into existence and constructs its meanings in an interactive rather than absolute way<sup>11</sup>.

Adopting the particular position, also allows for a generalization that the work concept does not. If music ritual is not defined by compositional properties, perceptions of beauty, value, purpose, or means of performance, but rather is seen as a process, which accommodates and expresses all aesthetic forms and music types, then music can be approached as a whole. As the process of *musicking* itself, remains the same regardless of the aesthetic or structural specificities of each sound, or those of each performance, it is no longer necessary to distinguish and explore its function in relation to specific music categories, like the majority of studies do. Contrarily, the particular theorization of music ritual function encompasses all kinds of events that are characterized by the simultaneous presence of audience and musicians, thus allowing for a comparative approach to be implemented to identify patterns between music, events, and audience categorization<sup>12</sup>. Filling a gap in the study of the topic which is characterized by "many specialized contributions but little in the way of

---

<sup>11</sup> Even though the notion of works is unavoidably also used in this study, it is only to refer to particular examples of music and not as its 'essence'.

<sup>12</sup> Small's definition has its limitations just as the concept of works does, and it can exclude certain non-conventional performances. Nonetheless, given the focus of this research on the audiences of music events the types of performance such as avant-garde or experimental musics that do not necessarily function in a traditional format, i.e. entailing any kind of direct collaboration between audience and musician, that are definitionally excluded from *musicking*, are also outside the scope of this research and their possible functions would have to be examined independently and probably under different theoretical frameworks. In addition, this research narrows down its focus to professional events considering that amateur performances need to be differently theorized due to their ideological, structural as well as functional particularities.

comparative thought” (Slobin 1993, p.11) the particular approach will help demonstrate that elements of categorizations themselves are not as relevant in the study of music’s function as the intertwined act of categorizing music and audiences perhaps is.

The aims of this study, however, impose a paradox. On the one hand, in order to explore its hypothesized social function, music is constructed and approached as a whole. On the other, the examination of the relationships between music event and audience classification, necessitates studying their shared function while acknowledging the structural, musical and social differences between them. Music categories, their different elements as well as the meaning these might have for different audiences must, therefore, be understood in relation to each one’s specific context before the function of their *musicking* can be approached in a comparative way. Therefore, even though I still argue that music is *one* based on the concept of *musicking*, it is necessary to understand the function, and employ the glossary of musical categories that is ‘commonly’ accepted and used today to define different types of music communities, styles or rituals; namely, that of genres.

### **1.1.3. Conceptions and misconceptions about genre**

The term genre can be employed in diverse, and often contrasting ways to describe and categorize the variety of artistic works produced and consumed, focusing on elements such as formal properties, techniques, means of expression, social connotations, means of production and other aspects of artistic objects or processes. Particularly in music, genre is, often simultaneously, associated with multiple elements of musical creation, production and performance making the interpretation of any given music categorization quite difficult (Fabbri 1980). According to theorists this diversity of associations stems from the different perspectives of the people interpreting or categorizing music each time (Fabbri 1980; Samson 1989; Moore 2001; Holt 2007). Journalists, scholars, critics, and audiences, can speak about and define the same grouping of artists or works differently, using distinct areas of reference.

Moore (2001) locates the source of this problem in the intertwining of two different concepts, style and genre, and their interchangeable use in music discourses. He identifies their basic difference on *how* each conveys musical meaning, arguing that while style does it by emphasizing elements of form, which could be but are not necessarily socially determined, genre constructs meanings that depend on social context (Moore 2001, p.441). Samson supports the idea of genre's social basis arguing that "the repetition units that define a genre, as opposed to a stylistic norm of a formal schema, extend beyond musical materials into the social domain so that a genre is dependent for its definition on context, function and community validation not simply on formal and technical regulations" (1989, p.213). Judkins (2011, p.136) similarly sketches a sociocultural basis for the concept, arguing that while stylistic features can be perceived in regard to their functionality, genres can be best understood in relation to their specific historical periods and contexts.

Moore distinguishes further genre from style as " 'what' an art work is set out to do and 'how' it is actualized", stressing at the same time that their relation is not oppositional but orthogonally related, as style can be embedded into genre, even if it does not always define it, and vice versa (2001, p.441). Nonetheless, Moore explains that the construction or understanding of any genre is as much a matter of 'knowledge' as it is of one's personal viewpoints. While not all people necessarily confuse the two concepts, specific types of music, or particular music works can be simultaneously classified in more than one category because individuals hierarchize form and context differently in their understandings of categories<sup>13</sup>.

However, as categorizations of music are relatively generalizable, as well as functional and meaningful ways to understand different types of music the different ways in which genres are perceived, negotiated, and established may be contingent but not arbitrary. Regardless of which area of reference dominates each classification and which is seen as subordinate, certain codes exist that

---

<sup>13</sup> Musicologists, for example, identify genres employing a textual approach that is more concerned with formal and technical properties, while media and cultural studies theorists define them with reference to their social contexts.

make a collective reading of each genre possible. According to Fabbri (1980), this procedure is possible because each genre embodies and is governed by a set of rules that are distinct, recognizable and socially accepted. These rules correspond to different aspects of music creation, production, and performance and are divided into five categories: semiotic, behavioural, social and ideological, economic and juridical, and finally formal and technical rules (Fabbri 1980). Within each genre, Fabbri argues, these rules have different hierarchical orders of significance, which ultimately define their “hyperrule” or overall ideology (1980, p.3).

Even though the hierarchization of generic aspects is also subjective and depends on social as much as cultural contexts and areas of reference, it could be argued that people share a more or less common perception of these hyperrules thanks to each category’s mediatized representations that label music<sup>14</sup>. Genres can thus be commonly known as progressive, authentic, artistic, rebellious, commercial, youth music and so on, based on the different hierarchization of the above mentioned rules, that ultimately creates its main ideological character, regardless of individuals’ personal positions or evaluations. The ability to understand and decode generic rules, as well as hyperrules, is arguably essential to all musical categories, as it is the means by which audiences can identify with or reject music genres.

In addition to the rules and ideologies that define them, genres also depend on cultural and commercial processes and therefore are highly fluid and transformative (Citron 1993; Walser 1993; Frith 1996; Hamm 1995; Holt 2007; Shuker 2011). Their understandings as well as internal hierarchizations can be equally affected by cultural, social and economical changes, musical hybridization, the creation of new social collectivities, and so on. Consequently, genres can only be regarded as expressions of specific musical and social characteristics for relatively short periods of time and no definitive connections can be made between them and specific elements or functions (Hesmondhalgh 2007).

---

<sup>14</sup> This will be discussed further in the following section.

Furthermore, genres do not exist in isolation but are part of a system of categories, functioning relationally and depending on their categorial differences to be identifiable (Neale 1990; Holt 2007). Their comparative structure suggests an additional, unavoidable hierarchization that is developed by, and in the process of their characterization: that *of* genres themselves, and the elements that define each one (Citron 1993; Frith 1996; Kallberg 1998; Shuker 2011). Neale locates the productions of the differences and specificities that are constructed by and interpreted in accordance with these systems of genres, in combinations of 'particular types' of discourse. He defines genres as "...systems of orientations, expectations and conventions that circulate between industry, text and subject" (1980 p.19). In this context, Neale emphasizes that the rules of artistic production, and consequently of genre as well, are embedded in social history.

Genre distinctions, however, do not only manifest in, and define the shape of, music categories but are intrinsically linked with the formation of music audiences. Holt, drawing on Neale's theory, states that, in practice, genre "conventions and expectations are established through acts of repetition performed by a group of people, and the process of genre formation is in turn accompanied by the formation of new social collectivities" (2007, p.3). Genres then, do not only categorize music, artists and music events, but are actively implemented by people as a technology of classifying audiences and, consequently, themselves. Thus, Holt demonstrates that the significance of music categories and the discourses that structure them can be identified in the way these are "used and embodied in communicative relations to become structuring forces in musical life" (2007, p.29). Arguably, then, exploring the production and reproduction of generic differences and the way these convey extra-musical 'meanings', as well as determining the ways and reasons that make this practice possible, is an inseparable element of understanding genres' classifying system.

#### **1.1.4. Genre discourses today**

As it was argued in the previous section, genres depend on a relational system of expectations that define their artistic as well as social/ideological identity. This process presupposes that audiences as well as the people involved in the creation, production and circulation of music are already familiar with generic elements and convinced of their validity (Frith 1996, p.95). Genres therefore, rely on the broad dissemination of information regarding each category's specificities that 'educates' the public as much about particular types of music as to how to think about musical difference in general (Holt 2007; Hesmondhalgh 2007). This dissemination of information takes place in the form of discourses that, according to Turino, function as "a relatively systematic constellation of habits of thought and expression which shape people's reality about [the] particular subject or realm of experience" (2008 p.103). It could be argued, then, that music discourses shape people's perception of the musical elements (style) of each genre, as well as determine the meaning and value of different types of music and the means by which their generic rules and ideologies can be expressed (Frith 1986, p.95). Genres are, thus, discursively identified with particular practices, behaviors, rituals, lifestyles, worldviews etc. that are more or less category-specific (Holt 2007). Furthermore, these generic features are established as 'factual', as inherent to each category making it difficult to detach them from their corresponding music style (Frith 1996; Turino 2008).

Initially, the process of identifying and establishing the generic differentiations of particular musics is linked to their labelling (Holt 2007). In order to construct any kind of associations, stylistic, social or ideological with a specific type of music, that particular musical realm has firstly to be given a name, which will simultaneously describe and constitute it as a separate category that is distinguishable from all others. Only then can distinct sets of discourses, internal canons, and communicational and commercial strategies that control and shape the promotion of that genre be created (Holt 2007). Genre and sub-genre names can originate from the artists and how they describe their work, from characteristic lyrics, from pejorative terms that somehow 'stuck' and

subsequently lost their derogatory meaning, or from record companies and the media (Thornton 1995; McLeod 2001; Berman 2010; Matos 2011).

McLeod (2001) emphasizes the role of the music industry in the labelling of music, including both mainstream multinational corporations and alternative, independent underground companies, as well as that of consumer culture. Arguing that the majority of the names given to different types of music the last few decades are manufactured for predominantly commercial purposes, he explains that often less popular genres are reinvented by being given a new name to boost their sales, while others are promoted as 'unique', fresh musical expressions to attract new audiences. Likewise, McLeod (2001) argues, the music press supports these labelling efforts as its own commercial interests depend on the acceptance of categories as different by the public.

Thornton (1995, p.161) expresses a similar position, considering the media as central to the creation and dissemination of generic discourses and compares them to an educational system that informs the public in an authoritative way, about cultural distinctions and classifications. Just like McLeod, she relates the particular position not only to the "mainstream" press or musical genres, but also to subcultures and their corresponding media. She states that "niche media like the music press construct subcultures as much as they document them" and argues that perceptions of wider categorizations such as mainstream, underground, "hip" etc. stem from, and have a symbiotic relationship with the media (Thornton 1995, p.109, 112, 121). However, Thornton does not perceive these categorizations and their discourses as simply musical but extends her understanding of their function to a social level. Referring to magazines, she states that these "categorize social groups, arrange sounds, itemize attire and label everything. They baptize scenes and generate the self-consciousness required to maintain social distinctions" (Thornton 1995, p.151).

Frith (1996) likewise acknowledges the role of the media in the construction of genres through discourse, explaining that the music press is central in the productions of the intricate correlations between the aesthetic, performative and

ideological features that define music genres, but also argues that these are similarly promoted by an industrial commercial strategy. More specifically Frith stresses that “record companies don’t just produce cultural commodities... [they] also try to persuade people to buy them, and this means telling the potential consumer why the product is valuable” (1996, p.61). Sometimes their value is directly related to the music itself (in a formalist understanding), as it is in classical music, and others to genre-specific, but yet, extramusical elements. Nonetheless, Frith (1996) continues, the evaluative process itself is usually left to the consumer; record companies simply make sure that the predetermined grounds on which this will be based are carefully defined.

The direct relation between commercial interests, genre (re-)invention and the commercially oriented dissemination of information regarding musics’ features and value, discussed so far, does not suggest that record companies or the media have absolute control over genre discourses. Contrarily, theorists acknowledge the role of the people who share these conventions as active agents that affect the negotiation of generic rules, values and meanings (Shuker 1994; McLeod 2001; Holt 2007). Similarly, the previously argued transmutability of genres, as well as the variety of discourses that different social and cultural groups might generate simultaneously in relation/reaction to them (Holt 2007) further support the relative autonomy of discourses from commercial interests on the one hand, and their fundamentally social basis on the other.

Fiske perceives the active role of audiences in relation to the idea of *semiotic productivity* which he defines as the “making of meanings of social identity and of social experience from the semiotic resources of cultural commodities” (1992, p.37). In this particular context, members of music audiences can express their semiotic productivity by not, necessarily, decoding the generic symbols through the prism of commercial discourses, but rather producing their meanings in relation to their own realities and situations. Therefore, while commercial parameters affect the representation of particular musics the interpretations of these representations, although greatly influenced by culture industries, can depend on different social understandings.



Even so, the ideological parameters of genres, and their bilateral relationship with discourse, suggest that such categorizations entail an unavoidable social aspect, extending beyond personal interpretations to collective representations. According to Fairclough and Wodak “discourse is socially constitutive as well as socially shaped: it constitutes situations, objects of knowledge, and the social identities of and relationships between people and groups of people” (1997, p.258). They furthermore explain that the common-sense attitude that discourses create about social life is directly related to the creation and establishment of unequal power relations (Fairclough and Wodak 1997).

Van Dijk (1997) similarly ascribes a hegemonic function to discourses, arguing that these depend highly on “belief”, on convincing people about their own place in society. This function is possible, he explains, because “ideologies serve to ‘define’ groups and their position within complex societal structures and in relation to other groups” (Van Dijk 1997, p.26). Thus it could be argued that while the stylistic features that are emphasized by genre discourses perhaps classify the multiplicity of today’s musics in a practical, even if hierarchical way, the discussion of their supposedly inherent ideologies incorporates the articulation and representation of specific social identities, extending the relative positioning of music to a corresponding relation between their audiences.

The validity of the particular argument is exemplified by the assumed homology between music genres and certain social groups that is discursively and semiotically reproduced. Audiences are not only categorized based on the stylistic traits and artistic worth of the genres they prefer, but also in relation to the social/ideological associations these generate. According to Frith this categorization is possible because music is often perceived “as a coded expression of the social aims and values of the people to whom it appeals” (Frith 1986, p.62). As music is positioned on a hierarchical scale, unavoidably so are its different audiences, while the relationship between the two is formed by discourse’s ability to equate the value of cultural goods with the value of the groups that consume them (Frith 1996, p.15).

Practically, the particular tendency can be identified in advertising and the employment of different music genres to promote products targeting specific social identities, thus strengthening certain musicosocial associations but also enabling generic transformations. Similarly, films and television, besides their use of music to produce the desired emotional responses in their viewers, use different musics to sketch and give context to particular social conditions or situations, drawing on, and at the same time shaping, the different ideologies of the musical spectrum. The repeated use of such representations by the media that emphasize particular connections between genre-related signs and social identities arguably affect in a bilateral way the categorization of music and its audiences, but also the premises of individuals' personal self-categorization<sup>15</sup>.

Additionally, similar sets of ideas are supported by many academics, who not only employ the vocabularies of homology discourses in their own work, but also base their theories on their factuality. In such studies, the negotiation of music's meanings and boundaries by its listeners, or its social foundation are rarely acknowledged as significant, sometimes because theorists come from an academic background that positions the essence and meaning of music in works, as discussed previously, and others because they believe that this negotiation is the product of the audience's inability to relate to another class' music or some similar position<sup>16</sup>. In either case the relationship between musicosocial associations, and music discourses is rarely explored.

Considering the constructive aspects of discourse as well as the particular societal structures that generate both them and the classifications of which they speak, it could argued that such homologies are far from natural. Rather, it is argued that the ideological characters of genres and their presumed constitutive elements, as well as the discursive schemes that hierarchize them, whether articulated by the audience, the industry or academics, are affected by and mirror hegemonic perceptions of social organization (Lincoln 1992). In this context, the different shapes and interpretations of music categories, as well as

---

<sup>15</sup> This will be discussed further in chapter 2.2.

<sup>16</sup> This will be discussed in chapter 2.1.

the conditions that form or transform the discourses that regulate their meanings and social associations, need to be approached in relation both to the social contexts from which these emerged and to how they are currently being used. As “discourses are always connected with other discourses which were produced earlier, as well as those which are produced synchronically and subsequently” (Fairclough 1997, p.276), popular notions of music categorization should also be examined in relation to long lasting discursive remnants that have become so firmly embedded into musical thinking that their social origins are often overlooked.

## **1.2 Music myths**

The consolidation of certain discourses in music thinking and their effect on musicosocial understandings is difficult to doubt. The ‘undeniable’ aesthetic greatness of classical music, the commercial orientation of pop, the rebellious essence of rock, the sophistication of jazz, and the authenticity of folk, are just a few examples of the intertwinement of music elements with a socially determined vocabulary to the extent that the one connotes the other in an undoubtable, almost natural relationship. Similarly the intellectuality, sophistication or frivolity of their audiences are more often than not taken for granted, just as are certain assumptions regarding their corresponding social standing. It could be argued that these categorial music discourses have actually outgrown the necessity to convince people of their validity and have taken the form of myths (Middleton 1990). With the aid of the media and popular culture, they not only circulate as facts but are also surrounded by a mythological aura, that to question them, at least in certain musical and cultural contexts, equals ‘sacrilege’ or cultural ignorance.

This mythologisation of music categories is further aided by a corresponding projection of extreme qualities and attributes to certain musicians transforming them into secular “superhuman beings” (Segal 1999, p.69). They may take the role of prodigies, “shamans”, cultural revolutionaries, etc. as their personalities and musical contributions are interpreted in accordance to their music’s

hyperrule. Subsequent musicians of the same genre are thenceforth compared with and evaluated in relation to these mythic constants that become the embodiment of *a* music's essence<sup>17</sup>. This identification of specific people with particular music ideologies and ideals is the product of discourse itself, as according to Hall one of its characteristic functions is that it "produces 'subjects' – figures who personify the particular forms of knowledge which discourse produces" (1997, p.56).

Music myths, however, are not just innocent stories about extraordinary musicians and different musical expressions. Doty argues that "myths highlight distinctions between "my people" and "them". Hence, myths establish the personal-social boundaries of interpreted existence and guide one's adjustment to normative attitudes, statuses and roles within it" (2000, p.71). Thus, the mythical perceptions and personifications of music can classify genres as well as people according to the stories they tell, reproducing at the same time their vocabulary and the social conditions behind each music's production, creation and consumption, as unavoidable, natural, and often desirable occurrences.

According to Barthes even though every myth has its history, at the same time "it deprives the object of which it speaks of all History" (1972, p.150) obscuring the conditions that gave birth to it. However, the reproduction of certain ideas and modes of thinking presupposes their production at some point in time and social thought, in which the foundation of their ideological premises was laid. Goehr similarly argues that the emergence of a concept cannot be divorced from its past or from "the history of the practice within which it functions" (1992, p.102, 106). Even though it might be firmly ingrained to social thinking today it still went, at some point in history, through a period of gestation during which it established its regulative function, which then "sank into opacity" (Goehr 1992, p.109).

---

<sup>17</sup> Composers and musicians such as Mozart, Jim Morrison, John Lennon, Billie Holiday, Michael Jackson, and Tupac, for example, are positioned on a music pedestal signifying and amplifying the underlying mythological basis of many genre-related perceptions.

The significance of the intricate relationships between myths and social contexts is related more specifically to music by Robinson who argues that “the distinctions we now make among types of music [...] are indicative of historical developments that took place as societies became more complex socially, economically and politically” (1991, p.13). Shuker similarly proposes that music history needs to be employed to interrogate the music myths that have influenced its development (1994, p.257). Therefore, it could be argued that while understanding discourses requires the analysis of the vocabulary they entail and reproduce, the deconstruction of myths necessitates also the investigation of the social processes that gave birth and consolidated them. An archaeology of music categories and their myths could therefore relate them back to the social conditions that brought them into existence and facilitated the establishment of certain meanings, helping us to subsequently decipher how individuals perceive and use music today.

### **1.2.1. An archaeology of music myths**

Every time that we undertake to explain something human, taken at a given moment in history [...] it is necessary to commence by going back to its most primitive and simple form, to try to account for the characteristics by which it was marked at that time and then to show how it developed and became complicated little by little, and how it became that which it is as the moment in question (Durkheim 1915, p.3)

One of the most spread and well-known myths, whose social basis often remains unacknowledged, concerns the ‘natural’ division between serious and popular music. These two discursively produced categories represent the former as music of ‘worth’ enjoyed by those few who can understand and appreciate it, and the latter as valueless music defined by a profit-making incentive, intended for the masses who look for superficial pleasures (Shuker 1994). While the boundaries of this distinction are often redefined by musical and social developments, and even though academia today, recognizes “the obvious historical inflection of value judgments” and the “predominantly discursive nature of taste” (Washburne and Derno 2004, p.2), its validity is rarely related to the social parameters that regulate its discourses (Frith 1996; Shuker 1994).

The particular myth is of great significance, as all genres and their individual but interrelated myths today, entail, are affected by, or arranged in accordance with the basic principles of the distinctions between 'high' and 'low', 'serious' and 'light', 'art' and 'popular' (Dahlhaus 1989; Shuker 1994) as well as the social associations that they, in turn, trigger. The naturalization of this division obliterates the fact that music was not always perceived in such terms and thus separates it from the social and musical conditions from which it emerged. Entailing a corresponding vocabulary that justifies the need for such categorizations, seriousness and popularity function as classificatory determinants of music that are beyond cultural and social influences and positions (Shuker 1994), legitimizing both the value judgments they entail and the parameters that produced them. Despite its problematic implications, however, the particular attitude continues to inform both everyday perceptions as well as academic studies of music, that exhibit little or no consideration of the aforementioned characteristics.

Gans' (1999) work on the 'high' culture/popular culture debate, for example, examines the social parameters that form this division to demystify both categories and their function. He relates the two spheres of culture directly to classes and their presumed consumption patterns and predilections, constructing particular links between the two music categories and the social associations that each one might entail or connote (Gans 1999, p.7)<sup>18</sup>. Despite that his approach is formed on the direct relationship between social aspects and cultural appreciation, Gans addresses the subject only in relation to the division's already established mythical form. Neither the development of the particular class myths, nor the discourses concerning the importance of intellectuality and the devaluation of bodily pleasures these entail, or the social circumstances that solidify the allegedly unbridgeable chasm between the two cultural poles as natural, are examined in any significant way.

---

<sup>18</sup> The particular position will be examined in more detail in chapter two where music myths will be examined in the context of social identities bringing into the discussion more theoretical positions.

Adorno's (1941; 1997; 2001; 2002) seminal work, similarly exemplifies a tendency to separate the social conditions, within which, certain ideas and norms emerged and became established, from notions of cultural and musical categorization and appreciation. For him, serious and popular music are divided by fundamental differences that, even though, are aesthetic and formalistic they also entail social and political aspects and extensions (Adorno 1942; 2002). Popular music is criticized as music for the uncritical masses that has no meaning or value as opposed to the inherent meaningfulness of serious music. It does not necessitate any kind of intellectual engagement from the listener but speaks only to the body, conditioning at the same time people physical responses with its repetitive, and easily recognizable structure (Adorno 1941). Art music on the other hand is perceived in relation to an intellectual process that allows the listener to comprehend the meaning that both the details, and their dependence on the totality of the piece entail and communicate (Adorno 1941). Furthermore, both these types of music according to Adorno attract, or create a corresponding type of audience that embraces either the commerciality and shallowness of popular music, becoming docile and easy to manipulate, or exhibiting desire for intellectual elevation and cultural sophistication through their appreciation of serious music (2001).

Even though Adorno's approach to music is fundamentally ideological, his perception of music in a formalist, work-related sense, as well as the particular vocabulary with which he constructs the serious/popular binary are arguably not related to categories' actual social basis, but on an abstractly musical one. Music's function for him seems to depend on its aesthetics, its inherent meaning and/or its presumed use by audiences, or social structures to pursue certain ends (whether physical, mental, commercial or political), and clearly not on the ideological premises that construct the relation between musical texts, their functions, and concepts such as value and meaning. More specifically, it could be argued that Adorno's theory does not even acknowledge the ideological influence of the "gestation period" of music's division, which constituted the hierarchized characteristics he uses to distinguish the two music realms,

insisting instead, on their inherent differences, as well as those of their audiences.

According to Lincoln “the representation of culture as nature is an ideological move characteristic of myth, as is the projection of the narrator’s ideals, desires and favored ranking into categories, into a fictive prehistory that purportedly establishes how things must be” (Lincoln 1999, p.149). Thus, it could be argued that Adorno actually projects the ideals of the nineteenth century, when the distinction between high art and popular music first appeared (Frith 1996a; Small 1998; Peterson 1992; Carew 2001; Weber 2004; Scott 2008), to the societies and social circumstances of the twentieth century, without exploring what values it might be actually reproducing, accepting unquestionably the validity of the aesthetic and social norms they entail. In this context, it is not music itself that encourages particular ideologies and behaviors to flourish, as Adorno worried it did, but perhaps more so the myths that solidify ‘proper’ understandings of each music and their corresponding uses.

Arguably, then, a historic examination of the high/popular division emergence, that relates its musical values to the social and cultural circumstances of the time, could shed light to what ideals both poles may be representing and reproducing, irrespective of the actual music which they entail. This endeavor, however, entails certain difficulties. Even though there are many different studies on the musical and social developments of the nineteenth century, most theorists tend to treat the two subjects more or less as unconnected, others draw parallels between them, while only a few focus explicitly on the relationship between the social and the music world. Subsequently, the amount of information that directly demonstrates the interrelations between societal formations and music is correspondingly low. However, I wish to argue that a combined examination of studies that are interested solely on the time’s musical aspects along with those focusing on social ones, can produce a rough sketch of their parallel and intertwined development.



Without implying any strict chronological and geographical correspondences, as the data used concern several different cities in Europe, the following section employs the particular approach to identify the sociocultural determinants and implications of music's distinction into 'high' and 'low'. Similarly, it is not the aim of this analysis to claim a chronological sequence between the social, cultural and musical changes that appeared in the nineteenth century and the associations they generated, nor to pinpoint their starting point. As Goehr (1992, p.110) argues, "conceptual change, like the change in practices, has no sharply defined beginning or end" and therefore the presentation of these conceptual changes should be understood as a myth-making interrelational paradigm rather than a precise historical model.

### **1.2.2. Nineteenth century transformations**

The last two centuries, music has been greatly divided and classified based on diverse elements, such as function, instrumentation, perceptions of value, "site of performance, intended audience, manner and nature of receptions, [and] decorum of the performative experience" (Citron 1993, p.124). However, even though music has been commercialized since the eighteenth century it was not perceived as divided into the distinct categories of 'popular' and 'serious' that supposedly reflected the quality and value of compositions until the second half of the nineteenth century (Aronowitz 1993, Frith 1996; Scott 2001; Weber 2004).

According to Scott in the early nineteenth century the word popular did not function as an automatic judgement, "popular song' meant a widely known song, but not necessarily a 'lesser' kind of song" (2008, p.10). Furthermore the quality of music and its aesthetic values were not perceived in opposition to its popularity, and the latter was not constructed in terms of commercialization. Similarly, the different publics prior to 1800, were not divided by their aesthetic or ideological preferences, but were separated from each other by social and financial circumstances, as it was literally impossible for 'common people' to

cross the social borders of aristocracy and attend its concerts (Attali 1985; Dahlhaus 1989; DiMaggio 1992; Weber 2004; Scott 2008).

The term genre as we understand it today i.e. directly linked with the characterization, evaluation and classification of types of music, artist and audiences, and particular representational and ideological contexts, also emerged sometime after the middle of the nineteenth century (Dahlhaus 1982; Holt 2007). Until then, genres did not depend that much on social parameters but described the functional role of the music pieces they 'named', like liturgies, dances, etc. and focused on elements that today are defined by the term style, as discussed previously, like their melodic, harmonic and rhythmic structures (Dahlhaus 1982; Citron 1993; Gelbart 2007). Thus, for the largest part of the 1800s the most frequent discussions of generic categorizations referred to different types of 'classical music' such as the symphony, sonata, nocturne, ballad, etc.<sup>19</sup>.

This stylistic orientation could be partly explained by the fact that most composers wrote many different 'genres' of music, and often produced structural and aesthetic hybrids making it difficult to associate them with certain kinds of music and not with others. Additionally, borrowing familiar themes from popular music and incorporating them in their compositions was not that unusual during that period even for composers of great importance (Ling 1997, p.200). Only after the idea of autonomous music replaced its previous functional character, sometime in the nineteenth century, the definition of the term gradually shifted to its contemporary meaning, expressing socially determined hierarchies and evaluations (Citron 1993).

Even so, an evaluative, relational and hierarchical tendency was evident even in those first discourses of genre. According to Citron (1990; 1993), matters such as the number of performers, the volume of the performance, or the length of composition and its complexity became essential in the classification, and

---

<sup>19</sup> The term 'Classical music' here does not refer specifically to the music of the Classical period (1750-1830) but to what today is perceived as the genre of classical music that can encompass all music types composed between the sixteenth and the early twentieth century.

consequently, ranking of music, representing ideals such as nationalism, power, skill and intellectuality. Correspondingly, the type of works that did not entail the particular characteristics were associated with traits that were socially less appreciated, such as sentimentality, weakness, and femininity and were grouped together and ranked lower, demonstrating an almost chauvinist attitude towards generic understandings (Kallberg 1996)<sup>20</sup>. This critical reception was justified in terms of aesthetics, and not commerciality or popularity. Expressing the preconceptions of the time, effeminate musical characteristics or practices were constructed in relation to the emotional responses they supposedly triggered, as well as to the place of their performance, the private salons.

This process of 'en-gendering' musical elements and thus defining their (lack of) artistic value, however, was not simply a projection of stereotypically constructed perceptions onto aesthetics and their subsequent social translation, but also an expression of the economic, social and cultural developments of the time. During that time, the ideals music supposedly reflected were predominantly influenced by middle-class values that were gradually being established as the norm. Dahlhaus more specifically argues that the "social character of the principles or conceptions upon which the central genres of music were based" could be called "bourgeois" (1989 p.41), pointing towards the changing relationships between culture and the then emerging economic class structures<sup>21</sup>.

Similarly to the construction of genres, the appearance of the distinction between 'serious' and 'light' music and its social mapping can be linked with a series of ideals generated partly by the emergent music market, and partly by the wider socio-political changes of the nineteenth century. To name a few, musicians became professionalized, the concept of the 'star' and of the artist as a genius was born, music acquired an autonomous status, music criticism became

---

<sup>20</sup> An example of the denigrating attitudes towards this type of works was the response to nocturnes, which as solo piano works, were considered emotional, and aesthetically inferior, *feminine* compositions (Samson 1994; Scott 2003, 2006; Kallberg 1996; Goldberg 2004)

<sup>21</sup> The relationships between social, economic, musical structures and gender will be further discussed later in this as well as the following section.

an institution, and the idea of the canon was formed (Attali 1985; Dahlhaus 1989; Goehr 1992; Small 1998; Paddison 2001; Samson 2001; Weber 2004; Hesmondhalgh 2007; Scott 2008). The majority of these elements was established by introducing sets of binaries that were presented as intrinsic to music, developing an array of naturalized, antagonistic perceptions and positions, which were not restricted in the musical realm but permeated the intellectual and social thought of the nineteenth-century society in general. Even though it is impossible to order chronologically the development of these elements, the professionalization of musicians is considered the most appropriate to examine first, as it seems to be the centre around which all others evolved, forming a range of socio-cultural, bilateral relationships<sup>22</sup>.

Musicians were professionalized within a general climate of commercialization, in which music performances started breaking their strict ties with the aristocracy and entered the public arena. In the nineteenth century composers and performers gradually gained their freedom from the constraints of patronage sacrificing in exchange their financial security (Longyear 1988; Middleton 1990; Rink 2001; Scott 2008; Gans 2011). Their income no longer depended on a single paying master who provided entertainment for an elite audience for free, but rather on the number of people who would employ them for their private events, and the number of tickets they would sell for their public concerts (Attali 1985; Scott 2008;). Musicians started performing regularly in public aiming to make a living solely from music, something that was not the norm until then, and professional orchestras were created (Dahlhaus 1989; Goehr 1992). Thus, musicians were slowly transformed from craftsmen to

---

<sup>22</sup> Many theorists argue that the professionalization of musicians appeared sometime around the sixteenth century. I am choosing to focus on studies that place the professionalization of the musician in the nineteenth century because the definition that the term acquired during that time, shares more similarities with what we understand today as professionalization than the one it had in the previous centuries. The socio-economic situation of the salaried musicians of a feudal or aristocratic court, or of the jongleur and the minstrel of the past has very little in common with the contemporary idea of professionalism. Only after the nineteenth century, musicians entered a fundamentally free market, which was regulated by more or less the same rules as today, and which was built on the exchange of music for money, as “specialists ... with role-specific knowledge” (Scott 2008, p. 16).

artists, a change, which, even though, affected their financial situation, it also improved their social status complying with the values of the new commercially oriented nineteenth-century society (DeNora 1995; Rink 2001).

While the liberation of music performances from the constraints of aristocracy was clearly beneficial to some musicians, it also marginalised many others, foretelling the advent of a new economically determined social hierarchy. With the establishment of professional musicians as the norm the performing standards of the public commercial concerts gradually became higher. The more disciplined, and increasingly highly skilled professional, that embodied the values of improvement, achievement and order that were idealized by the nineteenth-century society (Scott 2008), displaced amateurs as inferior, confining them to private concerts (Frith 1996, p.27). Even though this dislodgement of the amateur by the professional, might seem natural or logical with reference to today's society, in the nineteenth century it signified a power shift than extended beyond the music world. The supersession of musicians that came from, or performed for the elite, by middle-class professionals that performed potentially for everyone, mirrored the general socio-political climate of the time and the changing relations between classes.

While this significant change of the music world's structure was directly related to the commercialization of music, it did not yet imply a difference between art and popular music. This is partly explained by the fact that the performance of music for the lower social strata did not undergo a similar process until much later, around the middle of the nineteenth century, when it was finally priced and confined to café concerts and cabarets (Hirschkop 1989, p.296). Additionally, the material that was being performed in public concerts included a variety of works, which could fall into both (future) categories of music (Weber 2004).

The distinction between professional and amateur musicians did imply, however, another division: the one between the public and the private music sphere, linking serious art with the former and entertainment with the latter (Scott 2008). Scott argues that the "demarcation between private and public

became increasingly rigid and their boundaries even more strictly policed” (2008, p.8) to preserve the two as separable ‘spaces’. Even though professional musicians would perform for a generous fee at the salons of the higher aristocracy, who could still afford them, the middle-class private sphere was predominantly associated with amateur performers (DeNora 1995; Scott 2001). Additionally, private salons became the ‘domain’ of women where it was socially acceptable for them to have a role as performers, composers or simply organizers, excluding them at the same time from the newly-instated as prestigious public concerts which belonged exclusively to men (Citron 1993; Rink 2001; Weber 2004), revealing the essentially hierarchical character of this division<sup>23</sup>.

The ‘improvement’ of concerts did not stop with the exclusion of amateurs and the institution of the more knowledgeable and skilful professional musician as the legitimate public performer. Rehearsals were also introduced into public concerts and professional conductors were for the first time employed in order to make the performance as disciplined and ordered as possible (Goehr 1992; Small 1998; Rink 2001; Weber 2004). The ideals of perfect sound and fidelity that formed and regulated the nineteenth century music world (McClary 1985, p.156) however, demanded further changes to be made; discipline could not be restricted only to the performers but also had to extend to the audience and its behaviour.

According to Goehr the word audience is an inappropriate term to use in discussions of music events prior to the nineteenth century, as “music was not so much attended or listened to, as it was worshipped, danced and conversed to” (1992, p.192). The people attending a music performance had to change their listening habits undergoing a “long and tedious process” of disciplining themselves to actually become an audience (Dahlhaus 1989, p.50). They learned that music was no longer supposed to stimulate conversation among the listeners but instead had to be listened to silently in order to be ‘understood’.

---

<sup>23</sup> Around the end of the nineteenth century, when what came to be known as popular music was similarly fully commercialized women were given the opportunity to become professionals and perform on equal terms in public (Scott 2008)

Applauding, singing along, or chattering that were normal occurrences, even during concerts of famous high-music composers such as Mozart or Haydn (Goehr 1992; Small 1987; DeNora 2000) were no longer considered as acceptable behaviour in this new, 'civilized' type of music events. Thus, the nineteenth-century values related performances to order but also helped transform music from an enjoyable interactive activity to an educative, 'civilizing' tool.

Another important element of the new public form of musical activity was the indiscriminate attendance of various social classes at music concerts. In contrast to the division of the actual performers into different categories and areas of musical activity, the principles of the commercial concert seemed to be more 'egalitarian' in regard to the audience, as music was no longer accessible only to those who had a personal invitation to the event as it was the case with the nobility's music events (Dahlhaus 1989; Scott 2008). The combination of low price tickets for many concerts with the increase in people's income meant that individuals from almost any class could attend a concert as long as they would spare the money for a ticket (Small 1998; Weber 2004).

However, the introduction of different seats and ticket prices for the same concert, as well as the possibility for reservations and memberships that were later on introduced, changed the parameters of the audience's social intermingling (Weber 2004; Scott 2001). The creation of certain events that had exceptionally high prices similarly implied a desire to maintain certain aspects of social distinction that were irrelevant to the music performed but concerned whom would be able to attend them. These commercial interventions aimed at separating the lower strata of society from the middle one, but also the richer and most prominent members of the audience from those of lesser social and economic standing (DeNora 1995).

The differences in admission prices did not only separate audiences from each other but according to Weber "created a finely-graded hierarchy of concerts and listeners. Status-consciousness reinforced the social ladder by ascribing special

prestige to events costing above certain amounts” (2004, p.27). Weber justifies his position explaining that the difference in ticket prices usually implied a difference in the standards of the performance, the importance and popularity of the composer, as well as the prestige of the venues. The most popular concert-hall performers charged a lot for their appearance, and consequently they could only be employed by venues that could ensure the sale of high-price tickets. Therefore it could be argued that the ideas of popularity, commerciality and quality were, at this point, somehow reversed in the construction of high and low music. Weber (2004) and Scott (2008) both discuss this separation as an informal distinction between higher and lower status publics, which was nonetheless still irrelevant to the actual music that was being performed.

The popularity and success of certain ‘high’ music concerts soon lead to the further commodification of the musician by the newly born music industry, which exploited the commercial potential of ‘star’ musicians, composers and conductors, as well as that of the ‘greatness’ of the music. As the social and artistic status of musicians gradually rose, it expanded outside the geographical boundaries of their countries, resulting to the creation of an international concert business (Small 1998). In order to accommodate this development, music had to take a form, both physically, in terms of score and notation, and conceptually, in the form of ‘works’, that would allow it to travel without its composer, and be performed and understood in the best possible way. Thus, during the cultural reformation of the nineteenth century, the perception of music changed as it was discussed in the beginning of this chapter, from functionality to ‘works’ (Goehr 1992).

No longer understood and appreciated in relation to the occasion or activity for which it was composed and performed, music began to be regarded as autonomous, expressing nothing more than its own internal ideals and values (Paddison 2001). Music works were perceived as self-sufficient entities, products of a genius mind that operated outside and beyond the restrictions and influences of society, reflecting universal aesthetics, originality, monumentality, authenticity, intellectuality and beauty, and not socially determined aesthetic



values and norms (Dahlhaus 1989; Goehr 1992). This transformation of music into works not only implied an inherent value of music independent of the listener's interpretation, but also stripped it "of its local, historical and worldly origins, even its human origins" (Goehr 1992, p.173), maintaining only a metaphorical worth. Thus music that had been commissioned by the aristocracy to fulfil a particular purpose in exchange both for financial security and fame for its composer, as well as that directly resulting from music performances' commodification, was objectified and came to be perceived as the product of financially disinterested minds that expressed autonomous values.

The transformation of music into works was, if not constructed, then welcomed by the nineteenth century music industry that was responsible for its dissemination. According to Frith, the music industry of the time relied on the commodification of serious music believing that people would want to invest in it, building up their personal music libraries (1988, p.18). Particularly the repetition, popularity and commercial success of certain music works, opened the ground for their commercial exploitation by publishers, and measures were taken in order to protect the various financial interests that depended on their written reproduction, and performance. Copyright laws that had started to regulate many aspects of musical creation towards the end of the eighteenth century were gradually instituted along with royalties and taxes on music, to secure profits. The same laws would concern 'popular' music much later, as until the middle of the nineteenth century it was considered to be a useful novelty that was nonetheless "economically worthless" (Attali 1985; Frith 1988; Goehr 1992; Norris 1997; Hesmondhalgh 2007).

The idea of the autonomous work, found its ultimate ally in the concept of the canon which flourished in the cultural ground that the nineteenth century ideals had cultivated. A sacred collection of superior works that allegedly separated the 'high-quality' pieces of music from the inferior ones, based on a set of rules that were presented as solely musical, was promoted, and gradually dominated the cultural thought of that, as well as of the consecutive eras (Citron 1993). Certain

composers featured prominently in the canon while others were excluded for reasons that were allegedly strictly musical<sup>24</sup>.

The acceptance of certain people's right to decide which composers and works of music belonged in the canon and which did not, can be linked with the establishment of music criticism as a legitimate source of music evaluation during the nineteenth century (Dahlhaus 1989; Small 1998; Rink 2001). Music criticism, helped shape ideas of value and taste, but also introduced the importance of expert knowledge in the appreciation of music. Since the shift towards the educative role of music, the 'general public' that consisted of individuals from different social strata, and more specifically its taste, were not to be trusted anymore (Scott 2008). In this climate of mistrust towards the 'uneducated' listener, the specialization not just in performing but also in listening and understanding the alleged universal meanings of music, created a cultural elite that legitimized or rejected the aesthetic, and consequently, social value of music works. Thus, the appreciation of, and for music became a learned process that depended on the access to and acceptance of very particular musical, as well as social, ideals.

These changes, arguably helped solidify the distinction between different levels of quality of music and their association with different social groups and characteristics towards the end of the nineteenth century (Washburne and Derno 2004). The cultivated ideals that 'art' music was supposed to represent were gradually contrasted to those of popular music, while the visible shapes these took in the attitudes of the people that attended their corresponding events reflected their understandings of art and entertainment respectively. As a consequence "in 1880 the label 'popular' bec[a]me associated with an indiscriminating mass public which functioned as the basis for the alleged inherent qualities not just of music but of people who prefer to listen to it"(Scott 2008, p.10).

---

<sup>24</sup> The principles of the canon, as well as its role and effect on music categorization will be discussed in more detail in the next section.

### **1.2.3. The musical and the social**

“art and cultural consumption are predisposed, consciously and deliberately or not, to fulfill a social function of legitimating social differences” (Bourdieu 1989, p.7)

Even though the changes in the music world describe a process that facilitated the gradual distinction between ‘high’ and ‘low’ music and performers, they do not explain the reasons for its acceptance as an indication for social difference. In order to better understand the durability of the particular discourses and their social semiotics, these changes have to be related to the socioeconomic parameters that shaped and regulated the nineteenth-century cultural field. During the 1800s, large-scale rearrangements of status and wealth resulted in the formation of new power relations between ancestry and capital, while new struggles for acceptance and social progression appeared, creating subsequently new social identities (Mortensen 1997). The distinction between ‘serious’ and ‘popular’ music appeared along with the rise of the ‘bourgeoisie’ that had its own aesthetics, rituals and social values, and which aspired to its establishment as an ethically, economically, and aesthetically superior social stratum (Attali 1985; Dahlhaus 1989; Frith 1996). As this new socioeconomic hierarchy of the nineteenth-century society was developing, a corresponding cultural life emerged to satisfy the needs and express the ideals of the new state of affairs.

According to Scott “the increase in urban populations and the rise of the bourgeoisie brought a need for public demonstrations of social standing, since it was no longer common knowledge who was important. Attending concerts was a means of displaying status” (2001, p.563). The performance of social status was not yet linked with the music performed but rather with the social organization of the concert hall. The lower classes were gradually excluded from the particular cultural arena due to the increase in ticket prices, while the inability of the aristocracy to afford private music events on a regular basis, ‘forced’ it coalesce with the upper-middle and middle classes in public music events, validating thus the latter’s social ascendance (Dahlhaus 1989; DeNora 1995; Scott 2001, 2008).

At the same time, certain venues fostered a sense of exclusivity by instituting memberships, while the symbolic distinction of upper tiers seats in combination with their prohibitive ticket prices, filtered further the intermingling between classes (Weber 2004; Scott 2008). The economic, and not social basis of these audience separation patterns, lead to significant status rearrangements, as the wealthier middle-class members of the audience were now able to claim a position directly next to the elite. Considering that the social identity of the middle class “consists in anticipating ‘being’ by ‘seeming’, appropriating the appearances so as to have the reality” (Bourdieu 1989, p.253), it could be argued that the concert hall music experience, which separated physically the bourgeoisie from the lower classes and positioned it next to the aristocracy, allowed it to use the circumstances that implied social standing in order to assume it.

However, the temporary class mixing of the concert hall did not secure the image of the middle class as standing on a similar ground as the elite, as simply attending a concert, even when seated in the higher tiers, did not necessarily imply education or refinement, but merely wealth. According to DeNora, during the nineteenth century “the sources of distinction shifted from simple quantitative expenditure to qualitative demonstration of discernment and “good taste” and to a heightened emphasis on the appreciation of “greatness”” (1995, p.48). In this context, the fragile relationship between the aristocracy and the mercantile upper-middle class necessitated proof of their similar cultural and aesthetic orientation, exemplified not only by common patterns of cultural consumption, but also by the ideals of distinction these embodied.

Dahlhaus states that since the eighteenth century the concept of taste was utilized as a means of constructing coherent social identities and insulating social groups from outsiders (1989, p.246). It could be argued that this particular function of taste was intensified by the middle-class ‘code of excellence’ that was created in the romantic era regarding the perception, as much as appreciation, of music. The hierarchical classification of musicians, musics and audiences established a symbiotic relationship between ‘good’ taste and ‘great works’,

implying an audience with corresponding traits and a discernibly different, and most importantly, superior sociocultural identity from its Others. Considering that tastes are “asserted purely negatively by the refusal of other tastes” (Bourdieu 1989, p.56), the particular notions did not only establish a concept of quality but also, simultaneously delineated the acceptable and the reprehensible in all music expressions. Consequently, the corresponding binary perception of high and low publics was not only constructed on their presumably natural contrasting music preferences, but also depended on the employment of, or disregard for, the particular aesthetics and their socially imposed ideals.

According to DiMaggio music discourses “in 1850, depended on a moral frame of reference and was uncertain as to the aesthetic criteria to which the art should be subjected” (1992, p.24). The particular tendency is arguably exemplified by the conceptual disassociation of good music from emotion as well as the body, its supposed link with intellectual processes, and the differentiation of musicians as well as publics based on their adherence to these normative guidelines. While in the eighteenth century an emotional response to music was anticipated, in the nineteenth this was replaced by the need for intellectual engagement and the simultaneous disapproval for any physical responses or pleasures (Frith 1996, p.256). According to Fiske the renunciation of the body resulted from a class conflict, and was regulated by bourgeois ideals, and fears of the “proletariat body and its popular pleasures”, as well as from its religious conceptualization as a threat to the soul (1989, p.90). Arguably, this kind of notions glorified music that supposedly targeted the mind, as well as its listeners. They also negatively impacted on the perception of music which intentionally aimed at bodily responses, as well as that of its composers and audiences. At the same time, these ideals also constructed appropriate responses to, and understandings of serious music, teaching audiences to stifle any physical reactions it might trigger, as if they were naturally absent from these types of works<sup>25</sup>.

---

<sup>25</sup> Even though the social basis for the mind/body division is acknowledged today, the basis for the distinction between musics that speak to the body, the emotions and the mind often still is considered as natural and not social, as is the attraction of different audiences to them.

The social foundation of distinguishing music tastes by extending the 'inherent' intellectuality of certain musics to its audiences, and vice versa, is furthermore demonstrated by the words 'highbrow' and 'lowbrow' which were frequently used to describe the serious and popular pole correspondingly. According to Scott (2008), these terms originated from phrenology and the idea that the shape of an individual's head denotes that person's intelligence and character. The implementation of these terms in music criticism, legitimized the relation between music taste, social standing and intelligence in the consciousness of bourgeois society. According to Bourdieu "the illusion of 'natural distinction' is ultimately based on the power of the dominant to impose, by their very existence, a definition of excellence" (1989, p.255). The presumably natural predilection of 'high' audiences for serious music constructed and established its 'inherent' qualities and principles, validated both the value of the music and the social importance of its audience, asserting cyclically their 'excellence'. By extension, the categorization of music and publics into either one or the other category also legitimized the division of music into popular and serious clouding its fundamentally social origins, strengthening at the same time the bond between the fractions of the upper classes against the rest of society (Bourdieu 1989; Fiske 1989).

The particular perceptions of good taste should also be related to the production of music discourses, which in the nineteenth century was predominantly regulated by the bourgeois. The upper, and upper-middle classes' control of music criticism helped the promotion and establishment of specific ideals, defining which music features and values were to be considered 'naturally' good and which reprehensible. According to Van Dijk "the powerful will usually tend to emphasize all information that portrays them positively, and to de-emphasize the information that does so negatively, and the opposite will be the case for the discourse representation of their opponents, or any other outgroup" (1997, p.22). Given the fundamentally evaluative nature of music division's vocabulary, it would be reasonable to argue that the middle-class discourses reproduced a matter-of-factly perception of superiority both for particular music forms and

their audience, and one of inferiority that grouped the rest of music and listeners, in a tasteless mass of 'the popular'.

As "the very act of passing an aesthetic judgment assumes and bestows authority upon the judge" (Washburne and Derno 2004, p.3), the antagonistic nature of the two categories also (self-) validated the 'supremacy' of the particular social grouping which it concerned, namely the bourgeois. Bourdieu furthermore argues that "all critics declare not only their judgments of the work but also their claim to the right to talk about it and judge it. [...] they take part in a struggle for the monopoly of legitimate discourse about the work of art and consequently in the production of the value of the work of art" (1993, p.36). Thus, the role and influence of the bourgeoisie in cultural production processes transformed it into the "taste-bearing stratum" that had the legitimate right to make definitive judgments on musical distinction (Dahlhaus 1989). The allegedly inherent greatness of the music was thus established as reflecting that of its audience, regardless that the 'judges' of both music and listeners came from the same musical and social groupings they were praising.

However, the dominance of bourgeois ideologies over music creation and appreciation was not linked only with the social, but also with the commercial interests of the middle-class. The professionalization of the musician along with the establishment of the canon and the discursively constructed preference for specific types of music had created a highly competitive musical arena, which depended as much on 'expert' knowledge as it did on the commercial regulation of the music market. On the one hand, the frequency with which music works would be performed, as well as the social acceptance of their composers, depended largely on their popularity with individuals that were able to afford regular attendance at concerts. As these higher status audiences were caught in a social competition for cultural expertise, they did not challenge the value of the actual music being performed or the discourses that accompanied it (Weber 2004). Thus, certain works that were considered masterpieces and that the audience found enjoyable at the same time, would be performed regularly

becoming even more familiar, and therefore more popular as well, while others disappeared completely without necessarily being of lower quality.

On the other, certain works or even genres that enjoyed great popularity in the upper social strata, such as opera or waltzes, which were considered forms of popular music, gradually changed positions in the conceptual scale of quality (Weber 2004; DiMaggio 1992). Arguably then, the popularity and reception of music works depended as much on the criteria of quality they fulfilled as on their commercial success, which functioned in a non-antagonistic relationship. By prescribing the social norms and conceptual parameters of cultural production, the middle class gained power over musicians and the music that was being performed and composed. As the bourgeoisie regulated the music markets as well as music criticism and the actual concert halls, it could influence the content of concerts, as well as the aesthetics of future creations of music, in a similar manner as the aristocracy had done in the past (Attali 1985, p.56).

Furthermore, according to Citron the values in taste as much as in composition created by critics and journalists were often led by additional commercial incentives, as several major music publishing houses also owned music magazines or newspapers which featured music reviews (1993, pp.34-34). The profitability of specific works depended not just on the circulation of their scores or their transcription into easy piano pieces for 'the ladies', but also on the appropriate set of discourses that accompanied or preceded them. Additionally, the fact that often composers were also employed as music critics is for Citron indicative of a biased perception and promotion of certain aesthetic, to say the least, values.

Ellis (2001) similarly points out the symbiotic relationship between the canon of masterpieces and commercial as well as socio-political institutions. She argues that the publishing industry, teaching canons, the paying public, journalists, as well as musicians supported the idea of the canon, shaping and providing a bourgeois culture to its main consumer, the bourgeois public, in turn securing their own financial success. Thus, Ellis argues, "the market for the musical canon



became self-perpetuating”, combining aesthetic idealism with “bourgeois mercantilism” (2001, p.355). Similarly, the compartmentalization of music performances into private and public, as well as their social boundaries, qualities, rituals and accorded appropriate performers, was not free from commercial incentives. For example, Ellis points out, “women playing music as a necessary social skill (but nothing more) served a commercial purpose, that of selling upright pianos and music sheets for salon music” (2001, p.360).

At this point it becomes evident that the transformation of music, and more specifically high music, into social currency and its dependence on monetary exchange influenced greatly the perception of music as well as of publics in a bilateral relation. Middleton argues that “by about 1850, the musical map ha[d] been drastically redrawn, in the context of the new norms represented by the values of the various fractions of the bourgeoisie” (1990, p.13). In this context, the ‘lower’ forms of music which neither mirrored the social values of the upper classes, nor were as profitable commercially as ‘serious’ music was until then, were frowned upon socially, even if they also attracted members of the ‘higher public’.

#### **1.2.4. The naturalization of the musical trichotomy**

Until the end of the nineteenth century, music was perceived, evaluated and consumed with reference to the social, cultural and economic parameters examined in the two previous sections. The scenery in music evaluation changed after the establishment of popular music (and of the music hall) as equally important economically as serious music, if not more, and the subsequent formation of a mass market that took place sometime around the 1880 (Middleton 1990; Frith 2004; Gelbart 2007). Thus, by the beginning of the twentieth century, all types of music started to be evaluated in accordance to the familiar vocabularies and perceptions of the ‘serious’ and the ‘popular’.

An exception to this rule was a kind of music that was established as a separate category towards the middle of the nineteenth century holding a distinct

position of its own: folk (Ling 1997). According to Gelbart (2007, pp.7-8) this category came to exist only in relation to 'art' music as their meanings were constructed in a mutual dependence, and not antagonistically as with popular music. He places the generic differentiations between 'art' and folk on criteria concerning their different origins, such as the place where music was created, its context, and the type of people that created it.

Shuker, on the other hand argues that folk was historically considered as a more respectable form of popular music that was "reflecting its perceived roots in people's common experiences, its general lack of mass commercialization, and the associated connotation of authenticity" (2011, p.133). Even though Shuker's position is not directly questioned by other scholars, many theorists tend contrarily to present the understanding of folk music as markedly different form popular music. Holt argues that the former was understood as music created "*by* 'the people'", and the latter as music that was produced "*for* 'the people'" placing the weight of their distinction on commercial incentives (2007, p.31). Similarly, Vulliamy places their differences on the mass-market nature of the creation of popular music and the expression of "traditional culture of the peasant" in folk (2000, p.152). Frith on the other hand taking into consideration the commercial origins of art music as well as of popular, differentiates folk music form both. He states that folk music was perceived as "the direct, unselfconscious expression of a community's beliefs and experiences as opposed to the self-conscious-knowing-formal calculations of art and commerce" (Frith 2004, p.9).

Even though there is no unanimity on how folk was, or is defined, some of its most generally acceptable characteristics are the lack of notation and its oral passing down form person to person, the anonymity of its creator, its rural origins, and its non-commerciality (Middleton 1990; Bohlman 2009; Shuker 2011). Later on, notions of authenticity, tradition, and nature as well as the romantic view of the native 'other', would also be associated with folk turning it into a localized expression of nationhood and of a past way of life that is about to disappear (Middleton 1990). It is important to clarify, however, that these

features were not constructed and perceived as relevant to folk music by the people who actually created it but by scholars, musicians and the cultural status quo of the nineteenth century society (Gelbart 2007; Bohlman 2009).

Gelbart, drawing on Harker, argues that “most of the material presented under the label “folk song” since the eighteenth century has been manipulated and bowdlerized by bourgeois intellectuals to conform to their ideas of “the folk” and to serve their own ends”(2007, p.5). Middleton who agrees with Harker’s position, argues that the category of ‘folk song’ was constructed by bourgeois intellectuals and publishers and was meant to operate within bourgeois culture and not the lower classes where it came from, to define the idea of a national culture and ultimately serve hegemonic interests (Middleton 1990, p.131). Similarly Scott states that folk was equated with the notion of national music as a result of a necessary ideological shift which aimed at separating folk music from the lower class and aligning it with bourgeois social aspirations (2001, p.545).

Considering the social origins of the parameters that shaped the category of folk, it could be argued that the music placed into that classification was not necessarily representative of the music of the people. On the contrary, like high and popular music, the idea of folk depended on class related discourses, that did not just delineate the particular music category, but in essence constructed it and its connotations in an arbitrary way, separating it from the conditions of its production, but which was nonetheless considered as natural.

The particular perception of folk music triggered a conceptual and aesthetic cycle as many professional musicians who embraced these ideas, composed works that were clearly influenced by the folk tradition but which also adhered to the aesthetics and norms of their time, creating in turn new understandings of ‘folk’ (Ling 1997). At the same time, the popularity of the ideals that folk songs were supposed to represent as well as that of the music they inspired, opened the way for their acceptance in the bourgeois salons where professional and amateurs alike performed them (Ling 1997). However, the appropriation of the folk song by the bourgeoisie necessitated a few further changes. Folk music took

a more 'civilized' and 'artful' form by being transcribed, arranged for a variety of instruments and most importantly printed. Therefore, when folk music started being published, and consequently commodified, it became "a combination of traditional forms of music and text with an art music international style" (Ling 1997, p.17).

Presumably because of all the characteristics discussed so far, folk music was neither judged based on the same aesthetic or commercial preconceptions as popular music was, neither was it categorized as a lower musical form. Rather it could be argued that folk presented a balanced relationship to commercialization and commodification, a relation to 'the people' but not to the masses, it demonstrated an absence of musical complexity which, however, was related to its 'natural' origin and was, therefore, 'excused', and most of all it managed to be strongly differentiated from 'art' music without resembling popular music (van der Merwe 1989). Gelbart makes a similar point discussing, not music's division but of its actual trichotomy, concluding that "'folk music" and "art music" had become the unequal but symbiotic realms of organic genius, and were both now separated from the commercial world of "popular music". This completed a century-long transformation of musical categorization" (2007, p.260).

