JYU DISSERTATIONS 176

Noora Karjalainen

Woman, Artist, Other

Female Folk Singers in the Media

UNIVERSITY OF JYVÄSKYLÄ
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Editors
Helen Mäntymäki
Department of Language and Communication Studies, University of Jyväskylä
Päivi Vuorio
Open Science Centre, University of Jyväskylä

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ABSTRACT

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The aim of this dissertation is to show how the media representation of female folk singers is constructed. To find out what kinds of narratives emerge from it, it is important to understand that this media representation is based on processes of remembering and premediation. Methods of close reading and analysis were applied in examining concert and album reviews, interviews and articles written about four contemporary female folk singers: Julie Fowlis, Muireann Nic Amhlaoibh, Emily Portman and Kate Rusby. The findings show how deeply embedded in cultural memory the presentation of a female folk singer is and how extensively it is used in constructing media representation of these singers.

The analysis of the research material yielded four thematic narratives in the singers' media representation. The narrative of origins constructs the female folk singer as a nostalgic, romanticised character. Together with the narrative of professionalism, it forms the narrative of authenticity in this media representation process. The narratives of performance emerge from the descriptions of the singers' voices, singership (the singers' artistry combined with the act of singing), and the music itself and are studied particularly for how construct gender in the singers' media representation. The narratives of origins, authenticity and performance come together in the narrative of the Cosy Other, highlighting the power structures in the construction of the media representation of female folk singers.

The research results suggest that 21st-century western, anglophone and Celtic female folk singers are primarily represented in the media as women artists. Their gender and artistry intertwine in their media representation, which is governed by the active process of cultural remembering. A media representation such as this is constructed via the transculturality of cultural remembering, its incessant "travelling" between and across places, social groups, media sources and time. The influence of premediation in the process shows in the very similar representation constructed in media texts across different publication forums. The studied singers' standing and prominence in the contemporary anglophone and Celtic folk music scene, and the recurrent themes in the media texts written about them testify to a wider phenomenon that concerns not only them but also other female artists of the same genre.

Keywords: media representation, folk music, female artists, gender, cultural memory, nostalgia, authenticity, Cosy Other

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Tämä väitöskirja tarkastelee naisfolklaulajien mediarepresentaation rakentumista. Tutkimuksessa on ollut keskeistä ymmärtää, miten tämä mediarepresentaatio perustuu kulttuurisen muistamisen ja premediaation prosesseihin, ja millaisia narratiiveja representaatioprosessista nousee esiin. Väitöskirjassa tutkimuksen kohteena on neljä nykynaisfolklaulajaa, Julie Fowlis, Muireann Nic Amhlaoibh, Kate Rusby ja Emily Portman. Heistä kirjoitetuista konsertti- ja levyarvioista, haastatteluista ja artikkeleista koostuvan tutkimusmateriaalin tarkastelussa on käytetty lähiluvun ja –analyysin metodeja. Tutkimus osoittaa, miten syvälle kulttuuriseen muistiin juurtunut naisfolklaulajan mediarepresentaatio on ja kuinka laajasti sen aspekteja käytetään näiden laulajien mediarepresentaation rakennusprosessissa.
Tutkimusmateriaalin analyysi paljastaa neljä narratiiviteemaa laulajien mediarepresentaatiossa. Alkuperän narratiivi rakentaa naisfolklaulajan kuvaa nostalgisena ja romantisoituna hahmona. Yhdessä professionaalisuuden narratiivin kanssa se muodostaa autenttisuuden narratiivin laulajien mediarepresentaatiossa. Esittämisen narratiivit nousevat laulajien äänten, laulajuuden (taiteellinen tulkinta laulamisen aktiin yhdistettynä) ja musiikin kuvauksista tutkimusmateriaalissa. Näitä narratiiveja tutkitaan etenkin niiden sukupuolta rakentavan luonteen valossa. Alkuperän, autenttisuuden ja esittämisen narratiiviteemat yhdistyvät mukavan toiseuden narratiivissa, joka korostaa mediarepresentaatioprosessin yhteiskunnallisia vallan rakenteita.
Tutkimuksen tulosten perusteella nykypäivän länsimaista, englanninkielisen ja kelttiläisen kansanmusiikkikentän naisfolklaulajaa rakennetaan mediassa juuri naisartistina. Sukupuoli ja taiteellinen osaaminen punoutuvat yhteen heidän mediarepresentaatiossaan, jota säätelee kulttuurisen muistamisen aktiivinen prosessi. Tämä mediarepresentaatio rakentuu kulttuurisen muistin transkulttuurisuuden kautta, joka tarkoittaa kulttuurisen muistamisen jatkuvaa ”matkustamista” paikkojen, sosiaalisten ryhmien, medialähteiden sekä ajan läpi ja välillä. Premediaation vaikutus tässä prosessissa näkyy siinä, kuinka erittäin samankaltaista representaatiota rakennetaan hyvinkin erilaisissa julkaisukanavissa. Tarkasteltujen artistien näkyvyys kansanmusiikin kentällä sekä toistuvat teemat näissä mediateksteissä osoittavat, että tämä on laajempi ilmiö, joka koskee sekä heitä että muita saman musiikkigenren artisteja.