Thus, by the end of the nineteenth century several concepts had been crystallized. Art music was established as a superior form of music that necessitated taste, intelligence, education and, therefore, higher social standing in order to be attended and understood. Popular music was a form of entertainment and a sign of artistic as well as intellectual simplicity, directly linked with commercialism and the uneducated masses, and folk was the third strand that reflected the values of neither category or their social groupings, but was an authentic music expression that represented the values of a whole nation. In other words by the end of the nineteenth century an array of musicosocial myths had been established, that prescribed the terms of how music was to be perceived and its different audiences divided, functioning as a symbol of social ideals and identities that reflected the general structure of society.

The particular approach to music's division does not suggest that there are no musical differences between serious, folk and popular music. It simply aims to point out that the belief that music must be separated into these categories as well as of what elements belong in each one, are not necessarily music or even commercially-specific. Rather both naturalized associative presuppositions derive from patterns of social identity formation, class ideals, and bourgeois hierarchies that have been long since embedded into music aesthetics, which continue to inform music and audience categorizations, even though the actual circumstances that produced them might not be relevant to today's social structures.

### **1.3. Summary**

This chapter has demonstrated that the ways in which music is discussed, defined and categorized do not depend simply on aesthetic preferences and self-evident musical characteristics but are also determined by broader social and cultural perceptions and processes. Different types of discourses that are shaped by economic, social, and personal parameters interact to produce the, often perceived as 'natural' vocabulary of music and its categories, and communicate very particular forms of musical meanings. These help construct the concept itself but also affect the way people might organize themselves and others socially in regard to music.

The division and hierarchical categorization of music into high, folk and popular demonstrate quite clearly the transformation of the social into natural. Believed to represent universal, unquestionably desirable values, the particular categories have been separated from the conditions that created them, taking on the form of myths. Popular music might no longer be considered a sign of lower intelligence, however, it is still often referred to as music of lower standards of quality, and it is more often than not, 'naturally' associated with particular social classes and lifestyles. Similarly, the commercial character of serious music and its determinant role in the establishment of the music industry is ignored. Its autonomous character and the disinterested nature of its production are treated

as 'facts', disregarding the historical evidence that disproves their validity, and only popular music is related to commerciality or commodification.

While the mythic discourses on which these categories depend are sometimes acknowledged, the vocabulary and ideals they reproduce are rarely examined in relation to the social context of their emergence and what they might signify. Rather the evaluative principles of the romantic era are still employed in today's discourses of music categorization, valuing the same features like originality, intellectuality, authenticity, art etc. above emotionality, simplicity or entertainment, without considering how these and the differences between them might have been constructed. This way the nineteenth century social ideals that regulated music appreciation and evaluation continue to pervade present-day perceptions of music's quality and its relevant social symbolism, in the form of objectively established music traits.

Considering the effect of the particular values on all subsequently created music genres, their myths and hierarchies, it becomes apparent that the symbiotic relationship between musical and social representations is a central element in the examination of music's social functions. On the one hand, the reproduction of old musical classificatory patterns in twenty-first-century social and symbolic realities suggests that the new formations of musicosocial attributes, identities and groupings need to be investigated, whilst keeping in mind the social signification of the vocabulary that separates them. On the other, the fundamentally social and economic function of dividing musics, musicians and audiences, indicates that the examination of musicosocial interrelations needs to be adjusted to the means of distinction of today, which are not necessarily class-dependent as they were in the nineteenth century.

## 2. Theory II: Class, cultural agency and *spectacular*<sup>26</sup> identities.

As it was demonstrated in the previous chapter, class played a central role in the formation and management of the material conditions, as much as the conceptual parameters that linked music tastes with social attributes and identities. The establishment of the correspondences between class relations and the music classificatory system they produced, depended as much on the foundation of a symbolic framework and the controlled cultivation of an aesthetic one, as it did on the systematic social conditioning that finally blurred the line between the two. Current perceptions and constructions of musicosocial distinctions, however, arguably depend on a more complicated social reality than that of the romantic era, and are not necessarily determined by the influence of a single social class over the means of music production, consumption and criticism. The societal, political and economical developments that took place the last century, as well as their emergent conceptualizations of identity, belonging and individualism, have influenced the formation of new social collectivities, status symbols and corresponding patterns of cultural consumption. Similarly, technological developments and their relation to the expansion and new forms of popular culture, as well as the development and widespread use of the media, have created new cultural and social understandings and representations.

Because of these changes, and despite the durability of the nineteenth-century associative musicosocial scheme, neither the role of class nor the mechanisms that shape contemporary notions of value and taste in music can be assumed to be the same. Rather, investigations of music and audience classification need to re-position the established interconnections between the two within current contexts of status and class perceptions (Emmison 2003; Chan and Goldthorpe 2006). Therefore, it is argued that in order to understand the delimitation, semiotics and function of music categories and their relationship with social categorization, the parameters that regulate cultural life and social distinction

---

<sup>26</sup> When the word *spectacle* as well as its derivatives are in italics they refer to Debord's theory of societies of the *spectacle* and not to the literal meaning of the word.

patterns within present-day, western cultural contexts, as well as the construction of the (social) self, must be taken into consideration.

This chapter firstly examines prevailing academic approaches to the relation between social organization and cultural consumption that are usually employed to explain the relation between musical and social divisions. Considering current social and cultural trends, attitudes, and processes of identity formation, it moves to question the tendency of these studies to construct or interpret the relation between music and social categories with reference to class. Drawing on theories of the *spectacle*, lifestyle, and representation it proposes a theoretical alternative in which understandings of social and music identity as well as status could be affected, but are not necessarily defined by class-related patterns of cultural consumption. Rather individualized, representational and mediatized understandings of social and music status are seen as contributing to the formation of essentially musicosocial identities and the active categorization of the self and others. Lastly, the representational and performative elements of selfhood are related to Small's idea of *musicizing*, sketching it as an expression of 'the ideal' that results from and exemplifies the intertwinement of social and musical classification.

### **2.1. Cultural capital and *omnivorousness***

Many studies argue that the impact of class on the way music, and music tastes might be perceived or constructed remains quite significant today (Bourdieu 1985, 1989, 1993; Middleton 1990; DiMaggio 1992; Peterson and Simkus 1992; Lamont and Fournier 1992; Gans 1999; Eijck and Bargeman 2004; Chan and Goldthrope 2007; Bennett et.al. 2009; Hesmondhalgh 2014). Even though most of these theorists have different starting points and often reach different conclusions, they all approach class as the cornerstone of cultural consumption, that at times defines and at other determines people's music preferences, as well as prevailing musicosocial associations. Moreover, most of them maintain that music preferences and aesthetics today not only depend on, or express social differences, but at times also help to reinforce them (Bourdieu 1989, 1993;



Middleton 1990; Gans 1992; Born and Hesmondhalgh 2000; Bell and Hollows 2003).

Gans argues that “culture is shaped above all by class and thus particularly by economic and related inequalities” (1992, p.vii). As such, he states that its division to popular and high is really a war, but not necessarily an aesthetic or commercial one, as it is often assumed. Rather it is a ‘class conflict’ between educated and uneducated, affluent and poor who fight over “whose culture should dominate in society” and thus legitimize their own values (Gans 1999, p.4). Bourdieu similarly argues that the class distinctions entailed in cultural consumption, deliberately or unintentionally, “fulfill a social function of legitimating social differences” (1989, p.7). Class and cultural consumption correspondences, which are essentially social, are disguised as the product of universal aesthetics to validate their embodied system of hegemonic hierarchies. Thus, consumption functions as “a site of class struggle, where those classes that can, pursue strategies for gaining distinction and, in the process, ‘do’ class dominance” (Bell and Hollows 2003, p.7).

On the one hand, the relation between class dominance and distinction can be explained with the evaluative character of cultural associations, and the symbolic display of taste and social status. On the other, according to Bourdieu (1985, 1989, 1993) it can be identified in the shaping of class-specific cultural preferences, the access to particular texts, as well as to individuals’ competence to interpret and subsequently classify them. More particularly, Bourdieu argues that people do not only possess different amounts of economic capital, which determines their consumption patterns in terms of which activities or cultural objects they can afford, but also of cultural capital. This alternative form of capital is embodied in a series of “*widely shared, high status cultural signals*”<sup>27</sup> (Lamont and Lareau 1988, p.156) that depend on, and convey knowledge of, and ability to appreciate cultural practices, relations, artifacts, tastes and preferences (Bourdieu 1980, 1989, 1993; Holt 1998; Onleck 2000). In order for this cultural currency to be accepted in a given society, however, “the existence of

---

<sup>27</sup> Italics in the original

institutions with the power to establish authoritatively the value of different forms of culture”, and create and defend “boundaries among varying kinds of aesthetic products and practices” is presupposed (DiMaggio 1992, p.21). Consequently, the social strata that can sanction such boundaries control the formation and perception of cultural capital as well as regulate the distribution of its resources. Thus, “high-status cultural signals” are produced by an intertwined social and cultural hierarchical system, which prescribes the norms of social distinction in a self-legitimizing way (Lamont and Lareau 1988, p.159).

In the field of consumption, cultural capital is translated into tastes and their corresponding practices that are aligned with “elite sensibilities” (Holt 1998, p.4), which are similarly represented as universal. Gans discussing music taste, however, maintains that “when class positions are assigned to taste levels, it is the class position of the audience, not the cultural qualities of the music, that determines the assignment” (1992, p.ix). In other words, ‘elite’ audiences’ claim at making authoritative aesthetic judgments legitimizes particular perceptions and expressions of musical value, and cultural competence. Gans furthermore explains that people from lower social strata do not possess the means or the skills to decode and appreciate high art, while at the same time they are not enabled, or are even prevented by the very classes that criticize them for that ‘inability’, to acquire them (1992, p.171). Their exclusion, therefore, is not simply the product of aesthetic preferences, but it also depends on the interplay of economic structures and social practices that the dominant classes regulate.

Bourdieu presents a similar position explaining that the elite’s desire to maintain cultural distinction depends on the exclusiveness of their tastes (1985, p.31). As such, the construction and hierarchization of cultural value is also defined by the rarity of cultural competences and the regulation of their production. Like Gans he, too, believes that cultural capital is unequally distributed in society excluding lower classes from elite culture, drawing symbolic boundaries of distinction, and functioning “as an “interpersonal identifier of social ranking” (Lamont and Lareau 1988, p.158). Cultural capital assets, then, are translated into prestige and legitimacy (Lamont and Lareau 1988), they “become valorized as ends in

themselves and so serve as a currency to accrue status in the parallel symbolic economy of consumption” (Holt 1998, p.12). As culture’s embodied system of distinction transforms cultural capital into symbolic capital which functions as a misrecognized form of power legitimation, tastes also transcend the aesthetic and enter the supposedly disinterested field of the symbolic (Bourdieu 1989; Swartz 1997).

Bourdieu argues, however, that the shaping of tastes and cultural preferences also depends on other social parameters than the logic of distinction, the direct regulation of cultural capital and its translation into symbolic power. He argues that the particular process also relies on the use of class-specific interpretational codes and consumption tendencies to classify culture, which are socially cultivated since a very young age and as such they are perceived as natural dispositions (Bourdieu 1980, 1989). He explains this socially constructed inclination towards particular cultural goods with the concept of the *habitus*, an instilled system of class-related dispositions, which is perceived as common-sense tendency towards particular tastes and distaste for others (Bourdieu 1980, 1989, 1993).

The effect of the *habitus*, however, is not limited to aesthetic choices but it actually “designates the system of durable and transposable *dispositions* through which we perceive, judge and act in the world” (Wacquant 2007, p.268). Chan and Goldthrope argue that the *habitus* actually produces a “‘semantic’ unity in practices across all domains of consumption” (2006, p.2) resulting into the creation of different lifestyles that in turn match very particular identities and positions. Thus the *habitus* can be understood as a pervasive all-encompassing “schema” that not only functions as a means of classification but also of structuring social action (Holt 1998, pp.3-4). Bourdieu however, ascribes an additional classificatory function of the *habitus*, explaining that it is

both the generative principle of objectively classifiable judgments and the system of classification (*principium divisionis*) of these practices. It is in the relationship between the two capacities which define the *habitus*, the capacity to produce classifiable practices and works, and the capacity to

differentiate and appreciate these practices and products (taste), that the represented social world, i.e. the space of life-styles, is constituted (1989, p.170)

In the case of music the *habitus* could be understood as the force that strengthens the presumable gap between 'good' and 'bad', 'high' and 'low' music, and the corresponding classification of tastes, as well as that of audiences. At the same time, however, it produces and perpetuates the conditions by which the two aesthetic spheres will become available and valuable to certain groups of people who will then adopt the attitudes and aesthetics that correspond to each culture's tenets and actively reproduce them. In other words, the *habitus* is directly related to the production and dissemination of cultural and subsequently symbolic capital that serve both the establishment of cultural attitudes as well as of social identities.

DiMaggio and Useem explain that "the distribution of artistic consumption is likely to be a part of class politics in much the same way as is the distribution of education. The upper class can be expected to make efforts to exclude other classes from acquiring its artistic interests as a means of preserving elite boundaries and dominance from generation to generation" (1978, p.144). This is achieved, they continue, not only because they control the production of cultural competences and their availability to the various social strata, but because such boundaries also function as a social 'handbook' that provides guidelines for assuming class-appropriate cultural identities (DiMaggio and Useem 1978). Thus, while the *habitus* constructs what is natural for different groups of people, what is common sense and what is aversive, to a certain extent it also creates a sense of shared, collective sociocultural identity which affects the perception and management of social relationships. Belonging and group coherence is established by these shared tastes and dislikes that "forge the unconscious unity of a class" (Bourdieu 1989, p.77).

However the *habitus* is far from monolithic or fixed but according to Wacquant (2008) it is layered and malleable, it is structuring as much as it is structured. The successive positions people occupy during their lives are organized and

interpreted by their *habitus* but also they change it, as individuals bring new dispositions and acquire or aspire to access different forms of capital in order to successfully fulfill their social identities and roles. Therefore, it could be argued that the social associations that can be embodied in music are not fixed, but are actually affected by the symbols that are gradually incorporated into their representation, alluding perhaps to a more transformable perception of sociocultural identity than the one traditional theories of music and class homologies propose.

The comparative work that Bourdieu has done in the field of cultural consumption and social stratification is arguably significant. However there are many theorists who criticize his approach and question his findings, arguing that there are certain issues both with his methodological framework and his theoretical one. Particularly in relation to the study of music that links its 'serious' forms with the upper social strata and its popular with the lower ones, several theorists believe his methods are problematic and that the perception of status in accordance to the high/low division which Bourdieu adopts, must be reexamined and its relevance reevaluated (Peterson 1992; Peterson and Kern, 1996; Slobin 1993; Rancière 2004; Chan and Goldthorpe 2007).

Rancière (2004) offers a rather detailed critique of Bourdieu's approach to the evaluation of music taste, focusing both on his methodology and on his theorization of "legitimate"<sup>28</sup> music. He argues that Bourdieu's method of investigating music taste is actually closer to a test of knowledge rather than of music preferences (Rancière 2004, pp.186-187). By separating the actual object of research, music itself, from the parameters that shape the research, that is, the questions that name and construct the object investigated (for example serious music), Rancière maintains that Bourdieu is in reality answering his own questions. He explains that these have a very specific 'target group', as they can only be answered by people who *know* how each music sounds and what value it has without necessarily knowing the music itself (Rancière, 2004 p.187). In other

---

<sup>28</sup> Bourdieu uses the word 'legitimate' to refer to the high status forms of music, or culture that the dominant classes are thought to prefer.

words, Rancière claims that the respondents are asked to answer questions that “designate in advance what the better rankings are” which has little to do with actual musical taste (2004 p.187).

Furthermore, Rancière (2004 pp.220-221) continues, the separation of culture into one that is produced by, and tailored to the tastes of the elite and one that originates in, and is better suited to the lower classes, which is perceived to serve as a means of social dominance, creates a paradox of self-negation. Accepting that culture is indeed distinguished as such, automatically constructs what it denounces, it creates the distinction that it criticizes; it positions and defines elite culture as such, and then asks for it to be available to all classes legitimizing its excellence, patronizing the lower classes and rejecting ‘their’ culture.

Chan and Goldthorpe (2007) on the other hand criticize Bourdieu’s perception of class itself, arguing that even though he draws heavily on Weber he does not adopt the distinction he made between class and status. Rather, they argue, Bourdieu sees status as “the symbolic aspect or dimension of the class structure” (Chan and Goldthorpe 2007, p.2). For Weber however, status is “an effective claim to social esteem” which is not necessarily determined by class, even though it can influence or even determine class positions (1978, pp.305- 306). While the former is founded on lifestyles, education, heritage or occupational prestige, the latter is determined by economic power, “control over consumer goods, means of production, assets, resources and skills” (Weber 1978, pp.302-306). Even though the distinctions these two different concepts create are linked in a variety of ways, according to Weber there is a conflict between the economic and the status order (1978, pp.932-937). Bourdieu’s deviation from status theory, Chan and Goldthorpe claim, is rather significant as from a Weberian perspective, “cultural consumption, as an aspect of lifestyle, will be more strongly associated with status than with class” (2007, p.4). Furthermore, they argue that by ignoring Weber’s distinction, Bourdieu fails to acknowledge that the relation between class, status, and lifestyle can be relatively contingent (2007, p.2).

Emmison (2003) takes the critique of Bourdieu's approach a step further, arguing that alternative forms of cultural capital than the one entailed in serious music exist, which he relates to the notion of cultural mobility. He defines the latter as "the capacity to navigate between or across cultural realms, a freedom to choose or select one's position in the cultural landscape" (Emmison 2003, p.213). The cultural mobile then, are the people "equipped" to display "cultural competence in a plurality of domains with concomitant social rewards accruing to those demonstrating these capacities" (Emmison 2003, p.213). As more open, 'cosmopolitan' attitudes become increasingly valued in globalized societies, so does cultural mobility, which legitimizes various forms of culture and uses them as status currency. Therefore, Emmison concludes, the older hierarchies of tastes and competences in high culture become obsolete and new ways of conceptualizing distinction, which entail the consideration of all cultural types as "symbolic resources", become necessary (2003, p.226).

Emmison's ideas are based on Peterson's theory of *omnivorousness* (Peterson 1992, 2005; Peterson and Anand 2004; Peterson and Kern 1996), which posits that even though in modern societies cultural consumption is still grounded in social stratification, the variables of their relationship have changed. Instead of being defined by the affinity of upper classes for serious music and that of the lower ones' for popular genres, Peterson maintains that the differences between class music preferences can be identified in the width of their tastes. High-status individuals are sketched as omnivores with more inclusive tastes that are based on and can include different music cultures, while lower status individuals have more restricted tastes, are more 'univorous' (Peterson and Kern 1996; Peterson 1992, 2005; Peterson and Anand 2004).

The supporters of *omnivorousness* substantiate the particular position theoretically as well as with a variety of quantitative research findings. Peterson and Kern (1996) explain that since the nineteenth century two major changes took place, one in aesthetics and one in social conditions and attitudes, resulting into more inclusive perceptions of good taste and quality in music. Firstly, they argue, as societies became gradually multicultural and pluralistic, and different

cultural expressions found their voice and entered the realm of consumption, the single-standard criterion of quality did not suffice to evaluate them all (Peterson and Kern 1996, p.905). Thus, they argue the standards of universal qualities that privilege only certain cultural attitudes and objects can no longer be applied. Additionally, Peterson and Kern (1996) explain that as the idea that the worth of music or art is not inherent in the work but rather is socially constructed became popular in cultural thinking, it resulted to the inclusion of different forms of culture into what was perceived as prestigious or qualitative. The acceptance of aesthetic appropriation and mixing of different elements originating in different cultural traditions by cultural theorists, according to Peterson, also sanctioned the shift from elite snobbism to the more inclusive character of *omnivorousness* (Peterson 2005, p.276).

Secondly, Peterson and Kern argue, major sociopolitical events of the twentieth century, like the second World War and its atrocities, created a distaste for authoritative claims of superiority which in past societies were not only common but were also legitimized by science and law (1996, p.905). In their view, “the change from exclusionist snob to inclusionist omnivore can thus be seen as a part of the historical trend toward greater tolerance of those holding different values” (Peterson and Kern 1996, p.905). This way, Peterson and Kern explain, social distinction was gradually disassociated from the snob rejection of all non-highbrow cultural forms, and was linked to flexibility and width of cultural appreciation (1996, pp.901).

However, *omnivorousness* neither implies an indiscriminate consumption of culture, nor an indifference towards distinctions but rather suggests “the formulation of new rules governing symbolic boundaries” (Peterson and Kern 1996, p.904). While omnivores might be more tolerant and open to experiment with a variety of cultures, their open-mindedness can still depend on factors such as education and social mobility or ‘cosmopolitan’ aesthetics, and it is similarly “directed towards the demonstration of cultural and social superiority” (Chan and Goldthorpe 2007, p.3). This alternative form of discrimination can be expressed in the *use* of popular culture, which can be ironic or condescending, or



in the straightforward rejection of certain of its forms that are still associated with lower status groups (Bryson, 1996; Chan and Goldthorpe 2007). Thus, while *omnivorousness* is different from Bourdieu's homology positions, it does not actually undermine the centrality of class or status in music tastes, but simply positions the concepts within wider social contexts and considers the complexities that these might entail (Atkinson 2011).

*Omnivorousness* studies, however, entail several issues in relation to social and music categorizations, that derive from both their class focus and their methodological structure and that share certain similarities with those identified in Bourdieu's work. Firstly, the music categories usually employed in this predominantly quantitative type of studies are quite problematic as they are often not only quite broad, like 'pop-rock'<sup>29</sup> but also neglect to factor in the different ways in which people might interpret them and what sounds they might think each one includes (Atkinson 2011). Similarly, the variety of ways in which different people might consume music (ironically, passively, appropriating it, etc.) is ignored as a variable, and so are the social connotations of such attitudes (Atkinson 2011, p.172).

Furthermore, it could be argued that the acceptance of the highbrow/lowbrow axis and its employment to classify music is quite problematic. By implementing this division, researchers characterize and classify music arbitrarily, ignoring any notions of subcultural or alternative forms of capital and their translation into social identities<sup>30</sup>. Thus, the use of the particular dichotomy, which as demonstrated in the previous chapter was born out of class distinctions, legitimizes their differences and 'inherent' qualities as 'natural' instead of contextualizing them to see how they relate to collective identities.

---

<sup>29</sup> See Chan and Goldthorpe 2007

<sup>30</sup> Peterson and Kern (1996) for example classify rock as lowbrow, while pop is ignored completely, and jazz is mentioned in a footnote where they explain why it was omitted altogether from their scales due to its shift from one category to the other. Chan and Goldthorpe on the other hand group Opera and operetta together even though the latter was traditionally considered a low form of music, while they completely ignore entire categories of the musical spectrum like electronic music or hip-hop which are not placed in either one.

Secondly, as the particular approach interprets its findings through the prism of class, it ignores new social formations and groupings and their links to other types of social or role identities. Research participants are never asked to define the social positions or groupings that they think characterizes them more adequately, but they are indiscriminately and involuntarily placed under a class label that could be of little importance to them<sup>31</sup>. Moreover, regardless of the validity of the observed patterns between music consumption, status, income, profession and education, having class as the starting point for their explanation and categorization, constructs the relationship between them in very specific terms instead of investigating it. Thus, class functions as a set of blinders that make other concurrent categorizations and groupings invisible (Slobin 1993, p.49).

In order to critically evaluate the theorizations of musical and social classification discussed so far and justify the suggestion for a theoretical alternative, it is crucial to examine the notion of class itself. Classes are traditionally understood in a Marxist view, as groupings of people based on “income, occupation, education, and other indicators of the amount, or the means, of making money” (Peterson and DiMaggio 1975, p.504). The conditions that characterize a person’s economic situation are evidently placed in the center of the particular definition, while all other features are secondary components that can be affected by that position, be a part of it, or a combination of the two. Consequently, a rather rigid perception of class is created, one that neglects considering other parameters that can affect a person’s socio-economic circumstances or their representation. However, given the changes of the last couple of decades on the way people can actively organize their lives and make their educational choices, as well as the circumstances that translate education into professions which are not necessarily as linear as they once were, a more inclusive definition would be perhaps more relevant<sup>32</sup>.

---

<sup>31</sup> Bennett et al argue that today “There is a tendency to see social structure in terms of ‘us’ and ‘them’, although little of that sensibility is translated into active use of the language of class. There is a weak sense of class identity” (2009, p.212). In their study, they claim less than one third of the participants thought of themselves as part of a social class.

<sup>32</sup> In most European countries today the necessity to work does not necessarily force someone to bypass education as it once did and lower class students can have access to higher and often

Gans argues that class positions are determined by three criteria: income, occupation and education, emphasizing the importance of the latter, which he defines as a combination of schooling and “what people learn from the mass media and other sources” (1999, p.95). While his approach to the concept of class is still based on the Marxist economic approach mentioned above, it offers a more open understanding of the way class might be perceived or formed today, incorporating the crucial element of ‘schooling’ and allowing for additional influences to be considered in people’s positions than economic necessities or employment certainties. Bourdieu on the other hand, bypasses the constrictions of the Marxist understanding of the concept of class by linking it with the notion of status and the struggle for distinction. Without dismissing the importance of the economic sphere, he suggests, “that classes arise in the conjunction of shared positions in social space and shared dispositions actualized in the sphere of consumption” (Wacquant 2008 p.117)<sup>33</sup>.

The variety of social groupings that can fit within a class or even at the class intersections that result from the various combinations of the elements presented above and their subjective hierarchization, produce a system of social positions that is not as straightforward as the ones past perceptions of class perhaps entailed. Similarly, new social formations and configurations, as well as symbols of cultural and social mobility can complicate further any notions of class tastes, or musical homologies (Emmison 2003). According to Crane, “all social classes today are fragmented into different life-styles or culture classes that at times intersect with different classes” (1992, p.68). Culture classes, groups with “shared patterns of consumption” (Peterson and DiMaggio 1975,

---

prestigious education. Their financial situation after graduation, however, is not predetermined and cannot be categorized under class X or Y but rather depends on their own decisions for economic and social advancement, which could entail unorthodox hierarchies in terms of prestige, income and actual profession. Similarly education does not lead to a predetermined occupation, for example a person educated as an architect could become a professional blogger who may or may not have a low income, who may or may not be considered prestigious, and whose social and financial position depends on a different type of understandings that it would twenty years ago, when being a blogger was not even considered a profession, much less a prestigious one, as it is within certain circles today. Ideology, and the rules of demand and supply can also affect the relationship between profession, education, and income complicating further the idea of class.

<sup>33</sup> However, as it was previously discussed Bourdieu’s combined idea of class and status creates its own issues affecting subsequently all perceptions of cultural consumption as well.

p.504), Crane continues, are not secondary elements of social identity that conform to class and class preconceptions, but can be just as easily their determinants. Likewise, Peterson and Anand question whether class, which they explain as “groupings of people defined by their relationship to the means of production”, and culture classes, i.e. “groupings of people ranked by their patterns of consumption”, coincide today (2004, p.324).

Evidently, then, the translation of social and status difference into class difference is not as straightforward as cultural consumption studies might suggest, and consequently neither are the presumed correspondences between social groupings and cultural objects, tastes or practices. By arguing that social class is not the determinant of cultural consumption I am not aiming to separate the latter from social inequalities, nor am I refuting Bourdieu’s or Peterson’s findings and core concepts. Cultural capital as a symbolic marker of social position and distinction is arguably as much in effect in today’s societies as it was thirty years ago when Bourdieu formulated his theories. Similarly, the omnivorous consumption trends and patterns that Peterson detected in music can still be relevant, even if slightly different as genres’ symbolic positions change and new music comes to the forefront. I am, however, arguing that both theorists’ theoretical interpretive frameworks progressively prove to be insubstantial as social division today depends on a significantly more complicated process that either theory suggests, and as such, a different approach is necessary to assess its relation to music tastes and consumption patterns.

## 2.2. Cultural consumption, *spectacle* and status

Whether “snob” or omnivorous, theories of music tastes and consumption patterns are based on the one hand on the effect class has on their formation, and on the other on the socially assigned value of different musics that function as means of distinction. While the former advocates the (high) status of music itself as a variable of distinction, which reflects and validates its audience’s social position, the latter argues for a ‘cosmopolitan’ social status that is linked with one’s width in music tastes, sketching ‘openness’ as the primary sign of value. According to Goffman “status may be *ranked* on a scale of *prestige*, according to the amount of social value that is placed upon it relative to other statuses in the same sector of social life” (Goffman, 1951, p.294). Goffman’s definition indicates that the status of music, as well as that of its audiences’ tastes is relational, while at the same time implies that there is only one measure according to which both might be classified. His position, even though not expressed to address the association of music with social groupings, can be related to both sociological approaches to musicosocial categorizations as it seems to validate their insistence on seeing only *one* set of legitimate value judgments, product of *the* dominant class, as an ambiguous category as that might be.

However, it could be argued that the limits of each “sector” are not always clear and consequently neither is their relational assignment of status. Music could be, as many theorists see it, a unified field whose different forms are ranked according to perceptions of their high or low status, but it could also be perceived a compartmentalized one, and every set of sounds, ideologies and practices (genres) constituting a sector of its own<sup>34</sup>. In the latter case, value and status could be defined relationally only *within* each music field and not in a comparison *between* different fields.

---

<sup>34</sup> Each sector/genre in turn could have sub-categories, which are defined by their shared similarities, and not by their differences as it is between genres. This differentiation allows for sub-genres to be treated as part of the same sector, so that they can still be evaluated in relation to each sub-sector’s values but also in relation to the general hyperrule of their sector. Conversely, the categorization of music into groups such as popular, folk and serious, and their subsequent division into different genres, requires that their status and values be ranked only within their limits.

Furthermore, arguably today it is not just one uncontested set of values that determines *the* status order in each sector of social life, nor are 'elite' rankings necessarily more prestigious than others. Different elements such as technological and aesthetic innovations, new ideologies (political, social, generic, etc.), consumerist patterns, and lifestyle choices are a few of the elements that can affect the placement, as well as the acknowledgment or rejection of value by individuals, which may not be preoccupied with notions of 'legitimate' taste, determined by an unknown 'elite' (Kellner 1995; Holt 1998). Therefore, status distinctions in music are not only a matter of evaluation judgments that acquire their importance in relation to the class that forms them, but also contingent upon who is really interested in and affected by those judgments, and in what way<sup>35</sup>.

Maffesoli argues that "the growth and multiplication of the mass media led to the disintegration of the bourgeois culture founded on the universality and the valuing of a few privileged objects and attitudes" (1996, p.26). Similarly, many theorists demonstrate that the media, in all of their current forms, help create, validate and disseminate discourses of status in music, high, low and middlebrow, that are equally important as discussions of 'legitimate' cultural capital perhaps were in the past, but which do not necessarily conform to conventional standards of sociocultural segregation (Fiske 1989; Thornton 1995). These discourses might be coming from mainstream media with a more omnivorous view of culture, niche media that advocate notions of subcultural capital, or fan-based online 'expert' discussions on music. Additionally, similar discourses can be attributed to business conglomerates that serve their own interests by creating and disseminating different ideals of value that attract a

---

<sup>35</sup> 'Elite's judgments concern the people who form them, but not necessarily the people whom they are targeting in a similar manner as presumably low-status audiences' evaluation do not interest 'elite' audiences. The fundamental difference between these two evaluations, according to advocates of the high/low division, lies on the ability of the former audience to regulate the latter's social and material life in accordance to the rankings produced by their own cultural values, and not the evaluation of music per se. On the other hand the acceptance of the evaluation of music as a unified sector with serious music being considered *better* than popular music, not just different, and asking for its availability to lower social strata, creates its own issues of social inequality, as discussed by Rancière (2004).

variety of audiences, ensuring people will choose to consume their products *because* of their different values<sup>36</sup> (Frith 1996; Bell and Hollows 2003).

As genres by definition entail sets of social and musical values that define them and differentiate one from the other, it could be argued that they also presuppose some kind of filtering process, conscious or not, by which people choose which suit(s) them better. While these choices are never entirely free from extra-musical influences, as explained in the previous chapter, they validate the plurality of socially accepted tastes and their referentially contrasting values and statuses irrespective of conventional class standards and their internal hierarchies (Kellner 1995). By extension, such alternative views of taste and value in conjunction with media representations of music identities can, in turn, affect the reconceptualization of social boundaries as well as of their symbolic associations (Bell and Hollows 2005; Maffesoli 1996; Abercrombie and Longhurst 1998).

The continuous negotiation of value in different music cultures and tastes implies neither the abolishment of status criteria nor the extinction of dominant values. According to Abercrombie and Longhurst (1998) media discourses are not innocently expressing or reflecting reality, but rather represent it through the prism of preferred meanings and particular ideals, proffering the 'constructed' as real. Thus, the media might still "reinforce dominant frameworks of values" which are pre-classified by the assumptions within which these operate and which, simultaneously, aim at their self-validation (Abercrombie and Longhurst 1998, pp.11-12).

Despite media's proclivity for certain hegemonic representations, societies are still characterized by a variety of values whose coexistence is explained by their fundamentally socially, aesthetically and ideologically relational interpretation (Hall 1980, 1997; Fiske 1989). According to Hall (1980) the meanings of media texts do not depend only on their producers' intentions and encoded ideologies, but also on the way those on the receiving end might decode them. He proposes

---

<sup>36</sup> See chapter 1.1.4.

that while there are readings that follow the prescribed meanings of dominant ideologies, there can also be negotiated and oppositional codes of interpretation, which can produce a variety of different, or even conflicting meanings and alternatives (Hall 1980). Therefore, while media music discourses might still operate within frameworks of hegemonic ideals of value and status, some of these values will be themselves evaluated by audiences and will be subsequently classified according to different ideals and criteria of status.

Thus, it could be argued that neither class dispositions, nor class-imposed perceptions of esteem, or monosemous discourses of symbolic status, create, regulate and establish the value of music. However, as notions of worth still exist and are used to classify music and audiences in a similarly discriminating way, it is obvious that value has to be approached within different schemes of status. Similarly, it is argued that notions of distinction should not be examined through the prism of one social class and its ideals, but within a framework that acknowledges and encompasses the wide variety of statuses, musical and social.

Debord (1992) proposed a theory of social organization and stratification, which argues that traditional means of perceiving value and status have dissipated under the dominance of representations that now dictate social or cultural worth. While in the past “being” was replaced by “having”, Debord argues, in consumerist societies that are saturated with products, “having” can no longer serve a social function. Rather “all effective “having” must now derive both its immediate prestige and its ultimate *raison d’être* from appearances (Debord 1992, para.17). He calls the societies that cultivate this transformation of value and ensure the perpetuation of the social conditions it produces, *societies of the spectacle*.

For Debord the all-encompassing power of the *spectacle* is a product of people’s blind preoccupation with pseudo-needs, that is, recognizing one’s own “needs in the images of need proposed by the dominant system” (1992, para.30). The constant flow of mediated images blinds people to their own desires, so that personal understandings of value cannot be produced. Secluded in the carefully



constructed world of pseudo-needs, individuals commit to the accumulation of products not for their use value but for their representational one (Debord 1992). Furthermore, according to Debord, in *spectacular* societies it is not only material life that has been transformed into a representation but “all that once was directly lived” (1992, para.1). Images have replaced all perceptible aspects of the world, which are being depicted as equally real, yet at the same time, superior to that world (Debord 1992).

However, Debord stresses, “the spectacle is not a collection of images, rather, it is a social relationship between people that is mediated by images” (1992, para.4); it regulates human relationships while sketching out the conditions in which the *spectacle* is being turned into a commodity and each commodity into a medium for appropriating an image. Consumption, in this context, is the basic element of representations of economical, professional or personal success and social status (Debord 1992). Debord moreover explains that the appropriation of images does not concern just the accumulation of commodities but also the *spectacular* representation of the self that is shaped on visible models. He argues “media stars are spectacular representations of living human beings, distilling the essence of the spectacle's banality into images of possible roles [...] Celebrities figure various styles of life and various views of society which anyone is supposedly free to embrace and pursue” (Debord 1992, para.60).

Drawing on Debord's theory it could be argued that social positions can be modeled on a variety of different perceptions of social importance and status than those proposed by Marxist perspectives of class dominance, without necessarily entirely abolishing its relevance. However, instead of relating status to 'objective' notions of class, *spectacular* social positions should be seen as deriving their prestige from consumption patterns and representations that can emulate classes' structural features.

Abercrombie and Longhurst, elaborating on Debord's positions, argue that within the norms of the *spectacle* “people come to see themselves as their images” (1998, pp.91), drawing on the media to sketch their representations.

Such *spectacular* processes are facilitated, according to them, by “the aestheticization of everyday life”, that is, the preoccupation “with the appearance of things and their stylistic coherence with other things” (Abercrombie and Longhurst 1998, p.85). Featherstone, without discussing the *spectacle* per se, similarly argues that the “the rapid flow of signs” which saturate the everyday has led to its aestheticization (2006, p.66). Emphasizing the relationship between the latter, consumerism, and representation, he stresses that “the centrality of the commercial manipulation of images through advertising the media and the displays, performances and spectacles of the urbanized fabric of daily life [...] entails a constant reworking of desires through images” (2007, p.66). This process, for Featherstone, concerns all social groups and economic strata, as consumer culture publicity, its models and practices, suggest “that we all have room for self-improvement and self-expression whatever our age or class origins” (Featherstone 2007, p.84). Thus, Featherstone concludes, aestheticization produces in individuals a “stylistic self-consciousness” and encourages them to customize a lifestyle, which, even though can be related to class structures or dispositions, cannot be identified with them (Featherstone 2007).

The pervasiveness of lifestyles, and their effect/goal of ‘producing’ *spectacular* social selves based on stylistic coherence and consumption patterns, arguably exemplifies the transformation of status from a class-related concept<sup>37</sup> to a representational one. Drawing on the symbolic resources of consumer culture, different lifestyles offer a repertory of identities for individuals to play with, and consciously establish their differences, irrespectively of traditional social structures and conceptions of social stratification (Chaney 1996; Bell and Hollows 2003). Individuals’ preoccupation with social images unavoidably encompasses the performance of status, the most precious of all *spectacular* commodities<sup>38</sup>. Living in a world swarmed with different images of individuality, success and fulfillment, individuals are being constantly interpellated and at the

---

<sup>37</sup> As both Bourdieu and Peterson treated status and related concepts.

<sup>38</sup> Status should not be confused with notions of elite status like those assumed Bourdieu for example, but *spectacular* status that could take any form.

same time invited to actively show who they are. As byproducts of the general representational perception of society that coaxes all social strata in the clutches of consumption and production of an coherently 'aestheticized' social self, different perceptions and expressions of status guide individuals through this process, irrespectively of their actual role in the production and dissemination of social and cultural recourses, i.e. their class.

Weber posits that "depending on the prevailing mode of stratification, we shall speak of a "status society" or a "class society"" (1978, pp.306-307). Considering the predominance of sign value today, it is argued that we no longer live in a class society, even though *representations* of classes could still function as a means of distinction, but in a status society, where social esteem is mainly claimed and established *spectacularly*. According to Bell and Hollows "culture has become a 'symbolic repertoire', adapted from images and symbols available in a mass-mediated environment which are then assembled into performances associated with particular groups. A repertoire is a set of practices through which people symbolically represent identity and difference" (2005, p.114). Thus, cultural objects, consumption patterns and identities actually come to denote social positions, they become real by their enactment. Depending on how successfully individuals perform the ideals that each status entails, they are being "*rated* on a scale of esteem" (Goffman 1951, p.294) acquiring their subjective, distinctive social positions. Performance thus not only becomes a crucial element in the construction of social selves but also helps "speed up the spectacularization of the world" (Abercrobie and Longhurst 1998, p.177) which in a cyclical manner demands and depends on that very performance.

Bourdieu offers a similar, narrower perception of performance as a process that can shape social positions and status which he names 'bluff'. He argues "bluff is one of the few ways of escaping the limits of social condition by playing on the relative autonomy of the symbolic (i.e. the capacity to make and perceive representations) in order to impose a self-representation [...] and to win the acceptance and recognition which make it a legitimate objective representation" (Bourdieu 1989, p.253). On a first glance Bourdieu's "bluff", might seam similar

to the tenets of the *spectacle*. However, in *spectacular* societies the particular process is internalized and it is not necessarily consciously perceived as an intentional 'bluff', a means of deceiving others. The very essence of the *spectacle* is the representation of the self, however one may wish to construct it. It is not a performance of a 'fake' identity, but rather the self being constructed and perceived as its representation.

Through a *spectacular* prism, then, it is reasonable to argue that the sense of distinction that asserts one's status and social position, is not really class-determined, but is linked with the consumption of a series of commodities that have been fetishized by the *spectacle*, in order to emulate certain pre-constructed images. While social inequalities and discrimination still exist, these are as much constructed by the manipulation of people's desire for specific 'selves', images and lifestyles as by their economic realities. All social groupings and economic strata are subdued by this process, manipulated and encouraged to experience themselves, others, and the relationships between them in a *spectacular* way, creating a more diffused sense of social power. By this, I mean that hierarchizations no longer depend on a dominant class that determines the value of cultural objects and social relationships, but on a *spectacle*-indispensable variety of status-imbued commodities and representations that can alter the way one is, feels one should be, or wishes to be perceived as being positioned in society<sup>39</sup>. In this way, social and cultural inequalities are not simply reproduced by an 'elite' that judges and positions, but actively legitimized by a willful process of self-classification<sup>40</sup>.

Consequently, music preferences, tastes, and performances of belonging should be interpreted in relation to *spectacular* positions, that construct the self in relation to ideal representations chosen and appropriated from the repertoire of social identities offered by the *spectacle*. Just like the association of culture with class was argued to function as a social handbook that indicates right modes of consumption in relation to the *habitus* (DiMaggio and Useem 1978), the *spectacle*

---

<sup>39</sup> At the same time the structure of the *spectacle* itself, blurs the boundaries between these three approaches to the self which are not clearly differentiated.

<sup>40</sup> This argument will be further explored in the following sections.

offers a series of stylistically and representationally differentiated social guides providing information as to how to perform the 'ideal' self and thus assume it. In this case, generic discourses and myths provide the index not just of music ideologies but also of possible social collectivities that represent a variety of ideals and values for people to identify with, adopt and perform.

### **2.3. Music mythology and identity**

Representations are not only relevant to *spectacular* identities, and interpretations of social organization. Several theorists argue that all identities are in fact constituted and exist only in representation (Hall 1996; Frith 1996; Woodward 2002; Carlson 2004). Individuals make sense of who they are and how they are separated from others through systems of representation that provide the means for social classification (Woodward 2002, 2004). They select habits and attributes which they use "to represent oneself to oneself and to others by oneself and by others" by establishing recognizable features that allow the grouping of presumably likeminded individuals (Turino 2008, p.95, 102). Thus, the perception of both self and others passes through an inescapable social and cultural symbolic filter (Shepherd 1991).

Goffman (1961) argues that all actions and appearances are representing attributes of the 'self' to others and communicate information about individuals and the categories in which they best fit. Whether consciously or unknowingly, the exchange of perceptible and identifiable messages between individuals makes them sources of "embodied information" (Goffman 1963, p.15). This information usually confirms particular conceptions individuals already have of themselves, which they are not only prepared to accept but often also find desirable (Goffman 1961, p.103). According to Goffman this can be a deliberate process where individuals wishing to give a particular impression will act in a calculating manner, but they can also be convinced of the reality of the situation which they are presenting (1959). Bar-Tal (1998) similarly identifies the importance of communicating information in the construction of identity in relation to group characteristics and processes of belonging. He argues that

“information about the collective of individuals (that is, their attributes) serves as a basis for their self-classification as group members. This information denotes the similarity of in-group members and their uniqueness in comparison to out-group members” (1998, p.104).

The particular positions arguably presuppose that in order to categorize others and self-classify themselves individuals assimilate a variety of symbols, which they continuously interpret according to known and socially meaningful representational systems. The information on which individuals may choose to build their view of themselves and their sense of belonging, is to a large extent produced by media discourses, representations and images that according to Kellner provide “the materials out of which people forge their very identities” (1995, p.1)<sup>41</sup>. As identities are not fixed but rather always in flux (Hall 1996; Frith 1996) and “in the process of becoming” (Negus 2002, p.136), it could be argued that individuals continuously window-shop for identity materials from a constantly changing social and cultural array of representations. The selection of these elements is, then, filtered by a process that allows them to internalize the features that best fit their idea of their (ideal) selves, and become part of one or more collective identities that share the particular features (Turner 1982; Owens et al. 2010).

According to Turner (1982) this is a process by which people also internalize certain forms of social categorization that become part of their perception of self. He defines the particular process as identification, that is, “the process of locating oneself, or another person, within a system of social categorizations”, and of identifying the possible social categorizations that individuals use to define themselves and others (Turner 1982, p.18). The sum of a person’s identifications, Turner continues, comprises their social identity. Tajfel similarly views social identity, “as that *part* of the individuals’ self-concept which derives from their knowledge of their membership of a social group (or groups) together

---

<sup>41</sup> It should be noted however that Kellner’s position is based on the notion of media culture and not on theories of the *spectacle*, therefore while he too perceives the construction of identity on images and representations he limits it to the effect of media culture and does not perceive society as being regulated by representations.

with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership” (1982, p.2).

Therefore, perceptions of the self as well as of others are arguably constructed in representation and subsequently placed within predetermined systems of classification, regardless if one adopts a *spectacular* approach to societal structure or rejects it. However, I wish to argue that the way in which the *spectacular* formation of society affects the particular process is located in the variety of available social and cultural representations it produces and sustains, the means by which it divides or combines them into systems of social categorization, and how these regulate social organization and relationships in general. More particularly, the visible attribution of status-value to different cultural forms and signals, roles and performances, which are internalized into perceptions of the self, and which presumably everyone can access and freely evaluate, choose and assume, help sustain social stratification by masking it as cultural agency, while at the same time it obscures the power relations it entails.

In relation to music preferences, theories have so far argued that class-defined social groupings presumably create dispositions towards certain tastes, guided by competences as well as the desire for distinction, status, and group coherence (Bourdieu 1989). Consequently, music tastes and identities were seen to be determined both by the access to, and interest in certain musics that each individual’s class position deemed appropriate, desirable or ‘natural’, claiming a relatively passive relation between class and music identities. In *spectacular* societies however, both social and musical identities are argued to be the result of an active process that fits together the image of the ideal social self with the music forms and practices that representations inform us it could entail (Abercrombie and Longhurst 1998, p.107). In other words, as individuals can choose and construct their social identity themselves, they also incorporate the elements, like music tastes, that will help them perform it instead of adopting the ones their class allows, or asks them to<sup>42</sup>. Thus the game of sociocultural

---

<sup>42</sup> This position does not disregard personal taste, aesthetics or emotional responses to music, as these are part of one’s desired self. One might want to be emotionally moved, others to have a

classifications and homologies changes altogether, and music taste can be defined by where one wishes to belong and not where one is placed, which is subsequently determined by different forms of *spectacular* currency.

For all their possible combinations though, the material from which individuals draw to shape and perform their identities is arguably more or less predetermined. Owens et al. argue that “identities are elements of both the social structure and the individual self-structures that internalize them. While individuals may incorporate meanings associated by social positions and distinctions into their view of themselves, the menu from which they choose to do so is created by larger social environment” (2010, p.480). Even if consumer society might have changed the perception of social positions and identities, linking them with lifestyles, style, leisure consumption and taste cultures, which are defined by ‘freedom of choice’, the extent of that freedom is still socially defined (Featherstone 2007).

Similarly Bourdieu explains, “we can always say that individuals make choices, as long as we do not forget that they do not choose the principals of these choices” (Wacquant 1989, p.45)<sup>43</sup>. Even if through a *spectacular* lens, individuals voluntarily assume their cultural or social positions and identities based on their favored models of status and value, these still depend on the available representations that are produced, reinvented and reproduced by power structures in society<sup>44</sup>. The logic of capitalist and consumerist ideologies, and the myths accompanying notions of music quality, originality and authenticity, as well as a variety of social archetypes firmly rooted into social structures, form the principles of the musicosocial identities on offer, regardless of whether audiences identify with the bourgeois ideals they entail or not. Thus, as “the meaning of the visual is not at the disposal of individuals but is overdetermined

---

physical reaction to music, and others a mental one. None of these options however is restricted by presumable social positions but rather supported by the way individuals see themselves and imagine being seen. Spectacular representations of social and music identities can function in an interactive way in which the one defines the other as long as the result fits with the ‘ideal’. It is the latter that is actually delimited by the *spectacle*.

<sup>43</sup> Bourdieu’s interview with Wacquant

<sup>44</sup> Debord actually locates this power structures in the spectacle itself which he sees as a mechanism that functions for its own sake, reproducing the means that sustain its own power.



by the history of representation”, the possibilities of identity are actually limited by power (Weedon 2004, p.15).

Theorists furthermore argue that individuals construct their biography and apprehend and negotiate their social relations, imagining themselves situated within larger narratives, (Giddens 1991; Hall 1996; Frith 1996b; Becker 2004; Biancarosso 2004;). As narrative is “a site where discourse takes a materiality by shaping the cultural condition of practice” (Biancarosso 2004, p.216), this narrativization of the self is a process similarly bound to established schemes of representation. Therefore, narratives function as the intersection between the individual and the social, where personal identities draw from the socially available resources, already shaped by discourse, to construct a sense of who they would like to be and how they fit into their preferred ‘story’. According to Hall, “the necessarily fictional nature of this process in no way undermines its discursive, material or political effectivity, even if the belongingness, the ‘suturing into the story’ through which identities arise is partly in the imaginary (as well as the symbolic) and therefore always, partly constructed in fantasy, or at least within a fantasmatic field” (1996, p.4).

Žižek argues that fantasy plays a more complex role in identity formation and belongingness than simply placing individuals within personal perceptions of the self and its discursively constructed stories. He sees it not just as the means by which individuals answer the question of who they are for themselves or the Other, but mainly for “the Other’s desire” (Žižek 2005, p.58). This latter aspect of identity indicates that by choosing their ideal social selves and stories, individuals also choose whose opinion matters most to them and what social identities they value more within particular contexts<sup>45</sup>. If identity is constructed to a certain point to fit the expectations of particular Others, then individuals’ choice to consciously reproduce the features and attributes these Others value,

---

<sup>45</sup> Identity theorists suggest that the individual do not possess just one self but rather that identities are fragmented and at times even conflicting. The choice of narratives and selves, as well as of which Other’s desires these should satisfy, then, can only be related to particular contexts and not be generalized. It is the process of making these choices to construct a particular identity, that is generalizable (Mead 1934; Goffman 1959,1961, 1963; Hall 1996).

legitimize both their claim at belonging in that very group, but also the position and values the group itself represents. This could also mean that not only elite positions are legitimized, which agrees with past social models' claims, but also social groups that are positioned on the opposite end of social and economic structures. This way social inequality is also legitimized in a sense, as people choose to identify with and sustain particular positions regardless if their social or class identities would place them there or not.

Culture, and more particularly music, play a significant role in this process of identity formation and legitimization, collective or personal, real and imagined (Frith 1996; DeNora 1999). According to DeNora "music can be used as a device for the reflexive process of remembering/constructing who one is, a technology for spinning the apparently 'continuous' tale of who one 'is'" (1999, p.45). Individuals can locate and elaborate their self-identity using templates provided by the variety of music material (DeNora 1999, p.49). This material can be as strictly musical (sounds invoking memories for example) but also social (invoking representations).

Frith on the other hand interprets music identity as an ideal, a medium to express who individuals would like to be and to experience how "that ideal could be" (1996a, p.23, 123). The ways that music identities can be linked to particular social realities and ideals are identified with the generic organization of music that offers people "access to a social world, a part in some sort of social narrative" (Frith 1996, p.90). The lifestyles, world-views and social belongings that genres entail, then, could be seen as a *spectacular* index that facilitates not just the classification of others but also the voluntary positioning of individuals into groups that are definitionally more than musical. Furthermore, the naturalized music representations on offer mask the social structural material of the narrativization of selfhood, utilizing to a large extent the available music myths to fuse the personal with the social.

This merging is feasible, on the one hand, because music myths create ideals that depend on existing or past identities and role models. Similarly to Debord's

media stars, the mythic figures of artists and their defining features, as these are designated by each genre, as well as the social roles that these promote as ideal in relation and contrast to the roles offered by different music myths, allow individuals to explore and play with a variety of selves they might wish to become (Doty 2000, p.63). On the other hand, the different positions, competences and roles offered by each myth that appear to provide a space for exploring or establishing cultural belongingness, reproduce at the same time a rather specific social order and perception of social division.

Doty argues that actually “myths establish the personal-social boundaries of interpreted existence and guide one’s adjustment to normative attitudes, statuses, and roles within it” (2000, p.71). They achieve this by relating the inner self, to the outer “public roles” that particular cultures and societies offer (Doty 2000, p.144). Furthermore, according to Doty “myths provide the overarching conceptualities of a society by structuring its symbolic representations of reality. Myth expresses how we feel about reality, as opposed to what we know rationally” (2000, p.51). Consequently, the identification with particular music myths also entails a corresponding perception of the world and how one imagines it, accepting the different sets of social relationships they encompass, but also one’s own role within the specific story they tell.

However, music identity is not just a product of individual fantasies but it is also ‘real’; while it is the idealization of both one’s self and “the social world one inhabits” it is also enacted in activity (Frith 1996, p.274). DeCerteau explains that individuals act in accordance with the discourses they believe in, it is the conviction of their validity that “produces practitioners” (1984, p.148). Furthermore, he argues that “to make people believe is to make them act. But by a curious circularity, the ability to make people act [...] is precisely what makes people believe” (DeCerteau 1984, p.148). As naturalized discourses, music myths arguably function not just as “coding devices” for identity construction but also discursive acts “through which actors evoke the sentiments out of which society is actively constructed” (Lincoln 1992, p.25). They are self-sustained systems of belief that depend on the enactment of their tenets. Therefore, it is argued that

the acceptance and active incorporation of generic symbolic repertoires into identities aid 'the imagined' to legitimize 'the real' both conceptually and practically.

#### **2.4. *Musicking* and the performance of the self**

So far identity has been linked predominantly with representations and the placement of self and others within *spectacular* systems of categorizations and perceptions of the ideal. However, it was also argued that identity is not 'fantastical', a process of idealizing the self, but also real, it is shaped in enactment. Drawing on Mead, Owens et al. argue that, in fact, the self is both "a phenomenon of the human mind "and the product of "reflexive action" (2010, p.478). As the exchange of embodied information in all kinds of social interaction is not merely the result of co-presence but rather its prerequisite, identity is also dependent on performance, on the visible and deliberate presentation of a self to others within particular social environments (Mead 1934; Goffman 1951; 1969; 1961; 1963; Turner 1988; Hall 1996; Schechner 2003). Goffman defines as performance "all activity of an individual which occurs during a period marked by his continuous presence before a particular set of observers and which has some influence on the observer" (Goffman 1969, p.32). He furthermore argues that individuals choose which elements of their identity they should make known with their actions and to what purpose, by evaluating the situation in which they find themselves and the features they believe those around them will value the most (Goffman 1969).

Therefore, all individuals in a given social setting are simultaneously performers and observers, presenting themselves and deliberately accentuating their behavior under the gaze of others imagining how *they* will see them (Abercrombie and Longhurst 1998). Furthermore, according to Goffman, individuals take roles, desired self-identifications that emerge from their enactment, even if not always consciously, and infuse their performances with signs "which dramatically highlight and portray confirmatory facts" about who they are that otherwise might remain unnoticed (1969, p.40). At the same time,

they also decide which features might be considered inappropriate and hide them, creating thus a sense that they are related to their audience in a more ideal way that they might actually be (Goffman 1969). This way, in each occasion what might be perceived as the appropriate self is called forth, making it possible for individuals' multiplicity of selves and identities to be maintained, even if these are different or even conflicting, and each of them to connect with different types of situations and audiences. However, Goffman argues "mere efficient enactment is not enough to provide identities; activities must be built up socially, and made something of" (1961, p.101), linking thus identity performance once again with the material offered by wider social structures, processes and norms.

According to Bell, however, "identity is the effect of performance and not vice versa" (1999, p.3). Theories of performativity maintain that the practices and activities people perform are not only individual expressions of how they see themselves and how they wish others to see them, but the "means by which [they] come to be what [they] are" (Loxley 2007, p.118). This performative process, is not linked with the situations from which selves are born, but according to Butler with social schemes of thinking and discourses that construct identities by providing and imposing the norms of identification that precede and constrain the individual performer (1990; 1993). More particularly she states that "discursive performativity appears to produce that which it names, to enact its own referent" (Butler 1993, p.70).

Furthermore, Butler considers *iterability*, which she defines as the repeated materialization of these norms that is not *performed* by a subject but "enables a subject and constitutes the temporal condition for the subject" a fundamental element of performativity (1993, p.60). The reiteration of acts is not perceived to depend on an already established identity but rather the 'subject' is the effect of repetition (Bell 1999, p.201). This constructive process is not only relevant to individual identities but perhaps even more so to collective ones. According to Bell performative acts are regulatory practices that "produce social categories and the norms of membership within them" (1993, p.43).

It could be argued then, that in societies of the *spectacle*, where people are convinced of the 'reality' and value of representations which serve as the main social currency shaping accordingly social roles and relations, both performance and performativity function as means of constructing the self as much as of sustaining and perpetuating the social system that produces the repertoires they draw from. They both depend on knowledge of, and identification with *spectacular* representations whose continuous renewal subsequently creates the demand for more mediated information to fuel the process of understanding, shaping and performing selfhood (Abercrombie and Longhurst 1998). At the same time individuals are no longer performers and spectators that simply adopt and enact pre-given norms that shape them into collective identities, but through their performance they become the *spectacle's* images. They identify not with social groups but with their representation, subsequently enacting their perception of a specific reality and their position in it.

Music events encapsulate both elements of selfhood, performance and performativity, as well as their dependence on *spectacular* representations and norms. So far the formation of distinctive musical selves has been related to a fragmented perception of music, its genres, their discourses, their myths and the social narratives they offer. However, as it was argued in chapter one, music is not a collection of sounds or works but rather an activity that consists of the combined performance of audience and performers; it exists only *as* it is being performed (Small 1997, 1998). While the process that defines *musicking* remains the same for all music types, different stylistic, ideological or performative elements give each performance its generic character and provide the means for different musicosocial identities and categorizations to flourish and be expressed in activity (Small 1997, 1998; Becker 2004).

Even though listening to music at home, on an mp3 or in one's car can be a form of *musicking* (Small 1997), the performative and interactive presuppositions of identity formation and establishment, link the social self with more collective music expressions. Especially *spectacle*-related notions of social identity, that were argued to stem from mythic models and roles, and depend on visible

exchange of information, necessitate an audience that will be part as much of the musicians' performance as of that of individuals themselves. Live events then, arguably constitute fulcrums of music identity performance where generic and social ideals can be acted out, as well as to function as *spectacular* mechanisms for the sustenance of the beliefs that trigger their enactment<sup>46</sup>.

Small argues that on a first level "musical performances of all kinds have always been events to which people go, at least in part, to see and be seen; it is part of the meaning of the event" (Small, 1998, p.23). Regardless if they are fully aware of it or not, by participating in musical events individuals announce to one another who they are (Small 1998, p.43). Thus music performances, Small argues, allow people to communicate information about themselves but also offer them the opportunity to choose or imagine who they want to be (1998, p.134). This choice is realized by the very decision to attend one type of event and not another, to present oneself to a certain set of spectators.

Abercrombie and Longhurst support this view, adding that people attend public live events partly because they desire to form a (sense of a) relationship with an audience (1998, p.66). They explain that people's wish for 'belonging' is a component of identity formation and affirmation, and so being part of an audience is actually "intimately bound up with the construction of a person" (Abercrombie and Longhurst 1998, p.37). Turner similarly maintains that "men" are self-performing animals that use *reflexive* performances to reveal who they are to themselves, and get to know themselves better not only through enactment but also "through observing and/or participating in performances generated and presented by another set of human beings" (Turner 1988, p.81).

---

<sup>46</sup> Live events are distinguished from other forms of public musicking, because presumably the individuals that attend them are interested in the particular type of music and most probably are aware of the symbols, ideals and statuses that it entails. On the contrary, people who listen to music collectively, for example in bar, could be there for a wider variety of reasons than those in live events, and not necessarily because they identify with the music being performed. Additionally, it is not necessary such places will have a particular music character, or that all members of the audience understand the codes entailed in each sound.

Music performances, then, as “three dimensional representations of reality” can assist the sense of belonging, communicate messages about social categorizations, hierarchies, identities and positions in a concise way (Bell 1997, p.161). Bell explains that the ‘power’ of such formalized activities is located mainly in the “multisensory experience” they offer to participants who are not just “told or shown something but are led to experience something” (1997, p.160). The ways in which performances are framed, how they accentuate certain characteristics and distinguish them from others, convey a sense of universal truth. Thus belief in what the performance represents is attained in activity, in the enactment of ideals that constructs a somewhat artificial reality, which Bell sees as a portrayal of the “elusive” macrocosm (1997, p.160).

Thus, the active participation in music performances is connected not only to the articulation of (imaginary) social realities and individuals’ existing, or possible identities, but also to notions of ideal societies (Small 1987; Frith 1996b). Small argues that “the *musicking* that moves us most will be that which most subtly, comprehensively and powerfully articulates the relationships of our ideal society” (Small 1998, p.70). Therefore, it could be argued that the inherent symbolic codes and repertoires of generic identities which individuals adopt and identify with, actively reproduce the different sets of social relationships that each myth entails.

Similarly, the performativity of generic norms and the role it plays in the sense of selfhood signifies a disposition towards certain social ideals as well as the perception of relationships between individuals (Small 1997). According to Small the fact that the individuals attending an event are enjoying their participation and “do not feel constrained but feel that they are behaving naturally shows that a musical performance while it lasts brings into existence relationships which model those which they would like to see in the wider society of everyday” (1987, p.70). Even though Small’s generalization regarding the desired implementation of the characteristics and relationship of an event to



society is highly hypothetical, participants' perception of what is natural or not during an event arguably points towards a kind of an ideal, momentary or not<sup>47</sup>.

Small (1998) adds that particular notions of society can also be shaped by the material conditions and architectural structures that define music performances. Concert halls for example, he argues, are designed and built so as to fit certain assumptions about desirable behaviors and relationships, which do not concern only the space of musical performance but social relationships in general (Small 1998, p.32). As the types of proper behavior in the particular space are already established as common sense, buildings are shaped to encourage that behavior closing off at the same time "the possibility of behaviors of different kinds" (Small 1998, p.20)<sup>48</sup>. Bell similarly suggests that people's actions in any given environment are responses to that environment's requirements, but at the same time the organization of space is adjusted to the ways people move around it (1997, p.139). Taking into account the performative aspects of music events, it is argued that in either case, individuals follow and enact the norms that particular spaces, linked with certain types of music, have instilled into perceptions of proper behavior and social relationships; they offer a medium for the performance of specific roles within a specific setting.

Considering the interaction between 'body', 'space' and the enactment of ideals and performance of identities several theorists maintain that collective public performances are actually rituals (Goffman 1959; Frith 1996; Bell 1997; Small 1997; Schechner 2003). The connection between ritual and music events more particularly, can be based on the one hand on "the deliberate, self-conscious "doing" of highly symbolic actions in public", that is equally crucial in the

---

<sup>47</sup> This topic is further discussed in the analysis chapters.

<sup>48</sup> Audiences are separated from musicians in a way that shapes musical performance as a one-way communication system, and at the same time it encourages its perception as such. The structural arrangement of space, as opposed to all other types of music events, is prohibiting participants to communicate with the musicians, or those around them during the performance but allows them to during its intervals. Similarly, by demanding the audience to be seated, the body is excluded from the pleasures the music has to offer, while the mind is encouraged, if not required, to be active in a state of isolated contemplation. Belonging to the particular audience depends on how closely individuals follow and perform these rules, as any different behaviors cannot go unnoticed.

creation of rituals and spectacles (Bell 1997, pp.159-160)<sup>49</sup>. On the other it can be explained with the argued inherent links between myths and rituals where the latter “provide physical and bodily means of acting out ideas dramatically” (Doty 2000, p.50). According to Small (1997) audiences’ organized behaviors, and the gestures and symbols performed and exchanged during music events, are ritual components that articulate ‘mythic’ relationships, helping audiences explore, celebrate and affirm their identities and sense of ‘the ideal’. Turner, similarly explains that performative genres and “most cultural performances” are forms of ritual, and as such belong to culture’s “subjunctive” mood”, expressing desire, possibility, hypothesis etc. (1988, p.101).

Having discussed the performative constitution of identity that depends on the repetition of symbolic moves and behaviors, as well as the spectacular foundation of the symbols that link music myths with particular social representations, it can be argued that ritual is an indispensable element of musicosocial categorization. While such theorizations of performance, iteration, and musicosocial myths explain the construction of templates and processes for the formation of identity, they do not suffice to explain how iteration might actually establish and legitimize particular identities during music events. Rather as this process transcends the ideal and ‘fantastical’ and enters the domain of experience, action and interaction it is the notion of ritual that contextualizes how *musicking* might actually manage to perform this function, linking music identities to social categorization. Thus, in order to examine how the relation between music and social categorization might be structured and explore their intertwinement during *musicking*, it is necessary to sketch a rudimentary understanding of ritual’s structures and features that define the experience of music events and explore the possible effects they might have on audiences.

---

<sup>49</sup> In this case spectacles could be perceived both in the literal sense of the word and in relation to the theory of the *spectacle*.

## 2.5. Summary

Even though class relations have played a significant role in the discriminatory categorization of music and its corresponding associations with social identities and tastes, today different systems of value determine social stratification and consumption patterns. Social organization and cultural consumption are argued to depend on and sustain a system of representations, which not only creates a symbolic repertoire for individual identities and statuses but also a sense of cultural agency. The representationally constructed character of music genres, tastes, and the musicosocial myths that accompany them, provide individuals with different models of identities that are aligned with understandings of *spectacular* hierarchies. Individuals then, can identify with, and internalize idealized representations of selves and social realities, which they assert and legitimize through their performative iteration.

Music events, expressing “a discourse concerning relationships” that is mediated by sounds (Small 1997, p. 9), are intrinsically linked with this identity formation and legitimization process. During *musicking*, individuals engage in the active production of their ideal view of society and of their role in it, assuming willingly the musicosocial representations they find most preferable and performing the category-specific normative behaviors that they consider ideal and find natural, thus legitimizing the social space they strive to occupy. According to Small, the enactment of music myths and the dramatization of the identities, social relationships and ideals they entail, results from the ritual-like structure and effects of *musicking*. Proposing an experiential foundation of music myths’ relationship with *spectacular* social division, my approach to this theorization suggests that music events need to be correlated to rituals, examining the parameters that shape their similarities in structure, function and effect, as well how these might affect individuals’ perceptions, uses and experiences of *musicking*<sup>50</sup>.

---

<sup>50</sup> Chapter three examines the former aspect of music rituals while the latter will be mostly investigated in chapter six and the analysis of interviews.

### 3. Theory III: Music rituals

The idea of music performances as forms of ritual has been the focus of interest for several studies in the fields of anthropology, sociology and ethnomusicology that investigate the formation of community, identity and belonging through enactment (Fonarow 2006; Finnegan 2007; El-Gadban 2009; Papadimitropoulos 2009). Traditionally the topic is mainly explored in relation to the 'other' or 'exotic' cultures, relating myths, ritual, music and the variety of its accompanying/embodied activities to religious societies or 'primitive' forms of social organization (Sullivan 1997; Clayton 2003; Howard 2006). Less often studies of specific music communities and scenes of the western world employ the notion of ritual to discuss the formation of particular sociocultural identities, like subcultures, or of bodily experiences that are reminiscent of traditional ritual forms, such as trance and rave events (Hebdige 1979; Small 1997; Sylvan 2002; St John 2008). A more general approach to the subject, one that can encompass all collective music events and myths found in western societies rather than be restricted by the particularities of certain music rituals, has not yet been employed<sup>51</sup>. However, the suggested intrinsic relation of ritual with *musicking* necessitates an investigation of the connection between the two concepts within a wider western musical context than that of a single genre or type of events.

This chapter links *musicking* with the idea of ritual first by deconstructing the terminological complexities of ritual theories and the binary structure that often underlies their perception. The second section identifies the main theoretical approaches to ritual function and their relation to its structures as well as to the effects these aim, or are believed to produce. Lastly, it investigates where the concept of ritual converges with *musicking* and the similarities they share in terms of structure, formalization, and performativity. The different types of impact music performances might have on participants are then considered in

---

<sup>51</sup> Even Small's contribution to the subject is limited more or less to the ritual of the concert hall, despite his belief in the common ritualistic nature of all music performances. This is not due to Small's focus on high art music or to a particular social group, but rather to the need to demonstrate the variety of characteristics of the ritual process and their social parameters.

relation to their presumed functions in order to determine whether and how *musicking* might be linked with social division<sup>52</sup>.

### 3.1 Terminological issues with ritual: sacred or secular?

Ritual is a rather loose term that can be used in a variety of ways (Lukes 1975; Moore and Myerhoff 1977; Goody 1977; Schechner 1988; Bell 1992; 1997). While there are certain formal properties that are traditionally considered intrinsic to ritual, theorists often tend to employ their personal interpretation of the word adjusting its meaning to their own studies, complicating its possible understandings (Moore and Myerhoff 1977; Bell 1992). Standardized collective action can be named ritual, ceremony, ritualized action, or rite often without theorists offering any specific definitions that would adequately separate one concept from the other, or connect them, creating thus a series of possible discrepancies and discontinuities as much within their own work as in relation to other studies (Moore and Myerhoff 1977).

Rappaport offers a “terse” definition of ritual arguing it is “*the performance of more or less invariant sequences of formal acts and utterances not entirely encoded by the performers*”<sup>53</sup> (1999, p.24). He explains that it is not the particular elements that make ritual distinguishable from other collective events but rather the relationship between these features. Even though he acknowledges its formal similarities with other performance forms, such as theatre or “athletic contests”, he suggests there is a clear dividing line between them, distinguishing only ceremony as a form that should not necessarily be differentiated from ritual (Rappaport 1999, pp.42-45). Rappaport bases the particular position on a rather rigid perception of ‘performance’ and ‘participation’, that separates ‘performers’ from ‘audiences’ as active and passive, and which shapes correspondingly his understanding of the rules that supposedly govern the interaction between them

---

<sup>52</sup>As it is not my intention to construct parallelisms where there are not necessarily any I do not draw any structural analogies between existing ceremonies or rituals that entail the performance of music and musical events. Instead, the theories regarding the social uses of the rituals will be adopted and applied to the investigation of music performances to explore the way they function in western societies and the effects they might have on their audiences.

<sup>53</sup> Italics in the original

and the ways they might visibly and practically affect one another in each case. He does not, however, provide any definitional markers with which one might distinguish the different performance forms, while at the same time the vague criteria of distinctions he proposes downplay any affective inter- or intrapersonal aspects and features performances might have.

Rappaport's approach to the concept, contrarily to most ritual theorists, focuses mainly on the formal properties of ritual, aiming at structuring a general idea of what elements it could include, separating it from the functions it might serve which he perceives as its *entailments*. While he acknowledges that ritual can be symbolic and can express, for example, what a myth 'says', he does not consider this to be its defining element, considering it mainly as 'a form of structure'. More particularly, he constructs ritual as the form of conveying a message that is, in fact, a (meta-) message itself; "the act of performance is itself a part of the order performed [...] the manner of "saying" and "doing" is intrinsic to what is being said and done" (Rappaport 1999, p.38). Thus, he concludes, ritual should not be considered a symbolic performance form.

Other theorists contrarily, place more weight on the symbolic and its social value rather than the formal aspects of ritual (Lukes 1975; Browne 1980; Cottle 2006). Lukes defines ritual as a "rule-governed activity of a symbolic character which draws the attention of its participants to objects of thought and feeling which they hold to be of special significance" (1975, p.291). Cottle offers a similar position, emphasizing the experiential and subjective aspects of ritual which he argues comes alive only "when actively read by audiences/readerships who are prepared to 'participate' within it as symbolically meaningful to them" (2006, p.428-429). Thus, Cottle points out the subjective but integral reading of symbols even within the meta-message of the form, and perceives the 'audience' as actively contributing to the production of ritual meanings.

Moore and Myerhoff similarly see ritual as being part of what it conveys, as a container that shapes its message (1997, p.8). However, unlike Rappaport they neither restrict the application of the concept to the fulfilment of a series of

formal properties, nor separate it from the symbolic or from other ritual-like concepts and performance practices. On the contrary, they maintain that even though the formal properties of ritual shape its meaning as well as functions, these are not unique in ritual but can also be found in other collective events. Focusing on their similarities rather than their differences, they suggest the term “collective ceremony” to include all of them, which they define as “a dramatic occasion, a complex type of symbolic behaviour that usually has a storable purpose, but one that invariably alludes to more than it says and has more meanings at once” (Moore and Myerhoff 1977, p.5). Furthermore Moore and Myerhoff (1977) explain that separation of these concepts does not depend on any essential differences, but rather on a culturally constructed, binary division between the sacred and the profane as well as a series of subsequent distinctions that it generates.

Theorists argue that the traditional focus of anthropologists and sociologists on the study of ritual in relation to the ‘other’, to ‘traditional’ cultures, religious contexts and metaphysical conceptions, has shaped accordingly the premises of the concept itself (Lukes 1975; Moore and Myerhoff 1977; Goody 1975; Hunt 1975; Bell 1992, 1999). More notably, Durkheim formed his widely influential theorization of ritual on the belief that human experience is naturally divided into the two spheres he considered “radically opposed”, the sacred and the profane, linking its study with particular types or expressions of culture (1915, p.38). Durkheim (1915) argues that elements of a religious sentiment, which he sees as a functional prerequisite of all societies that surpass any social influences, guide to a certain extent the perception of the world and divide it into the domains of the sacred and the profane. The former sphere consists as much of “intellectual conceptions” and myths as of ritual practices which are firmly tied together, creating, interpreting and dramatizing beliefs and practices, as well as their alleged consequences (Lukes 1975, p.292).

However, Durkheim (1915) also made some allowances regarding the distinction between the two spheres, arguing that ‘today’ the ordinary is quite frequently transformed into the sacred. Even though the two domains of

experience are unquestionably differentiated, the objects, concepts or persons that could be classified as sacred depend on “belief”, which is the element that transforms them, and not on a sense of inherent sacrality.

Van Gennep who separates ritual from religion and links it with *liminality*, that is, individuals' transition phases and states, similarly theorizes ritual as inseparable from a more broadly defined sense of sacredness. Van Gennep (1960) believes that even though there are no spheres more incompatible than the sacred and the profane, these are linked together by an intermediate state through which people have to pass as they regularly move from one to the other. More specifically, he understands the sacred as a “pivoting” attribute that shifts as people change positions or states, mediated by a variety of rites. He argues “whoever passes through the various positions of a lifetime one day sees the sacred where before he has seen the profane, or vice versa” (Van Gennep 1960, p.13).

Turner, likewise, maintains that “the whole *ritual process* constitutes a threshold between secular living and sacred living” (1988, p.25). Like Van Gennep before him, Turner believes that the transitions between different states and phases as well as the spaces between them, marked out by ritual, are *liminal*. However, he does not restrict *liminality* to conventional examples of transition and their ceremonies, but argues that “the dominant genres of performance in societies at all levels of scale and complexity tend to be *liminal phenomena*” (Turner 1988, p.25). Furthermore, Turner suggests that these phenomena can be called “sacred” as long as we recognize “that they are the scenes of play and experimentation, as much as of solemnity and rules” (1988, p.25). Most importantly Turner concludes, “Western views of ritual have been greatly influenced by Puritanism”, alluding to the constricted perceptions of what conventionally can or cannot be called sacred (1988, p.25).

Bell offers a similar, more broadly defined argument regarding the construction of the sacredness in ritual. She maintains that “if in some way we continue to see “modernity” as antithetical to religion and ritual, it may be due in part to how we



have been defining religion” (1997, p.202). While religious patterns have changed within *secular* societies, Bell explains, neither rituals nor practical or emotional investment in their sacredness have declined, as there are a variety of rituals in which people regularly participate and which hold a special significance in their lives. Thus, sacrality can also be shaped beyond the premise of institutionalized religion and be perceived more like a quality of specialness, “standing for something important and possessing an extra meaningfulness and the ability to evoke emotion-filled images and experiences” (Bell 1997, p.157)<sup>54</sup>.

Even though these theorists question the boundaries of the religious and the secular as well as of the practices with which they are traditionally linked, they still all employ sacrality in one sense or another as a defining element of ritual. Moore and Myerhoff (1977), however, point out that “the sacred/mundane distinction is a culture-bound dichotomy rather than a universal one” (1977, p.23). In addition to their cultural dependence, they explain, such binary distinctions can be defined only by implying each other. As such, they do not function only as means of practically differentiating two kinds of ceremonies according to their content, but also of interpreting human experiences and making them fit into only one of the two categories which are supposedly different, separate and irreconcilable (Moore and Myerhoff 1977).

The particular distinction arguably constructs the way people think about the classified content; what is social, or contained in the social, cannot be sacred and vice versa. According to Hunt (1977) this method of interpretation is a crude simplification of social actions, types of practices, and the features these entail. More specifically she explains that in fact “secular and sacred may not be different behaviours but different analytic aspects of the same behaviours” (Hunt 1977, p.143). Employing this distinction and positioning a ritual/event into either category, then, not only confines it to a closed social sphere according to

---

<sup>54</sup> There are many theorists who adopt a similar approach to Bell arguing that the concept of religion and its practices should also be explored in relation to non-conventional expressions and examples (Browne 1980; Sylvan 2002; St John 2006). Sylvan characteristically argues that a shift from institutional religion to a cultural one has taken place, and identifies popular culture as a “new arena” for religious experiences that replaces the more traditional and increasingly irrelevant, old forms of religion (2002, p. 78).

which we may interpret its social function, but is also shapes the perception that one might have about other experiences and other spheres of social interaction, as well as the parameters that shape the relationships between them.

Furthermore, the approach to ritual as either secular and sacred encompasses several classificatory sub-divisions that aim at organizing different ritual characteristics, as well as to accentuate their professed differences. As DaMatta (1977, p.256) argues, ritual is a subject “heavily qualified by adjectives” which are conspicuously utilized in antithetical couples. Binaries such as formal/informal, structured/open, or spiritual/physical, that are often used in theories of ritual to characterize the sacred and the profane respectively, could also be perceived as means of constructing a more meticulous representation both of how the various collective human experiences are or should be, but also of how their elements ought to be interpreted (DaMatta 1977). However, DaMatta along with other theorists, believes that ritual is actually a more flexible category of collective behaviour, arguing that since interaction is based on conventions and exchange of symbols all social actions depend on and arise from ritual or ritualized acts to a certain extent (DaMatta 1997; Moore and Myerhoff 1977; Browne 1980; Bell 1977).

Considering these positions, it is argued that notions of secular ritual, such as the one used by Small to refer to music performances and events, arguably do not constitute a terminological contradiction (Moore and Myerhoff 1977). Furthermore, employing the term in conjunction with *musicking* neither necessitates nor constructs a sacred dimension that might determine a priori the nature of music events or their significance and effects on its participants, nor does it strip them from any spiritual aspects they might have for them<sup>55</sup>. Rather, the understanding of music rituals can be based on particular characteristics, structural or other, that might qualify them as such, without imposing a terminologically determined character upon their meanings, messages and functions.

---

<sup>55</sup> On the contrary it is argued that music events can potentially be both secular and sacred at the same time, or belong in neither category, dependent on the way that each ritual communicates its meanings, and how these are perceived by its participants.

### **3.2. Characteristics, functions and effects of ritual**

While, according to the theories discussed so far the application of the term ritual can be quite flexible it is not entirely loose. Even though most studies either avoid or fail to provide a widely applicable definition of the concept, they all suggest a series of properties, that constitute ritual as a practice and are essential in its understanding as well as that of its significance, both from a theoretical point of view and from their participants' perspective. These characteristics can be roughly divided into formal, functional, and affective, expressing respectively the features that make up a ritual's message and the means by which this is communicated, the functions it fulfils for the ritual's participants or to the wider society in general, and the significance and effects it might have for and on its participants, both individually and collectively. Even though these features can be identified individually, each underlying different aspects of ritual, more often than not they overlap and it can be difficult (if not counterproductive) to completely separate them. Contrarily, it is argued that in order to understand the significance of each category of features it is necessary to also identify and acknowledge the links between them and consider how they work together to shape ritual as a practice.

The first category of features entails certain formal properties that have been widely acknowledged as part of ritual, and which theorists directly relate to its operational efficacy (Moore and Myerhoff 1977; Bell 1997; Rappaport 1999). These elements, which include, but are not limited to, stylization, repetition, normative regulation and dramatization, share the symbolic as their common basis, and can be located as much in a ritual's aesthetic and structural codes, as in its participants' acts and behaviors (Rappaport 1999; Moore and Myerhoff 1977; Turner 1988; Bell 1997). Their role is to establish each ritual's symbolic dimension in order to communicate its messages, as well as to strengthen its appeal and make it more understandable and coherent (Moore and Myerhoff 1977).

According to Myerhoff “people must recognize what rituals are saying and find their claims authentic, their styles familiar and aesthetically satisfying” (1977, p.200). While stylization conveys and establishes the meaning of a ritual’s symbols, investing them with a sense of extraordinariness by calling attention to them and setting them apart from the mundane, it also convinces its participants about the validity of the messages these carry (Myerhoff 1977; Bell 1997). Formality can be similarly significant for the collective behaviours and dramatized aspects of each ritual. Most theorists point out that ritual is not an “essentially spontaneous activity” but necessitates a self-conscious participation; it is acted much like a role in play (Moore and Myerhoff, 1977; Turner 1988).

Bell (1997) explains that the parameters that define how participants might act during a ritual are related to a series of normative rules. These rules, she argues, could be similar to guidelines defining what is acceptable and what is not, or they could have a more authoritative role, orchestrating participants’ every step (Bell 1997). Either way, according to Bell, they “hold individuals to communally approved patterns of behavior, they testify to the legitimacy and power of that form of communal authority, and perhaps they also encourage human interactions by constraining the possible outcomes” (1997, p.155).

This kind of formalization is achieved in part due to repetition, which not only teaches the various stylistic and behavioral aspects of rituals to participants but also establishes rituals as “durably true” and stable (Moore and Myerhoff 1977, p.17). More specifically, the repetition of recognizable formalized characteristics alludes to a sense of legitimized, shared continuity and endows ritual with a sense of tradition. Repetitive formality transforms the ‘messages’ and symbols of any given ritual into a general representation of “a natural and eternally preexisting order” (Bell 1994, p.120). Thus, even though the form of ritual is contrived, the traditionalized, axiomatic way in which its messages are conveyed discourages any enquiry into their origins or their validity (Moore and Myerhoff 1977).

Even though the presence of these features is significant for the conceptualization and recognition of ritual, it does not suggest that rituals are unchanging, utilizing the same means to produce the same messages over and over again. On the contrary, according to Bell often both the structure and the meanings of ritual can change as communities go through a similarly changing process, in order to remain relevant to their participants' circumstances and to be able to respond to their new concerns and needs (Bell 1997, p.120, 223). Thus, Bell concludes, ritual can be seen as a "means of mediating tradition and change, that is, as a medium for appropriating some changes while maintaining a sense of cultural continuity" (1997, p.251).

Similarly, ritual participants, bounded as they might be by formality, they are not necessarily trapped in an endless repetition of a prescribed or empty form. According to Rappaport (1999), adherence to regulatory rules is contingent upon the type of ritual attended, as different circumstances demand different degrees of conformity. Furthermore, he adds, "the behavior of each of the participants is continually modified by his or her interactions with the others, in which a great choice of action and utterance is continually available to them" (Rappaport 1999, p.34). Thus, like Bell, Rappaport (1999) also concludes that rituals incorporate change as much as they do tradition and that the degree of dramatization and formalization of ritual is neither fixed in the behaviour of its participants nor is their ratio the same for all types of ritual.

These formal properties, however, do not only play a significant part in the establishment and recognition of a ritual, but as they are also responsible for eliciting a shared response to the messages the ritual wishes to convey, they help shape its collective dimension (Browne 1984; Bell 1994). Bell (1994), argues that, in fact, group identity is triggered by the identification of formalism with tradition indicating the interconnection between the formality of ritual and its possible functions. These two interrelating elements, she explains, produce a consensual perception of the past that the ritual participants learn to recognize and share, as well as "a set of distinctions, seen as rooted in the past, which differentiates this group from other groups" (Bell 1994, p.121). Additionally, the

recognition, adoption and repetition of the symbols, messages and values entailed in each ritual can help confirm and establish a sense of identity, both for the individual and the group itself (Bell 1994).

Other theorists argue that the choice to adopt the conventionalized and, to a certain degree, obligatory form of the ritual actually reveals what a particular group values most (Wilson 1954; Goody 1977; Turner 1995; Small 1997; Hermanowicz and Morgan 1999). While formal characteristics, such as established gestures and behaviours, can help the creation of group identity, by separating 'insiders' from 'outsiders' for example, at the same time they also articulate relationships and common ideals between participants that "model the relationships of their world as they imagine them to be and as they think (or feel) they ought to be" (Small 1998, p.95).

Moore interprets the formalization of the 'stories', symbols and values ritual entails as an attempt to create a durable common reality. More particularly, she argues that the repetitive format and themes can be "parts of an attempt to define and teach an official version of social reality while acting it out" (Moore 1977, p.170). The particular function is achieved as symbols are used in ritual to postulate and enact different realities, objectifying and reifying social ideals, values and relationships that normally remain hidden, while at the same time the form of ritual ensures that their artificiality remains hidden (Moore and Myerhoff 1977, p.14). This way symbolic forms manage for the duration of the ritual to merge the world as lived and the world as imagined into one (Geertz 1973, p.112).

For these reasons rituals are often understood as expressions of reconciliation and unity, bridging any gaps between the form of a ritual and a particular view of the world, the discourses of social fantasies and lived experience, or the actual differences between participants themselves. Durkheim (1915) identified the particular function of rituals as an expression of religion that aims at promoting social integration and belongingness. Other, more recent approaches, interpret the particular attribute as a chance for personal as well as collective

development, arguing that following prescribed rules results in the reduction of personal anxiety, creating order and a shared “definition of peaceful social exchange” which produces an affirmation of collectiveness and of ‘the ideal’ (Hunt 1977; Browne 1980). Certain theorists, however, take a more radical stance, considering the particular function as a possible mechanism for social control. Schechner believes that “ritual epitomizes the reality principle, the agreement to obey rules that are given” (2003, p.15). DaMatta (1977) offers a similar position, arguing that as sanctioned products of society, programmed by the social system that controls their production, rituals can also be seen as means of promoting social conformity and compliance.

While the relation between the collectiveness of ritual and social cohesion is stressed by many theorists, taking a variety of shapes and perspectives, there is an alternative approach that sketches rituals as oppositional, as opportunities for expressing or preventing conflict (Gluckman 1962; Turner 1995; Bell 1994, 1999; Hermanowicz and Morgan 1999). This particular function can be related to ritual’s ability to actively produce messages as well to incorporate new, changing forms and structures to the very symbols it entails and emphasizes, as much as to the effects it might generate in its participants.

Moore and Myerhoff argue that in fact ritual does not just mirror “existing social arrangements and existing modes of thought. It can act to recognize them or to even help create them” (1977, p.5). The particular position does not sketch ritual simply as a mechanism for promoting social compliance to ‘the system’, but also sees it as a way of opening up possibilities for change and collectivities that under other circumstances might seem unorthodox. Moore and Myerhoff explain that while rituals do not eliminate actual differences or oppositions, for the duration of the ritual, they manage to minimize any disconnections and conflicts between its participants, even as they depict them, by offering a collective connection with some common symbol or activity (1977, p.6).

Moore and Myerhoff’s position echoes Gluckman (1962) who likewise sees rituals as means of cloaking and forgetting fundamental differences and conflicts

between people, producing a momentary state of stability and belongingness. Gluckman more specifically maintains that rituals are means of channeling the “expression of conflict” by exaggerating social tensions and thus diffusing the continuously present threats produced by social discontent, serving a cathartic function (Bell 1999, p.38). At the same time, the temporary inversion or suspension of existing social relationships itself is, according to Gluckman what reinforces them as normative (Gluckman 1962; Bell 1994, 1999). Thus, rituals are not to be understood as mechanisms that bring about an actual change in social relationships or produce a permanent effect of social unity, but rather as safety valves that prevent the eruption of social tension, either between its participants or between those of different social or ritual collectivities.

Turner (1995) similarly posits that rituals not only re-affirm but also recreate social unity by offering instances of disorder, sketching them as *liminal* phenomena that bridge the dipole of social structure and antistructure. He argues that people go through various transition stages and thus often find themselves outside the structures of society, in a state of antistructure. Rituals accommodate, dramatize and thus momentarily make this in-betweenness real, disturbing the normal flow of order in society, and then subsequently reconstituting it, as antistructure is resolved into a renewed sense of order, affirming anew the structure of society.

In addition Turner coined the term *communitas* to explain the functions and effects of *liminality*, arguing that ritual can bring about a collective state, where participants are ‘stripped’ from the elements that make them different, such as age, status, gender or class, are allowed to connect with each other on a more ‘basic’ level (Turner 1977; Turino 2008). Temporarily freed from their ego, people share the ritual experience as part of the group and not as individuals, taking pleasure and pride in, and because of, their unity (Turner 2012, p.2, 3). According to Turner, however, *communitas* should be distinguished from other similar concepts such as “solidarity”, as it does not express “a bond between individuals who are collectively in opposition to some other group” (2012, p.5). Rather it is “a relation quality of full, unmediated communication, even



communion, between definite and determinate identities which arises spontaneously in all kinds of groups, situations and circumstances” (Turner 1977, p.46).

Lincoln on the other hand understands rituals as “discursive practices” with more tangible and permanent effects than that of a momentary reconciliation. He maintains that rituals “do not just encode and transmit messages, but they play an active role in the construction, maintenance, and the modification of the borders, structures, and hierarchic relations that characterize and constitute society itself” (Lincoln 1992, p.75). Identifying them as “habituated forms of practical discourse” Lincoln constructs ritual as a form of power that can shape its own messages, the means for its communication as much as its reception, without however restricting the function of that power to either the production of unity or opposition. At the same time, the particular position allows for a plurality of rituals that corresponds to a variety of views and voices to be expressed simultaneously within a given social context employing different aesthetic and symbolic means.

Bell similarly argues that ritual could be seen as “a performative medium for the negotiation of power in relationships” (1997, p.79). Drawing largely on Foucault’s theorization of the power/resistance dipole and their bilateral legitimization, Bell explains that in ritual the expression of resistance sanctions the exercise of power even as it provokes it and therefore unavoidably “engenders both consent and resistance” (1994, p.201, 218). The expression of resistance is to be understood as both a type of limitation in the ritual’s exercise of control and as “a feature of its efficacy”, that just as it integrates the individual with the collective it also can also differentiate the self from society (Bell 1994).

Evidently, there is little consensus regarding the interpretation of ritual function. Nonetheless, despite their differences between the theories discussed so far, they all share one point, that is, the production of a sense of collectiveness, or one type or another of ‘belongingness’, whether this is perceived to be real or imagined, momentary or permanent. The particular hypothesis however, is

slightly problematic, as it not only exemplifies another instance where two dimensions of ritual, functional and affective, overlap, but also implies an equation of ritual function with its effect. Even though ritual might function as a means of producing and communicating certain socially recognizable and often axiomatic messages of unity or conflict on which a corresponding collective identity might be subsequently based, theorists argue, it is difficult to determine whether it actually achieves to produce its intended results or not (Moore and Myerhoff 1977).

According to Bell “no one can say how much people internalize, appropriate and ignore, of what goes on in ritual event, what parts of the ritual are likely to be the most or least effective” (1997, p.252). As the success of the intended exchange of symbols and messages cannot be measured but rather depends on the interpretation of empirical evidence, participants themselves become the most important source of information regarding ritual’s efficacy (Moore and Myerhoff 1977). Thus, the comprehension of ritual experience depends on the way individual partakers perceive their participation as well as its effects, and therefore is subjective and unverifiable.

Moore and Myerhoff on the other hand (1977) locate the problem with the analysis of rituals’ effect in participants’ inability to explain certain effects that a ritual might have on them. They argue “exegetical analysis does not help in determining the unconscious consequences of ritual, consequences that may or may not occur at all, may occur in every shade of intensity from an image in the mind to a slight murmur of the heart, to a profound ecstasis” (Moore and Myerhoff 1977, p.13). Additionally, they continue, rituals do not necessarily produce the same results in all participants and often these cannot be distinguished from “simulated” effects. Thus, according to Moore, “as there is no way to insure that the inner attribute will always accompany the outer performance, the performance itself becomes the measure of a presumed attribute” (1977, p.168), which could point towards questionable conclusions.

Furthermore, Moore and Myerhoff stress that on the one hand not all participants necessarily identify all the intended messages and meanings of a ritual and therefore their reception cannot be considered properly, and on the other that the usually large number of participants could signify diverse and even contradictory understandings and reactions to its contents complicating the formation of conclusions (1977, p.15). Therefore, as the measure of ritual effectiveness is very difficult to determine, Myerhoff concludes that “ritual in general may be judged a success when it is not a conspicuous failure” (1977, p.223).

However Bell offers an alternative explanation of ritual effectivity, arguing

the ultimate purposes of ritualization is neither the immediate goals avowed by the community or the officiant nor the more abstract functions of social solidarity and conflict resolution: it is nothing other than the production of ritualized agents, persons who have an instinctive knowledge of these schemes embedded in their bodies, in their sense of reality, and in their understanding of how to act in ways that both maintain and qualify the complex microrelations of power (1994, p.221)

Arguably, with this definition Bell in a way merges ritual's functions and effects while bypassing their presumptive equation. She offers a more affective and experiential perspective of the participants' role, as their experiences are neither perceived as controlled by anonymous intentions nor judged in accordance to a predetermined effect. Therefore, while participants still remain at the core of ritual's significance, they can be seen as active agents that produce their experiences as well as filter and determine their effects, negotiating the exercise of power with their simultaneous embedment in particular social contexts and the performative production of their varying contents. In this way, it is not necessary to align the examination of ritual effects and functions with either the reconciliation or conflict approach, and the actual 'success' of any particular ritual becomes irrelevant. Rather, the participation in a ritual is related to other, more contextual and subjective parameters, allowing for a comparative study of ritual interpretations and minimizing the risk of imposing or misattributing its meanings as well as its experiential significance for its participants.

### 3.3. The ritual of the live event

Live music performances entail many formal, functional and affective characteristics that qualify them as rituals. The structure and content of music events, as well as their participants' roles, relationships and behaviours are stylized in accordance with the ideological dimension of music genres, their *spectacular* associations, and the symbolic representations of the values that define them<sup>56</sup>. A certain degree of formalization is adopted and reproduced, authenticating the character of the event (or else transforming it into a new artistic expression), and a type of collectiveness or another is most often assumed to be the result, if not the motivation, of participating in such a performance<sup>57</sup>.

Despite these features, music audiences as well as the wider social environment within which each particular commercial music event takes place, do not necessarily perceive them as a kind of ritual, or identify the *spectacular* or ritualistic communication of symbols as part of their purpose. Rather, the live production or promotion of music, the interaction of musicians and fans, as well as that between audience members, are their most apparent *raison d'être*. Even though the interactive part of the event can be related by participants to feelings of belongingness or *communitas* that come alive during music performances (Finnegan 2007), these are not easily interpreted as the product of a 'ritual', presumably because of the religious or spiritual connotations of the word that are not restricted to academic environments (Brennan 2008). In addition, the mediation of monetary exchange, which is accepted as a general prerequisite as well as an intended aim for professional music performances, and the perception

---

<sup>56</sup> These range from seating charts and arrangements to dress and behavioral codes, as well as the creation of rather genre specific expectations of the event itself. The desired effect of the ritual can be mental, emotional, physical, or a combination of all three, while in some cases certain reactions are strictly precluded by the ritual structure and rules, and not its musical content, such as intense physical reactions during a classical concert, or observing in deep contemplation a punk event.

<sup>57</sup> It is understood that there can be differences between events of the same genre, particularly between different cultural and national contexts. However, even if a strict typology of performance models cannot be assumed, there are certain conventions that are shared within each musical world, as much by the audiences as by the musicians, which ultimately convey the musical character of the event itself (Finnegan 2007).

of its various degrees of fulfilment as a corresponding proof of their success, can mask their ritualistic character.

Failure to perceive the particular aspect of music events, however, does not suggest that their ritual qualities or functions are negated. As it has been previously argued, ritual has the ability to communicate messages beyond those apparent or proclaimed. Even though the symbolic basis of music rituals is an essential part of both their commercial and artistic processes its function is not limited to the communication of the events' storable or evident purposes. According to Moore and Myerhoff "part of the work done by ritual is to present symbols, messages and allusions. A ceremony activates or presents selected ideas necessarily related to larger cultural frameworks of thought and explanation. Thus some of the work of ritual is to make momentarily visible an ideology, or part of one, a basic model or a "root metaphor"" (1977, p.16). Considering that music events derive from generic 'belief systems', and encompass corresponding series of symbols and performative acts, it is reasonable to argue that even though participants might not perceive the ritual metaphor as such, they nonetheless experience it audibly, visibly and kinaesthetically (Browne 1980; Middleton 1990; Small 1998)<sup>58</sup>.

The body itself can function as an active part of a ritual's ideologies, as the ways in which it is "handled, presented, decorated, or contorted is a fundamental indicator of more embracing social values" (Bell 1997, p.184). In this context, participating voluntarily in a music performance and assuming its corresponding "body idiom" actualizes a type of "conventionalized discourse" (Goffman 1963) that extends beyond the premises of the musical. Thus, the ritual-like formalized structure of music events spotlights and encourages in different ways the proclaimed ideologies of genres themselves, as well as their accompanying allusions to social frameworks, ideas and values, functioning both as an artistic reference and as a means of experiencing a social metaphor.

---

<sup>58</sup> 'Belief' is used here in accordance to Fairclough and Wodak, who argue that knowledge and ideology constitute types of social belief (1997, p.28).

Furthermore, it could be argued that the performative experience of metaphors is not just an unconscious condition of ritual participation, but also an anticipated part of *musicking*, as it is the element that arguably triggers the affective, cognitive as well as physical processes of music events (Becker 2004)<sup>59</sup>. That being the case, the performance and exchange of already accepted sensory and ideological representations entailed in music rituals invest “socio-cultural principles with sensate and emotional appeal while at the same time ennobling this appeal with normative legitimacy” with ritual’s axiomatic form (Manning 1977, p.277).

Evidently, the appeal of an event’s principles just like that of a genre’s *hyperrule*, or its ideological legitimization, cannot be generalized but rather understood only in relation to its ‘insiders’, to those who share a “forestructure of understanding” (Becker 2004, p.69). As it was previously argued, in order for each genre, and consequently for their rituals, to communicate a particular ideology or view of reality it is necessary that this must be presented to those who already share to a certain degree that view or can at least recognize it within the specific terms of expression<sup>60</sup>. Even though the extent of understanding, or accepting a given ritual’s messages cannot be guaranteed to be the same for all partakers, it is most likely that its symbolic structure will impart its principles to those individuals who possess the means to decode it (Becker 2004). However, as genres are relative and exist as part of a web of interconnected and contrasting values, aesthetics and ideologies, the symbols that each ritual entails and makes visible do not necessarily manage to communicate their intended messages to those who are unfamiliar with the specific music scene, or oppose it (Leach 1976).

Different music rituals “consist of distinct *discourses* with respect to the same reality, each one bringing out certain critical essential aspects of that reality”

---

<sup>59</sup> The particular argument does not suggest that all participants experience the same feelings, thoughts or physical reactions but that to a certain degree most anticipate and expect that they will have some sort of reaction to the musical and social environment of the event. Furthermore, their reaction will be affected to a certain extent, whether willingly or not, by the event’s generic formalization and behavioral expectations.

<sup>60</sup> See chapter 1.4.

(DaMatta 1977, pp.253-254). Arguably, then, unfamiliar or objectionable ideals or representations of reality will be evaluated and understood comparatively, depending on individuals' interpretive points of departure and determined by their own perceptions and ritual experiences (Moore 1977; Hall 1997). A social attribute that is presumably legitimized by the axiomatic format of a music ritual as well as its sensory and emotional appeal, might be rejected by another audience which correspondingly acknowledges and exalts the principles of its own music rituals that function as "valuational frameworks" (Doty 2000, p.68).

By extension, it could be argued that the interpretation of symbols just as the reality they are assumed to represent, whether these are the result of an individual's direct participation in a given ritual, or of the comparative evaluation between familiar and unfamiliar ritual structures, expresses the assertion of certain views of reality as well as the denial of other, 'unacceptable' ones (Myerhoff 1977). The variety of music rituals then, actively produces a *system* of reality representations, where the macrocosmic principles embedded in all microcosms of music genres function as different opportunities for aesthetic, artistic or social identification, but also construct a perspective where social reality is 'naturally' categorized and hierarchized, encouraging individuals to classify others as much as themselves. Even if the realities music rituals offer do not constitute the force that organizes the entirety of one's social attitudes, worldviews or identities, as it is the case for some individuals, the realities one chooses to momentarily identify with and perform, arguably legitimize its principles as well as that of the system of classification itself.

The particular process can be directly linked with the narrativization of selfhood, that is, the conception and identification of the self within particular stories that simultaneously construct and express the qualities of the individual as much as its view of the world in which he or she wishes to live. As it was discussed previously, in order to sustain these idealised, interconnecting constructions of reality and selfhood, individuals select which activities are most compatible with their desired self-image (Becker 2004). The conscious choice of a particular type of *musicking*, which can complement or oppose a variety of other performances,

externalizes the way people perceive themselves, as well as the forms that their wider social environment should or could take (Small 1998). The selection of a music ritual, then, just as the rejection of others, help individuals represent their situation to themselves, confirming in a way their *rightful* placement within a particular social narrative, as well as within its metaphoric realization, in a relational way (Moore and Myerhoff 1977; Becker 2004).

Even though the values and realities of a ritual can sketch the perception individuals have of themselves, the *spectacular* representation they most identify with, as well as the image they want others to see in them, they neither necessitate, nor guarantee, a correspondence with their 'actual' social situations or identities (Frith 1996). Suggesting such a correspondence would imply that music audiences entail a kind of social uniformity like the one class-based theorizations of cultural consumption propose. Contrarily, approaching and examining the ritual of *musicking* from a *spectacular* point of view, suggests that music events could foster the participation of individuals from heterogeneous social environments as any disparities would be more or less masked by performativity and the general ritual character of the event.

Obviously, the existence of different ticket prices, having 'good' or 'bad' seats, being able to adhere to particular ritual dress codes, and possession of any corresponding commercial brands, for example, could demonstrate differences in economic standards, in free time in contrast to professional time schedules, access to information regarding the event, etc., linking individuals to one social grouping or another. While it is not precluded that there might be a correspondence between social position and the parameters of ritual participation for certain individuals, it could be argued that social class, profession, or economic standing do not necessarily determine which of these 'commodities' an individual might possess. The dedication of audience members to 'their' music or the significance a particular music event might have for them, both personally and as means of establishing a *spectacular* social identity, can



vary regardless of their actual financial means, determining in turn the parameters of their participation<sup>61</sup>.

However, audience heterogeneity does not suggest a lack of collective identity. As it was argued previously, rituals can suspend differences, temporarily making them invisible or unimportant to participants, establishing the 'made-up' social reality they represent, as a palpable microcosm in which all participants equally belong (Turner 1995; Abercrombie and Longhurst 1998; Turino 2008; Turner 2012). Therefore, even though theorists most often approach rituals as a means of establishing a collective identity, securing unity or confirming a group's view of itself (Maffesoli 1996, p.17) the opposite function could also be suggested. Just as "groups use rituals to define for themselves and their observers what they believe is valuable and right" and thus "promote and protect a collective self-image" (Hermanowicz and Morgan 1999,p.200), the individuals that for one reason or another find themselves participating in a music ritual, can form a sense of group identity on that collective performance and experiencing of these ideals, regardless of any other differences between them, or between that and their other identities.

The process of constructing this type of belonging is quite different from the one that might result from an individual's generic affiliation with a music audience or its desire for a particular sociocultural representation. According to Marshall, ritual co-presence transforms "knowledge into belief and membership into belonging" (2002, p.361). More particularly Marshall differentiates membership from belonging explaining that the former is not necessarily the result of choice but rather an "external fact", something that can be in a way imposed on individuals' identities and thus, might not express their desire or dedication to a particular status. On the contrary, the latter denotes the memberships that have

---

<sup>61</sup> A person with a relatively low income, might, for example, choose to 'sacrifice' a considerably large amount of money for a 'special' event buying an expensive front row ticket, while someone who could afford it is not interested enough to do so, might not have the time to stand in a line for hours to acquire one (depending on the event), or be able to find out about the event in time before these tickets are sold out. The performative as well as stylistic aspect of the event can be similarly determined by one's dedication to the particular music, or identity performance, which is not regulated necessarily by their actual social or economic circumstances.

“solidified into something potent and secure”, a process that is mediated by ritual practices (Marshall 2002, p.360). Marshall links the particular effect of co-presence on the one hand with *deindividuation*, which he argues facilitates the loss of a sense of self and brings about a strong sense of unity with a group and its members, and on the other with “conformity” and “contagion” that produce behaviors that match that of others and influence their “affective states”, respectively (2002, p.362).

However, the loss of self an individual might experience during a music ritual does not entail only the intensification of belonging, neither does it necessarily imply the loss of control. On the one hand, the strong emotional arousal that music can trigger (and the expectation itself that one will be moved by it), as well as the individual “habits of mind and body” people develop in response to specific music, and music events, which are related to their life experiences, suggest that participation in music rituals can be deeply ‘personal’ (Koskoff 1982; DeNora 1999; Becker 2004). On the other, the perception of emotion as a natural, spontaneous and “authentic expression of one’s being” and not as the result of a situation and its encompassed relationships, just as the repertory of musical and emotional associations on which people usually draw, are not ‘autonomous’ but rather depend on cultural contexts and influences (DeNora 1999; Becker 2004). Thus, the interplay of personal narratives and social discourses that pervades the ritual experience somewhat blurs the line between the individual and the collective.

At the same time, during music rituals individuals may become “self-forgetful”, experiencing feelings such as being one with the music, losing the sense of self, of ego, of time, or even a kind of transcendence (DeNora 1999; Becker 1994, 2004; Zentner et.al 2008). Becker (1994, 2004) argues that during these instances of intense emotional arousal, which she calls “deep listening” or “secular trancing”, individuals are not out-of-control but quite the opposite; whether knowingly or unconsciously, they exert control over what feelings might be evoked and the ways in which these will be expressed. However contradictory they might be to other aspects of an individual’s identity or affected by co-presence, feelings,

actions or emotional 'spontaneity' are channeled through, and in accordance to the scripted behavioral frames each type of *musicking* entails (Becker 2004). In fact, Becker continues, the individuals that experience these intense emotional and physical reactions to musical stimuli are "more fully able to modulate and enhance what are normally autonomic bodily responses than other people" (2004, p.68). While the effects of deep listening might be similar to those of co-presence, Becker unlike Marshall relates them to a process of internalizing and associating listening norms and expectations that produce particular results, a type of listening *habitus* that 'liberates' and yet guides the individual, which is not connected to the direct influence of others.

These two theses neither contradict the previously discussed arguments regarding belongingness and ritual functions, nor negate the possible effects music events can have on their participants, cathartic, integrative or other. Rather, both demonstrate, that the individual is not easily separable from the collective and vice versa. Therefore, discussions of belonging, collectiveness and (de) individuation cannot be considered lightly or axiomatically as the result of music events, even if the structure of music rituals might facilitate such effects. Rather they should be considered in relation to each other, and to how the performance of the individual depends and produces the performativity of the collective and vice versa.

However, as it was previously argued, there is one effect which can be (relatively) generalized without imposing particular, external interpretations on music events' participants, and which holds a great significance in the analysis of ritual function: the production of ritualized agents (Bell 1994, p.221)<sup>62</sup>. The instinctive and collective reproduction of modes of acting and thinking about reality, embedded in music ritual participants and their bodies, is arguably a crucial mechanism of producing categories as much as convincing individuals to take their 'rightfully chosen' place in one or the other. The particular argument stems from Bell's proposition that the production of ritualized agents itself maintains the microrelations of power.

---

<sup>62</sup> See chapter 3.2.

In the case of musicosocial categories the expression of agency through self-classification entails and engenders power (in a Foucauldian sense) that presumably opposes traditional hegemonic means of social division, as much as it expresses the exercise of power from the external structures that define the representations of categories themselves and the actual circumstances that define them<sup>63</sup>. Similarly, even though musicosocial representations might allude, and in certain cases, lead to the experience of alternative social realities liberating individuals from imposed social constraints, the actual social, political and economic circumstances that define their everyday lives remain linked to a broader sense and exercise of power. Thus the music categorization process masks the social undercurrents that shape the parameters of *rightfulness* as well as the different perceptions of individual expressions, sustaining the values of the *spectacle* and the social relationships it entails.

In this light, the process of willing self-classification and active identification with a musicosocial group, as well as the legitimization of the values it represents, should not be related only to dominant social positions or to musical forms of resistance, like with subcultures for example. Rather it encompasses the whole spectrum of music and musicosocial representations available. Acting as a ritualized agent and accepting beforehand, at least to an extent, the 'by-products' of the music ritual of one's choice, forming and defending a social belonging and reality, suggests that underprivileged social positions are legitimized as much as mainstream or elite ones are.

Even if the underlying discourse of a generic ideology, such as hip-hop for example, might be aimed at resistance, its rituals are not functioning as actual forms of resistance or call for change. On the one hand the representations of the black ghetto and its racist realities in hip-hop rhetoric, for example, does not appeal only to individuals coming from that reality, but could encompass individuals who have never even witnessed it (coming from a different part of the world for example), or even those whose actual circumstances represent the

---

<sup>63</sup> The economic, political and social circumstances that lead for example, to the creation of hip-hop which in turn affected the creation of its representation and their commercial exploitation.

opposite end of the social spectrum (Cheyne and Binder 2010). Similarly, the commodified and stylized hip-hop event, which mediates and produces the relationship of its audience with its representations, legitimizes the right of its individual members to be part of that (for some) 'exotic' reality, as much as the parameters that sustain that reality itself, just as a classical concert can legitimize the circumstances that reproduce its own hegemonic cultural position<sup>64</sup>.

Furthermore, this element of ritual effectivity is linked with another crucial aspect of music ritual function which extends beyond the legitimization of generic ideologies and reality representations, but concerns the general social environment that accommodates them. Unlike the ambiguous type of messages already analysed, professional music rituals entail a structural as well as ideological 'paratext' that represents more widely applicable values of western societies, which are not as easily acknowledged, or considered as their generic ones. The perception of artistic value in relation to notions of professionalism or commerciality, the commodity character of performances, the various perceptions of success and stardom, and the commercialization of social interaction are a few examples of the messages embedded in the cultural or entertaining façade of the event. A music event that would consciously attempt to oppose these values would necessarily have to be placed into the realm of the amateur and would thus be automatically, even if not intentionally, perceived as inferior, or as expressing the values of those who lack the ability to 'make it'.

Despite the fact that they are inherent in all kinds of professional music events, even those (commercially or self-) proclaimed ideologically radical, the

---

<sup>64</sup>Considering the ticket prices of American artists' concerts, for example in Greece, it becomes evident that these are not targeting commercially the social strata that could identify with the rhetoric of hip-hop, (adjusting it to their own needs and circumstances), affecting thus not only the composition of the audience, which is immaterial, but mostly the way the events will be perceived. In other words, an event, which could be a 'political' statement for some people, can be transformed into an affirmation of middle-class 'hipness' for others. This affirmation however, does not legitimize only the identities of the audience but also the parameters that created and sustain the production of hip-hop music, allowing it to be simultaneously 'hip' for some and function as a political outlet for others. By this I mean that the identification of white, middle-class Greek audience with American, black, working class rap, for example, momentarily brings that reality into existence as an ideal, exoticizing and legitimizing the conditions that for others represent a grim reality.

essentially social nature of these ideals rarely concerns participants, and its significance in the construction of perceptions of ideal societal structures and organization is rendered immaterial. In the few cases where the particular social reality becomes apparent, perhaps due to generic ideologies themselves that point it out, the structure of the ritual itself in a way negates any desirable long-running effects of change, resolving antistructure into structure much like Turner argued (1995)<sup>65</sup>.

In conclusion, while genre-particular ideologies of music rituals are meaningful, predominantly for their own audiences, and can condone certain perceptions of reality that affect the identities and experiences of individuals already invested in that reality, the unquestionable socio-political basis all professional music events share, renders *musicking* an ideal social space for the circulation and legitimation of ideals and social norms that can extent beyond generic ideologies and intentions. Consequently, it becomes evident that when actually analysing music rituals and their social realities it is imperative to be mindful of the interplay between the collective and the individual, as well as the consciously chosen and subconsciously reproduced.

### **3.4. Summary**

In order to examine professional music events as rituals, the terminological and cultural preconceptions that distinguish behaviours, actions and collective ceremonies into religious and secular should be abandoned. The identification of the two types of collective ceremony should contrarily be determined by the

---

<sup>65</sup>Bell (1994, p. 71) offers a similar argument regarding the ineffectiveness of subcultures for meaningful political resistance, explaining that their presumable break with dominant ideology is only symbolic, as opposed to other forms of resistance that entail a 'real' or pragmatic one. Even though Bell does not elaborate on the subject, and she does not relate the "rituals of style" to the ideals they might unintentionally perpetuate, subcultural, as well as counter-cultural rituals exemplify how the two distinct types of messages might be simultaneously co-exist and be communicated to their participants. While their deliberate messages might be judged and reinterpreted according to personal views and ideals, the 'hidden' ones are embedded in the production of ritual agents who unknowingly reproduce them as natural and self-evident parts of cultural life. Thus the function of (professional) subcultural ritual is not that different, if at all, from hegemonic expression of music events that presumably express the ideals of the dominant classes and not those of the underprivileged.

variety of characteristics and functions they share, independently of any notions of sacrality. As it was discussed, music events entail different sets of formal and stylistic characteristics that correspond to different genres. Like in rituals, these features help communicate ideologies through symbolism, establish a sense of authenticity and tradition, and construct the event's meanings as axiomatic. Being category specific, these elements also unavoidably represent particular mythic (*spectacular*) narratives, identities, and views of the social world that shape the character of each event, define the type of audience that might find it appealing and prescribe its members' behaviors.

By actively choosing and attending the music ritual(s) that expresses them the most, individuals can construct and perform their preferred personal and/or collective identities. Accepting and following the prescribed but perceived as natural behaviors of different types of *musicking*, participants not only claim and enact their position in their chosen representation of reality but also momentarily actualize it, legitimizing its values and qualities. This process is possible because the ritualized structure of *musicking* produces agents with particular schemes of knowledge and performativity embedded in their sense of reality and self, who reiterating the musicosocial norms of music categorization help maintain its entailed microrelations of power. As such, the particular process also legitimizes the idea of classification itself, and naturalizes its inherent notion of 'othering' or 'self-othering'.

Considering the processes and elements that characterize and structure music rituals, it is evident that the lines between 'the real' and the fantasized, the personal and the collective as well as that between agency and institutionalization can become blurred during *musicking*. As participants are the only sources of information regarding the effects of ritual that could validate or negate their presumed functions, such entanglements could be seen as problematic. However, considering the instilment of performative norms in *musicking* participants and their voluntary reproduction as the main function of ritual, these lines or elements need not be clearly differentiated. On the contrary it is necessary to consider the ways in which they might be interconnected or

separated in the minds of participants before, during and after their *musicking* in order to properly explore its functions and effects.



#### 4. Methodology

As it was argued in chapter three the ritual of *musicking* is an interactive collective activity shaped by music myths and their corresponding allusions to social realities and relationships, which in turn fosters their (momentary) actualization. These characteristics qualify music rituals as an ideal social setting for the communication, affirmation and legitimization of different performative norms, behaviours, personal and collective identities, and the power relations that characterize the relationships between them. The interplay between *spectacular* musicosocial classificatory schemes, the performative establishment of social identity and the production of ritualized agents, necessitates a multifaceted empirical investigation of music ritual function that addresses and correlates all three processes.

According to Davies “we can neither take behavioural observations as simply representative of some given social world nor fully reveal or reconstruct the social through our understanding of actors’ meanings and beliefs” (Davies 1999, p.20). This position suggests that identifying the features of audience ritualization alone cannot explain how participants think about or use music rituals. Neither can it demonstrate how this process relates to their sense of self, reality or ‘others’. Similarly, approaching the function of music events only in relation to music discourses and myths does not sufficiently explain the structure and social function of *musicking*, or its collective or individual significance. Therefore, participants’ own use of and attitudes towards music classification, musicosocial ideals, symbolic boundaries and performative norms needs to be explored to decipher how the process of ritualization itself might work.

This chapter presents the parameters that defined my methodological approach and the theoretical considerations that determined the application and structure of my methods, and addresses the theoretical, ethical and practical issues of fieldwork research. More particularly, the first section of the chapter discusses the general methodological orientation of the research, dictated by the subject of

investigation itself and the theoretical framework upon which this was constructed. The second part discusses the theoretical as well as practical parameters that defined the research samples and the shape of the methods used. Finally, the last section addresses different types of issues that are entailed in this research triggered by its methodological particularities. It discusses the ethical issues that stem from and affect the actual methods used, and those that concern the representation of others, the interpretation of their accounts, as well as the authority of the researcher to do so in the writing of findings.

#### **4.1. General premise and aims of methodology**

Davies argues that “data collection is guided by the theoretical orientation of the researcher, so that the methods selected, the kinds of things that are observed in the field, the way in which they are problematized and the kinds of middle-level theoretical explanations eventually proposed are all related to the broader theoretical orientations of the researcher” (1999, p.46). The theoretical framework of this research defined to a large extent the parameters of the practical examination of ritual function, just as my corresponding analytic orientation and epistemological stance subsequently affected its methodological and interpretational particularities.

Firstly, the theorization of music ideologies, social interaction and *spectacular* performativity as elements of identity construction, ‘othering’, and symbolic (self) classification, as much as the theorization of ritual itself, shaped live music audiences as the focus of this research. Sketching individuals’ perceptions of reality and self as related to these processes and contingent upon the complex interplay between the social and the musical, the individual and the collective, indicated an interactionist, relativist theoretical perspective, according to which the music ritual world could only be understood with regard to individuals’ knowledge and experiences, as well as the processes that structure them and their interpretation (Blumer 1986; Davies 1999; Atkinson and Housley 2003; Snape and Spencer 2003). Consequently, the methodological approach adopted should allow a first-hand examination of individual participants’ experiences in

conjunction with their understandings and uses of musicosocial myths, so as to understand how people construct their perceptions and practice of *musicking*.

Similarly, the intentional theoretical detachment of this research from traditional theories of taste that link cultural and music consumption with particular classes also indicated the need for a corresponding methodological break. Most existing studies of music and social categorization, both qualitative and quantitative, in a way enforce their hypotheses onto their 'subjects'. The orientation, as much as the findings of both types of methodologies are often affected by the intent to establish links between specific social attributes or positions and music identities. More specifically, the use of social identities as the starting point for the examination of musical ones predetermines their hierarchical relationship that affects the study's parameters of investigation as much as of interpretation.

Even in qualitative studies, which theoretically focus on individuals and the production of multidimensional understandings of their experiences and the world in which they live, participants accounts are approached with the intention to link the music they like or dislike with their social circumstances or positions, proving or debunking corresponding socio-musical assumptions, while the opposite approach is rarely adopted. Evidence as to how music identities might lead to, or encompass social ones, or whether they might define them more than other parameters such as profession, education, age, or economic standing for example, is rarely sought<sup>66</sup>. The decision to focus theoretically on the social and subsequently move to the musical in order to form any connections between the two arguably 'contaminates' the research, leading studies towards particular conclusions before any other elements, such as the questions asked, the answers given, or their interpretation by the researcher might do so.

---

<sup>66</sup> Certain studies, predominantly those that examine independent subcultures, 'youth cultures' and other categories of social identities that find expression in music, and ethnomusicological ethnographies often employ this particular approach. However, in comparative studies that look for patterns in music practices and functions, music paradoxically is a secondary element of reference.

Similarly, quantitative studies of socio-musical identities shape research participants to fit their internal theoretic logic by classifying and then re-classifying them to fit predetermined categories that carry their own meanings, such as profession, class, education etc.<sup>67</sup>. On the one hand, by constructing these categories as the starting point of the examination and interpretation of music tastes, practices, consumption patterns and functions, these studies in a way create two-dimensional subjects, reducing participants to their classes and the elements that comprise it. Other aspects of their identities and actions are either ignored or, if they coincidentally surface, are explained with reference to these elements and in relation to an imposed hierarchy of significance that could be completely irrelevant to participants themselves, who have little to contribute to the building of their own identity or the representation of their 'selves'. On the other hand, music identities, classifications, ideologies, values and relationships are unavoidably subordinated to these (externally defined) social categorizations and their hierarchization due to this theoretic orientation, which a priori sketches the relationships between the parameters of investigation and thus affects the conclusions of the research.

In addition, quantitative studies rarely give their informants the opportunity to define, and characterize music and the way *they* perceive or use it. Rather, participants are asked to circle numbers that quantify interest or attachment, to associate themselves with music categories they did not construct or at times even understand, or to pin point correspondences between emotions, feelings and music groupings sometimes as arbitrary and inconsequential as 'pop-rock'<sup>68</sup>. Because surveys and questionnaires usually employ closed format questions, participants cannot 'improvise', express their own associative links, remember why certain musics are (or were) important to them, or talk about what they do not like in 'rival' genres in their own words. Additionally, most often questionnaires construct music as an abstract object separate from its context (live, recorded, performed in a stadium, in a small café, by friends or

---

<sup>67</sup> See Bourdieu 1989, DiMaggio and Useem 1978, Bryson 1996, Sullivan and Katz-Gerro 2006.

<sup>68</sup> See Chan and Goldthrope 2007. Similar examples can be found in DiMaggio and Useem (1978), who use categories such as "jazz, folk, rock", and Van Eijck (2001) who groups together pop, rock, reggae, and new wave.

professionals, on the radio etc.) and generalized, as if each time one listens to music is a replication of the previous or the next one.

Considering these issues it becomes evident that in addition to the incompatibility of this research with any type of class-oriented investigation, quantitative methods that use predetermined categories to classify music as much as social identities, are unsuitable for the examination of ritual functions, performative norms and representations of musicosocial identities, and the possible interconnections between them. Even more, the categorization of individuals presupposed by such methods, is rather inappropriate for the investigation of people's use of classification itself that is part of this examination of music rituals' function. While the disposition towards determining musical identity socially could be adjusted to the theoretical orientation of this research, the intricate relations between the social and the musical, the personal and the collective that characterize ritual, cannot be understood compartmentalized but rather need to be examined relationally, something which the structure of quantitative research itself forbids (Gilmore 1990). Qualitative methodologies, contrarily, can overcome the issues discussed above by positioning music as the starting point of the investigation and employing a reflexive analytic stance to produce the range of details necessary for the understandings of its social functions (Hakim 1992; Marshall and Rossman c2006).

The theoretical intricacies of this thesis also necessitated that its various dimensions were first addressed individually and then analyzed in conjunction to form any conclusions, affecting correspondingly its methodological particularities. More specifically, the first aspect that needed to be established is whether, and to which extent, music audiences actually embody and reproduce the various sets of values, ideologies, and classificatory parameters previously discussed. According to Fairclough and Wodak, in order "to determine whether a particular (type of) discursive event does ideological work, it is not enough to analyze texts; one also needs to consider how texts are interpreted and received and what social effects they have" (1997, p. 275). As music myths and rituals are not unchanged discursive dogmata that are imposed by the media on individuals

who invariably comply and reproduce their messages, their examination had to be directly related to ritual participants themselves, to determine their pervasiveness, the new shapes they might have taken and the purposes they may serve.

Subsequently, these musical ideals needed to be related to notions of social classification to establish whether such interconnections inform individuals' view of self and others, and if they define their performances that reinforce and legitimize social realities of both hegemonic and subordinate social groupings. Lastly, the process of *musicking*, and how individuals might experience or use it had to be examined, to determine whether and how this might produce ritualized agents that instinctively reproduce the micro-relations of power, and examine if there are other effects that have not been considered so far due to theoretical restrictions. This way the *spectacular* ideals that shape people's self-categorization, their 'others' and their *musicking*, and the ways individuals actually use, experience and perceive their music rituals could later be juxtaposed to identify the points where they converge or differ and how they relate to the theoretical assumptions regarding ritual function.

The method of investigation that was considered most appropriate to efficiently address all three aspects at the same time and explore the links between them was interviews. Interviews were chosen because they offer direct contact with individuals thus providing access to the "multi-perspectival" social world and its "intersubjective truths" as well as aid the formation and communication of knowledge through interaction (Kvale 1996; Prus 1997; Miller and Glassner 2001)<sup>69</sup>. Individuals' beliefs and prioritization of viewpoints can be investigated, while *their* sense of the world, *their* particular realities, the meanings *they* attach to objects and events (and the foreknowledge on the subject under investigation) is dialogically negotiated. Thus, employing interviews would on the one hand allow me to explore the ideas individuals express today concerning different types of music, their rituals and audiences, identify whether and in which ways

---

<sup>69</sup> The notions of knowledge and reality and their relation to interviews will be discussed in more detail in chapter 4.3.3.

they might use them to construct the sense of the ideal self and reality, as well as to what degree this is a conscious process (Ritchie 2003). On the other, they could produce more 'complete' accounts of *musicking*, where participants could sketch their own perceptions of their participation, the ideals they think it embodies and reproduces, as well as what the process itself might signify for them individually and in terms of their collective identities.

In addition to interviews, observation was considered as an indispensable, but secondary tool, which could help me acquire a rough idea of the parameters that shape ritualization for different types of music. This includes noting the different sets of shared behavioral patterns in music rituals, the acceptable and 'unacceptable' reactions, responses and interactions of the audience during the event, and so on, which could be used referentially during interviews as well as for their analysis, allowing a more informed approach to the discussion of different types of *musicking* (Prus 1997) <sup>70</sup>.

Even though the combination of these two methods was deemed to be the most suitable to address the subject of investigation, they both entail certain issues that had to be addressed before they were employed. While gathering accounts to identify any patterns in music discourses and the way individuals use them could be relatively straightforward, the dependence on individuals for the examination of ritual function can be intrinsically problematic. As it was previously discussed, it is uncertain if the participants of a given music event experience or are conscious of all of its (supposed) effects, if these last for the whole duration of the performance, extend beyond the time and place of the ritual, or if they are equally shared by all participants, just as it is hard to determine or relativize the extent or intensity of effects when these are experienced (Moore and Myerhoff 1977). Consequently, participants' accounts and reported experiences could paint an incomplete and individualized picture of the functions a given music event might fulfil.

---

<sup>70</sup> The particularities of both interviews and observation will be discussed in more detail in section 4.2.2.

Similarly, monitoring the behaviour of *musicking* audiences and relating obvious modes of acting to ritualization can be problematic. On the one hand, such an empirical approach entails the methodologically questionable decision of which particular events to include and which to exclude, and on the other the results it produces can be highly debatable given the inconsistencies between group behaviours. Additionally, negative reactions can, for example, depend on a variety of external parameters that might affect musicians and audience members, irrelevant to the actual music performed or the values it entails<sup>71</sup>. Besides depending on the subjective (and subjectively interpreted) expression of individuals, observable criteria can only demonstrate the effectivity of a specific spatio-temporal event, and not the shape the same performance might have had in the past, the one it might have in future, or while taking place elsewhere.

As mentioned earlier, however, the particular issues with these approaches are not the result of methodology itself and they depend on the theorization of ritual effects and functions themselves rather than the means by which these are investigated. If instead of aiming at practically corroborating specific ritual functional expectations the investigation focuses on the production of ritualized agents and then moves to investigate how this ritualization might work to sustain microrelations of power in regard to the values it reproduces, the parameters of investigation and consequently of methodology itself change. The inspection of the particular function/effect does not depend on individual or interpersonal perceptions of specific ritual instances, but rather is a generalizable feature, if not prerequisite, of music events; it lies in the identification of the discursive, behavioural and formal standards that give form to, and at the same time emerge from the structures of each type of ritual regardless of how these might be at times perceived or performed.

Thus, ritualization does not presuppose that a performance is received each time uniformly, that audience members invariably conform to ritual rules regardless

---

<sup>71</sup> Bad sound, heating or ventilation systems can affect negatively any performance, for example. Similarly, the way and the extent a music event is promoted and advertised can affect the attendance as much as the type of people attending, and can be 'catastrophic' if for example tries to appeal the wrong target group in terms of marketing.



of the circumstances that might characterize each event, or that they all experience the event in the same way. Adherence to, and deviation from ritual-specific norms simply construct and allow instances of 'success' to be distinguishable from ritual 'failure'<sup>72</sup>. Furthermore, gathering personal views and uses of *musicking* to examine the ritualization of music audiences allows the 'subjective' perceptions of individuals to open up new understandings of ritual function that stem from the ritualization process itself, and not interpreting them as separate functional expressions that either comply or they do not with specific theoretical positions<sup>73</sup>. From this point of view, the different sets of features, effects and uses rituals as well as ritualization may entail can be established empirically as much as in personal accounts despite any inconsistencies that might be discerned.

In order to understand better the various perceptions and uses of music, its myths and rituals as expressed by individuals it was considered necessary to also include an investigation of the context on which this research focuses, that is, Greek culture and its 'localized' music perceptions. While the discourses that surround music genres are to a certain extent similar around the world, given that the sources of information concerning music developments are mostly the same, stylistic and aesthetic preferences, genre ideologies and categorizations are not necessarily interpreted the same way in all countries or all social contexts (Street 1993). Music in Greece, being commonly divided into two major categories of Greek and 'foreign' which mostly refers to Anglophone music but can also include other 'imported' types, is characterized by interactive sets of discourses that shape notions of the former in relation to the latter and vice versa. These affect not only the relationship between the two but also the

---

<sup>72</sup> A ritual that 'fails' to produce ritualized agents is not an indication of music ritual ineffectiveness but rather the opposite. It functions relationally by setting that instance of failure apart. The disruption of an event due to certain inappropriate behaviors, like having to 'chastise' people who talk loud in a classical concert for example, can be an indication of ritual's success in establishing what the right way to behave is for the rest of the audience and a technique for identifying or marking its outsiders, those who do not belong, or do not want to belong there. Similarly, the way people talk about *musicking*, the manner in which they perceive their roles within its various rituals, as well as their sense of self as experienced during a music event can all express different dimensions of their ritualization. This will be demonstrated in chapter 6 where participants' accounts will be presented and analysed.

<sup>73</sup> As expressions of either unity or *communitas*, antistructure, etc.

evaluation and relational perception of the different types of music entailed in the label of 'Greek' creating an intricate categorial web<sup>74</sup>.

Additionally, and despite the various notions of a "single global culture" that can be found both in academic and popular contexts, there are certain features of cultural practices that point towards an understanding of music that is more localized and distinctive, adjusted to the sociocultural parameters of each national context (Harrison 1999; Brennan 2008). Notions of entertainment, lifestyle, aesthetics, values, cultural capital, as well as the stereotyping or idealizing of 'foreign' cultures, which could imply an antithetical positioning regarding one's own, can affect the appreciation, classification, and function of different types of music in ways that can be particular to each country. Similarly, music scenes and genres that have particular meanings in one national context, like Brit pop or country music, for example, can be interpreted differently by a foreign audience on which their national-specific generic connotations are lost. In other words, the discourses that name, and thus give life to and define the various musics may acquire different shapes when related to, and filtered by different national and cultural environments (Nattiez 1987).

By extension, the array of associations and meanings genre discourses can produce and the music myths that result from their naturalization are similarly characterized by localized undertones. Being the product of the negotiation between 'foreign' and 'local' narrators and audiences, these localized myths can, in turn, generate different types of (social and musical) fantasies and realities, which affect people's understanding, and consequently, use of music categorizations (Leyshon et al. 1995; Lincoln 1999). The generic narratives that define 'imported' types of music can affect in turn the production, understanding and categorization of the local sounds, complicating the relationship between sounds, discourses and social meanings even further.

For these reasons it was considered necessary to contextualize participant's accounts providing a rough sketch of the popular or common shapes and forms

---

<sup>74</sup> For more details see Appendix A.

generic 'belief systems' can take in Greece according to which its various music rituals are structured, and at least to a certain degree, experienced. Furthermore, this contextualization could help identify any lingering mythic elements and discursive influences that might be shaping my interviewees' views and clarify the associations of the different notions of music in Greece.

Even though this type of examination is often linked with textual analysis this was considered inappropriate for the particular case, as its purpose would be to identify any traces of how past ways of thinking might have been interpreted, reproduced and gradually assimilated into how people think and talk about music today and not to compile and analyze documented instances of music's 'history'. While written 'objective' forms of music discourses, such as newspaper and magazine articles or books might sketch the past more accurately, they also illustrate discursive intentions rather than effects; neither their effectivity in convincing people of their validity nor their transition into myths or their 'live' links with the present, can be validated or traced by such methods of analysis (Blumer 1986). At the same time, specialized documentations of Greek music, coming from both local and non-Greek academic (or academic-ish) investigations, are often quite crude or simplistic<sup>75</sup>. Even though the last couple of decades several well-informed studies were conducted by young researchers in an attempt to fill the gaps in the study of Greek music, the lack of previous sources on which these investigations could draw, the plurality of music genres and styles, as well as array of the possible theoretical approaches to the subject, suggest a progressive, but still rudimentary, compilation of information on Greek music.

Considering that "the myth's accuracy as history is irrelevant" and only "its adequacy as paradigm, as model for living" is of any actual importance (Small 1997, p.5), in conjunction with the above mentioned issues, I concluded that the

---

<sup>75</sup> Manuel for example in his 1988 study talks about modern bouzouki music referring to all music produced after the 50s, without acknowledging or differentiating between the variety of music types that used the particular instrument at the time, thus failing to recognize not just their stylistic but also their generic differences and social signification. In addition, quite often discrepancies can be found between different existing sources on the subject of Greek music, which can make their study quite difficult.

significance of these past discourses could be established more effectively if related to their active adoption and reproduction by people, while documented references could be employed only as secondary sources of information and contextualization when necessary to fill any gaps. Therefore, I decided to supplement rituals partakers' discussions, as well as observation, with a set of interviews of music 'specialists' who not only have first-hand knowledge and experience of such chains of discourses but who, due to their presumed music expertise, may also be influencing in one capacity or another the appreciation and interpretation of different types of music in Greece today <sup>76</sup>. These accounts and their comparative and relational analysis could help create a rough idea of the localized evaluation patterns and modes of thinking characterizing music's understanding in Greece the last few decades, as well as their gradual, or not so, shifts towards new directions. These interviews could, then, be used referentially to clarify the attitudes expressed by concertgoers, and possibly distinguish any naturalized music beliefs from individual 'deviations'.

The unavoidable personal elements and subjective interpretations of these myths, as well as a perhaps nostalgic approach to the past, or its reconstruction with reference to today that would be expected in such an interpersonal investigation, were not considered to pose a problem. On the one hand, as it was explained earlier, the aim of the particular investigation would not be to reconstruct an absolute conception of the past, one which does not depend on people's memories and interpretations, if such a thing is possible in the first place. On the other it was believed that this subjectivity would help demonstrate the naturalization of certain discourses and, at the same time, people's agency in interpreting, rejecting or adjusting them to their current circumstances.

---

<sup>76</sup> The parameters concerning my samples etc. will be discussed in the next section.

## 4.2. Samples and methods

### 4.2.1. Sampling concertgoers

As it was previously argued, in order to investigate the musicosocial elements and relationships entailed in music rituals, as well as the way their participants might (intentionally or unconsciously) use them, music has to be treated as the starting point of the research, and not any arbitrarily imposed social characteristics that presumably define each music audience. In order to avoid making the mistakes I previously criticised in other studies, my methods had to be structured in accordance with this prerequisite. Regarding the first part of my investigation, that is, interviewing ritual partakers, this alignment was translated firstly into the parameters that demarcate the research population and the drawing of samples, and subsequently to the form my interviews, should take<sup>77</sup>.

Having theorized music as a discursively fragmented whole with a common ritual function, suggested that my samples had to represent different generic populations so as to sketch a relational picture of the music discourses and practices that underlie *musicking*, and the ways different rituals are perceived and experienced by their participants. Evidently, these music populations had to additionally consist of individuals who attend with any degree of frequency, live music (professional) events, and who identify their music tastes and *musicking* preferences with certain genres and their rituals<sup>78</sup>.

Adopting this approach meant that music unavoidably had to be divided into categories, which would both function referentially for the discussion of different types of *musicking* and be meaningful for research participants themselves. As exemplified by many music studies, however, such music groupings can often be arbitrary, they can lie on outdated preconceptions of value, or unjustifiably

---

<sup>77</sup> Observation is not mentioned here, as the identification of the elements that characterize each genre's production of ritualized agents cannot be perceived as either musical or social; the definition of genre itself means that one is entailed in the other and cannot be separated. So the prerequisite mentioned above does not really affect the process of observation but rather the theorizations of ritualization and ritual do.

<sup>78</sup> Even though these preferences did not have to be, and most probably could not be, exclusive but could also entail similar as well as contrasting music genres and styles.

exclude certain subcategories that could be crucial to the understanding of music and the study of music rituals today. Given my theoretical position towards music, it was imperative to avoid excluding any music types, whether based on cultural preconceptions of taste and value or because of ignorance, which considering the plurality of subgenres and substyles today can be a challenging, if not impossible, task.

However, the intention to include 'all' musics did not necessarily imply that each one had to be individually represented and examined in an interview exclusively focused on that music type. It conversely presupposed that the categorization of music had to be defined by relatively flexible borders that could be crossed or adjusted when necessary to include any relevant music subcategories, allowing for variable groupings to be placed under general music labels so as to address many subgenres at once. This decision does not disregard the differentiations between subgenres, which at times can be rather pronounced<sup>79</sup>. However, as my primary focus was to identify patterns in the way people talk about different musics and their audiences and how this might be related to the function of rituals, intra-generic differentiations were approached similarly to inter-generic ones: as possible musicosocial dividing lines that my participants, themselves, could identify and define if they considered them relevant or necessary to their discussion.

In order to represent a wide range of music types and yet produce a research design that would be feasible I decided to divide music into nine music groupings. The commonly used categories of pop, rock, metal, hip-hop, jazz, classical and electronic music (including both international and Greek musical expressions) and the Greek popular genres of *éntekhna*<sup>80</sup> and *bouzoukia* were used as a basis for my sample populations<sup>81</sup>. The kinds of music that might fall

---

<sup>79</sup> Gangsta rap for example does not entail the same values as other types of hip-hop and does not attract the same audience, just as Black metal and its allusions to Satanism is not characteristic of all types of metal and its fans.

<sup>80</sup> Greek music genres will be in italics. For their descriptions see Appendix A

<sup>81</sup> The looseness of my categories implied that the label electronic for example, could potentially include electronica, techno, trance, house, dance etc. but some of those genres, like dance for example could also be grouped under pop, if my participants chose to view it as such.

outside these categories, for example world music or reggae, could be addressed within the interviews in relation to other genres if participants thought it important, as suggested above, and not function as populations themselves, given the rather small number of such live events that take place in Greece and their representational absence from the local scenes. Subsequently, one person was chosen to represent each population, resulting into nine interviews.

Evidently, it is not the intent of this research to make any claims about representativeness, as one person arguably cannot be considered as exemplar of a whole music population<sup>82</sup>. However, in a relational qualitative study that looks for patterns between different accounts to establish a common function, these interviews are not intended to function as representations of each genre's particular 'tenets' and its *musicking* effects, but rather to produce combined evidence of shared attitudes towards, and uses of, music and its rituals despite people's different points of departure. Furthermore, the variety of elements entailed in the particular investigation necessitated a relatively small number of interviews in order for the data analysis to remain manageable.

Geographically, my research was limited to the city of Thessaloniki, as extending my study to all the different regions of Greece was neither practical nor necessarily productive at this stage<sup>83</sup>. On the one hand Thessaloniki was chosen because its large population indicates a corresponding variety of music events to those found in Athens, but unlike the capital, its more manageable size allows the plurality of music tastes and different musical expressions to be more identifiable and accessible. That is, due to its relatively small size, different music tastes (and their corresponding lifestyles) often take a visible shape in the city,

---

<sup>82</sup> Furthermore, it is questionable whether these music populations could be identified as such outside the premise of this research, considering how loosely they are defined, which suggests that claims of representativeness are irrelevant to begin with.

<sup>83</sup> Thessaloniki is the second largest city after Athens with an approximate population of one million people which sets it apart from both the capital with its approximately five million people and all other cities which are quite smaller, with populations of a few hundred thousand people or less. I believe this difference is significant as in my opinion the circumstances that define life in big urban centers, big towns or rural areas can be quite different and so is consequently the perception of reality as much as of music and its possible uses, necessitating a separate approach for each one. A comparative investigation of different social contexts, urban and rural, would be ideal for the further examination of music ritual functions, but such an endeavor would not be realistic for a small-scale research such as this one or relevant to its current aims.

spatially, audibly and stylistically (in bars, cafes, clubs, clothes shops, etc.) separating audiences literally or by contrast, and therefore the ways in which music and its rituals are used can be more pronounced. In addition, Athens' more cosmopolitan environment as well as its multicultural and multiethnic population synthesis, which arguably corresponds to more complex social and economic realities, would complicate the research variables, necessitating a more extensive and time-consuming fieldwork research and data analysis that was not feasible under the particular circumstances.

Rural areas on the other hand, are not characterized by a variety of music events, but tend to be more focused on particular Greek genres, which could or could not be representative of their population's actual music tastes. This lack of *musicking* variety can be explained by commercial factors that preclude any artists from abroad performing live in such places, or by the lack of appropriate concert halls, or venues, or of local musicians that perform certain types of music. As it was previously argued though, the examination of music rituals and their function must be approached from a variety of different angles to establish their common function, which in my opinion suggests that Thessaloniki was the most viable option for this research.

Given my theoretical and methodological focus on music and not on individuals' social characteristics, my sample could be in essence random. The only necessary presuppositions for individuals' participation in the research were that they attended live events and that they were not musicians, neither amateurs nor professionals. The latter prerequisite does not imply that musicians necessarily use music rituals differently, in terms of their social function, but that there are extra dimensions that can affect their perception and experience of both music categories and *musicking*. Elements such as music education, professional or artistic interest, investment, ambition, or prestige as well as the use of different evaluative criteria, interpretational codes of music, perceptions of aesthetics, originality etc. can decisively affect musicians' (expressed) attitudes towards certain musics and often their audiences as well.



Similarly, these criteria can affect the experience of the effects of performances in ways that they do not for non-musicians<sup>84</sup>.

The actual choice of individual participants was predominantly guided by their interest in talking about particular types of music events they attend, rock, pop, classical, etc. however they themselves understood and defined such categories, but their music tastes did not have to be identified exclusively with those genres. In order to find and approach such individuals different possible methods were considered and tested, to determine how feasible and effective they were in relation to the research goals. Initially, my intent was to find my participants before, during, or after live music events so as to approach one by one the different music genres I wanted to investigate. However, besides the practical difficulty presented by certain types of concerts being more rare than others in Greece, which would render the timeframe for my fieldwork research indeterminable, this method entailed a rather significant methodological issue. Approaching my participants in concerts myself meant that firstly, I would be actually defining what form each music population should take by choosing which events to attend, and secondly, my decision to approach particular individuals instead of others would be unavoidably influenced by my own preconceptions regarding how they should look like or behave, or other criteria that could affect my judgment.

Arguably, the particular problems would more or less define all types of direct approaches, whether I looked for participants on the street, in bars, or cafés<sup>85</sup>. Therefore, methods that would seemingly result into random samples but which would ultimately be defined by my own personal criteria were rejected. As an alternative, I decided to use social media to look for participants, and more particularly Facebook. I created a message explaining the general premises of my research inviting people to choose and discuss one type of a given range of music events and musics, and sent it to my most distant 'friends' asking them to

---

<sup>84</sup> Even though some of these elements could perhaps also be found in non-musicians, specialized knowledge of music is more likely to correspond with specialized interpretations and experiences of performances.

<sup>85</sup> Given that majority of such places in Thessaloniki have a rather distinct music character.

forward it to their 'friends', and then for them to either respond themselves or preferably to forward it to people they thought that might be interested in participating. My aim was to distance my sample as much as possible from my own social circles and to ensure that it would entail social variations. This last parameter was considered necessary, as I believed it could produce more nuanced results drawing on more musicosocial representations<sup>86</sup>.

However, this method was rather ineffective, yielding only a couple of responses both for the same genre (paradoxically metal), which indicated that a different approach should be employed. In order to ensure more responses, while controlling what types of music I was going to discuss each time, but avoiding making any decisions regarding my sample myself, I used a similar strategy without the mediation of the Internet. I approached distant acquaintances (a café waitress for example, or a friend's colleague we randomly met on the street, and so on) and asked them if they knew any persons that attended any one of the given range of events, and who they might be willing to help me with my research. Surprisingly, most people responded immediately calling friends and asking them if they wanted to participate in the research or if they knew anyone else who might. As a result I was either given phone numbers right away to contact the interested parties myself if their inquiries were successful, or I was told that they would contact me as soon as they found someone that fit my criteria, which in the end, they all did.

This way my sample remained random both in terms of music groupings and their own social features as I had no knowledge of the participants' background, age, gender or profession and were chosen solely on their and their friends' interpretation of what each music category meant. Additionally, I achieved the variety of participants I was looking for, with examples such as a twenty-year old female beautician and a fifty-five year old male archeologist without any social or stylistic attributes determining, in any way, their participation (at least not on my behalf).

---

<sup>86</sup> If all my participants shared a common social identity, then their common uses and discourses could be interpreted as a result of their shared *habitus* for example, rather than music's function. Contrarily, a social diversity could support my hypothesis regarding *musicking* more effectively.

#### 4.2.2. Sampling music 'experts'.

The aim of this part of the research was to investigate the procession of discursively produced messages that music 'experts' transmit to their audiences, which not only inform but also potentially steer their opinions regarding music, so as to identify and contextualize any lingering mythical dimensions and features in concertgoers' accounts. This 'historic' investigation followed the same pattern used for concertgoers, selecting one individual to represent each one of the nine categories of music. However, as the particular examination depended on a notion of 'expertise', my samples by definition could not be random. Rather, they had to consist of people who, in one way or another, during the last few decades affected and/or affect different music audiences, shaping music tastes and perceptions of value in a variety of ways, either as laymen 'experts' or professionals.

Considering that the objective of the interviews was to examine how the past is interconnected with the present based on the interviewees' own personal experiences and not on old written mythical representations, age was deemed an additional necessary precondition for the section of my sample. Thus, a limit was set to at least forty-five years of age for the examination of the 'older' music genres, such as *bouzoukia*, rock, metal, pop, jazz or classical music, while in order to facilitate the investigation of genres that were not as widely recognized as distinct music scenes in Greece before the 90s, such as *éntekhna*, electronic, or hip-hop, a more flexible limit was considered preferable to include younger 'experts' if necessary. Therefore my sample had to fulfill the preconditions of expertise, generic affiliations and age, while in order to remain faithful to the geographic positioning of the research, it was considered ideal if my participants were also situated in Thessaloniki.

In order to find the appropriate individuals I conducted an online search, as well as investigated different music circles of the city, looking not only for people that possessed the particular characteristics but that would also represent different expertise backgrounds, such as music journalists, radio producers, musicians,

owners of music venues, record shops or companies with a particular generic character, so as to potentially bring different perspectives to the discussion. In this process I tried to maintain as much an objective stance as possible regarding my participants' music categorization or supposed influence. Thus, the association of individuals with particular genres was based either on their own public profiles, or was ultimately guided by their self-characterizations as these were revealed during our conversations, affecting their corresponding positioning under one of the nine categories, even when that was different from my own initial intentions<sup>87</sup>.

The definition of 'influence', however, proved to be more challenging and complicated. For the majority of my interviews, defining influence and expertise was guided by 'objective' parameters such as ratings and popularity of radio or TV shows, or people's specialization or even 'monopoly' on certain types of music production or sales. In one case, however, these terms were seriously questioned and their validity debated. Due to an unforeseen variable -a concertgoer who in the beginning of our interview turned out to be a DJ- I was 'forced' to reconsider the parameters that might define the classification of my interviewees in either the category of concertgoers or of experts. On the one hand the revelation of my electronic music representative (a male bank employee in his mid-thirties) that he often performed as a DJ, suggested that he did not fulfill the criteria for the concertgoers' interviews, which specified that all musicians should be excluded from my sample<sup>88</sup>. On the other his personal admission that he was not particularly known or successful as a DJ, could imply that his influence on electronic music audiences was questionable, and thus his inclusion as an expert debatable.

---

<sup>87</sup> One of my first interviews was with George whom I found very difficult to categorize given his extensive work both with Greece's more famous rock band, and his instrumental work with the state theatre. My dilemma however, was solved when before our interview he defined his music identity as jazz, which was rather surprising. Nonetheless, I considered that his own characterization of his music identity should take precedence over my own preconceptions, and George was subsequently categorized as a jazz musician, and I looked elsewhere for a rock expert interviewee.

<sup>88</sup> The treatment of DJs as musicians depends on a series of arguably subjective criteria. Even though my personal attitudes towards the subject are formed case by case, and I am often inclined to reject the notion, in the particular instance my decision to ascribe the particular quality to my participant was based on *musicking* itself, and the definition of music as performance and interaction both of which are undeniably part of DJ-ing.

As I could not make any decisions regarding the nature of my interview at that moment, I chose to continue our discussion adjusting its form and aim midway, trying to combine questions intended for concertgoers with those for 'experts', with the intention to later on think about whether I was going to use it and in which way. When contemplating the parameters of my participants' inclusion, I was initially tempted to completely 'reject' the interview and simply find another individual for the concertgoers part. However, after careful consideration I decided against it, firstly because the particular 'glitch' in my sample was not due to methodological carelessness but because of a common misunderstanding according to which DJs are not perceived as musicians, which is significant in itself, and secondly because the exclusion of the particular person from my sample would be guided by an unverifiable quantification of influence.

Therefore, even though the particular individual did not really fulfill the prescribed criteria for either category of interviews, and I had already contacted a 'real' electronic music expert<sup>89</sup>, in the end I decided that I would instead look for another concertgoer, and include his interview in the experts' accounts. It is my belief that whether famous or not, that particular individual could still exert some influence on non-musicians because of his expertise on the particular genres, even if of a different kind than his more popular colleagues, similarly reproducing and transforming older music discourses, and thus should not be disregarded due to a presumed quantifiability of influence or expertise.

#### **4.2.3. Interviews and observation**

In chapter two individuals were theorized as agents that choose, construct and perform their identities and belongings drawing on *spectacular* social repertoires which they subsequently, not necessarily consciously, reproduce and legitimize with their attitudes towards different musics as much as with their *musicking*. Following the tenets of symbolic interactionism, it is argued that despite their intangibility these socially constructed patterns of thinking and

---

<sup>89</sup> A radio producer working in the most popular, according to official ratings, radio station playing electronic and dance music.

acting are possible to be identified in the ways people talk about music, the ideas they express in relation to music rituals and how they construct their others (Blumer 1969; Davies 1999; Ritchie and Lewis 2003; Miller and Glassner 2011).

In order to facilitate the 'unveiling' of such subconscious influences and processes, I had to employ in-depth interview techniques (for both experts and concertgoers), with an adaptable structure and flexible questions rather than adopting a strict approach to the subject or using fixed sets of questions based on corresponding preconceived notions (Ritchie and Lewis 2003; Silverman 2004). At the same time, a certain degree of direction was necessary to help me stay in focus, give a general direction to my interviewees and trigger any underlying interconnections between certain actions, ideas and experiences. Therefore, I considered semi-structured interviews as the most appropriate method for the particular investigation (Davies 1999; Bryman 2001; Ritchie and Lewis 2003).

A set of questions was used as a guide, adjusted each time to the category on which music participants were to focus. During the interviews these questions were frequently changed, or reworded to fit the way interviewees themselves talked, or to make them more easy to understand. As participants were encouraged to make their own connections and introduce their own ideas or concerns, the order of questions was often changed to follow the flow of discussion, or omitted completely if considered irrelevant, inappropriate or had already been answered (Davies 1999). However, this flexibility does not suggest that questions were 'abandoned' if the attitudes of the interviewee were considered likely to be contradictory or unfavourable to my own assumptions.

The questions themselves were designed to discuss different parameters that might have defined in the past, or those continuing to define individuals' music identities, as well as to address their uses of music in the everyday before moving to the topic of music events and their significance. The majority of questions were quite straightforward and designed in accordance with the 'golden rule' of qualitative interviews, avoiding leading respondents and maintaining a neutral position (Davies 1999; Bryman 2001; Ritchie and Lewis

2003). However, there were instances, particularly in my concertgoers interviews, where I deliberately decided to break that rule, offering to a certain extent my own interpretations, personal (i.e. not academic) questions, memories or experiences regarding music. The incorporation of this tactic was not guided by ignorance or disregard for the supposed risks of contaminating the research findings that theorists usually identify with it, but was rather a calculated methodological decision.

Choosing to momentarily step out of my role as an 'objective researcher' and give the interview a more conversational tone was based on the belief that "self-disclosures on the part of the interviewer" can function as "part of a controlled strategy to get the interviewee to open up" (Davies 1999, p.112). More particularly, as discussions of music tastes and experiences are often directed by a kind of personal 'passion', like perhaps those concerning sports, I believe that my interviews could become more meaningful and productive by utilizing at times common 'likes' or memories as well as positions that might challenge individuals, to stimulate our conversation. A strict academic approach where I would maintain a neutral position throughout the interview, would not allow me to explore the topic in the same depth than sharing my own experiences, aligning myself with my participants view or challenging them, could (Davies 1999; Ritchie and Lewis 2003; Silverman 2004)<sup>90</sup>.

Furthermore, it often argued that researchers "need to be sensitive to how they are being perceived by interviewees" (Davies 1999, p.113) as much as, I would add, to how these perceive their own role in the interview. This way according to Atkinson and Housley, researchers should be able to monitor and adapt their conduct "in the light of others' perceived perceptions and judgments" (2003, p.7). Since the first interview I conducted I noticed a tendency in my (concertgoers) participants to view our discussion as a test on their knowledge

---

<sup>90</sup> Even though the particular strategy was considered indispensable, it also necessitated I stayed alert through out the interview to identify if I influenced in any way my interviewees. If for example I noticed my interviewees tended to agree with whatever I suggested I either altered the way I expressed myself to form my position as something I was not sure of and needed help clarifying or stopped altogether with this method and reverted back to a more academic, if friendly style of interviewing.

rather than a conversation about music. Similarly, my own knowledge and attitude towards music were often assumed to be 'higher' or different from theirs, regardless of my actual position towards the genres investigated, due to my role as an academic (and a classical musician) who 'must have more informed tastes' as they sometimes suggested.

This was exemplified mostly by the defensive-yet-understanding stance my interviewees took against my supposed/expected inner criticism of their taste. 'Persuading' them that I was not looking for evidence of how well they knew a particular type of music, or that their music preferences were not judged on any academic or social standards of 'highness', and that I was interested in their own views and experiences, demanded that I gave our discussion a more conversational tone which unavoidably included me moderately opening up and offering my own experiences in exchange for theirs. Therefore, in my opinion, a kind of balance between an academic approach and an everyday interactive discussion of music had to be achieved to maximize the effectiveness of the interviews<sup>91</sup>.

On the contrary, my discussions with 'experts' necessitated a more distanced and strict approach, especially when dealing with individuals that were accustomed to interviews, either to the role of the interviewer or the interviewee. In these cases it was considered imperative I claimed with my 'professional' attitude and conduct some kind of authority so as to distinguish my role as a researcher from my perceived identity as a student, and at the same time differentiate our conversation from commercial interviews in which people advertise their work and personal accomplishments<sup>92</sup>.

All the interviews conducted were, with the consent of my participants, recorded, and subsequently transcribed and translated by me. My main concern

---

<sup>91</sup> The theoretical considerations regarding the interaction between researcher and 'subject' will be further discussed in the last section of this chapter.

<sup>92</sup> While in my opinion I managed to achieve the former differentiation, the latter tendencies can be found in a few of my interviews where certain answers echo popular clichés often read in music and cultural articles, rather than express naturalized music perceptions or personal interpretations of discourses.



was to color each translation with the corresponding use of language or idioms different participants employed and depict the flow of conversation as it was. Therefore, I included all interruptions, silences, hesitations, stammering or sudden changes of subject as these were recorded, as such occurrences and the ways in which individuals handled them could be significant for the interviews' better analysis. While I understand that despite my best intentions and efforts it is difficult to accurately represent a discussion on paper (Davies 1999; Hutchby and Wooffitt 2008), I believe my transcriptions conveyed as much as it was possible the contents of the interviews as well as the intangible elements of my interaction with the research participants.

My methodological choices regarding the various shapes of ritualization were relatively simpler. As it was not my intention to compile a comprehensive account of different *musicking* types but rather to produce a rough referential sketch of the different behaviors, styles, attitudes and structures offered by different events to help structure my questions and to understand better my interviewees' discussion (Prus 1997), participant observation or observation was employed. I attended a series of live events that corresponded to different genres and subgenres when that was possible, or watched recordings of those I did not have the opportunity to personally attend. Behaviors that somehow stood out as well as how other ritual participants reacted to them were noted in addition to the obvious behavioral and performative patterns of each ritual. Thus I believe my interviews were informed about the general rules as well as some of the exceptions that permeate different *musicking* types and their audiences' behavioral repertoires or expectations.

### **4.3. Methodological issues**

The discussion of my methodology's structure as well as that of my samples and chosen methods at times touched upon some of the practical and theoretical complications I had to address during my fieldwork. However, the issues presented are not exhaustive, and the difficulties I had to consider are not restricted to the structural concerns and practicalities of this investigation

discussed so far. Rather, several practical difficulties, theoretical concerns and ethical considerations that are linked with my methodological choices have been consciously omitted, some because they were considered too immaterial, and others because they demanded a more focused, independent discussion so as to clarify further the structure and orientation of my methodology, which will be presented in this section<sup>93</sup>.

#### **4.3.1. Practical issues**

The most notable omission from my discussion of the research practical complications that ought to be addressed is perhaps the unavoidable and quite significant effect the use of face-to-face interactive methods had on my fieldwork timeframe. My initial plan was to finish my practical investigation within one year, which had been considered an adequate period of time for conducting eighteen interviews and attending a corresponding series of events. Despite my intentions and best efforts however, this timeframe proved unrealistic, on the one hand due to the need to experiment with different sampling methods and on the other because of my dependence on interviewees and their availability that did not always coincide with my own schedule, which required of me to spend time in the UK.

The consequential, and to a certain degree expected delay entailed in such methods was often further increased by unforeseen factors that at times ‘forced’ my potential participants to postpone our meetings, more often than not to dates that conflicted with my academic schedules, necessitating postponing them even further to a date that suited both parties. Moreover, in a couple of cases, my potential interviewees, despite having ‘passionately’ reassured me that they were interested in participating in the research, postponed our meeting so many times that I had to finally give up, thank them and try to find another participant. As a result, the research fieldwork period was prolonged in the end by approximately six months.

---

<sup>93</sup> The notion of ‘importance’ is defined in this case by whether these complications had been expected or not, as well as by the difficulty or easiness with which they were dealt during my fieldwork, particularly in relation to practical issues.

Even though these instances were more frequent than I anticipated and at times could be rather frustrating, they were in no way considered unusual or remarkable and they had no negative effects on the research other than time-wise. If anything, I wish to argue that by having enough time to distance myself from each discussion, I was able to reflect on and contemplate the content as well as form of my interviews, allowing for a degree of reflexivity to inform my future meetings, thus helping my practical approach to the research topic to mature.

Besides the particular issue of 'synchronicity', depending on individuals for my investigation entailed one more significant problematic aspect concerning the actual communication between interviewer and interviewee, which was practically more difficult to address or resolve. As I have already stressed, my informants offered voluntarily to participate in the research, most of them claiming to be interested in having such a conversation. Nonetheless, in some cases my participants' good intentions and our common interest in music did not correspond to a 'good' interview. This could be explained, on my behalf, by any communicational faults that could have been triggered or accentuated for example by tiredness or other factors that could affect my concentration and ability to adapt to the demands of each situation, and on that of my participants, by their own moods or states of mind, as much as by their conversational styles which were at times more brief (but not necessarily dense) than I would have expected or wished, and others the opposite.

As a result, the length of my interviews varied significantly, from a couple being only about thirty minutes long, others lasting almost two hours, while the majority was around one hour long. Even though it could be suggested that a thirty-minute discussion cannot examine the topic in question in any significant depth, I believe that it would be highly discriminating to reject these interviews, as it would correspond to actually rejecting particular ways of thinking as well as of communicating. Employing methods that depend on direct communication, especially within a theoretical framework that constructs the experience of reality as product of interaction and performance, should arguably make

allowances to embrace all communication types as meaningful, even when these do not fulfill to their maximum certain academic expectations. Therefore, all interviews conducted were included in my final research analysis and treated as equally significant even if their contents were not equally 'rich'.

#### **4.3.2.Ethical issues**

In relation to interviewing, there were several prerequisites regarding the safety of participants, psychological emotional and physical, as well as certain practical conditions that needed to be met to safeguard their privacy and ensure their informed and voluntary participation (Berg 2001; Richie and Lewis 2003; Ryen 2011; Silverman 2011). Some of these ethical issues were ensured by the nature of the particular research, as its goals prescribed focusing on adults who (to my knowledge) did not fall into any sensitive social groups, while at the same time its sampling techniques allowed individuals to determine with no pressure whether they wanted or not to participate in it. All interviewees were both verbally informed about the research prior to our meeting, and given consent forms that explained its purposes in more detail to read and sign before the commencement of the interviews<sup>94</sup>. In these forms individuals were furthermore given the option to participate anonymously if they wished, even though no sensitive information would be exchanged, and it was explained to them that their personal data would be protected. Furthermore, the research topic itself suggested that participants would at no point risk experiencing any physical, emotional or psychological harm.

The same ethical preconditions more or less pertain to observing different music event types, which as it was previously explained, would be used in support of the information gathered from the interviews as well as to facilitate the better understanding of the music performances discussed. Due to the nature of this method, however, issues regarding individuals' voluntary participation, informed consent and confidentiality, could not be resolved. The main concerns regarding the collection of visual data, stress the need to secure that participants

---

<sup>94</sup> A copy of the form can be found in Appendix B.

will “not be deceived or coerced into taking part in research” that “they are informed of the purpose of the research and the research process”, and to ensure with the interaction between participant and researchers that to a certain degree their experiences are not de-contextualized or misrepresented (Prosser et al. 2008, pp.11-12).

In this particular research, the omission to inform audience members that their behaviors would be observed for academic purposes was practically unavoidable and in no way, motivated by an intention to deceive or mislead people for my own benefit<sup>95</sup>. The numbers of attendees in music events indicates that explaining the purpose of the research and getting their permission is practically impossible. Obviously the researcher's intentions, crucial as may be, or the practical circumstances of the situation investigated cannot fully justify any involuntarily assignment of participation. However, given that the purpose of the particular investigation was not to focus on individuals or directly represent their personal or collective experiences, but rather to observe the structure of the events they attended and its various performative norms so as to contextualize discussion about music, it could be argued that the significance of this omission is perhaps moderated. According to the ESRC such allowances are understandable when obtaining informed consent in research on crowd behavior is “impracticable or meaningless” (ESRC 2012, p.30).

As it was mentioned earlier an additional concern with analyzing visual data is the possible misrepresentation and de-contextualization of people's experiences (Prus 1997). These events were not observed with the intention to be described or even analyzed. Rather they were meant to be used referentially, to understand and clarify what members of similar audiences discussed. In this case both the risk of misrepresentation and de-contextualization should arguably be

---

<sup>95</sup> Part of the debate concerning informed consent and voluntary participation revolves around whether the interests of the research can at time be placed above that of its participants, like in covert investigations where the two might conflict (ESRC 2012; Miller 2012). In this research, however, it is highly doubtful that knowledge of a research taking place would influence in any way the behavior of the members of a concert audience or that it would compromise its results so that my methodological decisions could not be interpreted as being informed by a personal agenda.

approached as an unavoidable aspect of social interaction and personal interpretations of reality in general and not as the result of a particular methodological choice.

### **4.3.3. Theoretical issues**

The last set of considerations that must be discussed concern the interaction between interviewee and interviewer and the 'production' of knowledge, as much during the actual interview as in the data analysis and their presentation. Issues like researchers' ability or obligation to be objective, their authority to interpret and represent participants' accounts and experiences, as well as the reliability of participants themselves, the authenticity of their accounts, and whether these represent reality had to be considered beforehand, during my fieldwork research, as well as in the writing up of the findings (Berg 2001; Denzin and Lincoln 2011) <sup>96</sup>. These concerns often related to qualitative research, are directly linked with particular ontological and epistemological positions that define what can be known about the world and how this knowledge might be accessed (Bryman 2001; Snape and Spencer 2003; Creswell 2007; Barad 2007; Pascale 2011). Different theoretical stances towards experience, interaction and knowledge, as well as reality itself, can address and answer the particular issues as much as they help construct them.

More specifically, the concerns mentioned above can be traced back to positivism and its perception of a single reality which can be objectively known through empirical research. The particular position which suggested research data should be made up of 'facts', distinguished from the context within which these were gathered as well as from the interpretations of their meanings, also indicated that social sciences should emulate the natural sciences' methods of investigation and strive to separate the object of study from the values and filters

---

<sup>96</sup> Even though the representation of other people's experiences and the interpretation of their voices is often considered an ethical issue I chose to treat as a theoretical one, as it is directly related with the ontological and epistemological orientation of the researcher and the definition of knowledge as much as of reality (Pascale 2011), rather than to an absolute sense of moral principles.

of the researcher (Kvale 1996; Bryman 2001; Ritchie and Lewis 2003; Pascale 2011; Denzin and Lincoln 2011). The particular theoretical model however, entails several problematic ontological as well as epistemological aspects, as much regarding the construction of the 'natural sciences' as that of the natural world, reality and the role of the researcher.

Positivist tenets of objective scientific thought and investigation were built on a Newtonian inflexible understanding of reality, the world and its laws, which argued that "objects and observers occupy physically and conceptually separable positions. Objects are assumed to possess individually determinate attributes and it is the job of the scientist to cleverly discern these inherent characteristics by obtaining the values of the corresponding observation-independent variables through some benignly invasive measurement process" (Barad 2007, p.106). Since the first decades of the twentieth century, however, the validity of Newtonian physics has been questioned and challenged by numerous theories from the field of quantum mechanics, some of which have proven more successful in the explanation of the physical world than their predecessors.

Quantum mechanics theories have asserted that there is no such thing as an observation-independent reality waiting to be examined and described, and that our knowledge of its properties is produced by the interaction of the observer and observed, the researcher and the object of study (Bohr 1961; Plotnitsky 1994; Barad 2007). Barad more specifically explains that "the interaction between the objects of investigation and what we call "the agencies of observation" is not determinate and therefore cannot be "subtracted out" leaving a representation of the world as it exists independently of human beings" (2007, p.31). The particular relationship affects, or according to Bohr, 'constructs' the objects or phenomena of observation which at the same time affect and constraint their observation, measurement and interpretation (Plotnitsky 1994). Experimentally, this indeterminate relationship is demonstrated by the fact that when different agencies of observation are used different, complementary and mutually exclusive results can be produced without one negating the validity of

the other (Bohr 1961; Plotnitsky 1994; Barad 2007)<sup>97</sup>. Thus, quantum mechanics negate the presumable inherent Cartesian dualism of subject/object, and the separation between people and the external world that characterizes the epistemology of objectivism (Barad 2007; Pascale 2011).

The particular theoretical position does not reject the existence of reality but rather perceives it as indeterminate, as opposed to the philosophical and scientific positions that advocate the indeterminacy of its knowledge. According to Bohr, the distortions and disturbances caused by the observer on objects or events are actually “superimposed upon *structural* distortions prohibiting one from speaking of an undisturbed reality or matter existing ‘by itself’, independently of interpretation, or their metaphysical opposition or, conversely, unity” (Plotnitsky 1994, p.114). At the same time, a sense of objectivity remains central to quantum research, which however, is concerned with representing accurately the reality of an experiment, and not reality itself, communicating as unambiguously as possible the experimental results, as well as on subtracting the influence of the observer under the specific investigative conditions, on the reporting of the results (Plotnitsky 1994, p.116).

This particular, admittedly very short, discussion of physics does not aim at drawing any actual analogies between means of investigating the natural and the social world, advocate their links or elaborate on their differences. However, I do wish to argue that the theoretical frameworks presented sustain corresponding philosophical as much as scientific presumptions about reality as well as the way that our knowledge of it is constituted, which could help contextualize the considerations of researcher/participant interaction and situate it beyond the traditional conceptions of subjectivity. Thus, the central concerns presented in the beginning of this section pertaining to the subjects of investigation and the ways in which these are constructed by the researcher or the interviewee can perhaps be addressed in relation to these metaphysical positions.

---

<sup>97</sup> The most notable example is the behavior of light as either wave or particle depending on the means of observation.



To begin with, in relevant literature it is often argued that researchers approach, filter and construct their understanding of the society they are investigating, their 'subjects' and their data in accordance with their own perceptions, identities and experiences, which they then present as an objective representation of a distinct social reality (Geertz 1973, 1988; Clifford and Marcus 1986; Clifford 1988; Leach 1976; Fabian 1983; Davies 1999; Ritchie and Lewis 2003; Ryen 2011)<sup>98</sup>. Arguably there are examples of uncritically produced misrepresentations of research subjects in academic literature, which could excuse the particular criticism. However, if we assume that this 'filtered' representation is not the result of a conscious intention to deceive, inadequate training or unprofessional conduct, two correlated issues arise from the particular position: one concerns the construction of knowledge in relation to the interaction between researcher and 'subject' and the other regarding the representation and interpretation of knowledge in the written text.

On the one hand the implication that the experience and interpretation of both the 'other' and the interview situation by the researcher is not 'real' and its written representation is a subjective construction automatically suggests that there is, in fact, an objective, fixed reality to be studied and represented independently of observers, participants, and their relationship during the interview. In this case researchers are expected to employ a disengaged, impersonal and objective view so as to access and understand interviewees and the knowledge they share, and accurately reveal in the text their one true reality. In addition to the theoretical issues with the particular perception of a reality (and interaction), this expectation arguably also entails a paradox, as it asks the researcher to take the same role it is trying to critique: that of a 'god' with a distant, all-encompassing and understanding gaze which only speaks the 'truth'. The demand for objectivity, then, does not benefit the individuals or subject being studied, liberating their qualitative investigation from the authoritarian gaze of the researcher but rather the opposite (Davies 1999).

---

<sup>98</sup> Even though the particular concern more often concern methods such as ethnography, interviews have also been criticized for the particular tendency.

The particular argument does not aim to absolve researchers from their responsibilities (theoretical or ethical) towards their 'subjects', but rather indicates the need for a reflexive methodological stance that will inform the investigation, understanding as well as the representation of data. According to Davies the way to achieve this reflexivity is by employing a contextualized approach to the investigation and acknowledging that data are in fact a "cooperative product" (1999, p.113, 233). The personal, methodological as much as cultural lenses through which researchers see their participants and interpret their accounts need to be acknowledged and continuously related to the 'knowledge' produced, and to the foreknowledge that perhaps shapes their conversation.

At the same time, a similar attitude can, and arguably should be employed in regard to the validity and reliability of the information interview participants share, as this interactional entanglement manifests in two additional distinct ways. One concerns the interactive and interpretive nature and, to an extent, construction of (*a*) reality as interviewees experience it, and the other the way in which they subsequently re-interpret and re-experience it during the time of the interview and their interaction with the interviewer. According to Kvale knowledge is "neither inside a person nor outside in the world, but exists in the relationship between person and world" (1996, p.44). In that sense, in conversational activities individuals constitute knowledge, as much as themselves and their worlds (Shotter 1993; Kvale 1996). Thus, in interviews subjects are not passive "repositories of knowledge" which the researcher artfully extracts but actually enter a dialogue both with the researcher and themselves where they formulate their conceptions of the lived world (Kvale 1996; Holstein and Gubrium 2004). Kvale elaborates further on this position drawing on Rorty, arguing that knowledge can be viewed as "the social justification of belief rather than as accuracy of representation" (1996, p.37). Thus, interviewees' accounts are not to be perceived as reflections of reality (which the interviewer subsequently interprets and represents) but as the result of an interactional process that offers access to a social world through the filters

of individuals as they mutually reconstruct it in conversation (Davies 1999, Miller and Glassner 2001).

The particular theorizations of reality and knowledge are similarly related to the presentation of the interview analyses and the reporting of the research findings, which should be informed by a reflexive process, contextualizing and considering the ways in which meanings are being inferred. However, while arguably researchers should not aim at completely subtracting themselves from the examination of reality or the production of knowledge during the interview, they should strive to faithfully report the reality of the interview, as they have experienced it.

At the same time, as written accounts serve an equally interactive purpose and function, mediating between the writer's experience (and its representation) and the reader, the issue of representation could be argued to arise not only when the text is written but actually when it is read. The particular argument, suggests that the presumable meanings the text re-represents, especially in academic environments, are situated within the institutionalized interpretive contexts that perhaps guide as much as the writing as the possible deconstruction of the text by its readers (Weber 2001). Therefore, the process of interpreting a written account necessitates an equally reflexive stance as that of writing it that would entail questioning the extent and ways in which the 'subject' is constructed in educational processes and institutions, the research methodology, the interview itself, the writing up the collected data or their reading (Weber 2001).

#### **4.4. Summary**

The parameters of the empirical investigation of the function and uses of music rituals were structured in alignment with the theoretical framework of this research, focusing on individuals as well as the features that might shape their music experiences, and their interpretational and performative codes. Two different sets of interviews concerning concertgoers and music 'experts' were designed to investigate the different aspects and interconnections of *musicicking*

and musicosocial categorization, and to contextualize them by sketching the localized discursive frameworks of Greece, respectively. Both sets aimed at examining the ways people talk about particular categories of music, their audiences and their own experiences aiming to identify and explore any musicosocial classificatory patterns in their accounts regardless of their different musical or perhaps social points of departure. Observation was also employed to facilitate the identification of different notions of ritualization, the communication with interviewees, as well as to shape and the questions asked and interpretation of their accounts.

Similarly to its theoretical basis, the methodological structure of this research approached reality as dependent on the ways in which individual agents experience, interpret, position themselves in it, and constitute it in interaction. While claims about an 'objective' world can be made, it was argued that this world may consist of multiple realities that are defined by, and encompassed in individual perceptions and experiences. Even though the research process itself may affect the re-experiencing of these realities and their re-interpretation, the validity of its (re)presentation it is not negated. The accuracy of this last parameter rather depends on the researcher's reflexivity during the process of writing and on the objective representation of the reality of the interview.

Considerations of these features and theoretical positions affected the structure of my methodology, sampling techniques as much as the management, analysis, and writing up of the research findings. The next two chapters will demonstrate the practical application of these elements in relation to the research data and their discussion, perhaps clarifying some aspects in more detail. However, it is imperative that the reading of the interview analyses will be informed by the theoretical considerations discussed so far to maintain the degree of reflexivity argued to be necessary for this process to liberate the text from possible naturalized interpretive attitudes.

## **5. Interviews analysis I: Contextualizing music discourses, categorizations and evaluations**

According to the theories discussed music can take a variety of forms, offering a wide range of uses, experiences, meanings and rituals, and accommodates a diversity of *spectacular* identifications. Music discourses and myths help separate music and audiences into different categories by structuring the relationship between these elements, organizing and naturalizing category-specific musicosocial behavioral norms and types of *musicking*. In practice, these processes of (self-) classification, performance and legitimization can be explored by analyzing the ways people talk about music categories, perceive and characterize the relationships between each music type and their audiences, as well as how they describe their views and experiences of *musicking*.

This chapter presents and analyzes the basic themes that were identified in the accounts of the nine music experts' interviews regarding music's evaluation and classification as well as its rituals. As it was previously argued, the goal of this analysis is not to produce an accurate procession of different music discourses in Greece during the last few decades. Rather, it aims at identifying the patterns between the seemingly personal attitudes, beliefs and preconceptions 'experts' voice regarding music, music audiences and experiences, and investigate them as aspects of broader discursive systems and myth-making frameworks that can potentially influence the understandings and classification of music today.

The first section focuses on the ways interviewees describe and construct music categories and how their personal ways of thinking might be positioned within or linked with wider frameworks of categorization, genre and social discourses as well as historical processes. The second one analyzes the interconnections between music classification and the ways interviewees view different audiences. Drawing on the observations of the previous section this analysis links music myths with social identities, self-perception and classification. Lastly, this chapter will present the ways individuals might use, connect to and interpret

*musicking*, and how this might be linked with or disconnected from the previously observed dispositions.

### **5.1. Experts' views on music categories**

As discussed in chapter one, a basic precondition for music classification is that people can recognize and agree on its distinct categories, discerning at least certain of the characteristics that differentiate them. Subsequently, individuals classify self and others based on their personal criteria of choice, selecting one or more types of music with which they most identify and rejecting those with which they do not. Even though this process of selection and rejection is at times perceived as rather straightforward, both from a theoretical perspective and in everyday uses and discussions of music and music identities, my music experts' interviews proved that music categorization can be quite complicated, and less of a conscious or linear process as it is perhaps assumed to be.

All participants employed labels to refer to different types of music, each demonstrating different levels of competence in their use of the genre-related terms and different understandings of what they represent. At the same time, however, many also demonstrated an uncertainty regarding the classification of music or the borders between generic categories, while four individuals directly expressed their distaste for them. Taraxias<sup>99</sup>, George<sup>100</sup>, Stathis<sup>101</sup>, and Harris<sup>102</sup>, directly argued that music cannot or should not be labeled.

Taraxias -I believe that music is one, there is no distinction, music depends on the time, the mood, the psychological state you are in

Harris expressed a similar opinion focusing on the timing and uses of music, and argued that labeling is forced onto music and has little practical use today. Stathis rejected the idea of generic categorization itself, arguing that the boundaries between different genres are impossible to identify, while George

---

<sup>99</sup> Hip-hop expert

<sup>100</sup> Jazz expert

<sup>101</sup> Metal expert

<sup>102</sup> Pop expert

both expressed his dislike for the process of classification and was unable to clearly identify his own work as much as the kind of music he personally enjoys with any particular style or music category.

However, as it was mentioned above, all four interviewees used the vocabulary of music genres, and at times quite authoritatively, as much in their retelling of Greece's musical past as in their own personal relationship with it. The contradiction between their theoretical position and their actual use of genres remained mostly unacknowledged. Only Stathis, when pressed to comment on the particular attitude, agreed that an almost automatic internalized labeling system exists in our minds according to which we categorize music, even when we do not like it or agree with it, and argued "the sooner we get rid of it the better". When asked how this categorization system found its way into our way of thinking he first explained that "it was already there", and then reconsidering his answer, he added

Stathis -No, we found it in our surroundings and we placed it... I mean that we were told it is good to listen to A and bad to listen to B and we 'swallowed it whole'<sup>103</sup>. That's how! It was already there, the people around us... it was historically made.

Even though Stathis identified his issue with the categorization process with the uncritical acceptance of evaluative hierarchies, in several different instances he also expressed the view that value is subjectively constructed and depends on individuals' tastes and views. The contradiction between a socially imposed evaluative system and our own subjective sense of categorizing that Stathis presented could suggest that regardless of personal tastes, individuals can be, consciously or not, aware of the evaluative schemes that at some point formed the broader hierarchies of music discussed in earlier chapters. These parallel notions of value can coexist in listeners' thinking, where past formations of hierarchies interact with those shaped by, between and within different music audiences, not necessarily negating one another, but instead functioning to create referential evaluative points.

---

<sup>103</sup> Literal translation of a Greek expression that means something is uncritically accepted.

The particular argument is supported by the fact that while all participants similarly argued the subjectiveness of taste most also presented their negative evaluation of certain types of music quite confidently, referencing different presumed standards of quality. Even though each utilized different criteria to sketch quality, as no interviewee really defined the concept, the evaluative norms they reproduced corresponded to more or less genre-specific understandings of value as it will be demonstrated further on. Moreover, the fact that no other interviewee connected the idea of labeling with extramusical perceptions of value or with a social or historical process could suggest that notions of quality have, in a way, been naturalized in all genres.

In addition, often interviewees defined their own approach to musical categorization with reference to alternative evaluative concepts, usually in the form of binary pairs, or ‘accidentally’ revealed particular tendencies of separating certain types of music from others in the duration of our discussion. Harris, Stathis, Minas<sup>104</sup>, Dimitra<sup>105</sup> and George used the terms “good” and “bad” to divide music. Harris and Stathis presented that dividing line of quality as independent of genres, which they argued can only distinguish particular examples of music or songs and not generalized categories, alluding to a stylistic and not generic type of evaluation.

Harris -Yes. I believe there are good songs in all music genres. From that point on it’s just upon the taste of the listener, what they want to hear. At that particular time, at that particular age, it depends.

Harris maintained this somewhat neutral position throughout our conversation. Even though he employed an additional binary pair upon which he built his overall understanding of music, that of mainstream and underground music, he argued that these are not negatively or positively charged categories. Rather he constructed both concepts as two descriptive terms that express different degrees of a music’s/culture’s/song’s popularity and its acceptance by the majority of people, which however does not imply the existence or lack of

---

<sup>104</sup> Classical music expert.

<sup>105</sup> *Éntekhna* expert.



quality. In this context, Harris argued, there is good and bad mainstream music just as there is good and bad underground music, characterizing those classical works, for example, that are very popular and widely-known as mainstream. Thus, the representative of pop presented a rather flexible stance towards different genres of music separating the perception of quality from traditional notions of artistic value, and linking music categorization with two seemingly independent axes; one that concerns music's value as this is perceived by its listeners and another which is dependent on the size and type of its audience.

Despite his, as I perceived it, genuine desire to maintain a non-judgmental stance, Harris expressed certain critical positions that undermined his neutrality regarding the latter aspect of categorization and its relationship to notions of quality. When asked to clarify the relation between mainstream and pop music Harris stated

Harris -Whatever appeals to a mass audience is *mainstream*<sup>106</sup>. And when I listen to bands that are considered rock on a *mainstream* radio station, here in Greece, yes, I consider that they are playing pop music. They compromised and made pop music.

MP -Is there a kind of pop that is not *mainstream*?

Harris -There is, bad pop. Haha!

Arguably, even though Harris continued to support that neither pop nor mainstream music is necessarily 'bad' music, his perception that rock artists who are being played on mainstream radio stations and therefore, according to his discussion of the particular medium, are promoted and appeal to a mass audience, have compromised, could imply a stereotypical perception that differentiates (authentic) rock from pop on an ideological level. Obviously, his statement does not imply that this mainstream type of rock is bad music, but the word compromised could suggest a hierarchical comparison between (proper) rock and its 'pop', mainstream expressions. According to Moy and Borthwick

---

<sup>106</sup> Interviewees often used English or French words which are written in italics to signify that this is not a translation but the actual word used. The names of foreign music genres, such as pop, rock etc. are not in italics as their foreign origin is self-evident; they are neither translatable names nor they signify a person's personal decision to use a non-Greek word to describe a concept.

(2004, p.61) “rock as a term, was coined to differentiate the music and attitudes of both the performer and audience from the ‘pop’ or commercial form”. Harris’ position echoes this fundamental element of generic differentiation, even though his general intention was to disprove the logic that separates qualitatively different types of music. Furthermore, the suggestion that rock stops being rock the moment it becomes popular demarcates music as a secondary referent in its generic identification and categorization, and the audience it attracts as the primary one.

Stathis similarly employed the evaluative notions of ‘good’ and ‘bad’ to differentiate music, intending to disengage their meanings from traditional perceptions of worth, and particular genres.

Stathis -There aren't that many [genres]; there is what we call, it is a terrible *cliché*, I know, but it is true, there is good and bad music. *That's it!*

Stathis remained consistent in his construction of the terms good and bad and their relation to categories throughout the entire interview. He did not judge any artists or types of music in relation to any relevant preconceptions of generic worth, admitting for example that he likes country music, and that he ‘fancies’ a *bouzoukia* singer, demonstrating that he is comfortable acknowledging his tastes, even when these depart ostensibly from his heavy metal identity<sup>107</sup>.

However his non-judgmental tone was not equally employed when discussing ‘foreign’ and Greek music as broader music categories, where the former was somehow presented with a hint of superiority, even only in relation to aesthetics, over the latter. On the one hand Stathis dismissed Greek music as a whole, stating that he does not really have an opinion on it but that he simply does not like it. However, his discussion of Greek rock, which he rejected even as a notion targeting both the musical style of the genre and what he perceives as an

---

<sup>107</sup> While I maintain my doubts regarding the seriousness of his liking for the particular *bouzoukia* artist I cannot reject Stathis’ statement or suggest that it was untruthful. However, I do believe that perhaps he exaggerated his affinity for this singer, however intuitive such an observation might be as it is not based on what he said as much as the way in which he said it and my previous knowledge of his attitudes as a radio producer, in order to stress his disapproval of generic labeling and evaluations.

aesthetic incompatibility between rock and the Greek language, revealed a more generalized attitude towards Greek aesthetics.

Stathis -It's not [rock], it's just Greek music played with electric guitars, if you notice the music *dromi*<sup>108</sup> etc... everything that concerns the... the music in vogue it's not even Greek. It is an eastern music, like the one our neighbors listen to.

Even though aesthetics was presented as the basis of Stathis' rejection of Greek rock, the characteristic use of the word *dromi* that he employed to refer to the 'sound' of Greek rock, and his implication that the music "in vogue" is Turkish, is indicative of a broader cultural stance. While Stathis did not directly express an opinion on their value, discourses of eastern and western musical influences have for the last century been part of a variety of wider musical, social and unavoidably national discourses in Greece, linking sound, quality and the concept of aesthetics with more complicated political and cultural processes than perhaps music audiences acknowledge.

Since the first decades of the twentieth century, music discourses became an integral part of Greece's struggle to construct a sense of a cultural national identity which would identify it with either the East or the West (Manuel 1988; Papageorgiou 1997; Polychronakis 2007; Kallimopoulou 2009; Zaimakis 2010). After the constitution of Greece as a new independent country in the beginning of the twentieth century, the official cultural stance wished to emphasize its newly founded, modern, Western identity renouncing any Turkish/eastern remnants in Greek culture (Herzfeld 1995; Zaimakis 2010). In this context, Greek music was to be aligned with the aesthetics of the West, fused with 'pure', indigenous music elements, such as rural folk songs, while simultaneously "stressing the differences with [its] neighboring nations" (Kallimopoulou 2009, p.61).

---

<sup>108</sup> *Dromi* (roads) are groups of notes like the Western scales, which are similar to the Turkish *makams* but are based on western notes and are not microtonal, which produce a more 'eastern' sound than their western counterparts. *Dromi* are used mainly in *laiká* and *rebetika* as well as in *bouzoukia* and *éntekhna* music even though the last two often combine it with western sounds and aesthetics, but not in traditional Greek music for example which for many represent the 'true' Greek music.

This struggle practically manifested in the value perceptions that characterized popular music, first *rebetika* and then *laiká*, which more often than not were constructed in opposition to the true Greek music, the traditional or *dimotika* songs, art music, and popular European music styles (Elafros 2013). Genres such as *rebetika* were not just considered unrepresentative of Greekness and seen as aesthetically questionable. Due to their presumable closeness to the body and the affinity for physical pleasures and vices expressed both in that musics' lyrics and the lifestyles they represented, they were also sketched as potentially harmful to the morals of the "respectable strata of society" (Zaimakis 2010, p.8)<sup>109</sup>.

At the same time, there were also groups of artists, politicians as well as academics that supported the opposite idea, placing cultural development and syncretism at the center of the modern Greek national identity, defining Greek culture neither with western nor with eastern features but with their unique combination<sup>110</sup>. Marxist thinkers, on the other hand approached Greek culture in socioeconomic terms rather than nationality, claiming that the East-West division was not really relevant to the construction of a national identity but rather fundamentally class-based (Zaimakis 2010). They argued that eastern musical elements had great value as the authentic expressions of the lower social strata, being free from the bourgeois aesthetics of the West that represented the interests of the upper classes (Zaimakis 2010; Papageorgiou 1997)<sup>111</sup>.

Even though discourses such as these might not be considered as politically relevant today as they were in the past, the Greekness of eastern-influenced types of music is still being debated by different music audiences, with those

---

<sup>109</sup> The rejection of the particular genres is comparable but not identical to discourses that separated light from serious music in other European countries, as other types of popular music with more westernized styles were not similarly shunned.

<sup>110</sup> See *éntekhna* and *rebetika* in appendix A

<sup>111</sup> Obviously this is a very short presentation of the discourses that concerned the Greekness of music. However, the aim of this analysis is not to sketch the actual development of said discourses but rather to indicate how gradually certain ideas were separated from the social context that gave birth to them and can appear to be strictly musical. The discussion of the nineteenth century in chapter 2.2. functions as a paradigm of this type of mythologization. Furthermore, in the particular context certain views of the Greek intelligentsia can be argued to be intrinsically linked with the discourses created in Europe at that time.

aligning themselves with either popular or art foreign music often rejecting the idea. Similarly, the perception that classical music is music for the European bourgeoisie that cannot be linked with or satisfy the needs of Greek people, just as the implication that foreign music is for 'foreigners' and that its fans somehow betray their national identity can often be heard in music arguments representing different camps. Stathis hints on this latter attitude mentioning other people's comments regarding his distaste for Greek music which he directly related to nationalist sentiments.

Stathis -Similarly here if you say you don't listen to Greek music people look at you like "why don't you listen to Greek [music], asshole, don't you like understanding what they are singing?" "No! I don't like it!". But they look at you weirdly and haughtily.

Kostas<sup>112</sup>, discussing his music influences when he was growing up in the late 70s made a comment on foreign music that contextualizes further the particular musicosocial debate. He argued that the fact he and his family developed a taste for foreign music was incidental, and depended on the social environment in which he grew up.

Kostas – [...] the whole neighborhood of Depo was artistic. So, it was more European... you know, middle-class neighborhood... you wouldn't hear Kazantzidi<sup>113</sup> on the street as you would in Kalamaria...

Kostas' association of foreign music with the middle-class, a European and artistic identity in this quote, arguably alludes to a sense of aesthetic refinement or cultivation that the particular music preferences are often argued to embody reflecting once more the attitudes described earlier regarding Greece's cultural identity. Later on in our conversation, Kostas repeated his argument on the links between middle-class and foreign music, adding that Greek music was considered "*passé*" in the particular social circles living in that area of the city<sup>114</sup>. This second remark, suggests that part of the particular identity was to be, or

---

<sup>112</sup> Rock expert

<sup>113</sup> The most popular *laiká* singer of the 70s and today's *laiká* icon.

<sup>114</sup> Considering that his remark concerns his time at school it means that he is referring to a time around the end of the 70s and the beginning of the 80s.

appear to be fashionable by adopting class-associated images and tastes, according to which Greek music was no longer appropriate or relevant.

Thus, both the rock and the metal experts seem to emphasize the separation between Greek and foreign music, the one masking it as an aesthetic one, but which unavoidably is influenced by particular sociopolitical interpretations of and national identity, and the other by directly linking it with social class identities, 'modernity' and aesthetics. However, the particular division is not expressed only by these two participants, as more or less all interviewees seem to construct their accounts and views on music in Greece with the two categories firmly set in their minds, even if they do not always present their separation with the same hierarchical positioning or in regard to the same elements.

Dimitra, who is an *éntekhna* 'expert' and therefore, by definition a Greek music fan, demonstrated a perhaps unconscious awareness of the relevant debates concerning western and eastern sounds, expressing a kind of defensive attitude regarding music's aesthetic origins, without indicating which might be better.

Dimitra -Good Greek music. Quality, quality [music]. With good lyrics... with good lyrics.

MP -Oh, so the lyrics that interest you most in music? More than the sound?

Dimitra -Ummm... mostly the lyrics... [pause]. I don't care about *dromi*, if they are Western or Eastern *dromi*, as long as they have good and 'sophisticated' lyrics.

Even though the significance Dimitra places on lyrics in addition to her flexibility towards their combination with western or eastern sounds might seem unrelated to the discussion of foreign and Greek music is actually quite relevant in a genre-specific way. In the particular context of *éntekhna* music lyrics are not considered important simply because of their linguistic immediacy for Greeks that allow the understanding of or connection with a song's content, or in relation to their sophistication. Rather they are as much linked with the *éntekhna* music identity and its related theorizations of quality, as with a particular sense of a national one.

Historically, the relation of quality with lyrics can be traced back to the first wave of Greek *éntekhna* during the 60s and the works of Mikis Theodorakis and Manos Hadjidakis who could be considered the founders of the genre (Papanikolaou 2007; Tsioulakis 2011). Both composers, whom Dimitra greatly admires, aimed at transforming *laiká* songs from a form of popular music with “shallow” and “frivolous” lyrics to a higher art-popular genre by combining it with poetry (Theodorakis 1972; Papanikolaou 2007; Tragaki 2005); a practice which was later on adopted by many renowned Greek composers. This way, Theodorakis argued, the masses would recognize their own ‘face’ into a music which was truly ‘theirs’ and not “reheated food, intended for someone else to begin with”<sup>115</sup> as he perceived western classical music to be, and could thus engage in a creative relationship with both the music and its creators (1972, p.35).

Collaborating with Greece’s two Nobel prize winner poets along with many others, and setting their poems to notated music that was a combination of *rebetika* with Western aesthetic elements, performed by popular *laiká* and *rebetika* musicians, Theodorakis realized his idea of art-music for the masses, creating a genre which was not only considered artistic but was also very popular (Elafros 2013). Thus *éntekhna* gave form to what Papanikolaou (2007) calls the conceptualization of an official Greek musical and cultural national identity, which aimed at demonstrating the Greek ethos in the combination of sophisticated lyrics and the music of the two aforementioned composers<sup>116</sup>.

While Dimitra’s personal relationship with lyrics cannot be reduced to the official discourses of the *éntekhna* genre, the weight lyrical content has for her was not formed on an evaluative tabula rasa, but arguably draws on a decades old genre-related process that tried to resolve the previously mentioned debate between the east and the west. The links between the sense of national identity and lyrics are further demonstrated by the way Dimitra constructs the lyrical themes she considers meaningful and significant. According to her, songs’

---

<sup>115</sup> My own translation.

<sup>116</sup> The belief that Theodorakis and Hadjidakis are the epitome of Greek music (Tsioulakis 2011), or of what Greek music should be, remains popular even today and the value of their work is rarely contested in discussions of Greek culture, regardless of people’s personal music preferences.

thematics should focus on the problems, anxieties and realities that Greek people face in each period, like those found in old *laiká* and *rebetika*, without implying the exclusion of love or 'lighter' songs as these could fit into the scope of poetic lyrics which are also appropriate. Discussing in particular a type of *rebetika* songs known as "the forbidden"<sup>117</sup> Dimitra argued that their revival during the late 70s was very significant for Greek culture. She maintained that the particular songs can genuinely represent certain aspects of social reality that concerned marginalized social groups and identities that otherwise might have remained hidden. Thus she argues, the lyrics of these songs can construct realistic views of a past that is part of Greece's cultural heritage, its "roots".

Despite her general stance towards the lyrical standards that define the quality of Greek music, Dimitra exhibited a somewhat contradictory attitude on other aspects of *musicking* and their comparison to their foreign counterparts. Discussing the genre of Neo Kyma<sup>118</sup>, that was influenced by the French *boîtes* culture she argued

Dimitra –[...] until then at *boîtes* they used other instruments, no bouzouki, and no microphones. And people wouldn't clap, we would clap like this [snaps her fingers], there had to be complete silence, nothing else was heard, and at the same time the artists had to give it [to their performance] all they got! Dark, pitch black, um, these were the needs of that time. Later on they slowly introduced bouzouki and microphones to *boîtes*, I mean during the 70s and the whole thing was ruined, it became more Greek. More a Greek type of *boîtes* than a French one.

Dimitra, who once again stressed the importance of the lyrics of Neo Kyma songs, also seems to associate part of the quality of the French-type *boîtes* with the way people behaved, sitting silently and listening to music, not making any noise, not even to clap, as well as the instruments used<sup>119</sup> and the lack of amplification, which is reminiscent of the ways art music is supposed to sound and be enjoyed. Even though she does not say so directly, Dimitra seems to imply that it was not the addition of the bouzouki as an instrument that destroyed her

---

<sup>117</sup> See appendix A

<sup>118</sup> See appendix A

<sup>119</sup> Usually acoustic instruments with the guitar and the piano being the most common ones.



idea of the *boîtes*, but rather the change in its atmosphere and the whole cultural setting. The particular conclusion is based on the ostensible differences between the aesthetics and ritual aspects of the *boîtes* Dimitra describes and the kind of sociability, physicality and outward expression of emotion entailed in types of Greek music entertainment. Even though she does not directly reference the elements that separate the two broader types of *musicking*, their differences are strongly implied.

Dimitra -Um, I was cultured-like with, um, haha, with *Neo Kyma*, I mean I felt like an intellectual, more like that, but at the same time I was listening to *laiká* as well. I also went to *bouzoukia*. I went either at the *boîtes* or at *bouzoukia*. Haha!

MP -Were *bouzoukia* back then as they are today?

Dimitra -There is no relation! At *bouzoukia* one would listen to good Greek *laiká* music.

Despite Dimitra's good opinion of the *bouzoukia* of the time, their presentation as the antithesis of *boîtes* and the association of the latter with her feeling 'cultured' reveals, if not a general disposition towards foreign music, then perhaps the popular trends of the time that linked certain *musicking* types with such traits and separated it from others, demonstrating once again the naturalization of the discourses discussed in previous chapters.

Further on in our conversation, Dimitra introduced an additional double standard in her understanding of Greek and foreign music. During our discussion of contemporary Greek pop, she referenced one of her favorite (non-*éntekhna*) female singers to exemplify her low opinion of the genre, arguing

Dimitra - [...] all the others ... that are considered to be pop are *tsiftetelo-pop*<sup>120</sup>. Let's say... my beloved Theodosia Tsatsou, who I consider rock but

---

<sup>120</sup> *Tsifteteli* is a kind of *laiká* dance that is based on the circular movement of the pelvis, similar to belly dance but with slower movements, and follows a 4/4 rhythmic pattern. The name is used to describe both the dance and the music, in the way the words Waltz or polka are used. *Tsifteteli*, which is rather old and was significant part of *laiká* in the past, is probably the most popular type of *bouzoukia* songs today. It sometimes is rather sexualized, particularly in *bouzoukia* culture, and often associated with the "tasteless" character of the particular type of entertainment, like women dancing on the tables while men look at them either from below or sway really close to them. However, its characterization depends as much on the 'quality' of the music that

she says she is pop, a pop singer, but obviously... but obviously she is pop according to foreign standards not local ones.

The particular differentiation is perhaps understandable considering that Dimitra's had previously connected foreign pop with artists such as Bob Dylan and Joan Baez, for whom she expressed her respect. Contrarily, in her view Greek pop is represented by (modern) *bouzoukia* artists, which she straightforwardly rejects and links to a lack of quality and bad taste. The equation of Greek rock with foreign pop in Dimitra's quote, however, could suggest an unequal evaluation of aesthetics. On the one hand it constructs rock (Greek and foreign) as a qualitative genre, and on the other it shapes foreign aesthetics as being by definition better than Greek ones which are contrarily judged more harshly and on a case-by-case basis. However, Dimitra's position is perhaps affected by her age and her knowledge of foreign music which might not have progressed in a similar manner as it has in regard to Greek music developments<sup>121</sup>. Additionally, the barrier posed by her level of competence in the English language could excuse why she might be stricter in her evaluation of Greek pop music as this is based much more on the lyrics than it is perhaps in relation to foreign pop.

Taraxias offered a possible justification for this critical double standard discussing the different attitudes Greek music audiences can have towards the evaluation of non-Greek lyrics, which might be irrelevant to their linguistic abilities. Even though he did not make any particular comments regarding the division of the two broader categories, neither in terms of style nor genre, he explained that foreign songs are often accepted and enjoyed by Greek audiences because of their 'groove' while their lyrics are more or less ignored.

Taraxias –[...] there are many songs, like those of 50Cent for example and some other artists, where we don't listen to the lyrics, or if we translate

---

accompanies it as it does on the actual interpretation of the dance moves which could range from feminine, to sensual, provocative, or hypersexualized. Dimitra adopts the commonly used term '*tsiftetelo-pop*' to refer to a bad-taste combination of the eastern *tsifteteli* dance with modern western influences and the use of rudimentary lyrics.

<sup>121</sup> Assuming that Dimitra would not put Bob Dylan into the same category as Miley Cyrus or Justin Bieber for example, and that if she did she might not a priori regard foreign pop as encompassing better music than that produced by corresponding Greek artists.

them and sing them here we will be showered with tomatoes, things like “take me to the candy shop” and so on [...]

Thus Taraxias emphasized the different significance lyrics can have in foreign and Greek songs, and the corresponding lightness or harshness with which they might be judged. However, at the same time Taraxias expressed the opinion that many *bouzoukia* or Greek pop songs are characterized by silly and inconsequential lyrics, which audiences are somehow brainwashed by the media and repeated playbacks on the radio to like. Thus, he also linked lyrical appreciation with the evaluative standards and abilities of different audiences and the genres these represent.

Harris’ discussion of foreign and Greek music provided an alternative explanation regarding such double standards, and the relationship between the former and quality by linking it to the sophistication of the audience’s critical abilities rather than the music itself.

Harris -And the most in-the-know artists, if we talk about a category of sophisticated [Greek] rock artists, they concern an audience that is mostly into foreign music and just so happen to also accept five Greek artists and their work. But they do not accept the whole Greek culture thing.

For Harris, therefore, sophisticated Greek rock music fits better with foreign music identities than with Greek ones even though he does not mention any particular genres or type of artists that the former might encompass. This argument could suggest that he perceives Greek music audiences as less refined than those preferring foreign music. The particular interpretation is supported by Harris’ following quote where Greek audiences are implied to be lacking in their ability to evaluate progressiveness and sophistication, presumably due to a corresponding lack of these elements in the local production of music.

Harris -Their [Coldplay] sound is completely pop and *mainstream*. In relation to international standards, right? Not Greek. For Greek standards they might be strange and rock.

Koytoypas<sup>122</sup> implied the separation of Greek from foreign music by presenting certain critical comments on the former's stylistic elements but without directly comparing the two categories. Initially, the electronic music expert was quite open-minded regarding the different genres of music, stating that even though he does not like all of them, he has no problem listening to a range of things, including *bouzoukia*. However, Koytoypas straightforwardly said he thinks today Greek music is "horrible", distinguishing only a few older *éntekhna* and *laiká* songs he said he can "bear", and separating a couple of artists that resemble the old *laiká* singers from the rest of the popular 'stars' of the day.

Koytoypas -Because Terzis' lyrics are more... 'alive', he doesn't say five words repeatedly and that's fine, that's it, and then someone just puts music on top of that, which is most probably stolen from other songs, changing it a bit. Greek songs are all the same style, the same sounds with small differences.

Even though he argued that the kind of music he likes might not be "the best", Koytoypas argued that it is definitely better than the kind of music produced in Greece. He related Greek music's lack of originality and standardization to the music industry and the process of commercialization that affects current music production. He argued that songs today are easily forgotten and replaced by other similar ones usually performed by the same artist. This process Koytoypas believes, is triggered by a profit incentive that links the continuous need to consume music with its unmemorable character<sup>123</sup>.

Arguably the particular position is quite similar to familiar critiques of popular music, which construct their criticism on its hierarchical comparison to more artistic and intellectual forms of music that are deemed to be better for audiences (Adorno 1941). However, Koytoypas' view on the subject did not express the desire to "educate" audiences. When asked if Greek people like electronic music he replied

---

<sup>122</sup> Electronic music expert

<sup>123</sup> Koytoypas never criticized foreign music in regard to these elements and processes as if the 'bad influence' of the music industry is a local phenomenon.

Koytoypas -No, I don't believe they do because here we have this sort of philosophy here, we don't want this music to become very popular, we don't want it to become very commercial. We want the people who listen to this music to know what they are listening to and why. [...] We don't want it to become fashionable; we want it to be something that only we like.

Arguably, the particular position does not concern a genre that is conventionally regarded as 'serious music' or an upper-class audience that seeks to insulate itself socially by maintaining its cultural exclusivity while simultaneously rejecting other tastes and cultures, as the examples discussed in previous chapters. Nonetheless, it does express the need to safeguard this music from its commercialization and implied appropriation by uneducated (mass) audiences that do not possess the (sub)cultural capital to appreciate it. Thus, Koytoypas echoes the attitudes commonly related to electronic music, according to which cultural capital and exclusivity can be relevant to subcultural, underground music scenes, and not just those traditionally perceived as elitist, reflecting a particular collectivity that primarily seeks to be separated from the 'mainstream' (Thornton 1995); a keyword related to high art and underground authenticity discourses that according to Holt "denotes conformity, predictability and superficiality" (Holt 2007, p.17).

Kostas, who expressed an indifference towards Greek music, utilized certain similar criteria with Koytoypas, to sketch his opinion and targeted his negative attitude to specific elements and genres. Firstly, he also linked pop with *bouzoukia*, arguing that this type of music, which "was not good to begin with", is now at its worst phase. He commented on the simple structure of Greek pop music, expressing at the same time his general annoyance with the fact that its style as much as the particular sounds and beats it entails are copied from foreign artists implying a lack of authenticity. Kostas continued his criticism arguing that Greek pop audiences also lack a proper 'pop attitude' or ideology, implying that they are somehow 'fooled' by artists to believe that their pop identity is genuine.

Kostas- I mean pop is not just about listening to a pop beat, it's 'I listen to a pop beat and then I go out and buy the same nickers a pop star is wearing', that is pop. Pop ideology. This sort of ideology does not exist in Greece because we blatantly copy foreign artists. Madonna wore a cowboy hat and all the 'chickens' here went and bought a cowboy hat. Well, okay Madonna also visited Greece and now even the hairdresser across the street knows that Vissi<sup>124</sup> copied the hat thing from Madonna. Um... no, in that sense we don't have pop culture here in Greece.

Kostas' views of Greek and foreign pop music as well as artists is evidently formed on a combination of musical style and extramusical information that seems to function antagonistically, refuting the authenticity of the genre-identity of the former while affirming that of the latter.

However, for Kostas ideology and authenticity is not relevant only to the division of Greek and foreign pop music. Rather it defined to a large extent his general attitude towards music as well as audience classification, reproducing the general mythic foundation of rock according to which worldviews, ideological attitudes, and lifestyles are organic to music identity (Wicke and Fogg 1990). More particularly, referencing hippies and punks Kostas argued that each music movement believes in and expresses a different 'position' that cannot be reconciled. Based on that belief, Kostas contrarily to other interviewees, argued that even though today genres are less antagonistic than in the past, music is not one and it should not be separated only terms of genres, but also practically, different types being played in different venues, attracting different audiences.

Taraxias' distinction of music was also defined by a type of ideological separation that concerns the definition of authenticity in hip-hop music in particular. For him, authentic, 'revolutionary' hip-hop is different from its current more commoditized expressions, which resulted from the genre's cooptation into the music industry that stripped it from its ideological character and purposes. This position reflects the broader discourses that define the genre and its ideological origins (Elafros 2013). According to De Genova, hip-hop can be defined as music

---

<sup>124</sup> The oldest and probably most famous and successful pop/bouzoukia singer in Greece who appeared wearing a cowboy hat right after Madonna did.

that “flourishes in the contradictory interstices of hegemonic appropriation and a fairly self-conscious and articulate politics of oppositional maneuvering” (2013, p. 105). Taraxias presented a similar position adding that none of today’s hip-hop expressions should be rejected. Contrarily, he posited that there is no actual need to either criticize or reconcile the two presumably different camps or perspectives of the ideologically conscious and the commercially oriented, as their music fulfills different functions, which in the end both serve hip-hop and its audiences. However, towards the end of our interview, Taraxias argued that good things will come out of the current economic and political crisis in Greece, as good music is always the result of turmoil, linking good hip-hop once again with the initial revolutionary ideology of the genre.

The representative of classical music, Minas, focused less on ideology and more on stylistic elements to discuss his notion of good music but did not direct his music criticism on any particular examples. Maintaining that good music can be found in all genres provided someone has the knowledge to find it and assess it, he stressed education in the broad sense of the word, as the means to do so.

MP -When you say good music, what exactly do you...

Minas -Well, I mean a composition that... is meaningful, has a beginning middle and an end, a melody that is inspired, this sort of elements. What we mostly hear today, is a mechanic repetition of a sound, like a... a commercial minimalism, lets say. The same thing again and again.

It is interesting to notice that Minas, unlike other interviewees, did not identify this “commercial minimalism” with either foreign or Greek music, or with particular genres but rather presented it as an element that he finds annoying in general. However, it can be safely assumed that jazz, like classical music, was excluded from the particular grouping as according to Minas, if certain types of the genre might seem as repetitive, meaningless or unpleasing, it is because audiences do not possess the means to understand it and need to be gradually trained to do so. Arguably the particular view somehow situates jazz and classical music in a similar hierarchical position both being judged on different criteria than other genres, interpreting the (perceived) meaningfulness of music,

or lack thereof, as contingent to the audience's ability to decode it and not the music itself.

Minas' position reflected certain traditional conceptions that characterize classical music, constructing music's quality in terms of cultural capital and the inherent nature of its meanings that wait to be explored and understood. However, he neither constructed entire genres as inherently bad nor he deliberately excluded particular types of music from his conceptualization of quality. On the contrary his argument that music audiences should be educated to appreciate good music concerned all genres, alluding to a more omnivorous than "snob" understanding of music and audience classification<sup>125</sup>.

George used the concepts of 'good' and 'bad' in his discussion of music without implying any links with either Greek or foreign music, or employing any other binary categorizations. Part of George's neutral position regarding music classification was explained with the familiar argument that music stereotypes are declining due to music's hybridization. However, this does not suggest George's discussion of music did not entail any correspondences of good music with certain genres. While he stressed that music types with an implied 'good reputation', like *éntekhna*, can contain examples of bad music, he never suggested that perhaps genres which are considered of a lower quality, or which he rejects might also have examples of good music.

The discriminating identification of bad and good music irrespectively of particular examples was characteristically exemplified in George's nonnegotiable rejection of certain genres. When asked to comment on *bouzoukia*, he responded that this genre does not concern him and that if he happens to be in an environment that plays such music he isolates his "hearing nerves" and ignores it.

George- Um, I am not interested in it at all, it does not concern me. I believe it has done great damage...

---

<sup>125</sup> See chapter 2.1.



MP -In what sense?

George -Um... in the sense that ... there are generations of kids who grow up with this thing. There are... and I consider it the least, vulgar.

MP - Are you referring to the music itself or to its general culture?

George -Both as music and as a culture, yes. As an attitude, as a position, as a *lifestyle*, as... it doesn't concern me at all. Um... it will... okay, it exists. It exists. But I consider it... unneeded.

In this context George, like Dimitra and Kostas, characterized Greek pop music as “pop-*skyladika*” directly stating it has been assimilated in the *bouzoukia* music and culture. At the same time, however, he made some allowances regarding the genre, stating that there are also some ‘good’ bands with proper pop character. The artists George linked with this latter kind of pop indicates that his perceptions of the genre could be based on the separation of bouzouki-based pop sounds from those resembling foreign aesthetics.

George’s rejection of modern *laiká* as a vulgar music as well as culture was not explained with reference to any particular stylistic features. However, his position can be better understood considering his following definition of ‘good’ music.

George - I mean I think that I listen to anything that is good. Of course each one constructs his perception of good with his own ideas and understandings, right? A *skyladika* fan might tell you that what he likes is good and what you like is not, and there is nothing you can say on that. What could you say? Okay? But I, personally, listen to any kind of music that sounds to me good and ‘healthy’, both as a concept and performance, and as an ideology, a way of life... of the people who make it, as... consistency between what they do, um... as their journey. I mean how each person journeys in this life and how they choose certain things and goes along with them, or not, or...

George’s initial position regarding the subjectiveness of the definition of good music is arguably somehow diminished by the presentation of his personal take on the subject that followed. On a first level, his perception of ‘healthy’ music can be interpreted as an expression of that very subjectivity he previously acknowledged. Examining his definition on a deeper level however it becomes

evident that his view is not as personal as George believes it to be. Rather it could be argued that the correspondence and consistency between music, ideologies, and ways of living and performing expresses an artistic and ideological self-perception that is music-category specific<sup>126</sup>.

Jazz just like rock has been established as a type of music that meaningfully express, or that should strive to do so, a particular type of social or even political consciousness (Wicke and Fogg 1990; Geghardt 2001)<sup>127</sup>. That is, they are two genres that are perceived to maintain their artistic and ideological integrity under the pressures of commercialization, adhering to and expressing the countercultural and anti-hegemonic tenets that are part as much of the music as of the lifestyles and worldviews they (supposedly) represent (Laver 2015). This element along with Georges' previous comments regarding the 'vulgarity' of the *bouzoukia* culture and lifestyle, suggests that his rejection of the particular music expresses to large degree the rejection of the social consciousness that for him *bouzoukia* musicians and audiences express with their musical choices and they way they choose to 'journey' in their lives<sup>128</sup>.

The only person that seemed to have no issue with music categorization as well as the different types of music this entails, was Christos<sup>129</sup>. Christos acknowledged that certain kinds of music are perhaps more 'valuable' culturally than others, like the musical tradition of Pontus that is gradually fading and thus must be preserved, but he did not relate artistic significance to a kind of objective scale of worth. The names of different musics, even though those meant to be derogatory, were seen by Christos as means of differentiating the variety of music types often in relation to their uses or associations, arguing that these distinctions should not be taken very seriously, or related to quality.

---

<sup>126</sup> By category-specific I am referring to the 'first-class' types of music that are often implied to form a distinct category within the broader category of popular music, following the notions of omnivorousness, being separated from their more inauthentic or commercial, or low-quality expressions. Like discussed previously, these could be for example 'proper' rock music and ideological hip-hop that are set against any mainstream examples that fall within the same genre.

<sup>127</sup> Rock is mentioned along with jazz here not only because there are certain generic similarities but mostly due to Georges' strong rock professional musical presence despite his personal identification with jazz.

<sup>128</sup> This will discussed further in the next section

<sup>129</sup> *Bouzoukia* expert

MP - Are you bothered by the term *skyladika*?

Christos -Not at all.

MP -How come?

Christos-Why should I be bothered? [...] It's nothing, it's just a nickname. After all there is a very wide range of *laiká*. They all say they are making *laiká*... it's just a way of describing... as I told you, the second set in *bouzoukia*. That's it. [...]I also call them heavy metal! I listen to heavy metal *laiká*! Haha! This whole thing is childish!

Music distinctions for Christos stem from people's tastes, needs, and uses or music's different effects on moods and so on, and do not reflect their value. *Bouzoukia*, and more particularly their live performances, he argued, function as a medium for people to feel and express their heartache in a basic way that *éntekhna*, for example, cannot, as according to Christos this is "light" music, suitable for the radio due to its different "energy". Thus, he argued, music's value depends on where and when one listens to it, and different labels basically describe that relation. Christos' generally open-minded position was complemented by his music tastes that can encompass anything from *éntekhna* to opera or world music, which however exclusively concerned particularly popular examples<sup>130</sup>. He only excluded from his preferences certain types of electronic and heavy metal that he called 'chainsaw music', which he argued he finds monotonous, without commenting on their value or comparing them to the music he likes<sup>131</sup>.

According to theories that wish to link the consumption of popular music with the notion of the *habitus*, Christos' position could be understood as a perfect example of the tendency of "the dominated" to "make a virtue of necessity" and

---

<sup>130</sup> For example, Christos mentioned two tenors to exemplify his liking for opera, both of whom were very popular in Greece during the late 90s, and their music was on all major radio stations that did not play classical music or opera, but rather pop. Additionally, both appeared and performed on television, singing even popular music songs and were met with great enthusiasm by different audiences, while the classical world did not necessarily embrace their popularity. Similarly, Christos said he likes hip-hop referencing Eminem as an example, who is arguably one of the first hip-hop artists that crossed-over to Greek pop music audiences. The *éntekhna* singers Christos also likes, as well as a Greek reggae band he said he is crazy about, are currently the most famous and popular artists whose music is being frequently played in modern *laiká* and pop radio stations.

<sup>131</sup> This characterization is rather common and it is used to refer to trance or other types of very fast tempo electronic music.

opt for the functional, the practical and the substantial” rather than orient their tastes according to the pleasures of the mind and in favor of sophistication like “the dominant” do (Atkinson 2011, p.170). However, the connection of music with functionality along with the plurality of tastes Christos is open to, which includes sophisticated music even if this is appreciated in different terms than those proposed by elite music supporters, could suggest that in fact, his music preferences are determined by a different definition of omnivorousness rather than by necessity or lack of cultural capital.

Christos’ music preferences are grouped together by the popularity of particular songs or artists in combination with the popular associations and uses these entail, and not their presumed quality or the individual evaluation of genres. For example, Christos characteristically argued that *bouzoukia* expresses heartache, that foreign music is good for the gym because it is energetic, and that the differentiation of *laiká* genres depends on their appearance in the first or second set in *bouzoukia*, all of which arguably indicate a more associative, rather than specialized or personalized, interpretation of music’s uses. The connections between these genres and their functions are not necessarily the result of cultivating a deeper relationship with each one that determines how categories, or the different artist within them, might be used but are rather triggered by habitual associations. In this context, Christos’ attitude towards music is linked with a wider music category than that of *bouzoukia* and more complex one than popular music, which is encompassed by the notion of the ‘mainstream’. Within the mainstream’s mediatized framework of dominant music trends and values, both his conflicting tastes and casual adoption of omnivorousness are explained without implying a particular social, musical or discursive identification except the one entailed in the meaning of the word itself<sup>132</sup>.

The ways in which the nine interviewees construct their ideas on music categories arguably demonstrate that this process depends on a combination of

---

<sup>132</sup> I characterize his omnivorousness as casual because in contrast with the meaning given to the notion by Peterson, Christos is not ‘investing’ in a wide range of music that functions as a means of cultural distinction but rather one that is indiscriminately enjoyed by the majority and thus functions as a means of integration.

social as well as musical parameters. On the one hand, experts' attempt to structure their view of music categories was predominantly guided by their different understandings and interpretations of music ideologies. At the same time their personal positions were also influenced by particular elements of wider music/generic discourses, which were reproduced as natural and legitimate measures of evaluation. Part of these discourses concerned the relationship between music genres and their audiences which in some cases was sketched as determinative of music classifications. Further analysis of the nine participants' accounts revealed that this criterion is actually just as significant, if not more, than notions of value, aesthetics and meaningfulness, and depends on a similarly complicated relational process of the social and the musical as it will be demonstrated in the following sections.

## **5.2. Experts' views on audiences**

Music categorization is not only relevant to particular music discourses, values and ideologies, but also depends on individuals' personal view of and relationship with music. Throughout their interviews the nine participants demonstrated that personal understandings of music function as a comparative measure for the interpretation and evaluation of other audiences' musicosocial beliefs, behaviors and attitudes and the genres that these are believed to represent. While presumably generic preferences can be indicative of, or influenced by individuals' broader perception of music, the analysis of the participants accounts suggests that the significance each interviewee assigns to music is not necessarily genre dependent.

Even though jazz, classical, electronic, hip-hop, rock and metal music do not share that many common generic features, their representatives defined music using the same elements, while the first four directly identified it as a way of life. Similarly, the three participants representing *bouzoukia*, *éntekhna* and pop who did not provide a particular definition of music as the first group did, also used an analogous approach to explain or justify their opinion of different music

genres and categories thus indirectly expressing their own personal view of music.

George –It is a quest, music in general, in all levels, regardless if you compose it or you listen to it ... um, it is a way of life.

George's general view on music embodied his previously discussed requirement for a consistency between people's life 'journeys' and music that for him differentiates good music from bad. The continuous search of, and for music, George explained, is indicative of the way one approaches life in general, of the desire to explore things in depth, to understand them and see how they relate to one another, concluding that "music is much more than simply listening". Thus, Georges constructed his opinion of different music types by correlating them to the values and attitudes embodied by their audiences and vice versa.

Stathis adopted more practical terms to discuss the different aspects people's musical choices express, drawing on his perception of metal audiences and the elements that separate them from others.

Stathis - It is the way that we have fun, it is the people we hang out with, of course it plays a role. The people we hang out with, the way we have fun, the clothes we wear, um... what sort of image we project... I mean, I know metalheads say 'I wear black jeans and denim jackets and All Stars and tight jeans, and that's what I like, that's my tribe. That's me. And I show people I listen to heavy metal'. And he has a slight superiority complex.

Further on Stathis half-jokingly said that even though all "music tribes" exhibit to different degrees this superiority complex, mentioning alternative music audiences as an example, metalheads are the only ones who are justified to do so. He explained the particular position arguing that unlike most other audiences, metal fans are genuine music "fanatics" that are driven by their love for metal music and not by its fashionability or the discourses that convince them to like it. In addition Stathis expressed the belief that people are drawn to what is easier, and thus following the mass is simpler and demands less "courage" than forming

their own opinion would. This attitude he believes is exemplified by where people choose to go out to have fun and why.

Stathis – [...] these hundred people [that go to rock bars] in my opinion, I could be wrong, have an ounce or two more brains than the rest, and think what they want and go wherever they please, the rest go where the current takes them... the current and their sexual instincts.

The preference for heavy metal music for Stathis therefore stems from, as well as represents independent thinking and character authenticity that is reflected by a corresponding lifestyle, as opposed to the pretentiousness or gullibility that define other audiences' music tastes. Thus Stathis justified his personal understanding of music with reference to the "tribe" that he perceives to personify his music ideals and their subsequent juxtaposition to those other genres and their audiences are presumed to embody.

Koytoypas similarly argued that for him music is something more than the way it sounds, describing electronic music as "a way of life" that encompasses as much the practice of DJ-ing itself and parties, as the way one dresses, where one goes on holidays, the venues one prefers to go out and particular types of entertainment. Furthermore, he expressed that for him this music provides the means to deal with, or even escape from the difficulties of life and feel content and calm. The links between music and ways of living that Koytoypas identified, however, do not concern only his personal relationship with music but also defined his interpretation of that of others

Koytoypas - We carry quality within us and one might listen to 'flower' *laiká*, or 'breaking-plates' *laiká* and feel that for them that's quality music. Because that sense of quality is determined by their quality of living.

In the first case, Koytoypas employed his view of music to explain particular elements of his own identity and lifestyle and the emotional attachment he has with the particular genre. In the second, he argued that the way people live and the way they evaluate and structure their music tastes results from a bilateral relationship. Both of his approaches arguably construct people's lifestyle choices,

practices and behaviors as indicative of their music tastes and vice versa, basing the separation of audiences and music genres on a social level as much as a musical one.

Kostas sketched the relationship of people with music by referencing particular genres and the elements that he believes are central to it.

Kostas -Okay, look, each music, each generation of music to be more exact, each movement has... you know, its own books, its own... its own films... its own drugs... [...]It is also ideological, in a way. All the 'long-haired' were more like, you know this typical "*peace brother*", that... hippie sort of... But it wasn't just hippies... um... there were anarchists as well for example, while punks were more situationists, *SI*, there were many things. [...]The former wanted to save the world the latter to... to simply destroy it... as an idea.

The idea Kostas has for music arguably coincides with his generic orientation and ideology, as discussed in the previous section. However, the way he discussed the links between music "movements" and other cultural expressions and ideologies is perhaps more indicative of his knowledge of particular music identities rather than his personal view of music. Even so, the perception that heterogeneous cultural practices and artifacts comprise one single music identity still indicates that for Kostas there is a link between people's music preferences and particular ways of life, regardless if these construct it or are defined by it.

Christos, remaining consistent with his more functional approach to music as discussed previously, used the same elements as Kostas to construct a different personal position.

Christos -Okay, there are people who take music too 'patriotically'<sup>133</sup>, I don't. Music is about what it can offer at a specific moment, there is no need to... Okay. But there are people who want to maintain a *look*, they have a dressing style, one dressing style, one type of sound they'll listen to, one type of movies they'll watch, one type of books they'll read, it's

---

<sup>133</sup> Connoting the extent of their devotion to a certain music culture.



how they are. You can't tell them they're wrong, they are not. But neither are the others.

Even though Christos acknowledged the cohesion between certain cultural objects, practices and lifestyles, and particular identities, he described it as the opposite of what he believes music is for him personally, while his somewhat defensive stance indicates his awareness that this more flexible position is not appreciated by all audiences. At the same time Christos expressed at different instances a slight irritation towards people that are focused on one type of music and reject other different ones, arguing that they are often just prejudiced, or do not know what they like.

Christos' conscious sketch of music as independent from other cultural elements or processes does not mean he does not view it as a way of life. Rather it could be argued that it indicates an alternative conceptualization of this notion. Instead of defining preferences, habits and lifestyles "patriotically" within the borders of predefined identities, Christos' 'way of life' could be understood with reference to the different habitual functions, associations and attitudes that mirror his flexible stance towards music. Thus, it could be argued that Christos' position expresses the norms and ideals of membership in a variable sociocultural grouping that, even though it is consciously formed on shared music tastes, does not stem from the exclusive identification with genres or ideologies.

Harris on the other hand did not make any comments on particular audiences or compare different views of music, presumably because of his general oppositional disposition towards the segmentation of both music and audiences into any categories other than those of mainstream and underground. However, these two groupings are by definition constructed on the relationship between music and audiences, where the differentiation from or integration into the conventional are the main criteria for their division. Even though Harris maintained that for him there are no positive or negative connotations in either category he did separate the two audiences in several occasions based on the former's susceptibility to media and music industry promotion tactics as well as to perceptions of lifestyle and the latter's individuality and authenticity. Despite

the qualitatively charged characterizations of the two categories, Harris also argued that if good underground music could be transformed into mainstream, that is, become popular with a mass audience, it would be ideal, clarifying that his music and audience classification is not based on underground snobbism.

Minas on the other hand stated that music is directly related to individuals' personal development, as it is a type of cultivation that forms characters and affects behaviors. He explained that focusing on good music does not negate a bad personality or make up for other aspects one might be lacking in, but like George, he argued that good music complements people who have an enquiring nature and wish to evolve.

Minas - Because the music we like more or less leads you to a corresponding way of living. It's not just about music. There are other things that take a particular direction because of the music you listen to. Like for example leading a simple way of life without thinking in depth about things, is related to superficial types of music that characterize a type of person who is not sophisticated. Who lives mechanically. Man today lives mechanically. With his mobile phone in his hand all the time, with the Internet, with an image... that he might be looking for... he is all about a *lifestyle* - all social groups - that lacks quality. There are people who are all about quality but they are a very small percentage. And this is related to music as well.

Even though in the above quote Minas initially argued that this mechanical life is partially structured by the music one listens to, his argument points more towards the opposite conclusion, sketching the music one prefers as reflecting that lifestyle or way of living rather than directing it. In either case, Minas positioned music as a criterion for the evaluation of particular lifestyles as much as he fleshed out audience behaviors and attitudes as evidence of that music's value.

Dimitra's position on the topic resembled that of Minas, even though she neither expressed a generalized view regarding the relation of music and one's way of life nor linked it with the development of characters. Initially she expressed the belief that music preferences reflect aspects of one's general disposition.

Dimitra -I believe that a person who becomes impassioned with *tsiftetelo*-pop cannot become impassioned with anything else. His mind, his 'noodle', is... can only go that far. [...] because when you can support certain spaces and certain venues where all the songs are the same and they don't have lyrics<sup>134</sup> and the music is always the same [...]. Um, when you can have fun with these things and sustain and perpetuate them it means that this is how far your mind can go.

However, Dimitra also expressed the view that the predilection for this music cannot be simply assumed to be 'natural' but that social and economic circumstances can produce a generalized superficial disposition that in turn defines people's music preferences. To exemplify the particular position Dimitra explained that the transformation of Greek music into today's *bouzoukia* culture was established by and in response to the generation of the late 80s and early 90s whose carefree upbringing and attitudes found expression in the particular music choices. This generation according to Dimitra supported as much as needed a music and culture that they could make fun of, and connect to it superficially as a means of "blowing off steam"; a function which the old *laiká*, *éntekhna* and *rebetika* genres could not fulfill. Similarly, Dimitra explained, the old *bouzoukia* culture faded away as a result as well as in response to the social needs and identities of the 80s which manifested practically in the creation of different live music venues and types of *musicking*.

Dimitra -[...] *bouzoukia* in the 80s fade away. [...] They start to become *piano bars*. *Piano bars* were a mixture, something between... good music, piano and so on, with bouzouki, that ended up being a proper *bouzouksidiko*<sup>135</sup> without the prestige of the old *bouzoukia*. Of the good, old *bouzoukia*, that had something authentic. [...] I don't know why all this happened, but until the beginning of the 90s, it was *piano bars* that housed all the posers. [...]All those who wanted to pose as someone important. In *bouzoukia*, um... they could hardly do that. [...]Because in *bouzoukia*, the old *bouzoukia*, it was authenticity that counted. Not pretense. Here [*piano bars*] counted pretense. They showed off and... And the owners would suck up to them and so their 'voice' prevailed and that's why these places blossomed, that's what I think.

---

<sup>134</sup> This does not refer to the absence of words but rather implies a low quality of the lyrics used.

<sup>135</sup> Derogatory differentiation of *bouzoukia* that refers as much to the quality of the music performed as to kind of people the venue attracts.

Minas, like Dimtira, made a connection between the changes in music, the people who listen to it as well as different types of listening with particular socioeconomic circumstances. He explained that each era produces different music needs and ways of satisfying them that correspond to the time's "different philosophy", "ethics", "optimism" and "forms of venting". According to him, the changes in the political and economic context of the early 80s gave birth as much to specific social identities as to the music and culture with which these identified, that is, *bouzoukia*.

Minas -The whole social structure changed, in terms of wealth distribution, social groups that lacked the necessary circumstances... that were uneducated came to the forefront and people used any method they found easier to vent their emotions.

The emphasis both Dimitra and Minas placed on the particular decade and the links they drew between the specific music culture, affluence as well as its audience's lack of sophistication is not uncommon. Rather the changes in the socio-economic situation of the Greek working and middle classes that took place during the 80s, are often associated with the transformation of particular cultural and aesthetic expressions, values, and practices, permeating everyday discourses and affecting the perception of particular music genres as much as of social identities. This attitude is more notably exemplified by the notion of the Neoéllinas (Neo-Hellene) that was coined to characterize the new social identity of the 'nouveau riche' that emerged at that time and its perceived relation to *bouzoukia*. The lifestyle of the Neoéllinas, defined by conspicuous consumption, the demonstration of questionable aesthetics and tastes as well as the lack of refinement, was, and still is, associated with the particular music identity as much in everyday discussions as in popular culture, and has become the focus of artistic satire as well as social commentary <sup>136</sup>.

---

<sup>136</sup> Usually employed to refer to male individuals, Neoéllinas is constructed as a man who goes to posh *bouzoukia* as well as 'dodgy' *skyladika*, spends large amounts of money on overpriced bottles of spirits, smokes cigars, buys flowers to throw to the artists or breaks plates, and who is usually in the company of women of questionable standing, 'morals' or tastes. There are many songs, TV shows, as well as films that focus on the particular identity which is always constructed in relation to the *bouzoukia* culture and music.

Due to their frequent association, the particular social caricature is almost equated with *bouzoukia* culture and their link rarely demands further explanation. This automatic association is evident in Taraxias' view of (modern) *laiká* and what he perceives to be the reason for their popularity.

Taraxias -*Laiká* will always be the most popular music in Greece, because we are "great *laikia*"<sup>137</sup>, because we are *Vlakhi*<sup>138</sup>, and we are proud to be *Vlakhi*, I personally am proud to be Greek, I am proud of my history, but not of today's Neoéllinas, this monstrosity that's called Neoéllinas, that we've been turned into by all the loans and the provisions and the easy way of life, having everything...

The hip-hop 'expert' alludes to the objectionable social traits, attitudes and behaviors he believes the social identity and self-affirmed pride of the Neoéllinas represents to explain his bad opinion of *laiká* and the intentionally derogatory tone he employed. Thus, Taraxias relates the music and culture of *bouzoukia* to the characteristics entailed in the social identity of its audience sketching simultaneously the value of both.

Evidently, the way interviewees construct their understanding of different music genres is linked to a large extent with the evaluation of the behaviors attitudes and social identities that these are believed to entail. Similarly, music genres were often constructed as synonymous to the values of their 'tribes'. While the tendency to characterize and validate music in relation to its audience's perceived social traits, and vice versa, can stem from certain stereotypes or subjective judgments of social as much as musical identities, its categorization can also depend on what individuals might perceive as objective facts.

Christos demonstrated that the liking for or rejection of particular types of music can also depend on how one perceives and relates to their audience's observed conduct. Even though Christos had not expressed a single negative opinion for

---

<sup>137</sup> This is meant as a derogatory characterization that targets the "low" social, cultural, behavioral standards and aesthetics of "the common" people.

<sup>138</sup> *Vlakhi* [Vlachs]: pejorative terms that is used to characterize a certain type of Greek 'peasant', regardless of any geographical or cultural relation to Vlachs. It mostly refers to particular tastes, attitudes and lifestyles that considered somehow 'rustic', and low, similar to the notion of hillbillies.

any genres or audiences until then, he argued that he would never go to a heavy metal concert not so much because of the music but because metalheads are “morons”. This characterization did not target their liking for metal aesthetics or their perceived social identities but rather the act of moshing which Christos finds incompatible with his behavioral standards.

Christos –[...] the attitudes, even in different concerts, rock concerts, where the ‘kids’ are thrashing around, it’s against my culture. I want to feel good where I am, to enjoy myself, I don’t want to be misunderstood or to feel pressured. See, here I do put a label, “they are like this; I can’t be bothered with them”. That’s how these things start. It’s based on behaviors.

Thus the rejection of particular music audiences as well as rituals can also be based on the juxtaposition and evaluation of particular characteristics expressed during music events, which are seen as characteristic of individuals’ broader “culture”. In this case Christos shaped his distaste for heavy metal *musicking* in relation to what he finds ideal when attending live music performances, which is not compatible with the particular ritual.

Considering the different arguments examined it could be argued that the categorization of music cannot be easily separated from the categorization of audiences, while the opinion each interviewee has of the latter depends as much as on perceptions of music as much as of *musicking*, strengthening perhaps the theoretical position that equates one with the other. Even though most interviewees referred at times to certain types of music events to form or exemplify their arguments, the centrality of *musicking* in the classification of music and differentiation of audiences can be examined further in their descriptions of their own experiences as well as of different *musicking types*.

### **5.3. Experts’ views on *musicking***

The belief that music structures as well as reflects audiences’ way of life arguably sketches public *musicking* as a means of communicating to others who people are, how they choose to live and specific features of their “culture”. Describing

why they believe people like attending live music performances and discussing their knowledge of, and attitudes towards different music rituals the nine 'expert' interviewees demonstrated that in fact music myths, social attributes, personal ideals and *musicking* are not only interconnected but often indistinguishable.

Minas argued that the atmosphere and the environment in which we listen to music are essential to the communication of musical meaning, both in private and public settings. Even though he did not mention particular examples of what he might consider the proper atmosphere for the meanings of classical or jazz music, which are the two genres he enjoys, he did express his view on *bouzoukia* and the general conditions of the particular entertainment type.

Minas - There are types of *laiká* which are good. Some might even be extraordinary. Good things can be found in all kinds of music. It depends on what criteria we judge them. The music, the lyrics, the performer are always important... even simple music at times has a lot to offer. But the thing I personally could never put up with is the places where this music is being performed. I mean I could listen to these lyrics, but the place and the process, you'd have to be drunk to take part in this and only as a kind of joke.

Even though his own tastes are "classical", Minas argued that it is easier to accept the style and aesthetics of the *bouzoukia* music itself than the process of *musicking* it entails which for him is linked above all with lifestyle and particular notions of sociability. However, Minas admitted individuals with different tastes and ideologies often need to compromise and go to such places for the sake of their social lives. In this context he explained that while for others this type of entertainment has become a way of living, of venting and of showing off, his generation that was implied to uphold to different values, could only connect to it as a kind of joke.

It could be argued that for Minas the intentional adoption of an ironic attitude differentiates those who "compromise" and go to *bouzoukia* in the name of sociability from the 'proper' audience members and their entertainment style

and ideals on a symbolic level. In this context ironic performativity, could be interpreted as a means of validating the musical as well as social identity of the former, even as they participate in the particular music ritual, as their self-differentiation intends to 'disrupt' the ritual's normal flow of communication and expression of belonging. The particular attitude is further supported by similar arguments other participants formed on the topic.

Koytoypas and Harris both expressed their lack of appreciation for the particular music culture, but admitted that as part of their social lives they often have to go to such venues. They argued that the music does not really bother them, as they usually completely ignore it and focus only on their company, but said that their can only see their participation as a joke.

Koytoypas – [it's] different going there with my friends, making fun of it and having fun, and maybe even throw a flower or two, we go there for fun and everything is okay, but there are people who do this everyday. So it expresses their quality of life, how they want to live, what they want to show, how they seem to others, whom they want to impress saying that they go there every week and break plates.

For Koytoypas, then, the particular *musicking* entails performative aspects that structure as much as communicate particular identities with which he only relates to ironically, strengthening thus his own musical and social self-perception.

Harris similarly said that it is possible for him to go to *bouzoukia* and actually have fun even though this entertainment type does not express him on any other level.

Harris -Because if you go with good company you will see this as a joke and have fun. You don't go to such places to listen to the music. I personally, do not go to listen to the music when I go to *bouzoukia*.[...] [I go] To have a drink, talk with my friends, but it's never my choice going there, I am following my friends. [...] But I would never go to a *laiká* singer's concert to stand there and watch them sing! No way! I wouldn't be able to bear this.



The way Harris draws a line between going to *bouzoukia* which he sees as a joke and attending a concert of this type of music, indicates that while participating in the former type of *musicking* in an ironic way to indulge his company is acceptable the latter is not. Given that Harris shaped concerts as suitable for serious listening rather than socializing in several different occasions during our conversation his differentiation is understandable, as the ironic connection with the music during a concert would defeat its perceived purpose. His attitude, then, not only excludes the particular music and its ritual from serious consideration but also separates qualitatively all other identities and performative ideals that are expressed in concerts from those of *bouzoukia*.

George also expressed the belief that the ritual of *bouzoukia* is for many people nothing more than a joke. However he also argued that often people might think their participation in the particular types of *musicking* is ironic, that they are making fun of it, but that in reality they secretly like it. He explained that the particular attitude can be the result of individuals' previous music experiences as well as their *habitus*, as it is natural even for people who have "expanded their music horizons" to return to old habits under the guise of 'a joke'. George's perception of ironic participation arguably validates the connection between music rituals and identity performativity. The impulse or desire to distinguish the musicosocial 'self' from the particular others even when one enjoys the music or the performance, demonstrates that such distinctions are not necessarily driven by aesthetics but rather by what the particular music audience and type of *musicking* represents<sup>139</sup>. Reversing the anticipated prerequisite that music identities are characterized by 'sincere' *musicking* and the performance of belonging, by blending in and abiding to the norms of each ritual, the employment of an ironic attitude arguably seeks to intentionally differentiate oneself from the rest of the audience.

Besides the ironic approach to *musicking*, its role in the construction of self-perception and the performative positioning of 'self' and others in hierarchical

---

<sup>139</sup> Even if this position might not necessarily express the people who participate in the *bouzoukia* culture, it exemplifies the way George interprets their participation and unavoidably the way he perceives the function of *musicking*.

relationships, five interviewees also sketched music rituals as accommodating an opposite function. Harris, Kostas, George, Minas, and Koytoypas maintained that individuals often see *musicking* as an opportunity to claim prestige, not due to their appreciation for the music performed, or because this is part of their identity, but rather due to the events' social extensions. They each identified certain features that different types of music rituals entail that can allow, encourage or prohibit such attitudes.

Harris -I think that nowadays many people go to big concerts just to be seen and not because they are true fans or something. You know, they make such a big deal out of concerts and people decide to go to be 'in the know'. You know what I mean?[...] like they can't miss it. Like the village fiesta that everybody is attending and they have to be there as well, haha!

Even though Harris said that he cannot really recognize these fake music enthusiasts in a given crowd he said that he is certain than more than half of the audience in big concerts consists of people who are "sheep" and attend the event, because it is a social "must". Harris focused on the separation between mainstream and underground audiences and artists to explain his position, constructing not just a qualitative difference between the two but also indicating the different criteria that help characterize each musicosocial identity.

Harris - This rarely happens of course with more specialized events. But in the cases of *mainstream* artists that have are part of music history like the aforementioned band [Bon Jovi] one can see a large percentage of people who are irrelevant to that music scene. Who do not own a single CD of that artist. Who know a few songs and went there because everybody else would. [...] they go there so that the next day they can say they were there and no other reason. And the next day they can go to see Vandi<sup>140</sup> for example.

Thus according to Harris' position, while attending the event itself could be part of individuals' (desired) identity, or of the attempt to affirm a cultural self, the music itself is not. Contrarily, he argued, this does not happen in *underground* concerts which are smaller because they draw a "more conscious audience" that

---

<sup>140</sup> Very popular female *bouzoukia*/pop singer.

is truly “into the music”, and who has the artists’ albums, knows all their songs, and knows why it is there. Thus mainstream *musicking* was separated from underground in terms of authenticity, which is defined by the audience’s motivation to attend the event. For the former that incentive was sketched as the construction of a particular social identity and for the latter as the genuine appreciation for music, both of which were a priori assumed based on the categorization of the event itself, its structure and the ideals that it is supposed to represent.

Kostas presented the same position towards big and smaller music events which he judged both in regard to the people they attract as well as to whether he finds agreeable the ideals he believes each *musicking* type entails.

Kostas - I don’t like this big sort of event. Neither aesthetically nor ideologically. I mean it’s us, three thousand assholes looking at one person going ‘aaaah’. It’s seems kind of fascist to me.

Furthermore, Kostas argued, in big concerts neither the sound is good nor the atmosphere, as people are either too far away and can only see the artists on a video wall or they are face to face with “puffed bouncers” and separated from the performers by bars. In addition, he argued, the artist’s performance is completely staged and reproduced each time to the smallest detail, stripped from any authentic expressions. So, he concluded the only reason people go to see these concerts is because they want to be able to say that they were there, because of the event’s social prestige. Contrarily, Kostas argued that smaller events attract people that want to feel a connection with the artists whose music they know and love. Thus, according to Kostas there is a relationship between the structure of different music events and the audiences that find them appealing which expresses and is defined by particular ideals that are not just musical.

Koytoypas similarly expressed the belief that people may choose to attend certain electronic music events based on their desire to show off and that these individuals can often be identified in the audience as ‘outsiders’. Since their

participation is presumably motivated by the desire to be seen, to claim some sort of cultural status it could be argued that these 'outsiders' are not identified as such because of their intention to distinguish themselves from the rest of the audience with their ironic performativity, as in the examples discussed earlier, but rather because they do not know how to properly perform their belonging.

Koytoypas - And they have nothing to do with this music or its audience, the whole company, not just one person, they can all go just so they can say they were there. And the type of music they like might be completely different, they might not even know what they are listening to. They simply learned that the famous DJ X is performing and they want to be seen there.

Koytoypas, however, did not only link this phenomenon with electronic music exclusively but said that it can be seen in all genres, even in *bouzoukia*. He maintained the belief that many of the people who go to *bouzoukia* would in fact find other types of music more appealing, if given the chance, and that their choice is informed strictly by the genre's popularity.

Koytoypas -They go out and listen to that music so that they can say 'I was there'. To get a photo on Facebook the next day and everybody will start liking their photo, and that's it. To show how much fun they are having and they are 'in'. Because nowadays *Hellinadika*<sup>141</sup> are 'in' here in Greece. And all the rest of us are 'out'.

George seemed to agree with the idea that *musicking* choices can be influenced by extramusical parameters such as lifestyle. He related the frequency of this attitude to what I perceived as a combination of a genre's fashionability and music aesthetics that can potentially encourage or dissuade someone from adopting it.

George -Well, okay, in jazz for example this is not so often, I mean a 'lady' will go once because her friends told her it is nice, she might go a second time, but no more, okay? Um... in rock it's more frequent... It is.

---

<sup>141</sup> Clubs that play predominantly Greek pop or bouzoukia music, but also popular foreign 'hits' from different genres.

George's position somehow suggests that even if individuals intend to claim a (fake) identity by attending particular live performances, the particularities of certain types of music or potentially the structure of their rituals, can discourage them from doing so. Minas, however, expressed the exact opposite position, and when asked about the particular attitude linked it only with classical music.

Minas -That happens very often in Greece. There are people who go to the Megaron<sup>142</sup> so that they can show off socially without having the knowledge, the knowledge to really understand what they are listening to, right?

Despite their different positions, and even though neither one directly commented on the reproduction or performance of ideals, both Minas and George connected the desire for a particular cultural identity with the process of *musicking*.

All arguments concerning the authenticity of audiences' music identities interpreted the particular attitude as something negative, stressing the lack of knowledge, musical refinement, connection with the artist, and conscious participation as the reasons for their objections. Dimitra, however, when discussing the particular attitude in relation to a kind of music she respects, *dimotika* music, expressed a different position.

Dimitra -Listen Maria, the thing is that even if this is pretentious, if there is a way, even if it is like that, for young people to listen to it, it is a good thing. Later on they each will discover if they are interested in their roots and such. Let them listen to it! Even like this. Besides, those who are pretentious will be no matter what they listen to. Let them listen to this instead of something else.

It could be argued that for Dimitra the inauthentic performance of a particular cultural identity can be excused when it concerns individuals' involvement in rituals of 'good' music, as the presumable musical benefits are more significant

---

<sup>142</sup> The name refers to the two Greek concert halls, one in Athens and one in Thessaloniki, that house the corresponding state symphony orchestras and almost exclusively all classical, or 'serious' music concerts.

than the 'sincerity' of the participation itself. In this context the music ritual is assumed to promote the value of the music and what it represents regardless if this music type is not part of an individual's musicosocial identity and therefore is not performed consciously. Thus the effects of *musicking* are linked with the actual experience and extend beyond the conscious decision to attend a specific event and perform a particular identity, or the discourses that precede or accompany such decisions.

Despite the differences between this position and the arguments presented so far, it could be argued that all approaches in fact express the same belief; *musicking* embodies and communicates particular identities, ideals, and values regardless if one identifies, makes fun of, or pretends to identify with a particular music type, artist or performance. However, the function of *musicking* is not necessarily limited to the representation, juxtaposition and legitimization of *spectacular* identities but can also embody alternative perceptions of social relationships. This position is exemplified by the way four of the music 'experts' sketched the importance of live music performances in general, and the criteria they used to describe their experiences independently from generic or social classifications, even if at times these echoed specific music ideologies.

When Dimitra was asked to identify what in her opinion makes people attend music performances and why she thinks these are important, she said

Dimitra -The ability of the artists to take you with them, this immediacy... the immediacy and the pulse, what you feel emanating from all those around you, who listen to the same thing as you do and they become impassioned just like you do. Or in a similar way. That... it is like being in a demonstration!

Identifying the significance of music rituals with the sharing of the experience with both the artists and the rest of the audience, and with the intimate connection that is created in terms of feelings, passion, and a kind of common goal that is implied by Dimitra's metaphor, arguably creates a rather different understanding of *musicking* than the one discussed so far. While music events

were previously approached in relation to the generic myths that precede them and the categorizations these create as well as the logic and intention of performing particular identities and the judgments that this process might trigger, the particular understanding of the actual experience of *musicking* was strikingly free from evaluations and distinctions. Rather the audience was sketched by Dimitra as a whole, as being unified by the experience, implying a temporary release from individual identities or at least their irrelevance at that time and place.

George commenting on the particular link of the audience with the performing musicians as well as between the audience members, not only presented a similar position to Dimitra's but also expressed the belief that "this is the goal" of music performances. He identified *musicking* as an opportunity to change one's "way of thinking" and be transported elsewhere without, however, clarifying what that might entail.

Christos similarly identified the importance of live performances with the connection with other people, arguing that this is the best way to experience music. He maintained that in order for people not to "resist" its effects and allow themselves to be moved, music should be "listened to lightheartedly".

Christos -People! If you really just want to listen, to close our eyes and listen to music you'll stay at home, if you have a good sound system. But this is like being in a judging panel of music, it's not the right way to listen to anything. The right way is to be standing up and let it move you, take you away!

According to Christos music is necessary in people's lives because it creates "joy" while public *musicking*, as well as the physical reactions it entails, like dancing, functions as a means of externalizing one's feelings and fulfilling the basic "human need" of sharing them with others.

For Stathis live music performances are experiences that can deeply affect people, staying in their memories forever. He identified the importance of

*musicking* with both the atmosphere created and the sharing of the moment with others. Comparing it with going to the cinema instead of watching a film at home, Stathis argued that the effect of experiencing concerts with the rest of the audience is significant

Stathis -Especially in a concert where you participate as well, you sing, you dance, you do... whatever, you smile... And the most important in my opinion is the production of music [...].[...] concerts, concerts are a great thing, you are... it is a *communal experience*, we are all together and, and it is a production, you have the sense that [...] music is created, and this is a magical thing.

Kostas as well as Harris employed similar terms to express their view of live music performances even though they did not develop their position in detail, focusing mostly on the “magic” of the creation of music and the effect that experience can have on people. Neither interviewee referenced the rest of the audience, but rather both sketched music as the main feature that concerns them. However, considering their previous comments on the evaluation of music events it could be argued that at least to a certain extent they both link the *musicking* experience with people, as rituals were differentiated based on their atmosphere and structure which were presented as dependent on their audience.

Arguably, the positions examined so far shape two distinct aspects of *musicking*. In the first one, concerts and live performances are approached in relation to others, to the separation between ‘us’ and ‘them’, to belonging and the symbolic and performative expression of identity, which depend on the framework created by the myths and ideologies of different music genres. In the second one, these elements are completely ignored, as the experience of *musicking* is understood in relation to its effect on individuals. Instead of focusing on the parameters that might divide the audience based on the performance of authentic or fake, approved or rejected identities or on different notions of belonging, the sharing of the moment was constructed as surpassing these differentiations. Thus the appreciation for live music was related to the suspension of differences that might exist within an audience, suggesting an



alternative function that concerns how individuals experience rather than perceive the social relationships that each ritual and their tenets foster. While this parameter is determined by each music's 'character', the values and ideal relationships that appeal to their audiences could also be interpreted in relation to the particular type of '*communitas*' they produce<sup>143</sup>.

---

<sup>143</sup> See chapter 3.2

#### 5.4. Summary

The categorization of different types of music and music events depends on individuals' negotiation of broader categories such as foreign and local, genres and their perceived musical values, as well as the extra-textual, performative, discursive and ideological features that characterize music hierarchies. In this chapter, the nine music 'expert' interviewees presented different approaches to music categorization, focusing on different parameters that for them draw the boundaries between music types and performances. Music was divided according to perceptions of popularity, quality, modernity, functionality, meaningfulness, exclusiveness and ideology that were all presented as common-sense evaluative criteria. Whether consciously or not, each participant's position reflected the naturalization of particular discourses and myths that were mostly genre-related while at times they also reflected wider sociopolitical or cultural attitudes. In both cases, the classification of music was inextricably linked with the construction of self and 'others' and certain qualitative criteria that were perceived to separate the two.

Even though the appreciation of music categories were linked with individuals' subjective understandings, the examples used by participants to illustrate their positions demonstrate that in fact these were guided to a significant degree by parameters that were fundamentally social or *spectacular*. Interviewees formulated their approval or rejection of particular music categories in relation to the attitudes, lifestyles and behaviors of audiences, which were either presented as reflecting or as constructing corresponding ways of life, suggesting at the same time there are wrong and right ways of connecting to music.

More specifically, the evaluation of audiences was related to *musicking*, often without being prompted by my questions to do so, constructing music events as observable manifestations of the social attributes these embody. Regardless of their own music affiliations, interviewees fleshed out music rituals as instances where people either performatively affirm (or at least try to) a particular identity that extends beyond the musical and encompasses the social, or perform their

disassociation from it. At the same time however, when *musicking* was examined in relation to their personal experiences and connection to music events, certain interviewees presented an alternative attitude, linking music rituals with the effects of the *musicking* experience. The focus of the discussion shifted from the features that might distinguish insiders from outsiders, authentic fans from “sheep”, to the communal experience.

## 6. Interview analysis II: concertgoers' accounts.

The way people divide and discuss music may express underlying mythologized musicosocial perceptions, the shapes these can take for different audiences, as well as indicate patterns of individuals' social organization around them. Investigating how music categories, identities, and value hierarchies are constructed and understood through such discursively created prisms, relates music classification not just to personal tastes and aesthetics but also to the dynamics and relationships between the different social identifications and groupings these are believed to embody or reflect. Likewise, considering individuals' general tendencies towards music categorization in conjunction with the descriptions of their experiences of and attitudes towards different *musicking* types can contextualize patterns of musicosocial divisions, identifying the links between music rituals, *spectacular* selves and notions of the *ideal*.

Similar to the analysis of the experts' interviews presented in the previous chapter, this one examines the accounts of the nine concertgoers in relation to the ways they divide music, perceive its different audiences, and present their views on and experiences of *musicking*. The first section of this chapter approaches music classification in relation to broader categories and the elements that differentiate them. Genre distinctions are related to the features individuals consider as central in their differentiation, as well as to any alternative means of separating music types that they identify. The following examines the tendency of individuals to separate music with reference to its audiences, analyzing the musicosocial values, *spectacular* identifications and ways of living they ascribe to music categories.

Lastly, the third section explores music events in relation to the elements previously discussed and the collective and personal aspects of *musicking* according to which research participants themselves interpret their experiences. The data concerning the experienced effects that concern the 'self', on the one hand, and the perceived functions of music rituals that position the individual within, or separate it from the rest of the audiences during music rituals are

correlated to the described classifying processes of the preceded sections. The aim of this approach is not to negate or validate one aspect of ritual or the other, but rather to illustrate that different processes can simultaneously shape the way individuals use, understand and connect to *musicking* and the ideals it entails.

### **6.1. Concertgoers' views on music categories**

Unlike music experts, the nine concertgoers did not have any misgivings regarding the classification or labeling of music. All interviewees, some more confidently than others, used music categories as well as other genre-related terms and notions to describe their understandings of and relationship with music. Furthermore, without exception, participants either directly argued or clearly demonstrated with their position that music is, or should be divided into categories. However the ways in which they constructed music divisions varied, often employing seemingly extra-musical features or values to classify music, artists, and tastes. Aesthetic criteria, functionality, as much as their own emotional responses to music were discussed as elements of personal preference that help them place music into broader categories.

Kyveli<sup>144</sup> said she likes only “energetic”, or “atmospheric” and “imposing” music that she identified with the broader categories of metal and rock respectively. She argued that the choice between these two music types depends on the period she is going through linking them with different functions.

Kyveli - metal is a genre that for me personally, um... serves as an outlet. Um... it... it energizes me! It prevents me from being down! And when I am, for example, in a bad psychological state, I can't listen to calm music, I can't, if I listen to calm music I get worse. [...] it is as if someone is telling me “get up and do something!” I mean to me *metal* is this. It energizes me, it wakes me up, you know? It doesn't let me 'melt'. It doesn't let me despair.

---

<sup>144</sup> Metal representative.

Nasia<sup>145</sup> similarly stated that music can alter her mood, describing this as an unintentional effect. Expressing a predominantly emotional understanding of her tastes, she stated that as far back as she can remember she always liked “sad” music while she never “got stuck on happy songs”. However, Nasia argued drawing on personal past experiences, that contrarily to what others might think this preference does not signify a melancholic disposition. Identifying her music preference with (indie/alternative) rock and jazz she stated

Nasia - I will play one of these two. It depends on whether I want to vent tension or my feelings, or if I want to be calm and in a more relaxed state.

Defining these two genres in emotional terms, Nasia explained that for her rock is associated with “freedom” while she perceives jazz as a type of music that is calming but can also “engender happiness”. Thus she indicated that for her music’s ‘sadness’ is more of an aesthetic or stylistic criterion rather than an emotional one; the emotion itself is perceived *in* the music rather than felt when listening to it (Zentner 2008).

Kostas<sup>146</sup> divided music to genres and their different ‘fitting’ functions arguing that there are types of musics that are better for having food with company, some for going out and drinking, while others for intent listening. Besides this functional/generic distinction Kostas also divided music into two emotional categories of optimist and happy, and “dark”, with the latter encompassing his preferred genres of rock, jazz and *rebetika*, without referring to any particular common stylistic/generic characteristics that these might embody. Contextualizing his music preference further again, Kostas argued

Kostas -I always suffered in my life from depression or different types of neurosis and, as strange as it sounds, the antidote for me was always sadness. Of jazz. It just suits me.

Kostas like Nasia, then, classified jazz as dark music but linked it with a somehow ‘cathartic’ sadness. Even though the description of jazz sadness as an “antidote”

---

<sup>145</sup> Rock music representative

<sup>146</sup> Jazz music representative

to depression is not synonymous with happiness, it could be argued that both participants' emotive responses to this music point towards a similar function that somehow contradicts its aesthetic perception, demonstrating that the emotions produced by music can be independent of its perceived (sad) mood.

Anna<sup>147</sup> contrarily linked emotions with music's style, arguing that even though she prefers pop she can listen to all genres "as long as the songs are happy". She explained that when she is at home and listens to music alone she wants music to "lift her heart" and that she would never purposefully play music that could make her sad, indicating that she identifies her own personal responses music with its emotive character. Furthermore Anna said that if particular types of music or songs that do not belong in the genres she prefers, but which bring back memories are on the radio, she will gladly listen to them because of what they represent or remind her, emphasizing its nostalgic function.

Apostolis<sup>148</sup>, divided music into sentimental and non-sentimental strictly based on its stylistic elements and irrespectively of listeners' feelings or reactions to it. In this context, he expressed his direct distaste for all genres that he thinks belong in the first group, arguing that "feelings" do not interest him in music and that he will turn to movies or books if he wants to be emotionally moved. Contrarily, he argued, music is necessary to have fun, dance, or relax whilst having a coffee, for example. Moreover, he posited that these functions do not depend on a corresponding categorization of music, as he likes to listen to techno and various subgenres of electronic music whatever he might be doing.

For Simos<sup>149</sup> music is differentiated according to functionality, like "eating with friends" or dancing, having fun etc. as much as its stylistic properties indicating certain sound aesthetic qualities he likes or dislikes. Even though he did link particular types of songs with happiness, heartache or sorrow he did not group or characterize music in relation to the emotions it generates or corresponds to,

---

<sup>147</sup> Pop music representative.

<sup>148</sup> Electronic music representative

<sup>149</sup> Bouzoukia representative

but referred only to the function each song might fulfill, echoing the positions the *bouzoukia* expert had also expressed in relation to categorization.

Such emotional, aesthetic and functional distinctions of music, and the relationships constructed between them might not seem directly representative of broader music discourses, but rather indicative of individuals' preference for, reactions to, and interpretation of different types of pitch, rhythm, timbre, lyrics, performances and so on. Such "sound-mood" relations are often understood as indexes that are formed on conventional associations of certain emotions with particular musical elements like harmony, tempo, etc.<sup>150</sup> (Turino 2008, p.9). However, these indexical relationships of sound and emotions are not fixed, 'objective' representations, but can be related to personal experiences as much as to music communities' interpretive codes and notions of 'proper' relationships with music (Zetner 2008)<sup>151</sup>. Audiences can perceive 'sentimentality' in any music, as much as construct and evaluate the quality of the emotion they perceive in it, on different terms, defining what for some might be an 'extreme' sound as an expression of vitality, or linking sad sounds with feelings of happiness.

Furthermore, music can "be iconic; that is, within the convention of a particular music culture, it may portray or "express" or resemble a particular emotion and thus elicit that reaction to the listener" (Becker 2004, p.26). As participants either implied or directly linked emotions, and often their binary opposites, with specific genres that they believed embody such traits, it could be argued that this emotive approach, in practice, functions as a genre-related feature of musical differentiation. This position is further supported by particular cases in which

---

<sup>150</sup> In a simplistic example, slow tempo music with minor chords will most probably be interpreted as sad, regardless if one knows the particular song playing, while fast tempo and major chords will be interpreted in the opposite way. These types of "indexes" are more often perceived in the use of music in films to produce suspense, sorrow, happiness and so on.

<sup>151</sup> By this I mean that classical music audiences, for example, learn to look for different elements in their relationship music than those preferring heavy metal that form the foundation of their preference, like intellectual as opposed to physical stimulation. Arguably then, even though both musics might be capable of generating a sense of 'vitality' the former audience will most probably fail to recognize or identify that emotion in the latter music and vice versa. The meaning of "vitality" will be defined differently by each music community depending on their desired relationship with music, and will consequently be associated with different sounds, harmonies, tempos, as well as functions.



genre emotive connotations took on more widely recognizable shapes, sometimes even extending beyond the boundaries of distinct music cultures. Nasia's view of rock as "freedom" that she constructed directly in opposition to pop, which she argued even by mentioning it can make her feel bored, is perhaps one of the most characteristic examples of such links. Rock, as a genre, has long been associated with artistic, social and expressive freedom connoting individuality and authenticity, as it has been differentiated from the predictability, uniformity and conformity of pop music (Wicke and Fogg 1990).

Classical music similarly generated certain iconic perceptions that were influenced, if not directly shaped, by broader generic discourses. Five participants, even those that do not listen to it, either directly linked classical music with feelings of "respect" or described it with relevant terms, presenting an emotive perception of the genre that is arguably indicative of broader discourses of value than personal experiences or responses to its sound and aesthetics. According to Koehne this attitude is quite common, as today the "undoubted" greatness of classical music has been turned into a fetish, "lifting it out of the context of living breathing social relations into an airless domain of reverential religiosity" (2004, p.149). Arguably, then, emotional perceptions of music can correspond to, or entail a learned qualitative differentiation of genres, defining individuals' preferences as much as their musical others.

According to Zentner (2008) genres can be linked with the production of particular emotions both in regard to how different audiences learn to relate to and experience music, and to the frequency that particular emotions are generated in response to each genre. Thus, it could be argued that different genres can shape the emotional responses music might generate and how these might be interpreted, just as these associative emotions can define the way music might be perceived. This position does not suggest that all individuals coming from a particular music culture adopt and experience the same emotive responses to the different types of music. It does, however indicate that genre distinctions, and to a certain extent the discourses that differentiate them, are

perhaps more interrelated with the production of particular emotions that it might be assumed.

Besides the emotional functional and aesthetic distinctions of music, concertgoers like music experts, employed other criteria of classification that separate music into categories and differentiate their preferred genres from those they dislike<sup>152</sup>. Similarly to the patterns observed in the previous chapter the most frequent criteria of differentiation were the division between foreign and Greek music, generic ideologies, as much as the elements that separate commercial from authentic or underground music. While sometimes these criteria were discussed separately, most interviewees structured and supported their arguments by linking the first binary group with the rest of these features.

With the exception of the pop and *éntekhna* representatives most concertgoers rejected Greek music, which they mainly identified with *bouzoukia* and what they perceived to be its subgenres, either directly or in comparison with other categories. Even Simos, who even though identified his tastes with the much-criticized 'heavy' end of the *bouzoukia* spectrum was very relaxed and conscious about his music preferences, mocked at times his tastes and the artists he likes. On the one hand, he responded lightheartedly to the derogative *skyladika* label that people use in relation to his favorite genre, accepting like Christos, music characterizations as normal and inconsequential.

Simos -Okay, I don't disagree at all. [...] Each person can characterize music as they like, and me, I don't like the things that other people listen to, what should I do? I characterize as "jiou, biou"<sup>153</sup> what you [plural] call electronic music, haha!

On the other, and despite his 'nonchalant' manner in several instances Simos called the singers he likes "'great' artists", and repeated that the music he likes is "very popular" in a intentionally sarcastic manner. Arguably, his ironic sketch of

---

<sup>152</sup> It is interesting to note that not one music expert linked music with the production of emotions, at least not outside the context of live performances, while almost all concertgoers considered it the first element they needed to discuss.

<sup>153</sup> Nonsensical words that mockingly imitate the sounds of electronic music.

'heavy' *laiká*, which was always constructed in comparison with other Greek genres, as much as with foreign music in general, indicates Simos' awareness of broader evaluative classifications of music, even if such notions of quality do not necessarily reflect his own opinions and tastes. Furthermore, considering his frequent use of the plural "you" to arbitrarily include my own tastes in different (foreign) music groupings whose value he almost always perceived in opposition to that of his own music preferences, it could be argued that to a certain extent he wished to make his awareness of such value judgments known, emphasizing at the same time the conscious construction of his tastes.

Chrysa, who identified herself with *éntekhna* and old *laiká* music, from the beginning rejected all types of music she finds to be of an "extreme" musical character, regardless if these were foreign or Greek. In the former category Chrysa placed metal and the "extreme" expressions of electronic music without naming these further or explaining what elements classify them as such, while in the latter "heavy" *laiká* and *dimotika*, which she said she finds unpleasant<sup>154</sup>. At the same time Chrysa characterized the Greek pop songs promoted by the media as "expendable", which was the only genre-targeting criticism she offered. However, when discussing what other types of music she enjoys besides *éntekhna*, Chrysa admitted that she likes pop, but only foreign, implying an additional aesthetic separation between the two categories, without mentioning any particular elements that might differentiate them.

Admittedly, none of Chrysa's positions really expresses a generically defined evaluative tendency, but rather her overall approach to music indicate she has *univorous* tastes. Furthermore, the way she presented her arguments suggests that while she accepts music categories, these are interpreted in accordance to her aesthetic codes that are somewhat detached from generic perceptions even if they entail certain of their central elements.

---

<sup>154</sup> Both types of music are often characterized as *bouzoukia/skyladika* or perceived to be its subgenres.

Apostolis, on the contrary, rejected all Greek music without exception, characterizing himself as “anti-Greek” in general. He expressed his aversion for “*skyladika*” in similar manner several experts, arguing that the singers are “howling dogs”, while the music of their songs is always the same and their lyrics meaningless. However, he separated *skyladika* from modern *laiká*, characterizing the latter as “acceptable” and admitting that it is the only type of music that he might even enjoy if the circumstances are right<sup>155</sup>. In regard to *éntekhna*, Apostolis described it as “whining”, “complaining”, and “weepy” music that he “despises”. At the same time however, he also seemed to imply that the genre has a ‘deeper meaning’, a feature he did not consider in his evaluation of any other musics, not even the ones he enjoys.

Apostolis -in relation to *éntekhna*, my sister really likes it, but she is listening, like, really *listening*...

MP -What do you mean?

Apostolis -She is *listening*, she focuses on the words and everything. But there are many people who say that these are respectful artists and that’s why they like it.

Apostolis’ position both emphasizes certain qualitative elements associated with the genre as much as its more generalized ‘intellectual aura’ that demands a sort of conscious participation from its audience. This latter feature was implied to somehow distinguish proper interest in the music from its discursively constructed appreciation, or perhaps affectation, acknowledging at the same time both as (possible) elements that ‘guide’ people’s music tastes.

The only characterization Kyveli offered for Greek music was that she finds it “unpleasant”, targeting particularly the ‘local’ genres, while Greek metal and rock music, which she contrarily characterized “pleasant”, were almost completely excluded from her discussion. While she mentioned certain Anglophone Greek

---

<sup>155</sup> Apostolis often said that since there are no places that play the kind of music he enjoys on a regular basis, and as his friends mostly like Greek genres, he often has to put up with Greek music. The music that Apostolis named modern *laiká* however coincide with what most interviewees saw as *bouzoukia*-pop.

musicians and bands she likes, in regard to Greek rock she only distinguished and briefly discussed one particular band, 'Trypes' that she finds 'acceptable'<sup>156</sup>.

Kyveli - I think they were a very inspired, very authentic band. A very unique band that created a style of its own. It didn't copy anyone. It originated, it was influenced but it didn't imitate. Um, let's say it has its own identity. Um, but I can't say I listen to Greek music.

Kyveli's different evaluation of the two broader categories of music can be perhaps explained with certain additional elements she later on introduced to construct the notion of 'quality' in music.

Kyveli - there are songs that are all following the same pattern, there are songs that are created because the record companies need to make money and they produce them 'by the kilo', um, there are songs that result out of a deeper need and contemplation...

In this context, Kyveli heavily criticized certain (foreign) metal artists that "lost their authenticity" when they became very famous, and who, she said she no longer likes. While she maintained that quality is irrelevant to genre and that she assumes all musics can have such good and "cheaper" examples, Kyveli drew on the particular notions of authenticity and its reversed analogy with commerciality and popularity entailed in the ideologies of metal and rock (Weinstein 2000), to both differentiate the two categories and define her own tastes.

Thus Kyveli's music preferences, and by inference, dislikes, were formed on a combination of aesthetics, the authenticity of artists' music identities, as much as that of their music production. This position in conjunction with the criteria she used to explain why Trypes were the only example of Greek rock worth mentioning, Kyveli's rejection of Greek music could be understood as resulting from its presumed lack of 'proper' music identity, like the one the majority of music experts also identified.

---

<sup>156</sup> Both heavy metal fans seem to define to an extent their tastes with the distinction between Greek and other foreign languages, accepting very few, and in fact the same, Greek artists form the genres that interest them that sing in Greek.

Maria<sup>157</sup> argued that music is the most immediate form of expression and explained that all genres can fulfill that function, allowing different people to find the ‘sound’ that might work for them in this respect. Even so, she divided music into “interesting” and “simplistic”, while she completely rejected Greek music distinguishing only a few *éntekhna* artists, which she admitted she likes. All other genres, with particular emphasis on *bouzoukia*, were excluded both from her tastes and her conceptualization of interesting music.

Maria -I don’t know, I might be a snob, you know, I might be a snob because I ‘ve always criticized it as music that I can't listen to, and that is completely uninteresting. [...]

MP -Why do you think you might be a snob, what is it exactly that you... find distasteful in it?

Maria -Um, everything, the entertainment, all the things that are included in this music. The *bouzoukia*, the sense of the cheap, the tacky aesthetics, that somehow I have indiscriminately grouped everything together. The artists that, okay, have certain ‘issues’. Haha! I think this is why I say I am a snob, that somehow I have grouped everything into one category... but okay. Mainly it is because musically this thing never offered me anything, and that’s why I never listened to it.

While Maria was quite critical of most Greek genres she did not offer any judgments concerning foreign music with which she argued she mostly identifies. Furthermore, she ideologically rejected even the idea of critiquing classical music, or expressing a negative opinion on any classical works, admitting she always “censors” herself before she voices her opinions on the matter. Initially arguing that this sort of evaluation would demand an extensive musical knowledge she does not possess, she later on concluded that even if she did, she would never even think of taking such a critical position, as “some things are not to be touched”. Thus, Maria reproduced the popular discourse that concerns the somewhat inherent, unquestionable, quality of classical music, which depends on individuals’ critical abilities to recognize it, contrarily to all other genres that need to be evaluated, and their worth is established on a case-by-case basis.

---

<sup>157</sup> Classical music representative

Kostas argued that besides jazz, he listens to “all genres of music” which he however limited to classical, rock as well as *rebetika* and *dimotika* from Epirus. While the last two examples indicate that he does not shun Greek music as a whole, Kostas nonetheless rejected one particular kind, which he did not directly identify with any genres, suggesting perhaps that its ‘unworthiness’ is common knowledge<sup>158</sup>. When asked what he believes is the most popular type of music in Greece today Kostas replied

Kostas -That thing that is not music. In its plurality that’s what Greek music is. And that ‘s what people teach to their children what they pass on to them.

While he emphatically differentiated and excluded this unnamed category from his notion of music, Kostas did not really elaborate on the matter, but only implied its (lack of) value by contrasting its features to the qualities of jazz.

Considering Kostas’ similar attitude towards certain foreign music genres he dislikes, it could be argued that commerciality and popularity were the focus of the category’s critical evaluation. Bringing Diana Ross as an example, Kostas argued that she “was wasted singing silly songs” which he initially linked with soul and then with disco.

Kostas - She sung these despicable songs to make money, but when she would sing at jazz clubs she was incredible. But she never had a career in jazz.

In the particular quote Kostas’ arguably constructs a ‘matter-of-fact’ relation between the commerciality, popularity and lack of quality of some genres, while the unavoidable commercial aspects of “having a career” in any genre were not considered at all. Contrarily jazz and its worth was sketched in opposition to disco in regard to the contrasting qualitative elements the two genres were implied to entail and represent, following the pattern of distinction between ‘serious’ and ‘low’ music established in the past.

---

<sup>158</sup> Based on the names of different artists he mentioned at different points in our conversation, and in a rather negative tone, it is safe to assume that this category coincides with the broader understanding of modern *laiká* and its related subgenres.

Without suggesting that Kostas' opinions are not honest or representative of his actual music tastes and aesthetics, they are arguably indicative of popular discourses of music and generic value, and more specifically those closer to the omnivore perspective. The particular argument is supported by his grouping and differentiation of musics that are conventionally considered to be 'good' from those that are 'bad', as much as by the importance Kostas ascribed to a kind of 'education' in the broader sense of the term. He, like Minas and George, sketched information and research as important for the proper development of music tastes<sup>159</sup>.

At the same time, however, Kostas also offered a somewhat challenging opinion regarding certain other traditional perceptions of music value.

Kostas - I think that there is a misunderstanding with classical music. That it is serious music. What is the meaning of "serious" and "non-serious" music? That's a very old thing, it spread and now it is established. It is unbelievable. [...] All this became relevant to the whole capitalist ideology and the "serious" bourgeoisie. And now nobody listens to classical music, very few do.

Even though the particular quote might seem as contradicting the previous assumption concerning the reproduction of music value discourses I wish to argue that in fact it supports it. Having previously admitted that he likes classical music, Kostas did not aim to question its artistic value with this opinion but rather to criticize the logic of its elitist and class-related qualitative positioning<sup>160</sup>. Kostas, who had declared himself a leftist in the beginning of our interview, expressed the adamant belief that music is linked as much with ideology as with politics. His evaluation of classical music then, was not just related to its aesthetics but also to the ideologies it is presumed to represent. As discussed in the previous chapter, this position is, like George's, rather consistent

---

<sup>159</sup> Kostas in fact referred to Minas in particular and the "enlightening" effect their conversations had on him and his relationship with music. Additionally, Kostas discussing the lack of information sources that concern jazz, like magazines, or books which for him can have a negative effect on people's understanding of music, characterized the Internet and films as excellent sources of knowledge that allow people to explore music.

<sup>160</sup> Kostas' criticism targets the social perceptions and associations that surround the genre as well as to its live performance rituals which will be discussed in section 6.3.



with the generic 'tenets' of jazz as much as of rock that are self-identified with an artistic, as well as a particular type of ideological and political consciousness (Wicke and Fogg 1990; Gebhardt 2001). Therefore, it could be argued that even though Kostas is well aware of music's value hierarchies, he also, deliberately or unconsciously, restructures them in relation to his genre/ideological identifications.

Nasia said that she has an "aversion" to Greek music, which she initially linked with her experiences and relationships that 'forced' her to listen to Greek genres she did not want to.

Nasia -*Bouzoukia* and maybe *éntekhna*, but the kind of *éntekhna* that is very... to listen to Tsaligopoulou and... I don't know, Arvanitaki<sup>161</sup>. Not the *éntekhna*, not the nice *éntekhna*! The *éntekhna* that I consider to be 'soup'<sup>162</sup> and *bouzouko*... and... this type of *éntekhna*. And not... um... I never liked this sort of sound anyway and perhaps because I had to bear it, I never put some effort afterwards to seriously engage with Greek music.

Admitting she listens to neither type of music, and excluding all stylistic or musical aesthetic judgments from their categorization, Nasia argued that she can nonetheless discern the "nice *éntekhna*" from the more commercial one<sup>163</sup>. The fundamentally qualitative differentiation between these two subcategories was instead based on their perceived representative artists, their behaviors, the venues in which these perform, as well as the people they attract<sup>164</sup>. Nasia furthermore, proclaimed these features as indicative of genre classification in general, demonstrating her musicosocial and representational approach to the particular process.

---

<sup>161</sup> Famous female Greek singers that are considered to be 'artistic' but who also are widely popular and are appreciated by other types of audiences as well. They seem to transgress the borders of audiences even if their music does not necessarily. Simos for example described Arvantiaki as "trying to be *éntekhna*" but actually being "*laiká-éntekhna*".

<sup>162</sup> 'Soup' [as in the food] refers to things that have been indiscriminately over-used/seen/heard that they have lost their identity and are no longer considered interesting or enjoyable. Something that everybody does/listens to and can be found in all sorts of environments.

<sup>163</sup> Interestingly the exact same artists that Chrysa stated she likes more, and characterized "classical".

<sup>164</sup> Both these aspects will be discussed in section 6.3 and 6.2 respectively.

The particular position is supported by the similar way in which Nasia discussed classical music, which she placed within the category of music she appreciates and respects. Without referring to any aesthetic or stylistic features that she finds appealing or significant in the genre, Nasia identified her fascination with, and respect for the genre with its 'aura' of intellectuality and complexity.

Nasia -It enchants me. It is something that perhaps I can't understand the same way I understand other genres, I can't rationalize it, I can't...it is something that I can't... get closer to, perhaps that's why it gives me this sensation; perhaps of something more complex for me.

The way Nasia explained her 'enchantment' with classical music is arguably reminiscent of the 'elitist' value perceptions according to which the types of music that need to be contemplated and understood are somehow of greater value and importance than those that are simply means of entertainment. This argument does not suggest that she does not appreciate popular music as much as she does classical, or that her tastes do not depend on aesthetic preferences. Considering it in conjunction with all Nasia's criticisms or positive comments examined so far, however, it does indicate that her perception, evaluation and categorization of music types, their styles, aesthetics, and central elements are mainly constructed in relation to discursive positions and generic interpretive frameworks.

Christina<sup>165</sup> initially discussed her music tastes in relation to particular stylistic features. Acknowledging that hip-hop can be musically monotonous, she explained her preference for the genre with her general dislike for music that "has many instruments", and her interest in lyrics. Because of this latter criterion, Christina explained, she prefers Greek hip-hop as the language allows her to better understand the meanings of songs. Additionally, lyrical content was identified as the element that differentiates good music from bad, both between hip-hop and other genres, and within the genre itself.

---

<sup>165</sup> Hip-hop representative

Christina - I chose to listen to Greek hip-hop initially, because it deals with some topics that are more interesting than those of Greek *skyladika*. Greek *skyladika* will focus on heartache, love, break-ups, boring stuff. While hip-hop will talk about social themes, it will address love as well but it will talk about it more... beautifully. Not with the kind of lyrics that Greek songs have.

Christina emphasized her aversion to the majority of Greek musics, which she predominantly identified with “*skyladika*” and *bouzoukia* subgenres such as pop, arguing that it “ruins her aesthetics” and, half-jokingly saying that music-wise she should have been born elsewhere. Separating *éntekhna*, which she admitted she quite likes, presumably because of the genre’s well-known emphasis on lyrics, Christina stated that for her Greek music connotes something “degraded” and expressed the commonly held position that Greek artists are unoriginal, and either copy foreign ones or each other. Thus, hip-hop’s generic identity was formed as much on particular musical criteria as in relation to what Christina constructed as its contrasting genres and their features, producing a generalized grouping of sounds and stylistic/generic features under the label of Greek music.

In addition, Christina fervently supported the idea that hip-hop is further separated into ideological and commercial, rejecting the latter for a combination of reasons.

Christina - I don’t particularly like them. No, not at all. Exactly because they are commercial. I am neither drawn to their lyrics, nor to the reason why they are doing this, because obviously they are not doing it because they love this, they do it for money and fame. And that shows. If you listen to a song you can understand why people do it.

Like many other interviewees discussed so far, Christina linked the relationship between the musical product itself and artists’ commercial intentions, with notions of genre authenticity. In this context she associated commercial hip-hop artists with pop (and *bouzoukia*), arguing that these fail to maintain a music identity, mixing features from different genres to attract more people, sketching simultaneously the character of both the music and its audience. Christina later on also related the qualitative perception of music to aesthetic elements, arguing

that the addition of bouzouki in hip-hop beats automatically makes songs “*light*” and commercial rather than “*underground*” or sophisticated<sup>166</sup>. These elements arguably targeted both the commercial aspects of Greek music and its aesthetics’ associative interpretations, constructing the ideologies of ‘authentic’ Greek hip-hop as antithetical to the broader category and insinuating their proximity to the values of foreign music.

Anna contrarily was not critical of any type of music, and all discussions concerning genres other than the ones she prefers were constructed only in relation to whether she enjoys listening to them or not. Even though she stated that she does not like classical music and the ‘heavy’ type of *bouzoukia*, and that she would never listen to them by choice, Anna also said that if she were in an environment that played such music or with friends that like it, she would neither complain nor feel bothered by it. Similarly, she said that she does not particularly like foreign music, being the only one of the eighteen interviewees to make such a statement, but linked that position with her desire to sing along and the fact that this is more difficult with non-Greek lyrics. Even so, Anna stated that when she was younger she liked many foreign artists and songs from different genres that were popular at the time, and that she can still listen to Anglophone pop, describing a Eurovision winner song called ‘Euphoria’ as her favorite one.

Even though this last statement might appear as contradicting Anna’s expressed view of foreign music, an additional element she later on introduced as central in her music choices, explains her seeming inconsistency.

Anna – [...] because I always liked listening to songs that were in fashion, and then choosing which ones I like and which I didn’t, or I might listen to a song and say ‘I don’t like it’ and then as I listened to it again and again I started liking it...

---

<sup>166</sup> Christina’s positions both echo broader discourses that concern eastern music features and coincide with the attitudes expressed by Taraxias and the general attitude that defines Greek hip-hop (Elafros 2013).

Unlike other participants, Anna constructed popularity and commerciality as a positive feature, even when this concerned the process that others characterized as media “brainwashing”. Explaining that she mainly gets informed about music from the media and more particularly certain pop music radio stations, Anna indicated that her music choices result from a larger category of ‘popular songs’ that can entail examples from a variety of genres, which she judges only in terms of whether she likes them or not<sup>167</sup>. Evidently, then, Anna is not interested in having a music identity that is identified with any specific genres, but rather with a broader category, which is defined by songs’ fashionability and popularity which could be safely positioned within the notion of ‘mainstream’ music<sup>168</sup>.

At the same time however Anna demonstrated that she is aware of the value hierarchies that often inform people’s opinions, acknowledging that ‘others’ consider foreign music as being better than Greek, especially those genres that have bouzouki.

Anna - the place we usually go out had live Greek music [performances] every Saturday. Let’s call it *bouzoukia* type of music. And now they are renovating and they said that they will stop this, they will switch to foreign music to become more of a ‘quality’ place, so that they won’t be “characterized”... Others said that they will lose from that decision.

Anna personally disagreed with the frequent negative evaluation of *bouzoukia* as well as their characterization as *skyladika*. According to her, the particular genre is something that all people need every now and then to blow off steam and have a good time, and, as this is ‘just’ music, neither the genre nor its audience should be characterized in any way.

---

<sup>167</sup> According to the pop expert, such radio stations, promote and play all types of music that might be popular, stripping them of their original generic identities and transforming them into pop (see chapter 5.2). Considering that many of the artists Anna labeled as pop, I, for example, would not classify as such, neither stylistically nor ideologically, it could be argued that Harris’ perception that the popularity of songs can transform their generic categorization is to a certain extent valid.

<sup>168</sup> This argument is justified by the relevant positions presented by Christos, and Harris.

Anna's non-judgmental tone, or the prism through which she categorized music does not mean that she considers genre differences as inconsequential. On the contrary she accepted their distinction, adding the element of their practical separation in her discussion. The pop representative argued that each bar, for example, has its own music character so as when people go out they know what they will listen to. If such places started mixing their music, which is not necessarily generically divided but could be representative of broader music categories such as mainstream, popular or Greek music, Anna characteristically said, people would think that "the DJ has gone mad".

Kostas expressed a similar position, arguing that when he chooses where he might go out his primary concern is music, as this is the criterion that defines the "character" of each place. Chrysa, Simos, Kyveli, Christina and Apostolis also commented on the matter, all supporting that music is practically differentiated as it corresponds to different venues, bars and cafes that basically represent the different ways people like to have fun.

Simos -Look, the people who are closer to *skyladika* as you [plural] call them usually hang out in *Hellinadika* [...]. Um, usually after a certain point in the night, all bars here in Greece switch to *laiká*. Greek pop and so on. Okay, you won't see a *skylas* in a rock joint. It's very uncommon.

Thus, Simos not only music distinguished in relation to venues but also to its different audiences.

Maria also expressed a similar opinion, even though she approached the topic from a different angle. She argued that even though this differentiation of music and venues used to be the case, today things are not as clearly separate as they should.

Maria -[it's all about] the venues and the ways that they might become popular and "in" with people that listen to other types of music, and in the end they lose their music character. You don't choose them for their music. I mean, honestly, if you ask me now I can't say if there is a place that plays *that* music

Maria's comment regarding the mixing of music, which she linked with the mixing of audiences, was expressed in a rather disapproving tone, indicating perhaps a simultaneous rejection of audiences as well as venues that do not possess a specific music identity<sup>169</sup>. Thus she hinted that her perception of music's practical division does not simply entail the differentiation of aesthetics but also the separation of people with different tastes, and different ways of entertainment.

Based on the analysis of the nine interviews, it is safe to argue that individuals draw on different criteria to shape their attitudes towards music, which quite often can be traced back to particular genre-related ideologies and their 'others'. Additionally, whether referring to the values of what they perceive to be contrasting genres to explain their own tastes, taking a defensive stance towards their music preferences, or rejecting certain preconceptions of music worth, all nine participants demonstrated that they are not only informed by the discourses that concern 'their' music, but are also aware of broader schemes of musical evaluation and hierarchization. Whether these will determine or be subordinated to their personal preferences, however, depends on each individual's musical 'desiderata'.

At the same time, the last arguments presented in this section deviated from the previous discourse-related positions and hinted on the relationship between music categories, perceptions of the self, and social organization. Interviewees' recognition of, and often predilection for the practical separation of music in conjunction with its theoretical one, constructed it as a determinant of commercial establishments' categorization and the latter's bilateral relationship with customers' musical (self-) identification. Thus the separation of music extends from the 'natural' boundaries between music aesthetics and ideologies to entail those created by the conscious separation of audiences. The logic that justifies the separation of individuals with different music tastes was further established by interviewees' perceptions concerning the interrelation between

---

<sup>169</sup> Music identity should not be confused with genre identity. Music identities could be formed on more complicated terms as it has been demonstrated so far, even if those do incorporate or use genre ideologies and myths as their building blocks.

music tastes and ideologies and people's attitudes, ideals, behaviors and lifestyles.

## 6.2. Concertgoers' views on music audiences

“nothing classifies somebody more than the way he or she classifies”  
(Bourdieu 1990, p. 132)

As it has been demonstrated so far, the ways in which interviewees classify music depends on which elements they identify as most important, how these manifest in their own generic choices, and how they are related to those other, presumably contrasting categories entail. However, the sets of features that were employed to theoretically as well as practically differentiate music types, and consequently define them, also function as paradigms of individuals' connection with music, imagined, desired or 'real', that pertain to their sense of selfhood and its juxtaposition to their musical 'others'. Sentimentality, complexity, authenticity, popularity as well as the division between Greek and foreign music traits do not describe only music but are implied to represent their audiences and their identities.

Kyveli's discussion of authenticity that differentiated artists and their works, also separated herself from those audiences who do not employ the particular evaluative standard in their music tastes.

Kyveli – [...]they write because they have to write, because they know how to do it well, but they don't write because they feel this need to do it anymore, and for me that is, um... necessary in art, to create out of a deeper need. To have something to say. If you don't have anything [...] you just make reproductions, okay. Some people *like* reproductions! I am not judging it, I simply don't...

The particular argument is typical of how a musical/generic attribute like authenticity does not define just music itself but becomes a qualitative dividing line between audiences that presumably do not connect with it in the same way. Even though separating those who like reproductions from those who do not is



not necessarily indicative of a sense of musical 'superiority', the particular conceptualization of 'art' hints on the qualitatively different interests that Kyveli believes characterize audiences' relationship with music and musicians, within and outside the genre of metal. The particular interpretation is strengthened by Kyveli's following description of the different layers this relationship might have and what these might express.

Kyveli -I believe one chooses their music um... because it speaks to them. It speaks to them personally, to something inside of them, it caters to an inner need. [...]And if the "I like" comes first then it won't last for long, if it is just the "oh, I like this style", it is random, you could like something else instead but it just so happened that you liked this, you know what I mean? I believe that the word "like" doesn't mean anything... Um... you must find something inside of you to really like something, you know?

As Kyveli's position points towards a kind of identification with music, the differentiation between 'art' and reproductions consequently extends to include aspects of individuals' music identity. Therefore, her dislike for the particular types of songs and their 'inherent' features could be targeting their presumable inappropriateness for a meaningful connection, or in the case that individuals do form such a connection, the values of their fans.

This hypothesis is further supported by the fact that Kyveli, like most interviewees, experts and concertgoers, also linked music with corresponding ways of living like ways of having fun, dress codes and ideologies. She explained that people who identify with particular types of music adopt such features to different degrees that correspond to the extent of their desire to "belong" or be "part of a community". Her understanding of the relationship between belonging and music taste was developed further in relation to black metal's satanic associations, which she separated from uninformed discursive stereotypes, and described as an established fact, and how she interprets it. Rejecting the moral panic attitudes that are often employed to explain such connections, Kyveli argued that music does not 'implant' ideas. Rather individuals are drawn to genres that fit their preexisting tendencies, while music communities and the sense that they "are not alone" in their beliefs, encourage them to develop these

further. Thus, Kyveli constructed music categories and their corresponding, attitudes, behaviors, styles and ideologies as templates that individuals employ to express, structure and perform their personal and collective identities, sketching their relationship as bilateral.

Nasia like Kyveli, expressed the belief that music has something to offer to people on a deeper and more personal level and argued that a prerequisite for this function is to actually choose and identify with specific music categories. Maintaining that it is “impossible to love everything”, Nasia interpreted the lack of specific music preferences as an indication of a superficial connection with music that cannot create “strong emotions”. Further on she contextualized her notion of identifying with music, expressing the belief that categories do not just represent different sounds but are more “general expressions” like ways of life or lifestyles, which unlike aesthetics or emotions are factual.

Nasia – *lifestyle* is objective, I mean you see how people who listen to Greek music behave, and this doesn’t mean that I blame them, right? How are the people who are a bit more *mainstream* and listen to “little pop songs” and Shakira-like and all these that are more... this.

MP -Are you referring to the *lifestyle* of the audience or to the *lifestyle* of...

Nasia -Um, of the audience that, I guess, is ... is fashioned by the artists.

Nasia explained her latter position with the belief that individuals’ music choices depend to a large extent on their identification with artists and what these might represent both musically and socially. She linked this process of selection with notions of idealization, stating that she believes individuals subconsciously imagine and choose what sort of musicians they would like to be, what traits they would be interested in possessing and within which genre they would like to belong. Arguably both these processes of identification and idealization depend on media representations and discourses that make such images and their possible interpretations available to individuals. Thus, Nasia constructed the features, attitudes, ideologies and so on, of music genres, its fans and representatives, with a process directly related to *spectacular* identity formation as discussed in previous chapters.

Despite Nasia's position regarding the formation and expression of such identities she completely rejected the idea that others can understand elements of *herself* based on her music preferences, presenting a series of somewhat discriminatory arguments

Nasia -I mean a person that goes to *bouzoukia* can't understand who I am. Like, quite probably, I won't be able to understand exactly who they are either. [...] And I think that for me it is much more easier because it's much more obvious, because you can turn on the television and you can see how they all behave, you will see a TV show that shows Anna Vissi singing and what all of them are doing, and it will be the exact same thing if you see Garbi singing or if Angela Dimitriou<sup>170</sup> and... no, she is too much, she is in a different phase, she will only have men drinking and smoking cigars. Um... I mean that there are some categories that are easier to... name and characterize than others.

Arguably the tone in which *bouzoukia* audiences were discussed is not free of criticism, even though Nasia did not employ a directly critical vocabulary. Rather, musicking elements, and stereotypes of particular modern *laiká* genres were hinted on to sketch the qualities that define music and its fans in a bilateral way<sup>171</sup>.

In this way, Nasia structured her rejection of two distinct, even if not necessarily unrelated, music types based on what their fans represent. On the one hand the perceived necessity she expressed for musical self-classification and music identity as the fundamental elements that allow individuals to experience a meaningful relationship with music, a priori 'othered' "mainstream" music fans, Greek and foreign, separating them from all other 'proper' audiences. On the other Nasia's interpretation of lifestyles and observable behavioral traits as structured by, and indicative of music tastes were used to justify her rejection of *bouzoukia* audiences. In both instances Nasia, in accordance with her professed rock identity, equated to a certain extent the qualities of music with the

---

<sup>170</sup> These are all famous female Greek singers who have different target audiences and have reached different levels of success and popularity, and who represent different music styles ranging from (bouzoukia-) pop (Vissi) to 'skyladika' (Dimitriou).

<sup>171</sup> See the notion of Neohellene in chapter 5.3

identities of its audiences and artists, and vice versa, and constructed individuals' positioning by others as well as their self-classification in certain music categories as inextricably linked with generic and *spectacular* representations.

Christina similarly positioned individuals' identification with music as the prerequisite for the formation, as much as the goal of music preferences.

Christina - It's not just about listening to a beat. You always identify, it's not possible not to. That's the goal, I believe, to somehow identify with hip-hop. And that is why you can't listen to all artists that sing hip-hop. Some deal with this topic, others with a different one, some are more commercial others not at all, it's up to you to choose.

Like Nasia, Christina stated that this part of the self which music represents is subjective and 'others' cannot see it or understand it, explaining that individuals with no proper "knowledge on the subject" can shape such interpretations on stereotypes. She justified her position by bringing examples from almost the entire generic spectrum studied here to demonstrate the many stereotypical perceptions that still characterize music audiences. To further exemplify the often discriminatory association of social and musical features Christina referred to certain elements such as profession, class, education and so on that are often presumed to be related to music tastes. Arguing that even though these associations have a historical basis and still inform certain preconceptions, in reality they are more or less irrelevant.

Christina – Take me for example. I am a beautician. When someone hears the word beautician they imagine a girl that pays attention to the way she looks, that is kind of "posh", more [socially] "restricted", which in my case is not true, because I have the style of, and I like hip-hop and dubstep.

Arguably the particular example that wishes to differentiate the social identities of beauticians from that of hip-hop fans also structures them, creating very specific representations for both groupings that depend on *spectacular* and performative images. Their perceived differences in conjunction with Christina's

previously presented conscious identification with hip hop, position her sense of self and belonging within the particular music identity and not her class or professional one, as well as demonstrate the connection between the sense of cultural agency and the legitimization of musicosocial categories.

Considering certain other positions Christina later on presented, the elements of music identities that function in that way can be identified both with social groupings' observable stylistic features and genre's supposed ideologies. On the one hand Christina expressed the belief that music tastes are "necessarily" interlinked with other visible and identifiable aspects of individuals' identity, like style and behaviors. To exemplify her point she sketched female Greek music fans as "feminine" and "girly" in regard to their appearance, saying that their music tastes "show". Similarly, she criticized the interrelation she identifies between the music style, audience attitudes, dress-codes and identities of a particular hip-hop subgenre called 'swag', which she described as "a mix of hip-hop with *trendy* elements to the extent that it is like music for posers".

The presumably bilateral relationships of generic audience identities, styles, behaviors, and notions of authenticity and identification previously discussed can also be identified in Christina's somewhat discriminating differentiation between proper and 'trendy' fans. While commenting on the media's 'blatant' promotion of commercial artists with no clear music identity instead of what she considers the "serious ones", Christina admitted that she would not necessarily appreciate it if things were reversed.

Christina -On the one hand I would, on the other I wouldn't because then they would become a trend, they would become fashionable. Every person would be able to listen to them without necessarily really "feeling" it.

Thus, insinuating the link between fashionability, the lack of music identity, and the formation of a genuine connection with the music, like Kyveli and Nasia, Christina separated those 'other' audiences from those that have a proper and 'authentic' interest in the music itself. Later Christina explained her attitude with

her concern that such a commercial success could have negative effects on the artists' identity as well as the quality of their work.

Kostas similarly stated with absolute conviction that music is part of "our inner self" and as such people's tastes signify something more than a preference for certain sounds. Even though he was more flexible than Nasia or Christina he, too, argued that not all individuals can identify these innermost elements that music "reflects", distinguishing those with similar tastes as more probable to discern them. He based this belief on music's "self-evident" function as a "language" and "a means of communication". As such, Kostas maintained, people's tastes determine to a certain extent the kind of connection they can have with others, the things that might be discussed, and whether they can communicate with them or not.

Considering the particular position in conjunction with Kostas' previously examined conceptualization of music's ideological foundation that extends beyond aesthetics, styles and sounds, it could be argued that the possible shapes of this musical communication are built on, and represent different identities. More specifically, this sense of musicosocial "compatibility" that Kostas presented creates two simultaneous groupings. On the one hand the believed common language between individuals due to their music tastes creates a social identity that is defined by that element, and on the other that identity groups different musics together in acceptable affiliations that are not necessarily aesthetic, or stylistic.

Kostas -If someone listens to jazz they also listened to rock at some point. They can't just listen to jazz one day! You will listen to blues before that! It's logical! [...] These are experiences! Rock is an experiential music!

Thus, it could be argued that for Kostas music categories function as indications of shared ideologies and personalities, while audiences, their experiences and "language", as well as the development of their social relationships or disassociations are sketched as bilateral products of genre extensions.

Maria presented a more or less similar attitude with those discussed so far, first acknowledging the importance of music in the formation or expression of the self, and then relating it to the separation of audiences.

Maria - It 's a basic element of our personality, I don't know. I mean after all these years... lets say I am still interested when I first meet someone to ask them what kind of music they like. [...] It is a bit old, I know, an old habit but I think we can understand certain things.

While she maintained that she would never reject someone based simply on their music tastes, regardless of what these might signify for their personality, Maria also explained that certain things as essentially "precluded" for people with different music preferences, like "having fun together".

Furthermore, neither rejecting, nor fully accepting the idea that music preferences are relevant to education and cultivation, Maria stated that based on the people she knows tastes can "reveal" individuals' more general relation to art and their refinement. At the same time, Maria completely dismissed the idea that there is a connection between professions or class and the predilection for particular types of music, bringing as an example the 'route' of rebetika that crossed over from the social fringes to intellectuals, and from there to young people, gradually becoming "a main trend".

Despite her understanding of music developments and the social processes that constitute their audiences as well as her own plurality of tastes, Maria's view of artists' fan base transpositions was not particularly favorable, explaining that she does not like it when particular audiences 'appropriate' them.

Maria - you feel like you are privileged that you, and of course hundreds of others, know this [artist], but, anyway, you feel they are 'yours' and you don't want to share them with certain people. [...] But I think it is because artists mutate when they change audiences.

Clearly acknowledging the unfoundedness of her feelings of exclusivity, Maria's quote also indicates that it is not the actual sharing that bothers her, but rather

with whom she is 'forced' to share her music. Like Christina, she explained her discriminating position with the argument that artists who cross over to 'these' new audiences mutate, are "being destroyed" by the need to adjust to their expectations. On this ground she explained that she does not mind sharing classical music because Beethoven will never change to fit a *bouzoukia* audience. Given that her objections concerned music she enjoys, the audiences mentioned, were evidently not rejected for their actual tastes but rather for what their music identity is believed to represent, and their presumed inability to connect to artists as proper fans do.

While for the interviewees discussed so far, music identities and preferences were seen as 'part of the self' others were more hesitant in identifying them as such, reserving the particular interconnection only for particular cases.

Chrysa -I believe it shows something of our character. Ummm, that... like, a person that listens to lower, um, 'lower' types of music is perhaps more melancholic and more... while someone who listens to strong... pop, is perhaps more optimist and more extroverted. [...] It's evident by our behavior as well, especially when it's about the 'extremes', when for example... someone is too much into *laiká* or someone is too rock it's also evident in their clothes; when it's about the 'extremes'.

While the distinction of 'extreme' audiences is consistent with Chrysa's previously discussed categorization of music, which was not necessarily indicative of an evaluative hierarchy, both attitudes entail elements of a qualitative differentiation. In the case of music's categorization the notion of the 'extreme' was constructed in terms of arbitrary interpretations and hierarchization of genre aesthetics, while in the case of audiences in relation to individuals' devotion to music, exemplified by the adoption of corresponding dress codes and associated behaviors. The fact that this latter position, which echoes previously discussed conceptualizations of belonging, refers to the expression of 'extreme' identifications only is arguably indicative of the way Chrysa perceives the notion of music identity itself. By linking visible, recognizable expressions of music identity with a sense of excessive identification or with extreme aesthetic positions, which she had already



rejected, Chrysa sketched the presumed lack of music identity expression or performance as the (accepted) norm. In addition, she rejected the idea that music might have any “big implications” in individuals’ lives, such as the formation or reflection of ideologies or worldviews.

Chrysa’s overall position on what music represents in conjunction with her approach to music identity indicate that her own connection with music, and her generic self-identification is perhaps more moderate, and is not structured on generic ideologies, myths or discourses<sup>172</sup>. Even though one might expect that such a seemingly reserved, and predominantly aesthetic perception of music categories would extend to their corresponding audiences, Chrysa demonstrated the opposite. As her understanding of these ‘othered’, devoted audiences’ music tastes and the generic combinations these might entail could not be identified or justified with reference to music identity formation and the various ideological points that might define or characterize it, Chrysa employed different elements to interpret them.

Chrysa -There are some that are... that are too far apart... I’ve seen, and that really made an impression in me [...] here in Greece, [people] who listen to heavy metal and really ‘heavy’ *rebetika*, the forbidden kind. Every time I hear that I am really astounded. They seem so different musics and how is it possible for someone to like both so much! [...] Perhaps because they are both linked with... drugs, I suppose. I don’t know. The forbidden *rebetika* with what they represent and the heavy... heavy metal, drugs. That’s the only way I can explain it.

As it was previously demonstrated, people who approach music as a means of ideological or experiential communication, like Kostas for example, perceive the combination of seemingly different genres in terms of their function as a common language. Omnivore perspectives similarly offer a more musicosocial understanding of disparate music affiliations. Chrysa contrarily, employed discursive stereotypes to explain any ‘illogical’ affiliations, drawing on and

---

<sup>172</sup> However Chrysa did make one comment that could be indicative of a qualitative differentiation of genres or at least of her knowledge of generic discourses, arguing that people who listen to *éntekhna* are perhaps more concerned about social issues than those who like pop and *bouzoukia* who are more “sociable”.

reflecting outsiders' perceptions of how audiences are separated or connected, rather than the music itself or what that might represent to its fans. Thus, despite her personal attitude towards musical, individual and collective identifications that allows the relative liberation of music genres from corresponding identities, she too constructed music categories in relation to audience behaviors and 'habits', real or presumed.

Apostolis' views on the links between music tastes and notions of the self were somewhat confused. Without considering the particular connection in relation to himself, he maintained that he never criticizes people because of their music. To exemplify his unbiased attitude, Apostolis stated that all of his friends have different music tastes than him. Even though such differences are accepted, Apostolis argued that it is also natural for people to make fun of each other because of the music they like.

Apostolis -I never judge anyone because of music, unless they talk about it all the time and I get tired. Or if they say that what I listen to is stupid and so on. If they do this battle ensues! I've gone against ten people in the same company, because of that. I explained my arguments, like 'okay, you are *skylas*, you go and listen to those dogs howling and so on, you don't understand what they are talking about, their lyrics are meaningless, you just go to see the girls and listen to *tsifteteli* songs that are ALL the same and you dance without reason like a chimp'.

Apostolis' deliberately offensive reply, which expresses his view of the genre, its audience, and its connection with music, indicates that such characterizations, even when seen as a joke, are not as 'innocent' as they might be considered. Later in our conversation, accepting that perhaps he does believe there is a relationship between certain elements of people's identities or characters and their music tastes, he added that those who like *skyladika* are uneducated, nationalistic and uncultured 'Neanderthals', those who like *éntekhna* are "cuddly" and "sensitive", while rock fans are "relaxed about rules".

Nonetheless, Apostolis maintained that he is not judgmental when it comes to music, associating his distaste for certain audiences with their attitudes rather than their aesthetic preferences. Without recognizing that his grouping and

evaluation of individuals based simply on their music tastes disproves the logic of his argument he stated

Apostolis -Metalheads I don't know, they like the music and they... but this thing they do, all dressing the same, those black pants and the black t-shirt with a rock band or something relevant, the beards and the long hair, I can't stand it! I am judgmental when it comes to looks! But not to music.

Admitting that fans from all genres, both in Greece and abroad, can exhibit this stylistic homogenization Apostolis explained that for him these people are "sheep" that adopt genres' styles, dress codes and lifestyles because they are insecure and they want to belong somewhere. Thus, unlike the first five interviewees Apostolis demonstrated a negative opinion towards music identification and collective identity in general, rather than in relation to specific music cultures. At the same time he categorized and evaluated music audience sometimes drawing on genre representations and naturalized stereotypical associations or perceived emotive traits, and others on elements of performative belonging.

Anna constructed her relative acceptance of the relationship between music tastes and identity on a notion of music 'openness'. When asked if music is a part of who individuals are, she replied

Anna -I believe for some people yes, but I can't say that for myself. Because I listen to different things, I mean I can adjust to my company. That's what I think about myself.

On a first level, Anna's position could indicate a differentiation between people for whom music is a significant element in their life in general as opposed to those who are more relaxed about it, or indifferent. The way her own music attitude was employed to construct her exclusion from such identification processes, however, also suggests that like other interviewees, she understands the music-self interconnection in relation to the possession of, and devotion to a clear, and perhaps, single music identity. Her plurality of tastes and the need to

listen to music that is in fashion, contrarily, were neither seen as interconnected nor were interpreted as signs of musical belonging in a different type of collectivity, or of exhibiting certain traits of her (desired) personality.

However, Anna recognized that the image people have of others, can at times be influenced by their music tastes, bringing metal music as an example, and the stereotypical/moral panic discourses of the past regarding the presumed influence of such music on young people's characters, which she completely rejected. At the same time, Anna, like all other interviewees, also demonstrated that she has certain unconscious presumptions regarding what each music genre looks like or represents.

Anna - Because when you see someone you get a hint as to who they are. So, when they tell you what kind of music they like you go, "oh, this music suits him" or "no way! I never expected that!". [...] I met a girl a couple of years ago, and she played a really nice [heavy *laiká*] song in her car, and if you see this girl, she is modern and so on, you'll say there is no way she listens to this stuff...

Anna's disassociation of 'modernity' from *laiká* tastes and the unconscious automatic perception or construction of individuals' identities entailed in this process, exemplifies the naturalization of musicosocial interrelations discussed earlier. However, I wish to argue that even though Anna's style-music associations unconsciously differentiated audiences based on their tastes, the way she expressed their separation never entailed a judgmental aspect. On the contrary, Anna supported the belief that one cannot judge others "by what they listen to" and practically demonstrated that she is somewhat baffled by the suggestion that people might make such distinctions.

Anna - I believe that this [bouzoukia] is just a way in which you can blow off steam, if I happen to be there and have a good time doesn't mean that as a person I have no quality, that I am not a good person. If I happened to go to a place with quality music would I be one? No, I don't believe this is true. Because then we would have to have categories. That the *panigyri* [village fiesta] is for *these* people.

Simos quite categorically defined music as a means of entertainment and nothing more, rejecting even the idea that it might be associated with notions of the self. When asked if he personally considers the music he likes as part of his identity he replied “No, not at all. Unless I am double-faced”. The way Simos phrased his denial, arguably, indicates that he is actually aware of certain presumed associations between his preferred music genres and traits of personality, regardless if he considers them valid or not. Even though his attitude could be explained in terms of not wanting to be defined by something he considers as inconsequential as music, his somewhat defensive stance towards this interrelation could suggest that he might actually wish to disassociate himself from his tastes’ representations. This argument is further supported by his more general view towards individuals’ characterization due to their music preferences.

Simos -Um, I don’t think it is a bad thing to characterize someone, it’s bad to try to change them, I think. I don’t mind if you call me *skylas*, but you won’t change me.

The particular characterization that Simos commented on does not refer only to individuals’ music tastes but represents their presumable broader culture, one which he repeatedly defended as nice regardless of others’ opinions<sup>173</sup>. In this context, Simos’ acceptance of the label ‘*skylas*’ appears contradicting his previously expressed view that his music preference does not characterize him. If it is conversely interpreted as demonstrating his acceptance of the label as a musical definition and nothing more, the rejection of its other aspects automatically verifies his knowledge, and to a certain point, acceptance of what these might represent<sup>174</sup>.

Nonetheless, Simos maintained his position regarding the meaninglessness of music tastes throughout our conversation, which he exemplified with his

---

<sup>173</sup> See appendix A

<sup>174</sup> Unless we assume that Simos does not care what other people think of him in general, or that people that characterize him because of his music tastes do not concern him and this attitude has nothing to do with the characterization itself which even though possible seems rather unlikely.

experiences of *musicking*. Despite his recognition of music's practical separation, as previously discussed, he argued

Simos –Basically, I believe that if the company is good you can adjust to all kinds of music, there is no problem

Simos' discussion of music categories in general, focused mostly on instances of collective *musicking*, whether in a live venue, a bar or at one's home, often referencing genre-associated values or ideals to explain how people with different tastes relate to and manage this process. The majority of his comments indicated that he actually divides audiences into those who are willing to practically set musical differences aside and those who believe their boundaries are separating something more than sounds and ways of having fun<sup>175</sup>. While Simos did not express any criticism towards either grouping, he clearly seemed to favor the former one with which he mostly identifies, exemplifying the *bouzoukia* attitude previously shaped by Christos.

Arguably, the accounts of the nine interviewees show that music categorization cannot be easily separated from the way individuals perceive and characterize different audiences. Whether consciously or not, and without exception, all participants somehow projected the notions each used to understand and/or divide music, onto their fans. While for some this took on more discriminating shapes and others were more flexible, interviewees related their own music self-perceptions to their 'others', extending their criticisms beyond music aesthetics. In the case of those who actively identify with their music ideologies, namely the rock, hip-hop, metal, jazz and classical representatives, mythical traits were employed to separate different audiences. The rest of the concertgoers, who constructed their relationship with music in more functional terms contrarily, used, often unintentionally, broader categorial or stereotypical elements to do so. In addition, interviewees from both groups, with the exception of the pop concertgoer, and to a certain extent the *bouzoukia* and metal ones, whether they

---

<sup>175</sup> Even though neither group was generically defined the examples he used point towards the frequent alternative/mainstream division and the differentiation-from/association-with-the-'many' binary that accompanies it.

tried to remain impartial, or believed they were so, employed a variety of judgmental positions and stereotypes to structure their discussion.

Concertgoers' positions, however, cannot be properly evaluated and understood when considered only in regard to theoretical discussions of classification. The majority of interviewees demonstrated that sometimes the elements of music's theoretical differentiation they consider important, are in fact re-hierarchized or rendered inconsequential when music is considered in relation to their actual experiences. Thus, individuals' personalized interpretations of the moment and their understandings of the performative/spectacularly-constructed grid of collective identities need to be examined together, to contextualize their sense of music ritual functions.

### **6.3. Concertgoers' view on *musicking***

The ways in which interviewees described their actual *musicking* experiences illuminated certain additional features of music classification, as well as their perceptions of musicosocial organization. Discussing the acceptance or rejection of different *musicking* types, their formal properties, performativity, and desired effects, concertgoers contextualized further the previously examined expressions and interpretations of identities, validating to different extents the links between music rituals and the expression of ideals. Initially, all interviewees seemed to perceive *musicking* in relation to certain formal rules that define the character of music events and differentiate one type from the other, in agreement with the previous theoretical discussion of ritual. Serving a predominantly symbolic function, these formal features ranged from dress codes to audience etiquette and spatial organization of the events, revealing individuals' underlying perceptions of the structure and social signification of different rituals.

For Nasia the spatial and stylistic organization of events can actually categorize music, artists and audiences. Bringing the division between what she perceives proper *éntekhna* and the hybrid she called *bouzouko-éntekhna* as an example,

Nasia stated that she cannot exactly identify their musical differences, and distinguished them instead with reference to their representative *musicking* types. Contrasting artists who only give concerts with those who “fancy” their music to be very popular and to perform in an “environment of bouzoukia”, Nasia constructed a qualitative distinction between the two types of rituals, that she believes characterizes as much the artists as their audiences’ participation and identity<sup>176</sup>. At the same time, the actual differences between the two *musicking* types were omitted from Nasia’s discussion in a manner that corresponded with her previously expressed view that these are common knowledge.

Christina similarly argued that even when she might not know the identity of a particular hip-hop artist, the venues in which he/she performs and the type of events with which these are associated would give it away, determining subsequently whether she would be willing to attend the performance and explore his/her music or not.

Christina -Because if you are into this you know where they will, those close to your style, where they will go and sing. So, because I know what these places [bayside live venues] look like, if you tell me someone is performing there I won’t find it very appealing. Because every place draws its own people, it’s not like they’re all the same. But most of the concerts I go to are not in such places, they are in proper concert venues

Constructing the relation between artists, audiences, and the form of the ritual as self-evident, Christina sketched *musicking* as an important element of artists’ classification that can potentially affect the evaluation of the music they actually perform, rather than the opposite.

However, most interviewees, following their previously expressed associations between audiences and music categorization, identified the character of music

---

<sup>176</sup> Nasia’s position coincides with the one Harris presented in the previous chapter regarding a kind of double *musicking* standards, according to which bouzoukia type of events are not to be taken seriously as opposed to concerts.



rituals predominantly with behavioral and stylistic rules, that were also seen as connected to rituals' function.

Simos -The ways you must behave [in each event] are completely different, because if you do something different people will look at you weirdly. If I go into a rock joint as I am now<sup>177</sup>, haha, everybody will turn and look at me in a weird way just because of this. Neither can I go to a classical concert and dance *tsifteteli*. [...] What I mean is that I can't go to a classical concert and cause a commotion. Because when you go to *bouzoukia* you basically go to cause a stir.

Participants sketched the behaviors of audiences as interconnected with each genre's character and its live performances' purpose even when they had no personal experience of them. The media, with television and cinema being the most frequently mentioned, were identified as the sources that inform them about these elements and their associations with specific rituals. *Spectacular* images were presented as teaching individuals how audiences behave in each event but also how they should conduct themselves when attending particular performances with which they are not familiar in order not to stand out. This latter aspect, however, proved to be dependent on each concertgoer's desire to perform their belonging (imagined or 'real') by blending in with the rest of the audience or to enact their 'otherness'.

Nasia, despite having previously referred to the impact of media images on her own view of different events' behaviors and structures, initially explained the uniformity of audience behaviors as a 'natural' response that depends on individuals' "characters" and "dispositions" rather than as the result of genre or ritual rules. Even when people attend events without being familiar with their 'etiquette', she argued, their instilled respect for others and for the "offer" of the artist will guide them accordingly. Furthermore, Nasia continued, individuals can "feel" what is the proper way to conduct themselves in each case taking their

---

<sup>177</sup> Simos humorously wore a red shirt with the first few buttons unfastened and a golden chain to make fun of the skyladika fan persona. The ironic adoption of this dress code is something that he himself identified and not my personal interpretation of his style.

cues from artists who “give off” with their own attitudes how they want and expect their audience to behave.

However, when Nasia later on discussed the ritual rules of classical and bouzoukia music specifically, she demonstrated that the notion of “the proper way” might not be as natural as she believes. In a manner consistent with her view of the former genre and its audience, as well as her own cultivated and non-experiential respect for what it represents, she argued

Nasia -I won't have any misgivings about wearing my jeans and simple blouse, I'm not talking about something like this, I have gotten over this, probably because of my age, perhaps if I was in my twenties I would want to wear a red carpet dress, haha! I don't know, but I do realize that I can't behave silly in there! That is, I can't, I won't, I wouldn't want to let my self get silly in such a place because I wouldn't probably allow myself to get silly. I would feel very stupid and like I don't understand anything<sup>178</sup>

The self-disciplining process that would not permit Nasia to behave “silly” in classical music performances, and the feelings of inadequacy that she believes such an attitude would create in her, arguably point towards the performative aspects of ritual. By performing the behavioral rules of the classical concert that she interprets in accordance with her view of the intellectual/generic character of the genre, Nasia constitutes herself as the ‘subject’ they describe. Additionally, the voluntary adoption of the specific ritual principles that helps her realize that particular musicosocial identity also integrates her into the rest of the audience, while the intentional performance of her belonging in this grouping legitimizes it.

The particular argument is validated by Nasia's subsequent description of her participation in *bouzoukia musicking*, where the same principles were used to conversely demonstrate her desire for disassociation<sup>179</sup>.

---

<sup>178</sup> Nasia admitted that she has only been to a classical concert once, which she had initially completely forgotten.

<sup>179</sup> While it could be argued that this desire to emphasize her disassociation from the *bouzoukia* identity was targeted at me and how she wished me to perceive her and is not necessarily practically employed, Nasia's intentions to use *musicking* in such a way validates music ritual's function as a means of projecting particular identities

Nasia - I will be thinking that I am making fun [of the situation] and that I, as a person, don't really mind making fun of this. But I can't go to a venue where they play classical music, which I respect, without suggesting that I can one hundred percent feel it, but I do respect it, thinking that 'okay, if I don't enjoy it I can always make fun of it'. I don't want to do this. Yes, I will go to *bouzoukia* with the thought that I am going to make fun of it, and if I manage to actually have fun as well, well, so what? You know?

In this case, Nasia's ironic participation in the music ritual serves the exact same function as her 'respectful' one, establishing performatively (to others and to herself) her ideal musicosocial identity and belonging within a category different than the one expressed by the particular music culture.

Maria presented an almost identical position with Nasia, demonstrating her awareness of ritual rules as well as the way they function to either associate individuals with particular music communities or to distinguish them from them. Initially she, too, related *musicking* behaviors to the media and the experience of being there and following the lead of the rest of the audience. Later on however, Maria demonstrated that genre-defined parameters and their relational interpretation can determine to an extent her own attitudes and define their limits. Discussing more specifically what *she* called the "ritual" of classical concerts Maria said that the spaces where these events take place as well as the individuals traditionally attending them, make her uncomfortable, while its rules make her "go into conservative mode". More particularly she argued that she feels the people in there wish, and are prepared to judge any "deviation" from the norm, which she explained with the ritual's longevity and class history.

Even though Maria advocated certain changes like those concerning the ritual's performance venues and dress codes that she believed would liberate both the performances and audiences of classical music, she did not even consider the idea of changing its behavioral rules. While she felt strongly towards individuals' freedom to move and express themselves during performances, albeit in a considerate manner, she dismissed the idea of such expressions during classical music rituals as somewhat 'ridiculous'. Her position was not determined by the

music's ability to create such needs in its audience, but rather it was implied to stem from their perceived contradictions with the ideological character of the genre that renders such behaviors 'absurd'<sup>180</sup>. Maria furthermore argued that the individuals who would ignore the ritual's behavioral rules would be treated as outsiders and exhibited with her own tone of voice and particular phrasing that she somehow agrees with this reaction. Thus, on the one hand, the ideals of classical music rituals as well as the type of social relationships they foster are not the ones she would probably like to see in society in general as Small (1997) argued. On the other however, Maria's nonnegotiable adherence to its principles and her unquestionable performativity arguably legitimizes that social world these represent.

At the same time, both Maria's practical self-disciplining and the theoretical rejection of these rules can be seen as constitutive parts of her cultural self-perception and expression of belonging. The position she expressed towards her contrasting participation in *bouzoukia musicking* contextualizes further this function.

Maria -Quite the opposite, I'd want to stand out, I'd go there with a 'boring' attitude and keep it until the end. Only if I was with friends whose opinion matters to me and they felt that I was destroying the mood I'd push myself to fit in more. But for no other reason. But I think that people there don't judge you that much, it's the alcohol and that people are there to have fun for themselves so I don't think they really care about how others behave around them. They are in a different *mood* to care about those next to them.

Maria's differentiation between the two audiences and their intention towards others, insiders and outsiders, arguably agrees with the conceptualization of ritual being linked with ideals of social relationships, regardless if she personally identifies with them or not. The freedom of expression and non-judgmental attitudes that could be argued to result from the *bouzoukia* audience's focus on having fun, are part and parcel of the particular culture and its identities as both

---

<sup>180</sup> Maria said that there are actually many classical works that (could) engender physical reactions to audiences.

its expert and concertgoer representatives demonstrated. Even though these rules/attitudes/values are closer to what Maria herself likes, her arguments demonstrate that she wants to intently perform her disassociation from that audience just as she likes to perform her belonging in the classical one, as the former clashes and the latter agrees with her cultural image of herself.

Christina discussed hip-hop *musicking* rules initially commenting on the spatial/behavioral relation of its rituals that allow individuals to choose the type of their participation. Dividing audience behaviors in relation to individuals' proximity to the stage and corresponding commitment to the genre, she explained that 'informed' concertgoers know where to stand and how to act in each case. Stylistic rules were similarly sketched as integral elements of the particular events

Christina –[hip-hop fans] will wear their hoodies, their jeans or sweatpants, very simple. Okay, I have seen weird things, especially in girls, who are dressed as if they're on their way to dance at *skyladika*, with their boobs and their bellies out, whom we are making fun of...

Besides their different aesthetics, Christina argued that stylistic principles also differentiate outsiders in relation to whether they allow individuals to properly participate in the event, arguing, for example that one cannot go to a hip-hop concert in high heels as this would be impractical, and would restrict individuals participation. It could be argued, however, that stylistic 'practicality' is in fact defined not only by a ritual's structure but also by whether such elements clash with the event's presumable purpose. Thus, the relationships between dress codes, genre ideologies and ritual structures that define individual's belonging or 'otherness' during their *musicking*, also naturalize the particular ritual's principles.

Christina, like Nasia and Maria, also discussed her 'ironic' participation in *bouzoukia*. Stating characteristically that "there are times that it comes natural to, in quotation marks, "make a fool of yourself"" she explained that occasionally, and only as a joke, she likes to go to such places and have fun, either for her

company's sake or because she is drunk. Thus Christina built a division between certain rituals meant to be taken seriously, viewing her partaking in similar terms, and those that serve a different function.

Anna contrarily expressed a more flexible opinion regarding the discipline of *musicking*. In accordance with her views examined so far, she neither related it to the evaluation of the music nor its audience, but rather to individual dispositions. Positioning ritual rules within quotation marks, she initially explained that people act the way they do because the event "captivates" them. Later on she also connected the process of performing *musicking* principles with a kind of 'indoctrination' that she argued depends as much on media images as on other naturalized discourses.

Anna - I believe that you also learn these things, they spread from one generation to the other, regardless if people have personally been there. I believe it is about upbringing; the principles are always the same 'if you go there you should behave like this, but in that place you can act differently, you can be yourself'.

However, as demonstrated so far, who oneself is and in which rituals one might express it, is far from natural or fixed. Rather it depends on the social narratives individuals conceptually and performatively place themselves.

While these interviewees discussed performativity in relation to their own participation in music rituals, others exemplified their understating of adherence to *musicking* rules in relation to 'outsiders'. Arguing that during their preferred types of events they can more or less distinguish between individuals who belong in the particular audience and those who do not, they identified the differentiation between the two with characteristics such as authentic audience behaviors, attitudes incompatible with the genre's character as well as the fact that the individuals with the presumed 'fake' identities are never seen in any of the regular music "joints" in the city. Most interviewees explained the reasons why individuals might resolve to such performances with the enactment of the particular social identities believed to correspond to each genre.

Chrysa said that sometimes people who are “swank” and want to climb the social ladder might go to the opera, without however identifying how these might be practically differentiated from the rest of the audience, or having personally experienced this attitude. Her position coincides with Kostas’, who even though did not focus on the particular genre, discussed other events that might take place in classical music venues and the people they attract. Bringing as an example the jazz concerts that often take place at the Megaron concert hall, he argued that there are groups of individuals that attend them because they want to be seen there even though their own tastes are completely different.

Kostas -usually all the local politicians keep [free invitations] for themselves even though they are all *skylades*. And the whole room would be filled with them, and they all couldn't wait for the time to leave! They were bored being in there. But they had to go, they had to be present!

In the particular quote Kostas links the desire for the cultural prestige of jazz and the Megaron with the profession of politicians, indicating on the one hand that there are no actual links between music tastes and such features, and on the other that the presumption that there are such essential associations renders *musicking* as an ideal medium for the performance and establishment of musicosocial identities. In addition, Kostas expressed his “antipathy” for the particular venue, which he straightforwardly related to his dislike for its ‘regular’ audience and not the space itself or the music. Thus he indicated once again that *musicking* spaces can be as much intertwined with social representations as the type of events they host.

Nasia divided individuals in the audience between those who attend live performances because they want to be seen there and those who genuinely enjoy the music<sup>181</sup>. The former motivation was linked with particular types of events, and in accordance with Nasia’s previous view of concerts’ generic characters, with the people they attract and the place where they take place.

---

<sup>181</sup> An opinion also expressed by many experts.

Nasia -those who, um... listen to music and engage with it to be assimilated into something and feel that they are in-the-know, so they chase after this sort of events, for example they go and see James because you can listen to them everywhere so it is unacceptable that the whole world listens to them and you don't... Just as it is not as *in* to go and see Mogwai because nobody knows them so you don't care about telling people about it, therefore you don't go [...]. And of course there are the people who aimlessly come and go without neither knowing what they like nor caring if they will be characterized in some way because of that.

Arguably, Nasia's three types of concertgoers are not constructed independently of music categories, but imply a connection similar to the one several experts presented in the previous chapter, between (alternative) genres that 'by nature' appeal to authentic audiences and others that attract more 'pretentious' or 'ignorant' ones<sup>182</sup>. Furthermore, Nasia seems to construct mainstream music fans who she believes "aimlessly" move between artists and genres, as somehow ignorant and inferior to all others, regardless of their actual *musicking* practices.

Christina argued that in hip-hop events one can often spot individuals who do not 'properly' belong in the audience. Focusing on the presumed contradiction between certain social identities and those considered relevant to the image of the genre, she stated that rich and "spoiled" individuals might use hip-hop music to project a "street-smart" identity. In addition, Christina continued, sometimes men who "want to hit on a girl 'of a lower *budget*' and try to act cooler and tougher" attend these events even though they might not really connect to the music. However, Christina did not define what performative elements might enable her to tell these people apart from 'proper' fans.

Apostolis argued that there are certain rules in all genres' performances which people learn from the media and adopt them. However he characterized the individuals that do so, as "sheep" who have "low self-esteem" and "who find it difficult to be accepted by certain groups". Even so, he did not identify electronic music rituals' outsiders with style but rather with their inability to tell a good

---

<sup>182</sup> Nasia's latter description arguably coincides with the way Anna sketched her tastes as well as her reaction towards the possibility of one being characterized because of their music and *musicking* preferences presented in the previous section.



performance apart from a bad one, which, he argued, turns them into objects of proper fans' ridicule. Additionally, Apostolis differentiated his preferred music's (techno) performances as not appropriate for this type of 'fake' identity performance constructing like others before him a genre-audience relation of authenticity.

Apostolis -It used to be [fashionable]. Nowadays if you listen to it, because it has almost disappeared in Greece, it's just because you like it and you do it, it has nothing to do with style

All these examples demonstrate that *musicking* can function and is often employed as a means of establishing and legitimizing different identities, either by simply performing them or by contrasting them to that of others in the same audience. However the way participants described their experiences rather than their views, suggests that *musicking* can also define their relationship with the rest of the audience in a different manner than the one discussed so far. While all concertgoers identified their interest in live performances with the proximity and connection they feel to the artists, as well as the creation of music in the moment, for the majority their liking for *musicking* was also related to the effects it produces in them.

Anna, Simos, Nasia, and Kyveli characterized live performances as special events, each explaining this quality with certain elements similar to those of their music categorization.

Anna -I believe it is an experience outside the everyday... I mean suddenly... whether people are with company or if someone is there alone, they connect with the collective, they completely focus on the singer or the band or whatever, and they enjoy themselves. [...] [I could] Characterize it as magical

Anna furthermore stated that it is the combination of having people around her while listening to music that make live performances her preferred type of entertainment. Despite her emphasis on the collective Anna also argued that neither the mood and "vibe" of the audience nor its identity really affect her, but

rather the notion of sharing the moment. In this context, the collective experience is constructed in terms of sociability and co-presence rather than genre or audience identification, which is consistent with both Anna's non-judgmental attitude towards music audiences and the pop/mainstream foundation of her musical orientation.

Just like it was suggested in both this and the previous chapter, mainstream music fans seem to construct their perception of belonging only in terms of enjoying fashionable music and having fun together without necessitating any further categorization of the music or the people who listen to it. While the rituals she attends and their audiences might not all 'embrace' such ideological or aesthetic flexibility, Anna nonetheless interprets and experiences them in accordance to her own *musicking* codes<sup>183</sup>. Thus, it could be argued that by projecting her *musicking* desiderata and values on all rituals, Anna is able to feel comfortable and accept their structure regardless of any relevant evaluations or representations.

Nasia described her preferred *musicking* as filling her with energy and transporting her "into a different dimension", where she forgets about everything else, including old leg injuries that forbid her from standing up for a long time and tiredness, as well as her anxiety or thoughts of the past or the future. More interestingly she also related *musicking* with certain psychological effects.

Nasia -And even though I previously had this... issue, you know, I was afraid a lot of all these people and that, like, 'If I want to leave how will I get to the exit', and the relevant agoraphobia, I think that after my first concert where I was cramped and soaked with sweat and realized I didn't really care, it stopped bothering me, I mean that even my agoraphobia and claustrophobia disappeared.

---

<sup>183</sup> In this context Anna's rejection of classical music events becomes quite understandable considering its *musicking* rules that as she, herself, defined do not allow people to be themselves and ask them to behave in very specific ways.

Distinguishing small from big live events, Nasia said that while the former allow a closer connection to the artist to be formed the latter are all about the “pulse” of the audience that creates a special atmosphere. While Nasia’s discussion so far indicated she favors small events where the audience’s participation was sketched as more genuine, as opposed to bigger ones where matters such as fashionability might attract types of individuals she disapproves of, her discussion of the latter’s “pulse” suggest that at the moment of the actual performance such differentiations are of little or no significance.

Apostolis did not present any evidence that he considers music events something more than a way of having fun, referring only to the ability of live music performances to take people away and remind them of past experiences. However he did relate his fascination with such events with the rest of the audience, explaining that these are perfect opportunities for socializing. When he was asked particularly about his favorite live music experiences and their audiences he stated without any hesitation “anyone who is in there is okay”. Any notions of ‘outsiders’ disappeared completely from his arguments irrespectively of whether individuals follow the ritual’s rules or ignore them, if they are “sheep” or not, and he focused only on the sociability of the moment. Having fun and socializing without drawing any borders between participants was indicated as the goal of the ritual.

Simos presented a similar position seeing *bouzoukia musicking* as a way of entertainment, albeit a special one, that functions as a means of expressing one’s sorrow as well as happiness, of socializing, meeting people and enjoying oneself.

Simos -it’s the atmosphere basically. Right? [...] the people around you dance having fun, you sing along with them, loudly because nobody can hear you, you enjoy! Flowers are falling around you, you flirt, you vent! All these... [...] Because you communicate with a lot of people you meet... it is very easy to meet new people in *bouzoukia*.

The particular ritual, Simos argued, brings people closer to each other, physically and psychologically, and allows them all to become “one group”, which he

identified as the reason he likes attending this type of events. In addition, Simos stated that he finds bouzoukia *musicking* very familiar and feels more comfortable there unlike with other types of live performances. Thus, once more Simos indicated that despite his refusal to distinguish people in relation to their music tastes, different types of *musicking* were linked with specific values and purposes. During the actual ritual these values function as specific means of connecting with people who share the same ideals of sociability and social relationships.

Maria's descriptions of her *musicking* experiences, both concerning classical and other types of music, present a somewhat conflicting position that stems from the contrast between the effects of genre discourses and her actual participation. Describing the effects of her ideal *musicking* Maria initially referred to rock concerts saying

Maria -I like the whole 'sharing the moment' thing, but also the chance it gives me to experience my solitude. Like we somehow experience the whole thing together but separately at the same time. [...] In essence it is all that music has to offer, at that moment you can, you can identify with that, and your personal experiences and what's happening in you life at the time, all this emotionality clicks into place and fits to the music, that's what you share. It is very personal on the one hand but it is also a collective experience, I mean listening to all the people singing together and... it is very beautiful

However, when she was asked to describe how classical events in particular make her feel, Maria said that even though she enjoys the music very much, she feels more isolated and alone at that moment. Explaining her discomfort with the particular ritual, she explained that while this music is characterized by an intense personal emotionality, this "never transforms into [something] collective" due to the restrictions imposed by the structure of the ritual<sup>184</sup>. Without rejecting the rules, and presumably corresponding ideals, of the

---

<sup>184</sup> Which as discussed earlier she did not consider possible to change while remaining true to the 'nature' of the genre.

particular type of *musicking* Maria acknowledged that the rules of other rituals simply suit her better.

Maria - they are closer to who I am so I accept them more easily, that's why I was saying that I feel more at home there

Maria's position can be related to Small's argument that individuals are moved, and do not feel constrained by the types of *musicking* that articulate the relationships of their ideal society (Small 1998, p.70). While Maria recognizes the rules of all types of *musicking*, certain of their elements that she linked with collectiveness and freedom of expression defined which one she finds more appealing. At the same time however, her knowledge of certain generic and social discourses forbid her from both enjoying certain rituals and believing they can or should change, perhaps acknowledging the miscorrelations of power expressed by different types of *musicking*.

Kostas similarly defined *musicking* with the collective connection that encompasses both the musicians and the audience, which he called "communion". As such, the co-presence and (all possible forms of) communication with others were defined as the most important elements of the event besides the live production of music. Being consistent with his previous positions, Kostas suggested that not only each form of ritual entails different values but there are also certain affiliations between them that presumably correspond to their common ideologies. Thus, Kostas restricted the sense of "communion" to jazz and *dimotika* songs of Epirus, separating it from all other genres. Bringing classical music as a contrasting example, he described its *musicking* as "detached" and its atmosphere as "cold", that prevents musicians to become "one body" with the audience, which he said he finds disappointing.

Kostas -Even though the musicians were perfect! This kind of communion is not there, like there is in jazz. And I like classical music!<sup>185</sup>

---

<sup>185</sup> Kostas said that the particular event will not change because people have been "educated" to behave and enjoy music like that, while all attempts to subvert these rules will result into having individuals being escorted out of the venue. Anna, Simos and Maria argued the exact same thing discussing the possibility of diverging from the norms of classical events, which was however, more or less seen as 'unnatural'.

Thus Kostas expressed once more his disapproval for what the concert hall ritual represents rather than the music itself, indicating the perceived links between *musicking* structures and ideal relationships.

Christina described her hip-hop *musicking* and the specialness it holds for her in similar terms.

Christina - I don't know, it might seem an exaggeration, but in some performances, because for example I like the particular artist very much, I can even feel awe. I have felt it! I feel so great that I am about to explode!

Relating the effects of *musicking* both to the collective as well as the personal, Christina identified the former with the feelings created when she first enters the performance space and the connection she feels with the individuals, and the latter to the duration of the performance, when the focus switches from the audience to the music and the lyrics as well as her own participation expressed for example with her singing. In addition she also explained that at that time she feels the artist is performing just for her emphasizing how little the audience concerns her.

While Christina did not construct her affinity for hip-hop by embracing all the values of the genre or expressing her desire for belonging, but often presented the exact opposite feeling, her view of its *musicking* was contrarily sketched as all-embracing. Her acceptance was not so much defined by her appreciation for all its particular features which she often defined as over-masculine, but rather by the effects of *musicking* that somehow overshadow the value contradictions and identities contrasts it might entail.

Kyveli discussed metal *musicking* more or less like the other interviewees, referring to their special atmosphere as well as the physical effects such events can have on her. Stating that she forgets everything and everyone around her, Kyveli described her *musicking* as intense and argued that afterwards she feels calm and like she has released all the tension she was carrying. However, she differentiated herself from the rest of the audience almost from the beginning of

our discussion, stating that she never liked “belonging” anywhere. Similarly she stated that during the events she only cares about the musicians while those around her have no effect on her whatsoever. However Kyveli unwittingly placed herself in an alternative type of belonging.

Kyveli - Everywhere else I’ve gone to concerts the audience is very quiet. Like they are at the cinema. [...]Okay, they sing, in some cases they might even move a bit but there is no comparison to the pulse concerts have in Greece<sup>186</sup>.

Distinguishing ‘qualitatively’ Greek metal audiences from those abroad, Kyveli affiliated herself with the particular broader grouping that defines as much her *musicking* as her connection with music itself. The pulse that the particular audience creates was sketched as making performances better than they are when this is missing. So, even though her music identity was constructed on her sense of individuality and not genre belonging, the experience of the live event was defined by the particular collective expression.

Thus, interviewees demonstrated that the process of music ritual encompasses the instilment of values and behavioral norms, which remain unquestioned or even unnoticed when they agree with one’s ideal social relationships and principles, but which are performatively challenged when they do not. In addition to embedding these performative norms, music rituals were also proved to have certain alternative effects on participants that concern the way they experience *musicking*. Seeming to be momentarily released from the elements that shape their identity, concertgoers interpreted *musicking* in terms of the emotions it creates in them both personally and as part of the collective<sup>187</sup>. In these descriptions their perception of the ‘ideal’ derived from the sharing of the moment and the shape this takes within the given environment, and the connection to the particular collectivity.

---

<sup>186</sup> During our conversation Kyveli said that she often travels abroad to see her favorite bands if it is possible, mentioning Germany, Spain and Bulgaria as some of the places to which she has been.

<sup>187</sup> See chapter 3.3 and the discussion of co-presence and deep listening.

As discussed in chapter three, this argued release should not be considered as contradicting all previous discussions of performativity, as this sensation is to a large extent defined by generic expectations and learned connections to music. Even though individuals' perceive *musicking* as something deeply personal and valuable, which is often the qualities they are looking for with their participation, the shape of their experience still stems from the very identification they momentarily leave behind. Thus, the proposition that music ritual expresses ideal relationships and realities should not be confined to those constructed by the discursive and performative processes discussed but also include the actual multisensory and emotional experiences these foster.

#### **6.4. Summary**

Concertgoers approached music categorizations with the similar matter-of-fact tone as experts did. While their vocabulary per se was at times slightly different, drawing on emotional as well as seemingly personalized perceptions of music and its functions, their understandings, orientations and divisions were constructed on similar generic and broader categorial discourses. Regardless of the particular types of music each considered to be better, all interviewees employed naturalized notions of value and those contrasting music categories were assumed to entail to sketch their preferences.

Music's separation into categories was not approached as valid only on a conversational level but was accompanied by the expressed belief that it also needs to be separated practically as it corresponds to, and concerns different types of people. The mythic elements of music categories and artist's attitudes were projected onto their audiences defining the character of their supposed relation with music. Despite the fact that interviewees emphasized different values and 'natural' dividing criteria, most sketched the identification with a particular type or group of genres as a prerequisite for a proper connection with music. "Mainstream" preferences that entail a variable grouping of musics based on their popularity were contrarily dismissed as inauthentic or not proper, and so were their audiences. At the same time audiences' different ideologies were



related to spectacular representations of social identities, lifestyles and music tastes. This association was sketched in a bilateral way where the presumed characters of music defined its audience just as the social 'character' and dispositions of its fans functioned as proof of the music's value.

The discussion of *musicking* on the other hand illuminated how concertgoers view the disciplining and performative aspects of music events. Relating them to the function and effects of each ritual, they demonstrated that *musicking* is linked with both the performance of identity and the ideals entailed in music categories. However, when describing their own experiences interviewees also demonstrated that these ideals should not be interpreted strictly in relation to obvious aspects of genre ideologies and spectacular identities but also to the possible models of social relationships these entail or foster.

## 7. Conclusion

This research focused on the live performance of music, the ritualistic process through which music itself is interactively constituted, aiming to examine its social function. Its central argument was that *musicking* is intertwined with social division, which was explained with two distinct positions. The first suggested that music ritual functions as a means of identifying with and performatively expressing social values and identities. The second argued that this 'naturalized' and voluntary musicosocial classification and its enactment legitimize these ideals and patterns of social division. This shared underlying function of music as a whole did not aim at refuting the plurality of music's possible functions and uses that most studies advocate. Contrarily it suggested that exactly because of this variety, *musicking* can operate as a means of (self-) classification that extends beyond the realm of music.

Both sets of interviews indicated that individuals construct their sense of music categories on a variety of discourses that concern their aesthetics as much as their 'inherent' ideologies and values. These ranged from generic *hyperrules* that identify music with one quality or another to wider ideological and aesthetic frameworks that corresponded to particular types of music as well as identities (Fabbri 1982). Even when their own personal tastes did not conform to traditional standards of value, both experts and concertgoers demonstrated that they are aware of the broader hierarchies of quality that define music classification. However, in the majority of interviews neither the information systems that regulate and define music categorization, nor their influence were acknowledged. Rather, as suggested in chapter one the relationship between music categories and values was constructed as natural.

Concertgoers' discussion of music differences was additionally accompanied by the belief that each type of music naturally encompasses particular social identities and ways of life. What each music represents and/or entails was seen as an extension of listeners' personal and social identities, and vice versa. Authenticity, quality, fashionability, alternative and mainstream attitudes, etc.,

produce or reflect corresponding groupings of people who embody them as part of their personalities or 'their culture'. As the deconstruction of music's division into folk, popular and serious in chapter one demonstrated, the basis of such perceptions is fundamentally social. It results from particular narratives and modes of thinking about music and what values and identities it represents that are socially, commercially and culturally dependent (Frith 1996; Turino 2008).

The media play a significant role in this process of creating, communicating and validating musical difference (Thornton 1995; Frith 1996; Holt 2007). Participants drew directly on media discourses and images to construct their views of different music categories and their audiences. While these undoubtedly informed their own personal tastes, the reliance on media representations was more pronounced when discussing music genres they dismissed or rejected. Concertgoers in particular argued that they not only know what ideologies these 'othered' musics and their audiences represent, but also what way of life they mirror because television, films, and the internet provide them with access to their rituals, lifestyles, values and behaviors. While they all recognized that perhaps certain judgments regarding music aesthetics might be subjective, they seemed to perceive these features mentioned above as factual and thus determinant of their negative opinions. Identifying these elements as equally significant as music aesthetics, concertgoers indicated that the same sets of criteria guide their own preferences, which are shaped by the music 'itself' as much as by the social ideals it entails.

Thus interviewees demonstrated the pervasiveness of both music myths and *spectacular* representations in the construction of music categories. Additionally they indicated that the two modes of classifying music and listeners are now inseparable, resulting in musicosocial identities rather than a music self that is distinct or deriving from one's social identity. At the same time, while all participants described music identities and tastes in relation to social values, attitudes, and behaviors, individuals' predilection for particular musics was never perceived to be related to social class, profession, or economic standing. Similarly these elements were not seen as relevant to their own music or social

selves, debunking conventional approaches to music that perceive one as the result of the other. Music tastes were, however, related to representations of particular classes. Knowledge of class music hierarchies, both popular and serious, and their social associations was sketched as a possible handbook for assuming or performing a particular social identity.

In this way, seemingly natural preferences for music were interrelated with the identity narratives its categories embody, that reflect, stem from and correspond to individuals' 'real' or desired selves, as discussed in chapter two. While in this context musicosocial identities clearly result from agency they are still socially defined (Featherstone 2007; Wacquant 1989). "Human agency is never formless, and even the simplest cognitive functions depend on categories and typologies" (Holt 2007 p. 2). This self-determined classification that stems from the selection of and identification with the musicosocial self one prefers, also derives from the available collectivities and their social realities that are already in existence (or in representation) (Tajfel 1982; Turner 1982). As demonstrated in chapter two these are shaped in the image of social division and its *spectacular* hierarchies. Individuals' self-regulated musicosocial choices and identifications legitimize both the representations from which they emerge but also the reality they represent.

Interviewees' discussion of music identities focused predominantly on *musicking* representations. Particularly the criticisms targeting the lifestyles, aesthetics and values of different musics were built on their live rituals and the behaviors of their audiences. Whether concertgoers had personally experienced these events or had only encountered them in the media, they perceived these 'objective' structures and behavioral aspects as either formative or indicative of people's broader culture. Their own *musicking* behaviors were interpreted as knowing, respecting and thus consequently following the tenets of particular music categories. This process was presented as separating those with a genuine interest in, and understanding of particular musics from fake or pretentious fans. Conversely, when attending performances of musics they reject, many concertgoers explained that they either deliberately ignore their principles and

behaviors, or adopt them ironically. In all cases the main supposition was that their behavior results naturally from 'who they are' and their core values. According to theories of performativity, however, identity is produced by particular behaviors and performances and not vice versa, while their iteration enables its actualization (Butler 1993; Bell 1999).

As discussed in chapter three, the structures and behavioral formalism of music rituals are as much related to music's character and ideologies as to the performative establishment of the self and belonging. As such, the ways individuals act are not entirely spontaneous and natural but are also disciplined. Even though more or less all participants identified their self-disciplining practically, very few acknowledged it as such. That is because "performance dimensions frame a particular environment [...] as a type of totalizing microcosm. Given the construction of this specific environment which is readily assumed and rarely noticed as such, the activities conducted within are perceived as natural and appropriate *responses* to that environment" (Bell 1997, p.168). Specific types of behaviors are spectacularly learned and/or habitually and performatively associated with different *musicking* expressions and the realities they represent, but are seen as stemming from the individual. With *iterability* these become as much part of individuals' 'selves' and their attempt to establish their 'rightfully chosen' place in that belonging and reality, as of the latter's enactment.

According to Small (1998) the reason these behavioral rules are not perceived as constraining is because they mirror the social structure and relationships each audience considers ideal. While some interviewees sketched their adherence to the values of a particular type of musicking as contrasting their own personal ideals and preferred social relationships, their expressed insistence on following and not changing them to remain true to a music's character accentuates the effectivity of ritual to naturalize the relation between musical values and particular behaviors (Bell 1994)<sup>188</sup>. In addition, all objections to particular music rituals' entailed social relationships were formed comparatively, sketching the

---

<sup>188</sup> See Maria pp. 245-246

ideal with reference to other types of events, thus verifying anew the links between the two.

Therefore, this thesis concludes that music and social classification are two intertwined aspects of the same identity formation process that depends on, sustains and legitimizes patterns of social division. However, as it was demonstrated these social classification structures are not dependent on class distinctions, like past studies have suggested, nor are linked with particular types of music only. Rather they can potentially encompass all possible music and social positions and their various combinations. This approach to music on the one hand fills a theoretical gap created by past studies' tendency to a priori accept the validity of predetermined and externally imposed classifications, as much on music as on individuals, as discussed in chapter four. On the other it accepts and verifies their proposed links between music classifications and social inequalities as well as distinctions.

In illuminating the links between the discursive fusion of social selves and music categories, and the *spectacular* identity models individuals voluntarily assume this thesis demonstrates "how power operates to construct our desires, our thoughts, our ways of being in the world—our subjectivities—in ways that can make us unconsciously complicit in our own oppression" (Gannon and Davies 2007 cited in Pascale 2011, p.159). Individuals reproduce the microrelations of power entailed in *spectacle*-defined classifications, by unquestionably accepting their norms and performatively reproducing the essentially social realities, ideals and relationships each category entails with their *musicking* (Bell 1994). Their voluntary identification with such categories also legitimizes the circumstances that give birth to them and their representations, thwarting any possibilities for actual social change that they might embody.

While this conclusion stems from the comparative examination of the eighteen interviews as well as the theoretical framework of the research, there are certain additional aspects of the ritual process that were identified and should be considered in future studies of *musicking*. The analysis of concertgoers'

descriptions of *musicking* indicates that it is not just the separation/connection of one's identity from/to that of others or the sharing of certain ideologies that characterizes their participation. It is also the effect and desire to physically, emotionally or 'spiritually' connect in certain ways with individuals (musicians and audiences) whether these conform to their idealized social criteria or not, and the sharing of the moment within the event's particular frame. This connection itself and the shapes it can take could also be interpreted as an ideal.

Many interviewees expressed that they deeply enjoy *musicking* and see it as special or magical; as affecting them intensely, and often producing a kind of communion with other participants regardless of their possible differences, or individuals' personal feelings towards belonging. While they, consciously or unintentionally, tended to separate ritual participants to insiders and outsiders, authentic and fake, the way they described their actual experience of the music ritual indicates that at the time of the event these distinctions are of little consequence. The fact that they 'celebrate' in a way their sense of "communion", and seem to seek it through music rituals indicates that notions of ideal social relationships are not necessarily defined by labels and images even when they are mediated by them.

This argument does not suggest that the values of music categories that make individuals attend a performance disappear or become less important. The *musicking* process is still defined by the social relationships each ritual fosters that allow and guide individuals as to how to experience the event, and what sort of effects and *communitas* they can expect it to produce. Even so, this collective experience can include individuals' momentary release from their identities as much as their expression without one aspect suggesting the negation of the other (Negus and Velasquez 2002).

The perception of the event as a deeply personal experience that affects them irrespective of those around them, that some participants expressed, can be approached in a similar manner. It was previously argued that in losing their strong sense of self, *musicking* participants are most in control of their behaviors

and reactions that are directed and always correspond to the principles, behavioral or otherwise, of the event (Becker 2004). Thus, it is argued that the 'personal' need not be separated from the 'collective', but neither to be equated with it. Identifications and perceptions of the social self do not have to be entirely compatible with the private part of the self that is perceived to experience these multisensory and yet socially defined experiences. Rather, the separation of the personal from the collective needs to be seen as a fundamental part of selfhood that does not negate belonging. It conceptualizes it as something more inclusive than the identification with a group. This position is not the same as the distinction of social identity and its entailed feelings of similarity to others, from personal identity which is defined by "a feeling of difference in relation to the same others" (Deschamps and Devos 1998, p.3). It rather concerns the relationship between these two interconnected aspects of the self, that are both affected by *musicking* and its ideals.

Just like the sacrality of a ritual cannot be established in relation to terminological restrictions, which place an event in either one or the other category, neither can the experience of the moment be defined as either social or personal. What is at one moment social can be easily transformed into something deeply personal and vice versa without one negating the function of presence of the other. In fact it is argued that the appeal of music events depends on this exact combination where the social and the personal are never truly separated but neither fully merged. Thus the discussion shifts from differentiations between the self and the collective, that place the understanding of music's functions into binary divisions, to the need to re-conceptualize belonging as much as of the way social *ideals* might be constructed and/or interpreted.

Both these approaches to the function of music rituals, however, depend on certain limiting parameters. On the one hand, this research was conducted in a very specific national and cultural context, Greece, which, as discussed in chapter four, suggests that the observed patterns of how music is used and functions cannot be generalized. Additionally, it is my belief that the hypothesis regarding the *spectacular* construction of identity (social and musical) can only be applied



on politically 'healthy' and relatively prosperous societies. Having the means to satisfy everyday needs as well as the freedom to access a variety of media sources are necessary preconditions for the recognition, idealization and identification with *spectacular* models. In societies where these conditions are not met the function of myths and *spectacles*, as well as the possible links between them need to be re-theorized and positioned within the sociopolitical, economic, cultural and technological contexts that define their production and circulation, as they could lead to different forms of identities.

Similarly, significant political and economic changes within a given society, like those taking place at the present time in Greece, can affect notions of identification and belonging. Without questioning the validity of the findings discussed, I am inclined to believe that in the near future due to changes in people's living standards, the relationship between music rituals and social identities in Greece might take on different shapes. These changes seem to already affect notions of entertainment, and lead to the re-prioritization of old and the creation of new needs, whether material or psychological, emotional and ideological, affecting equally the way individuals use music rituals. As such, even though it is believed that in the future the function of music categories will remain the same, the observed patterns of division might not apply.

While this observation is quite important in itself and needs to be seriously considered, it does not invalidate the theoretical framework of this research or its findings. These limitations rather verify the interconnections between political, economical, social and cultural factors in the active construction of identity. Therefore, due to the continuously shifting boundaries of identities as well as the parameters that shape them, future studies that explore their dependence on cultural practices and social positions should employ a contextual approach that considers the particular intertwinement of all these elements.

## APPENDICES

### APPENDIX A: GREEK MUSIC AND MUSIC GENRES INDEX

**Greek music:** In a somewhat simplistic approach, it could be argued that Greek music combines, or tries to reconcile three rather different perspectives: the western/European character of the country, or as it is mostly perceived, its modern facet, the Eastern influences that are deeply embedded in Greek culture after the four hundred years of ottoman occupation, as well as the country's relation to the rest of the Balkans (Carrier 1995; Papageorgiou 1997; Pennanen 1997; Harrison 1999; Tziovas 2003; Herzfeld 2004; Polychronakis 2007; Tsioulakis 2011). This cultural coexistence or even amalgamation does not concern only Greece's past musical expressions. Rather it can be easily discerned in the different sounds that circulate in the local music market today, which incorporate these aspects of Greek culture, utilizing recognizable aesthetic features of one, two or all three traditions, thus creating its distinct musical character (Manuel 1988). As such, Greek music cannot be disengaged from international music influences, neither conceptually nor aesthetically or ideologically (Pennanen 1997; Kallimopoulou 2009).

Furthermore, contemporary Greek music, like most musics that are relevant only to local markets, has undergone a process of 'modernization' that has affected all its genres. That is, it has moved towards a more Westernized sound while maintaining and incorporating the elements which are essential to its local musical character (Nettle 1978; 1985; 2007). Modernization in conjunction with the rapid dissemination of information concerning music developments determine to a certain extent the aesthetic and generic framework upon which the local sounds are being created. The Greek versions of international music genres such as pop, rock, etc. along with those found only in Greece, combine local and foreign stylistic influences and features to remain relevant to contemporary aesthetics as well as generic ideologies while maintaining their Greek character.

Even though these Greek versions may incorporate elements of the three distinct cultural aspects mentioned above to create their own distinguishable sound, they remain more or less consistent with the ideologies that each genre supposedly represents in the international markets. In other words, Greek rock can at times be rather distinctly 'Greek' but remains generically speaking rock, just as locally produced Jazz could be identified as Greek by its listeners, (or be deliberately stripped of any elements that would identify it as such) without however, deviating from the genre's rules and/or *hyperrule*

However, this music syncretism is not free from aesthetic hierarchies, categorizations or evaluations. In order for music to be perceived as abiding to a particular generic character and produce a 'tasteful' and 'authentic' result, in both Greek and foreign music, certain unwritten 'rules' define the appropriate ratio of the auditory elements that represent the three Greek perspectives in each case that are genre-dependent. Thus the interpretation of foreign and Greek music in Greece results from their symbiotic relationship and the continuously developing and interacting aesthetics and discourses that concern each category's genres.

***Rebetika (Urban folk songs, 1920 to 1960):*** *Rebetika* first appeared sometime towards the end of the nineteenth century as 'the music expression of the people' and were predominantly associated with the underworld of the time (Elafros 2013). However, today the particular genre refers to the urban folk music created from the 1920s to approximately the 1950s, although some theorists might also place it between the 1930s and 1960s (Holst Warhaft 1998; 2003; Pennanen 1997; 2004).

There are two different strands of *rebetika*, the *Smyrneika* and the *Piraeus* style. The *Smyrneika rebetika* refers to the songs, or those created in a similar style, brought to Greece from the Asia Minor after the 1922 war between Greece and Turkey and the "imposed exchange of population between the two countries" (Holst-Warhaft 2003, p.172). The name denotes the origin of the genre form Smyrna (Izmir) as the majority of refugees sent to Greece and who populated its

major urban centers came from that city. However, there are theorists who argue that the title is misleading as the style was created and performed in Constantinople/Istanbul as much as in other cities besides Smyrna and that the name's roots are predominantly political (Pennanen 2004).

The *Piraeus rebetika* originated in the port of Piraeus and (Holst-Warhaft 1998; Pennanen 2004) it is a hybrid of the *Smyrneika rebetika*, and the low class, local musical expression of Piraeus. One of the basic differences between the two styles is the use of instruments that could produce microtonal intervals like the violin, the lyre etc. in the former, while the latter was a bouzouki-based style that used western tonal intervals in combination with *dromi*, modes similar to the Turkish makam but with semi-tonal scales (Pennanen 1997; Ordoulidis 2012). Their lyrics dealt with subjects such as smoking hashish, the hash dens, prison, prostitution, and represented the ideals of an “underworld” renouncing the model of the hard working citizen and other political and social values of the time (Host-Warhaft 1990;1998; 2004; Sarbanes 2007). However, *rebetika* can also have topics such as social injustice, suffering, love, work, death, the mother figure and similar topics that concern folk songs.

**“The forbidden” *rebetika*:** This latter type of *rebetika* described above were banned in 1936 by the Metaxa dictatorship because of their lyrical content and affected the reputation of the genre in general. Thus *rebetika* were mostly shunned by the ‘respectable’ strata of the Greek society until their revival after the fall of the Junta in the mid 70s. The (nationally revered) composer Hadjidakis’ was one of the first to attempt to shift public opinion on *rebetika* by giving a public lecture on the subject in 1949 defending them as part of Greek tradition. According to Tragaki (2005), Hadjidakis’ presentation of *rebetika* as part of our ‘roots’ amplified the controversies that surrounded the genre, and which continued to penetrate music discourses for a long a time. Nonetheless, both Hadjidakis’ public defense as well as the collaboration of *rebetika* singers and musicians with Theodorakis in his recordings and concerts played a significant role in turning the genre into a respectable, nationally important music (Holst-Warhaft 1998; Tragaki 2005; Kallimopoulou 2009). Both

composers, as well a strand of intellectuals who focused on the study of the subject, helped legitimize *rebetika*, and construct certain ideas of authenticity that were gradually, adopted by the majority of the cultural and intellectual status quo as well.

Thus after the fall of the Junta, *rebetika* officially found their place in Greek culture as “the tradition of the urban city centers” (Damianakos 1960). According to Tragaki “ whether on the level of discourse or on that of the performance, rebetik[a] song[s] ... became the forum for the poetics of Greek music history that generated tropes of thinking about “our music”, contesting identities, assessing and reinventing Greekness” (2005, p. 65). A direct, and official expression of the acceptance and promotion of *rebetika* as part of the Greek cultural heritage today, was their (re)presentation in the 2004 Olympics opening ceremony in which the ‘richness’ of Greek culture was paraded for the whole world to see, as if the debate of the ‘Greekness’ of the genre never really existed (Zaimakis 2010).

It is important to note here that *rebetika* is the only genre of Greek music that has actually been studied, both by native and non-Greek academics. All other kinds of popular music have been more or less ignored by the Greek intellectual status quo, emphasizing even more the radical shift in the perception and appreciation of *rebetika* as a noteworthy example of Greek popular culture

***Laiká (Urban folk songs, 1960 to 1980):*** *Laiká* is mostly described as urban folk music. Literally, the name means popular music, based on its roots as a music for and by the people of the urban centers and not in terms of its actual popularity. Its origins can be traced in the 60s when this music emerged as a development of its predecessor *rebetika* (Tragaki 2005; Pennanen 1997). Like the Piraeus *rebetika* the bouzouki is the main instrument of *laiká*. The music is based on *dromi*, but sometimes western scales are also used, and the lyrics focus mostly on themes such as immigration, love, social injustice, with an emphasis on heartbreak and pain, but also on love, family, happiness etc.

The name *laiká* is mostly used in relation to the urban folk music of the 1960s until the 1980s when supposedly the genre underwent an aesthetic as well as generic transformation that produced its modern expression. However, there are many people who use the term to describe the modern urban folk music being currently produced. The use of the word depends largely on matters of aesthetic evaluation and the fans of the modern facets of the genre still consider it *laiká* as opposed to those criticizing it who differentiate from the genre's authentic form based on a series of perceived qualitative differences. There are other names used to refer both to the present *laiká* scene as well as that of the past which even though sometimes complicates the situation, it is also very revealing about one's personal aesthetic position concerning this music. The main names used are *bouzoukia* and *skyladika* which will be defined later on.

***Bouzoukia (Modern urban folk songs, 1980 to today):*** *Bouzoukia* can be used to describe the pre-80s *laiká* music as well as the contemporary one. Generally, the word could describe any type of music that is based on the use of the music instrument bouzouki, however, today it is predominantly used to refer to the modern *laiká* songs as well as to the venues where these are performed. In order to make the distinction between the different music cultures and epochs that they represent or are perceived as representing more easy, I will use the term *bouzoukia* to refer exclusively to the post-80s *laiká* music. However, given that this research is based on interviews, I believe it is important to reproduce any accounts regarding the genre as they were expressed. Therefore, if the term *bouzoukia* is used differently by one of the participants I will not change it but rather include a footnote when necessary to clarify the time period they might be referring to.

*Bouzoukia* today has many stylistic elements similar to *laiká*, but at the same time it is also clearly influenced by Western pop aesthetics. The instruments used are amplified and include drums, electric guitars, bass and synthesizers combined with *bouzouki*, *toumperleki*, violin and other more 'traditional' instruments. Both western scales and eastern *dromi* are used and the lyrics focus

mainly on love and include all variations of the subject. They are performed in big venues also called *bouzoukia*, which resemble clubs.

The genre has developed a culture and lifestyle of its own which can be rather different to that of its predecessor, *laiká*, in certain ways but quite similar in others. Conspicuous consumption during live performances, overpriced bottles of spirits or wine, the prestige of having a front row table (being closer to the dance floor where the performers sing), smoking cigars, buying countless baskets of flowers which are thrown to the performers, oversexed dress codes, sexualized dancing on top of tables etc. are some of the elements that the particular culture is known for. Today it is considered as the mainstream Greek music. People used to have the chance to go *to* the *bouzoukia* to see their favorite singers, as well as a number of supporting artists, perform five to seven days a week from eleven at night until six or seven in the morning depending on the 'first name'.

As the most popular genre in Greece it has affected in its turn part the local pop scene both in terms of aesthetics and of culture. There are pop singers whose music is closer to the international aesthetic standards of pop music, using only western scales and instruments but who perform almost exclusively in the *bouzoukia*. Additionally, there are many hybrids of *bouzoukia* and other genres such as pop, hip-hop, rock, *dimotika*, but I would argue that these are basically sub-styles and not subgenres as they are differentiated partially from *bouzoukia* stylistically/musically and not in any other way. They depend and are part of the *bouzoukia* culture, as the entertainment system that supports and promotes them is the same, as is the audience that listens to them more or less.

***Skyladika (dog-music/joints):*** The word *skyladika* was initially coined to a specific subculture of the *laiká* scene, one that was performed (and occasionally still is) in somewhat 'dodgy' environments, usually on the outskirts of cities or outside towns or villages, like on national highways for example, opposed to the posh environments of the *bouzoukia*. The word, as with *bouzoukia* is used to describe both the songs and the venues where these are being performed. The

singers of *skyladika* are considered to be of questionable music competence and depend more on a local audience rather than a national one. Their songs are not well known and they do not usually appear in mainstream hit lists etc.

The term *skyladika* was given to the particular *laiká* scene to describe the way the singers sound when they are performing, comparing them to howling dogs. This characterization, however evaluative it is in itself, did not only refer to the vocal qualities that each artist might possess, but also to the particular style of singing which is rather melismatic and uses a rather intense vibrato, which are considered indispensable elements of the particular music. Even though the term is obviously derogative, it is not only widely accepted by the general population but sometimes also by the fans of the particular music who use it themselves as part of their music and social identity for which they are proud. The last few decades with the transformation of *laiká* into their 'modern form' the term is also often being used in relation to the *bouzoukia* types of songs and culture.

**Éntekhna [laiká] (artistic urban folk songs):** *Éntekhna* is a type of *laiká* music that first appeared in the 1960s. It is a type of music that combines the supposedly contradictory eastern folk elements with the western music influences and aesthetics. *Éntekhna* was predominantly written by educated urban musicians rather than self-taught instrumentalists, and it is directly linked with Greece's two most famous and revered composers, Theodorakis and Hadjidakis. Theodorakis defined *éntekhna* as "a cotemporary complex work of music that could be creatively assimilated by the masses". Songs' lyrics were rather sophisticated and often drew on the works of famous poets. The genre emerged as an attempt of the aforementioned composers to elevate *laiká* to an artistic folk music that would serve a creative and educative function for the masses. According to Tsioulakis (2011, p. 180) regardless of its low class origins the genre managed to "achieve a inter-class appeal".

Today the term is used to describe a specific strand of Greek *laiká* music but there are also *éntekhna* hybrids with pop, rock, jazz, or *dimotika* music. The main function of the term *éntekhna* is to distinguish certain musics as being more



artistic from the more popular and commercial types that are performed in *bouzoukia*, in terms of quality and lifestyle as well. *Éntekhna* artists are characterized by their musical competence and/or education, and the themes of the songs have a stronger political and ideological character than other types of *laiká* today but they can also be satirical or include love songs. However, due to the popularity of the genre as well the loose use of the term by the media, many artists who might be classified as *éntekhna* musicians can be considered to be closer to the modern spectrum of *laiká* than to the artistic, while certain *bouzoukia* singers try to cross over to *éntekhna*. The lifestyle associated with *éntekhna* is more moderate than the one with *bouzoukia*, and *éntekhna* music performances usually take place in small *boîtes*-like venues called ‘mousikes skines’ (music scenes) or rock clubs and bars. The most characteristic live event of the *éntekhna* is the concert as opposed to modern *laiká* artists who usually perform in the *bouzoukia*, or Greek music night-clubs called *Hellinadika*.

***Dimotika/Paradosiaka (Rural folk /Traditional songs):*** It is the kind of music that usually in academic or music contexts is referred to as folk. It is the music created in rural areas by the people and for the people, and whose status has been elevated similarly to folk in most parts of Europe, as the authentic music expression of the country. The interchangeable use of the terms *dimotika* and traditional “implies its perception as an age-long musical heritage” (Tragaki 2005, p.50), which in combination with the genre’s association with nature as well as with the past, help construct it as a pure Greek music.

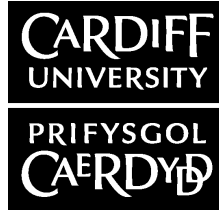
*Dimotika*, encompasses many different regional sounds that all have in common the above elements with distinct references to each region’s specificities both in terms of their lyrics (island *dimotika* for example are mostly about the sea and fishermen, men leaving their families, dying in the sea etc.) as well as their sound and instruments used. There is a striking variety of sounds in Greek *dimotika* songs which can be explained both by the geographical differences between places as well as by the fact that while certain territories were occupied by the Ottoman empire others were under Italian occupation. Similarly, as the northern

Greek borders were finalized in 1913, the sounds of the neighboring Balkan countries are represented in and have influenced the local Greek music.

**Neo Kyma (new wave):** Neo Kyma (not to be confused with the new wave genre that developed in the 70s in the UK) is a type of music that originated in the French *chanson* and was performed in *boîtes*. The songs were predominantly ballads with poetic lyrics and the instruments used were predominantly western, like the piano and the guitar. The genre flourished from the mid 1960s until perhaps the 1980s. Today the name Neo Kyma is only used in reference to particular artists that became famous during that time, some of whom continue to perform their songs in environments similar to *boîtes* and who are now classified as *éntekhna* artists.

**Elafró-laiká (light laiká):** It is a category of *laiká* songs that have many aesthetic similarities with *laiká* but have more western elements in their music as well as “lighter” themes in their lyrics. The term is being used today as much as it was in the past to differentiate sometimes the “authentic”, or “heavy” *laiká* from its more pop, modern versions that are performed in *bouzoukia*. However, since many artists might perform both types of music today and both categories of songs are performed in the *bouzoukia*, *laiká* and *elafró laiká* are not really considered different genres, but rather the latter is a sub-genre of the former.

## APPENDIX B: CONSENT FORM



**Title of Project:** *Music Rituals and Social Division: Constructing, Performing and Legitimizing the Social Self.*

**Name of Investigator:** Maria Papadopoulou, email:

[Papadopouloum1@cardiff.ac.uk](mailto:Papadopouloum1@cardiff.ac.uk)

**Supervisor:** Paul Bowman, Cardiff School of Journalism, Media & Cultural Studies, Bute Building, King Edward VII Avenue, Cardiff, CF10 3NB, tel: +44 (0)29 208 76797

- 1. Purpose of the Study:** This is a PhD research concerning music concerts. I am interested in the reasons why people attend certain music events and not others, how they behave when they do, where they learn how to behave in each case and why they do it. The aim is to understand the social aspects of music and concert-going in Greece and investigate if these are linked with other aspects of society's structure.
- 2. Publication details:** The information as well as the visual or audio data gathered from this interview could be shared with the research supervisor and used in subsequent publications, both academic and non-academic.
- 3. Your participation:** You will be interviewed about your opinions and attitudes towards music and music concerts. The interviews can be video or audio recorded.
- 4. Discomforts and Risks:** There are no risks in participating in this research.
- 5. Statement of Confidentiality:** If you wish your participation in this research can be confidential. The data will be stored and secured at Cardiff University. In the event of a publication or presentation resulting from the research, no personally identifiable information will be shared if you wish to remain anonymous. In this case the video or audio records will be only handled by the researcher and will not be published.
- 6. Right to Ask Questions:** If you have any questions, complaints or concerns about this research you can email the researcher or contact Paul Bowman at the address given above. You can also call this number if you feel this study has harmed you.
- 7. Voluntary Participation:** Your decision to be in this research is voluntary. You can stop at any time. You do not have to answer any questions you do not want to answer.

You must be 16 years of age or older to take part in this research study. If you agree to take part in this research study and understand the information outlined above, please tick a confidentiality option and sign your name and indicate the date below.

**Confidentiality:**

I am content to be named in any publications that result from this research

I would prefer it if my contributions were anonymized in any publications   
resulting from this research

I would prefer it if my contributions were not published in any non- academic   
media

I refuse to be video recorded as part of this research

I understand that my interview will be recorded (audio) for transcribing   
purposes

\_\_\_\_\_

Participant Name and Signature

\_\_\_\_\_

Date

\_\_\_\_\_

Person Obtaining Consent

\_\_\_\_\_

Date

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abercrombie, N. and Longhurst, B. 1998. *Audiences: a sociological theory of performance and imagination*. London: Sage

Adorno, T. W. 2001, c1991. *The culture industry: selected essays on mass culture*. London; New York: Routledge

Adorno, T. W. 2002. *Essays on music / Theodor W. Adorno; selected, with introduction, commentary and notes by Richard Leppert*. Berkley Calif.; London: University of California Press

Adorno, T. W. and Horkheimer, M. (1997). *Dialectic of enlightenment*. London; New York: Verso

Adorno, T. W. and Simpson, G. (1941). *On popular music* (p. 313). Institute of Social Research [Online]. Available at <http://audio.unilueneburg.de/seminarwebseiten/adorno/material/On%20Popular%20Music.pdf> [Accessed: 17 May 2013]

Alperson, Ph. 1994. *What is music?: an introduction to the philosophy of music*. University Park, Pa: Pennsylvania State University Press

Alperson, Ph. ed. 1998. *Musical worlds: new direction in the philosophy of music*. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press

Aronowitz, S. 1993. *Roll over Beethoven: the return of cultural strife*. Hanover, MA: Wesleyan University Press

Atkinson, R. and Housley, W. 2003. *Interactionism: an essay in sociological amnesia*. London; Thousand Oaks, Cal.: Sage

Atkinson, W. 2011. The context and genesis of musical tastes: Omnivorousness debunked, Bourdieu buttressed. *Poetics* 39, pp. 169-186

Attali, J. 1985. *Noise: the political economy of music*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press

Aune M. B. and DeMarinis V. 1996 eds *Religious and social ritual: interdisciplinary explorations*. New York: State University of New York Press

Badiou, A. 2005. *Being and event*. London; New York: Continuum

Ball, P. 2010. *The music instinct: how music works and why we can't do without it*. New York: Oxford University Press

Bar-Tal, D. 1998. Group beliefs as an expression of social identity. In Worchel, S. ed. *Social identity: international perspectives*. London: Sage

- Barad, K. M. 2007. *Meeting the universe halfway: quantum physics and the entanglement of matter and meaning*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press
- Baudrillard, J. 1994. *Simulacra and simulation*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press
- Bauman, Z. 1996. From Pilgrim to tourist – or a short history of identity. In Hall, S. and Du Gay, P. eds. *Questions of Cultural Identity*. London: Sage Publications
- Becker, H. S. and McCall, M. M. 1990. *Symbolic interaction and cultural studies*. Stone Symposium (1988 Chicago). Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press
- Becker, J. 2004. *Deep listeners: music, emotion, and trancing*. Indianapolis: Indiana University Press
- Bell, C. 1994. *Ritual theory, ritual practice*. New York: Oxford University Press
- Bell, C. 1997. *Ritual: perspectives and dimensions*. New York: Oxford University Press
- Bell, D. and Hollows, J. 2005. *Ordinary lifestyles: popular media, consumption and taste*. Maidenhead: Open University Press
- Bell, V. ed. 1999. *Performativity and belonging*. London: Sage
- Bennet, T. 2008. *Culture, class, distinction*. London: Routledge
- Benjamin, W. 2008. *The work of art in the age of its technological reproducibility, and other writings on media*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press
- Berg, B. L. 2001. *Qualitative research methods for the social sciences*. 4<sup>th</sup> edition Boston: Allyn and Bacon
- Berman, J. 2010. *The etymology of 10 musical genre names* [Online], Available at <http://www.flavorwire.com/109772/the-etymology-of-10-musical-genre-names> [Accessed 5 June 2012]
- Blumer, H. 1986. *Symbolic interactionism: perspective and method*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J. : Prentice-Hall
- Bohlman, P. V. 1993. Musicology as a political act. *The Journal of Musicology*. 11(4), pp. 411-436
- Bohlman, P. V. 1999. Ontologies of music. In: Cook, N. and Everist, M. eds. *Rethinking music*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press
- Bohlman, P. V. 2004. *The Music of European nationalism: cultural identity and modern history*. Santa Barbara Calif.; Oxford: ABC-CLIO

- Bohlman, P. V. 2009. *Focus: music, nationalism, and the making of the new Europe*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. New York: Routledge
- Bohr, N. 1961. *Atomic theory and the description of nature: four essays with an introductory survey*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Born, G. and Hesmondhalgh, D. eds. 2000. *Western music and its others: difference, representation, and appropriation in music*. Berkeley; London: University of California Press
- Bourdieu, P. 1980. *The logic of practice*. Stanford, Cal;: Stanford University Press
- Bourdieu, P. 1985. The market of symbolic goods. *Poetics* 14, pp. 13-44
- Bourdieu, P. 1989. *Distinction: a social critique of the judgment of taste*. London: Routledge
- Bourdieu, P. 1990. *In other words: essays towards a reflexive sociology*. Cambridge: Polity
- Bourdieu, P. 1993. *The field of cultural production: essays on art and literature*. Cambridge: Polity Press
- Bowman, W. D. 1998. *Philosophical perspectives on music*. New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Browne, R. B. 1980. *Rituals and ceremonies in popular culture*. Bowling Green, OH.: Bowling Green University Popular Press
- Brennan, T. 2008. *Secular devotion: Afro-Latin music and imperial jazz*. London: Verso
- Bryman, A. 1988. *Quantity and quality in social research*. London; New York: Routledge
- Bryman, A. 2001. *Social research methods*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press
- Bryman, A. and Burgess, G. 2011. *Analyzing qualitative data*. London; New York: Routledge
- Bryson, B. 1996. "Anything but heavy metal": symbolic exclusion and musical dislikes. *American Sociological Review* 61(5), pp. 884-899
- Butler, J. 1990. *Gender trouble*. New York; London: Routledge
- Butler, J. 1993. *Bodies that matter: on the discursive limits of "sex"*. New York; London: Routledge

- Carew, D. 2001, c2002. The consumption of music. In: Samson J. ed. *The Cambridge history of nineteenth-century music*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. pp. 237-58
- Carrier, J. G. ed. 1995. *Occidentalism: images of the west*. Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Oxford University Press
- Carlson, M. 2004 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. *Performance: a critical introduction*. London: Routledge
- Chan, T. W. and Goldthorpe, J. H. 2007. Social stratification and cultural consumption: music in England. *European Sociological Review* 23(1), pp. 1-19
- Chaney, D. C. 1996. *Lifestyles*. London; New York: Routledge
- Christakis, N. L. 1999. *Mousikes taftotites*. Athens: Typothito
- Cheyne, A. and Binder, A. 2010. Cosmopolitan preferences: the constitutive role of place in American elite taste for hip-hop music 1991-2005. *Poetics* (article in press)
- Citron, M. J. 1990. Gender, professionalism and the musical canon, *The Journal of Musicology* 8(1), pp. 102-117
- Citron, M. J. 1993. *Gender and the musical canon*. University of Illinois Press
- Clayton, M. et al. eds 2003. *The cultural study of music: a critical introduction*. New York; London: Routledge
- Clifford, J. and Marcus G. E. eds 1986. *Writing Culture: the poetics and politics of ethnography*. Berkeley, CA; London: University of California Press
- Clifford, J. 1988 *The predicament of culture: twentieth-century ethnography, literature, and art*. Cambridge, Mass; London: Harvard university press
- Connell, J. and Gibson C. 2003. *Sound tracks: popular music, identity and place*. London; New York: Routledge
- Cook, N. and Everist, M. 1999. *Rethinking music*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press
- Cottle, S. 2006. Mediatized rituals: Beyond manufacturing consent. *Media Culture and Society*. 28, pp. 411-432
- Crane, D. 1992. High culture versus popular culture: a reconceptualization of recorded culture. In: Lamont, M. and Fournier, M. eds. *Cultivating Differences: Symbolic Boundaries and the Making of Inequality*, London: The University of Chicago Press
- Creswell, J. W. 2003. *Research design: qualitative, quantitative and mixed method*



- approaches*. 2<sup>nd</sup> edition. London; Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage
- Creswell, J. W. 2007. *Qualitative inquiry and research design: choosing among five approaches*. 2<sup>nd</sup> edition. Thousand Oaks, Calif.; London: Sage
- Crosby, J. 2009. Liminality and the sacred: discipline building and speaking with the other. *Liminalities: A Journal of Performance Studies*. 5(1), pp. 1-19
- Currie, J. 2009, Music after all, *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 62(1), pp. 145-204
- DaMatta, R. 1977 Constraint and license: a preliminary study of two Brazilian National rituals. In Sally, F. Moore, Barbara G. Myerhoff eds. *Secular Ritual*. Asenn: Van Gorcum
- Dahlhaus, C 1982. *Esthetics of music*. New York: Cambridge University Press
- Dahlhaus, C. 1989. *Nineteenth-century music*. University of California Press.
- Davies, C. A. 1999. *Reflexive ethnography: a guide to researching selves and others*. London; New York: Routledge
- Davies S. 2001. *Musical works and performances: a philosophical exploration*. New York: Oxford University Press
- Davies, S. 2003. *Themes in the philosophy of music*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press
- Davies, S. 2012. On defining music. *The Monist*. 95(4), pp. 535-555
- Dawson, L. and Prus, R. 1993. Interactionist ethnography and postmodernist discourse: affinities and disjunctures in approaching human lived experience. *Studies in symbolic interaction* 15, pp. 147-177
- De Certeau, M. 1988, c1984. *The practice of everyday life*. Berkley: University of California Press
- De Genova, N. 2013. Gangster rap and nihilism in black America: Some questions of life and death. *Social Text* 43, pp. 89-132.
- Debord, G. 1992. *Society of the spectacle*. London: Rebel Press
- Debord, G. 1998. *Comments on the society of the spectacle*. London: Verso
- DeNora, T. 1995. *Beethoven and the construction of a genius: musical politics in Vienna, 1792-1803*. Berkeley; London: University of California Press
- DeNora, T. 1999. Music as technology of the self. *Poetics*. 27(1), pp. 31-56

- DeNora, T. 2000. *Music in everyday life*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press
- Denzin, N. K. 1999. Interpretive ethnography for the next century. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, 28(5), pp. 510-519
- Denzin, N. K. 2008. *Symbolic interactionism and cultural studies: The politics of interpretation*. Wiley-Blackwell
- Denzin, N. K. and Lincoln, Y. S. 2011. *The Sage handbook of qualitative research*. Thousand Oaks, Calif. ; London: Sage
- Deschamps, J-C. and Devos, T. 1998. Regarding the relationship between social identity and personal identity. In Worchel, S. ed. *Social identity: international perspectives*. London: Sage
- DiMaggio, P. and Useem M. 1978. Social class and arts consumption: The origins and consequences of class differences in exposure to the arts in America. *Theory and Society* 5(2), pp. 141-161
- DiMaggio, P. 1992. Cultural boundaries and structural change: the extension of the high culture model to theatre, opera and the dance, 1900-1940. In Lamont, M. and Fournier, M. eds. *Cultivating Differences: Symbolic Boundaries and the Making of Inequality*, London: The University of Chicago Press
- Domhoff, G. W. The Bohemian Grove and Other Retreats, [online] Available at: <http://nvsocioman.com/The%20Bohemian%20Grove.pdf> [Accessed: 20 June 2013]
- Doty, W. G. c2000. *Mythography: the study of myths and rituals*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Tucaloosa: University of Alabama Press
- Durkheim, E. 1915. *The elementary forms of the religious life*. London: George Allen & Unwin ltd, Kindle version. Amazon.com
- El-Ghadban, Y. 2009. Facing the music: rituals of belonging and recognition in contemporary Western art music. *American Ethnologist*, 36(1), pp. 140–160
- Elafros, A. 2013. Greek hip-hop: local and translocal authentication in the restricted field of production. *Poetics* 41, pp. 75-95
- Ellis, K. 2001. The structures of musical life. In: Samson J. ed. *The Cambridge history of nineteenth-century music*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. pp. 343-370.
- Fabbri, F. 1982. A Theory of musical genres: two applications. In: Horn, D. and Tagg, Ph. [eds] *Popular music perspectives*. Geteborg; London: International Association for the Study of Popular Music, pp. 52-81

- Fabian, J. 1983. *Time and the other: how anthropology makes its object*. New York: Columbia University Press
- Fairclough, N. and Wodak, R. 1997. Critical discourse analysis. In Van Dijk, T. ed. *Discourse studies: a multidisciplinary introduction*. London: Sage
- Featherstone, M. 1991. *Consumer culture and postmodernism*. London; Newbury Park, Calif. : Sage Publications
- Fisher, W. A. 1929. What is music? *The Musical Quarterly*, 15(3), pp. 360-370
- Fiske, J. 1989. *Understanding popular culture*. London; New York: Routledge
- Fiske, J. 1992. The cultural economy of fandom. In: Lewis, L. A. ed. *The adoring audience: fan culture and popular media*. London: Routledge
- Fiskics-Warren, B. 2005. *I'll take you there: pop music and the urge for transcendence*. London; New York: Continuum
- Fonarow, W. 2006. *Empire of dirt: the aesthetics and rituals of British indie music*. Middletown, Conn. : Wesleyan University Press
- Frith, S. 1988. *Music for pleasure: essays in the sociology of pop*. London: Sage
- Frith, S. 1991, c1989. *World music, politics and social change: papers from the International Association for the Study of Popular Music*. Manchester: Manchester University Press
- Frith, S. 1996a. *Performing rites: On the value of popular music*. Cambridge Mass.: Harvard University Press
- Frith, S. 1996b. Music and identity. In Hall, S. and Du Gay, P. eds. *Questions of Cultural Identity*. London: Sage Publications
- Frith, S. 2004. *Popular music vol. 1: music and society*. New York : Routledge
- Foucault, M. 2002. *Archaeology of knowledge*. London; New York: Routledge
- Frangos, S. *Marika Papagika and the transformations in Modern Greek Music*, [online] Available at [http://thesis.haverford.edu/dspace/bitstream/handle/10066/5633/Frangos\\_20\\_1.pdf?sequence1](http://thesis.haverford.edu/dspace/bitstream/handle/10066/5633/Frangos_20_1.pdf?sequence1) [Accessed 20 June 2013]
- Gans, H. J. 1992. Preface. In: Lamont and Fournier eds. *Cultivating differences*
- Gans, H. J. 1999. *Popular culture and high culture: an analysis and evaluation of taste*. New York: Basic Books
- Gebhardt, N. 2001. *Going for jazz: musical practices and American ideology*.

Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press

Geertz, C. 1988. *Works and lives: the anthropologist as author*. Cambridge: Polity Press

Geertz, C. 1973. *The interpretation of cultures*. New York: Basic Books

Gelbart, M. 2007. *The invention of "folk music" and "art music": emerging categories from Ossian to Wagner*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press

Giddens, A. 1991. *Modernity and self-Identity: self and society in the late modern age*. Cambridge: Polity

Gillham, B. 2000. *Developing a questionnaire*. London; New York: Continuum

Giroux, H. A. 2006. Beyond the spectacle of terrorism: rethinking politics in the society of the image. *Situations: Project of the radical imagination* 2, pp. 17-51

Gluckman, M. 1962. *Essays on the ritual of social relations*. Manchester: Manchester University Press

Goffman, E. 1951. Symbols of class status. *The British Journal of Sociology*, 2(4), pp. 294-304

Goffman, E. 1961. *Encounters: two studies in the sociology of interaction*. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill

Goffman, E. 1969. *The presentation of self in everyday life*. London: Allen Lane

Goffman, E. 1963. *Behavior in public places: Notes on the organization of gatherings*. New York: Free Press

Goehr, L. 1992. *The imaginary museum of musical works: an essay in the philosophy of music* Oxford university press

Goehr, L. 1994. Political music and the politics of music. *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*. 52(1), pp.99-112

Goldberg, H. 2004. *The age of Chopin: interdisciplinary inquiries*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press

Goody, J. 1977 Against "ritual": loosely structured thoughts on a loosely defined topic. In Sally, F. Moore, Barbara G. Myerhoff eds. *Secular Ritual*. Assen: Van Gorcum

Grossberg, L. 1996. Identity and cultural studies – is that all there is? In Hall, S. and Du Gay, P. eds. *Questions of Cultural Identity*. London: Sage Publications

- Hakim, C. 1992. *Research design: strategies and choices in the design of social research*. London: Routledge
- Hall, S. and Jefferson, T. 1976. *Resistance through Rituals: Youth Subcultures in Post-war Britain*. London: Hutchinson for the Centre for Contemporary Studies, University of Birmingham
- Hall, S. 1980. Encoding/decoding. In During, S. ed. *The cultural studies reader*. London; New York: Routledge
- Hall, S. ed. 1997. *Representation: cultural representations and signifying practices*. London: Sage
- Hall, S. 1997. The local and the global: globalization and ethnicity. In McClintock A. et.al. eds. *Dangerous liaisons: gender, nations, and postcolonial perspectives*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press
- Hall, S. and Du Gay, P. 1996. *Questions of cultural identity*. London: Sage Publications
- Hamm, C. 1996. *Putting popular music in its place*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Harrison, S. 1999. Cultural boundaries. *Anthropology Today* 15(5), pp.10-13
- Harwood, D. L. 1976. Universal in music: a perspective from cognitive psychology. *Ethnomusicology*, 20(3), pp. 521-533
- Hebdige, D. 1979. *Subculture: the meaning of style*. London; New York: Routledge.
- Heath, J. and Potter, A. 2006. *The rebel sell: how the counterculture became consumer culture*. Chichester: Capstone
- Hennion, A. 1997. Baroque and rock music: music, mediators, and musical taste. *Poetics*. 24(6), pp. 415-435
- Hermanowicz, J. C. and Morgan H. P. 1999. Ritualizing the routine: collective identity affirmation, *Sociological Forum*, 14(2), pp. 197-214
- Herzfeld, M. 1982. *Ours once more*. Austin: University of Texas Press
- Herzfeld, M. 2004. *The body impolitic: artisans and artifice in the global hierarchy of Value*. Chicago, IL: Chicago University Press
- Hesmondhalgh, D. 2007. *Cultural industries*. Los Angeles; London: Sage
- Hesmondhalgh, D. and Toynbee, J. eds. 2008. *The media and social theory*. London; New York: Routledge

- Hill, P. C. et. al. 2000. Conceptualizing religion and spirituality: points of commonality, points of departure. *Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour*. 30(1), pp. 51-57
- Hirschkop, K. 1989. The classical and the popular: musical form and social context. In: Norris, C. ed. *Music and the politics of culture*. London: Lawrence & Wishart
- Holstein, J. A. and Gubrium, F. 2004. The active interview. In Silverman, D. 2004. ed. *Qualitative research: theory, method and practice*. 2<sup>nd</sup> edition. London: Sage
- Holst-Warhaft, G. 1998. Rebetika: The Double-descended deep songs of Greece. In Washabaugh W. ed. *The Passion of music and dance: body, gender and sexuality*. Oxford: Berg
- Holst-Warhaft. G. 2003. The female dervish and other shady ladies of the rebetika. In Magrini T. ed. *Music and gender: perspectives from the Mediterranean*. London: University of Chicago Press
- Holt, D. B. 1998. Does cultural capital structure American consumption? *Journal of Consumer Research*, 25(1), pp. 1-25
- Holt, F. 2007. *Genre in popular music*, London: The University of Chicago Press.
- Howard, K. 2006. ed. *Musike: Volume One: Music and ritual*. Den Haag: Semar
- Hughes-Freeland, F. ed. 1998. *Ritual, performance, media*. London; New York: Routledge
- Hunt, E. 1977. Ceremonies of confrontation and submission: the symbolic dimension of Indian-Mexican political interaction. In Sally, F. Moore, Barbara G. Myerhoff eds. *Secular Ritual*. Assen: Van Gorcum
- Hutchby, I. and Wooffitt, R. 2008. *Conversation analysis*. 2<sup>nd</sup> edition. Cambridge; Malden, MA: Polity
- Jenkins, R. 2013. *Pierre Bourdieu*. London; New York: Routledge.
- Judkins, J. 2011. Style. In Gracyk, T. and Kania, A. eds. *The Routledge Companion to Philosophy and Music*, New York: Routledge
- Kallberg, J. 1996. Chopin at the boundaries: sex, history, and musical genre, Cambridge Mass.: Harvard University Press
- Kallimopoulou, E. 2009. *Paradosiaká: Music, Meaning, and Identity in Modern Greece*. Burlington: Ashgate
- Keil, Ch. 1998. Applied sociomusicology and performance studies, *Ethnomusicology*, 42(2), pp. 303-312

- Kellner, D. 1995. *Media culture: cultural studies, identity and politics between the modern and the postmodern*. New York: Routledge
- Koskoff E. 1982. The music-network: a model for the organization of music Concepts. *Ethnomusicology*. 26(3), pp. 353-370
- Kramer, L. 1990. *Music as cultural practice, 1800-1900*. Barkeley Calif.; Lons Angeles; Oxford: University of California Press
- Kvale, S. 1996. *Interviews: and introduction to qualitative researcher interviewing*. Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage Publications
- Laing, D. 1985. *One chord wonders*. Milton Keynes: Open University Press
- Lamont, M. and Fournier, M. eds. 1992. *Cultivating differences: symbolic boundaries and the making of inequality*, London: The University of Chicago Press
- Lamont, M. and Lareau, A. 1988. Cultural capital: allusions, gaps and glissandos in recent theoretical developments. *Sociological Theory*, 6(2), pp. 153-168
- Laver, M. 2015. *Jazz sells: music, marketing and meaning*. New York; London: Routledge
- Leach, E. 1976. *Culture and communication: the logic by which symbols are connected: an introduction to the use of structuralist analysis in social anthropology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Lena, J. C. and Peterson, R. A. 2008. Classification as culture: types and trajectories of music genres. *American Sociological Review*, 73(5), pp. 697-718
- Leppert, R. and McClary, S. eds. *Music and society: the politics of composition, performance and reception*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press
- Leyshon, A. et.al. 1995. The place of music. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographies, New Series*. 20(4), pp.423-433
- Lincoln, B. 1992. *Discourse and the construction of society: Comparative studies of myth, ritual, and classification*. New York: Oxford University Press on Demand
- Lincoln, B. 1999. *Theorizing myth: narrative, ideology, and scholarship*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press
- Ling, J. 1997. *History of European folk music*. Rochester: University Rochester Press
- Lipsitz, G. 1994. *Dangerous crossroads*. London: Verso
- Longyear, R. M. 1969. *Nineteenth-century romanticism in music*. Englewood Cliffs; New Jersey: Prentice Hall

- Loxley, J. 2007. *Performativity*. London; New York: Routledge
- Lukes, S. 1975. Political ritual and social integration. *Sociology*. 9, pp. 289-308
- Lynch, G. 2006. The role of popular music in the construction of alternative spiritual identities and ideologies, *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, 45(4), pp. 481-488
- Machin, D. 2010. *Analyzing popular culture: image, sound, text*. Sage Publications
- McClary, S. 1991. *Feminine endings: music, gender, and sexuality*. Minneapolis; London: University of Minnesota Press
- McLeod, K. 2001. Genres, subgenres, sub-genres and more: musical and social differentiation within electronic/dance music communities, *Journal of popular music studies* 13, pp 59-75
- Maffesoli, M. 1996. *Time of the tribes: the decline of individualism in mass society*. London: Sage
- Manuel, P. 1988. *Popular musics of the non-Western world: an introductory survey*. New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Manuel, P. 1995. Music as symbol, music as simulacrum: postmodern, pre-modern, and modern aesthetics in subcultural popular musics. *Popular Music* 14(2), pp. 227-239
- Marshall, C. and Rossman, G. B. (c 2006), *Designing qualitative research*. Thousand Oaks, Calif.; London: Sage Publications
- Marshall, D. A. (2002) Behavior, belief, and belonging: A theory of ritual practice, *Sociological Theory* 20(3), pp. 360- 379
- Matos, M. 2011 *Genre busting: the origin of musical categories* [Online], Available at <http://www.guardian.co.uk/music/2011/aug/25/origins-of-music-genres-hip-hop> [Accessed 5 June 2012]
- Mead, G. H. 1934. *Mind, self, and society: from a standpoint of a social behaviorist*. Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press
- Middleton, R. 1990. *Studying popular music*. Milton Keynes: Open University Press
- Miller, T. 2012. *Ethics in qualitative research*. Los Angeles, Calif. ; London: Sage
- Miller, J. and Glassner, B. 2001. The “inside” and “outside”: finding realities in interviews. In: Silverman, D. ed. *Qualitative research*. 3<sup>rd</sup> edition. Sage



- Mitchell, T. 1996. *Popular music and local identity*. London: Leicester University Press
- Moore, A. F. 2001. Categorical conventions in music discourse: style and genre, *Music & Letters*, 82(3), pp. 432-442
- Moore, J. D. c1997. *Visions of culture: an introduction to anthropological theories and theorists*. Walnut Creek, Calif.: AltaMira Press
- Moore, S. F. 1977. Political meetings and the simulation of unanimity: Kilimanjaro 1973. In Sally, F. Moore, Barbara G. Myerhoff eds. *Secular Ritual*. Assen: Van Gorcum
- Moore, S. F. and Myerhoff B. G. eds. 1977. *Secular ritual*. Assen: Van Gorcum
- Mortensen, P. 1997. *Art in the social order: The making of the modern conception of art*. Albany: SUNY Press
- Moy, R. and Borthwick S. 2004. *Popular music genres: an introduction*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press
- Myerhoff, B. 1977. We don't wrap herring in a printed page: fusion, fictions and continuity in secular ritual. In Sally, F. Moore, Barbara G. Myerhoff eds. *Secular Ritual*. Assen: Van Gorcum
- Nattiez, J-J. 1990 *Music and discourse*. Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press
- Neale, S. 1980. *Genre*. London: British Film Institute
- Negus, K. and Velazquez, P. R. 2002. Belonging and detachment: musical experience and the limits of identity. *Poetics*, 30, pp. 133-145
- Negus, K. 2004. *Music genres and corporate cultures*. London: Routledge
- Nettl, B. 1998, "'Musical Thinking" and "thinking about music in ethnomusicology: an essay on personal interpretation". In Alperson, Ph. ed. *Musical worlds: new direction in the philosophy of music*. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, pp. 171-180
- Nettl, B. 2001. "Music." *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press. [Online]. Available at: <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/40476> [Accessed: 20 December 2013]
- Norris, C. 1989. ed. *Music and the politics of Culture*. London: Lawrence & Wishart
- Olneck, M. 2000. Can multicultural education change what counts as cultural capital? *American Educational Research Journal*, 37(2), pp. 317-348

- Ordoulidis, N. 2012. *The recordings of Vasilis Tsitsánis (1936-1983): An analysis of his music and the problems of research into Greek popular music*. Ph.D. University of Leeds
- Owens, T. J. et al. 2010. Three faces of identity. *Annual Review of Sociology* 36, pp. 477-499
- Paddison, M. 1982. The critique criticized: Adorno and popular music. *Popular music*, 2(1), pp. 201-218
- Paddison, M. 2001. Music as ideal: the aesthetics of autonomy. In Samson J. ed. *The Cambridge history of nineteenth-century music*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. pp. 318-343
- Papadimitropoulos, P. 2009. Psychedelic trance: ritual, belief and transcendental experience in modern raves. *Durham Anthropology Journal* 16(2), pp. 67-74
- Papageorgiou, F. T. 1997. Popular music and the music industry in Greece. In Ewbank, J. A. and Papageorgiou, F. T. eds. *Whose Master's Voice: The Development of Popular Music in Thirteen Countries*. Greenwood Publishing Group
- Papanikolaou, D. 2007. *Singing poets: literature and popular music in France and Greece*. London: Legenda
- Pascale, C.-M. 2011. *Cartographies of knowledge: exploring qualitative epistemologies*. Thousand Oaks, Calif. : Sage
- Pennanen, R. P. 1997. The Development of choral harmony in Greek rebetika and laika Music, 1930s to 1960s. *British Forum for Ethnomusicology*. 6, pp. 65-116
- Pennanen, R. P. 2004. The nationalization of Ottoman music in Greece. *Ethnomusicology* 48(1), pp. 1-25
- Peterson, R. A. 1992. Understanding audience segmentation: from elite and mass to omnivore and univore. *Poetics* 21(4), pp. 243-258
- Peterson, R. A. 2005. Problems in comparative research: the example of omnivorousness. *Poetics* 33, pp. 257-282
- Peterson R. A. and Anand N. 2004. The production of culture perspectives. *Annual Reviews* 30, pp. 311-334
- Peterson, R. A. and Kern R. M. 1996. Changing highbrow taste: from snob to omnivore. *American Sociological Review* 61(5), pp. 900-907
- Peterson, R. A. and DiMaggio, P. 1975. From region to class, the changing locus of country music; a test of the massification hypothesis. *Social Forces* 53(3), pp. 497-506

Plotnitsky, A. 1994. *Complementarity: and anti-epistemology after Bohr and Derrida*. Durham; London: Duke University Press

Polychronakis, I. 2007 Anna Vissi: The Greek 'Madonna'? Paper from the Conference "INTER: A European Cultural Studies Conference in Sweden", organised by the Advanced Cultural Studies Institute of Sweden (ACSIS) in Norrköping 11-13 June 2007. Conference Proceedings published by Linköping University Electronic Press at: [www.ep.liu.se/ecp/025](http://www.ep.liu.se/ecp/025) [online]

Postmes, T. and Jetten, J. eds. 2006. *Individuality and the group: advances in social identity*. London: Sage

Prosser, J, et.al. 2008. *Visual research ethics at the crossroads*, working paper, 10. *Realities*, Part of the ESRC National Centre for Research Methods

Prus, R. C. 1997. *Subcultural mosaics and intersubjective realities: an ethnographic research agenda for pragmatizing the social sciences*. Albany: State University of New York

Rancière, J. 2004. *The philosopher and his poor*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press

Rancière, J. c2009. *The emancipated spectator*. London: Verso

Rappaport, R. A. 1999. *Ritual and religion in the making of humanity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Rink, J. 2001. The profession of music. In Samson J. ed. *The Cambridge history of nineteenth-century music*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. pp.55- 86

Ritchie, J. 2003. The application of qualitative methods to social research. In Ritchie, J. and Lewis, J. eds. *Qualitative research practice: a guide for social science students and researchers*. London; Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage

Ritchie, J. and Lewis, J. eds. 2003. *Qualitative research practice: a guide for social science students and researchers*. London; Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage

Robinson, D. C. et al. 1991. *Music at the margins: popular music and global cultural diversity*. Newbury Park, Calif.; London: Sage Publications

Ryen, A. 2011. Ethics and qualitative research. In: Silverman, D. ed. *Qualitative research*. 3<sup>rd</sup> edition. Sage

Samson, J. 1989. Chopin and genre. *Music Analysis*, 8 (3), pp. 213-231

Samson, J. ed. 1994. *The Cambridge companion to Chopin*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press

Samson, J. ed. 2001, c2002. *The Cambridge history of nineteenth-century music*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press

- Sarbanes, J. 2006. Musicking and communitas: The aesthetic mode of sociality in rebetika subculture, *Popular Music and Society*, 29(1), pp. 17-35
- Schechner, R. 1993. *The Future of ritual: writings on culture and performance*. London: Routledge
- Schechner, R. 2002. Introduction. In *Teaching performance studies*. Stucky, N. and Vimmer, C. eds. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University
- Schechner, R. 2003. *Performance theory*. New York; London: Routledge
- Schechner, R. 2013. *Performance studies: an introduction*. 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. New York: Routledge
- Scheff, J. T. et al. 1977. The distancing of emotion in ritual [and comments and reply]. *Current Anthropology*, 18(3), pp. 483-505
- Scott, D. ed 2000. *Music, culture and society: a reader*. Oxford: Oxford university press
- Scott, D. 2001. Music and social class. In Samson J. ed. *The Cambridge history of nineteenth-century music*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. pp. 544-568
- Scott, D. B. 2003. *From the erotic to the demonic: on critical musicology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Scott, D. B. 2008. *Sounds of the metropolis: the 19th century popular music revolution in London, New York, Paris and Vienna*. New York: Oxford University Press
- Segal, R. A. 1999. *Theorizing about myth*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts
- Silverman, D. 2004. ed. *Qualitative research: theory, method and practice*. 2<sup>nd</sup> edition. London: Sage
- Silverman, D. 2010. ed. *Qualitative research: a practical handbook*. 3<sup>rd</sup> edition. London: Sage
- Shepherd, J. 1991. *Music as social text*. Polity press
- Shuker, R. *Understanding popular music*. 2<sup>nd</sup> edition. London; New York: Routledge
- Shuker, R. 2011. *Popular music culture: the key concepts*. 3<sup>rd</sup> edition. London: Routledge
- Slobin, M. 1993. *Subcultural sounds: micromusics of the West*. Hanover: Wesleyan University Press
- Small, C. 1987. *Music of the common tongue: survival and celebration in Afro*

*American Music*. London: Calder

Small, C. 1997. Musicking: A ritual in social space. In Rideout ed. *On the Sociology of Music Education*. Proceedings of the Oklahoma Symposium for Music Education, April, 1985, Oklahoma University School of Music, Norman, Oklahoma, pp.1-12

Small, C. 1998. *Musicking: The Meanings of performing and listening* Hanover: University Press of New England

Snape and Spencer 2003. The foundations of qualitative research. In Ritchie, J. and Lewis, J. eds. *Qualitative research practice: a guide for social science student and researchers*. London; Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage

Stein, H. F. 1997. Identity and transcendence, *The school Review*, 85(3), pp. 349-375

Sterne, J. 1997. Sounds like the mall of America: programmed music and the architectonics of commercial space. *Ethnomusicology*, 41(1), pp. 22-50

St John G. 2006. Electronic dance music culture and religion: an overview. *Culture and Religion* 7(1), pp. 1-25

St John, G. 2008. Trane tribes and dance vibes: Victor Turner and electronic dance music culture. In St John, G. ed. *Victor Turner and contemporary cultural performance*. New York: Berghahn

Stokes, M. ed. 1994. *Ethnicity, identity and music*, Oxford; Providence, RI: Berg

Stokes, M. 2007. On musical cosmopolitanism. The Macalester International Roundtable 2007 [online] Available at:

[http://digitalcommons.macalester.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1002&context=intlrtable&sei-redir=1&referer=http%3A%2F%2Fscholar.google.co.uk%2Fscholar%3Fhl%3Den%26q%3Don%2Bmusical%2Bcosmopolitanism%26btnG%3D%26as\\_sdt%3D1%252C5%26as\\_sdt%3D#search=%22musical%20cosmopolitanism%22](http://digitalcommons.macalester.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1002&context=intlrtable&sei-redir=1&referer=http%3A%2F%2Fscholar.google.co.uk%2Fscholar%3Fhl%3Den%26q%3Don%2Bmusical%2Bcosmopolitanism%26btnG%3D%26as_sdt%3D1%252C5%26as_sdt%3D#search=%22musical%20cosmopolitanism%22),

[Accessed 18 May 2013]

Street, J. 1993. Local differences? Popular music and local taste. *Popular Music* 12(1), pp. 43-55

Sullivan, L. E. ed. 1997. *Enchanting powers: music in the world's religions*. Harvard University Press

Sullivan, O. and Katz-Gerro T. 2006. The omnivore thesis revisited: voracious cultural consumers, *European Sociological Review*, 23(2), pp. 123-137

Swartz, D. 1997. *Culture and power: the sociology of Pierre Bourdieu*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press

- Sylvan, R. (2002) *Traces of the spirit: the religious dimensions of popular music*. New York; London: New York University Press
- Tajfel, H. 1982. ed. *Social identity and intergroup relations*. New York: Cambridge University Press
- Theodorakis, M. 1972. *Mousiki gia tis mazes*. Athens: Olkos
- Thornton, S. 1995. *Club cultures: music, media and subcultural capital*. Cambridge: Polity Press
- Toynbee, J. and Dueck, B. 2011. *Migrating music*. Abington, Oxon: Routledge
- Tragaki, D. 2005. Humanizing the masses: enlightened intellectuals and the music of the people. In Cooper D. and Dawe, K eds. *The Mediterranean in music: critical perspectives, common concerns, cultural differences*. Oxford: Scarecrow Press
- Tsing, A. 2000. The Global situation. *Cultural Anthropology*, 15(3), pp. 327-360
- Tsioulakis, I. 2011. Jazz in Athens: frustrated cosmopolitans in a music subculture. *Ethnomusicology Forum*, (20)2, pp. 175-199
- Turino, T. 2008. *Music as social life: The politics of participation*. University of Chicago Press
- Turner, J. C. 1982. Towards a cognitive redefinition of the social group. In Tajfel, H. ed. *Social identity and intergroup relations*. New York: Cambridge University Press
- Turner, E. 2012. *Communitas: the anthropology of collective joy*. Palgrave Macmillan
- Turner, V. W. 1988. *The anthropology of performance*. New York: PAJ Publications
- Turner, V. W. 1995. *The ritual process: structure and anti-structure*. New York: Aldine de Gruyter
- Van den Merwe, P. 1989. *Origins of the popular style: The Antecedents of twentieth-century popular music*. Oxford: Clarendon Press
- Van Dijk, T. A. ed. 1997. *Discourse studies: a multidisciplinary introduction*. London: Sage
- Van Gennep, A. 1960. *The rites of passage*. Chicago: Chicago University Press
- Vulliamy, G. 2000. On music and the idea of Mass culture. In Scott, D. B. ed. *Music, culture and society*. Oxford University Press, pp.152

- Wacquant, L. 1989. Towards a reflexive sociology: a workshop with Pierre Bourdieu. *Sociological Theory*, 7(1), pp. 26-63
- Wacquant, L. 2001. Durkheim and Bourdieu: the common plinths and tis cracks. *The Sociological Review*, 49(1), pp. 105-119
- Wacquant, L. 2008. Pierre Bourdieu. In Stones, B. ed. *Key sociological thinkers*. 2<sup>nd</sup> edition. New York: Palgrave McMillan
- Wall, T. 2003. *Studying popular music culture*. London: Oxford University Press
- Walser, R. 1993. *Running with the Devil: power, gender, and madness in heavy metal music*. Middleton, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press
- Washburne, Ch. And Derno M. 2004. *Bad Music: Music we Love to Hate*. New York: Routledge
- Weber, M. 1978. *Economy and society: an outline of interpretive sociology*. Berkeley; London: University of California Press
- Weber, S. c2001. *Institution and interpretation*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press
- Weber, W. 1999. The history of the musical canon. In Cook, N. and Everist, M. eds. *Rethinking music*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press
- Weber, W. 2004. *Music and the middle class: the social structure of concert life in London, Paris and Vienna between 1830 and 1848*. 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, London: Ashgate Publishing Company
- Weedon, C. 2004. *Identity and culture: narratives of difference and belonging*. New York: Open University Press
- Weinstein, D. 2000. *Heavy Metal: the music and its culture*. Da Capo Press
- Wicke, P. and Fogg, R. 1990. *Rock music: culture, aesthetics, and sociology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Wilson, M. 1954. Nyakyusa ritual and symbolism. *American Anthropologist, New Series*. 56(2), pp. 228-241
- White, H. V. 1978. *Tropics of discourse: Essays in cultural criticism*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press
- Wolterstorff, N. 1975. Toward an ontology of art works, *Noûs*, 9 (2), pp115-142.
- Woodward, K. 2002. *Understanding identity*. London: Arnold
- Woodward, K. 2004. *Questioning identity: gender, class, ethnicity*. London: Routledge

Yob, I. M. 2010. Why is music a language of spirituality, *Philosophy of Music Education Review*, 18(2), pp. 145-151

Zaimakis, Y. 2010. 'Forbidden fruits' and the communist paradise: Marxist thinking of Greekness and class in rebetika, *Music and Politics*, 4(1) [Online] Available at:

<http://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/mp/9460447.0004.102?view=text;rgn=main>,

[Accessed 5 November 2013]

Zentner, M. et al. 2008. Emotions evoked by the sound of music: characterization, classification, and measurement. *Emotion*, 8(4), pp. 494-521

Žižek, S. 2005. *Interrogating the real*. London: Continuum