Avainsanat: mediarepresentaatio, folkmusiikki, kansanmusiikki, naisartistit, sukupuoli, kulttuurinen muisti, nostalgia, autenttisuus, mukava toiseus

Author's address

Noora Karjalainen, MA
English Studies, Department of Language and Communication Studies, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Jyväskylä
noora.p.karjalainen@jyu.fi

Supervisors

Helen Mäntymäki, PhD
Department of Languages and Communication Studies
University of Jyväskylä

Gerald Porter, PhD
Professor Emeritus
University of Vaasa

Reviewers

Emily Keightley, PhD
Loughborough University, Leicestershire, UK

Antti-Ville Kärjä, PhD
University of the Arts, Helsinki

Opponent

Taru Leppänen, PhD
University of Turku

LIST OF ORIGINAL PUBLICATIONS

This doctoral dissertation is based on four original papers written by the author.

Original Paper I

Karjalainen, Noora (2017). "Place, Sound and Tradition: Origin Narratives Constructing Nostalgia in the Media Representations of Female Folk Singers". *Journal of Popular Music Studies* 29(3), 1–12.

Original Paper II

Karjalainen, Noora (2019). "Origins and Originality: Authenticity in the Media Representation of Julie Fowlis". *Journal of European Popular Culture* 9(2), 75–91.

Original Paper III

Karjalainen, Noora (manuscript). "Pure Voices, Confident Singing, Enchanting Music: Narratives of Performance Gendering the Media Representation of Female Folk Singers". Unpublished article.

Original Paper IV

Karjalainen, Noora (2018). "Imagined, Remembered, Gendered: Narratives of Cosy Other in the Media Representation of Female Folk Singers". *Etnomusikologian Vuosikirja*, *30*, 66–91.

FOREWORD AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Beginning a dissertation was never a self-evident career path for me although I had toyed with the idea of post-graduate studies after completing my master's degree in 2009. As it happened, three years later I had enrolled in university again as a doctoral candidate and by a stroke of very good fortune I was in the right place at the right time. In 2014, I secured a salaried doctoral student position, and was able to begin my research properly.

Music has been a part of my life since early childhood, so it is little wonder that the countless violin and piano lessons, hours of practising, decades of Beatles and Queen fandom, and my ongoing love affair with Irish traditional music, which has also steered my interest towards other traditional and folk music, have led me to a dissertation topic such as this. All in all, the project has been a very enjoyable one despite all the usual stressful aspects of dissertation research and the dramatic upheavals in university working life.

First, I wish to thank my supervisors, Helen Mäntymäki and Gerald Porter, whose guidance has made me a researcher. I could not have done this without you! Helen, I count myself very fortunate to have had you as my principal supervisor. Somehow you have always found the right questions to ask, directing my work where it needed to go, and the right words to quell the dissertation anxiety that inevitably overcame me on more than one occasion. Despite the turmoil within the university, your positive outlook has been an important example to me personally and I think that it played a significant part in my getting on with everything and actually finishing this dissertation. Thank you for championing me! Gerald, to me you were always one of the most inspiring lecturers. Thank you for your scholarly and musical support with this dissertation and over the years!

I am also indebted to the Faculty of Humanities and Social Studies of the University of Jyväskylä for allowing me to continue work on my dissertation and enabling me to complete it. I wish to extend special thanks to Anne Soronen, who read a draft version of this dissertation and whose insightful feedback was very helpful when I was revising my work. I thank the staff members of the former English department of the University of Vaasa for their generous and accommodating instruction and help during my years as an undergraduate student and later in my work as a doctoral student and teacher in the same department. Thank you also to the anonymous reviewers of all my dissertation articles as well as to the pre-examiners of this dissertation; their expert and thorough comments have improved work.

My heartfelt thanks go also to all my fellow doctoral students both in the former English department of the University of Vaasa and in other universities. Anni-Kaisa, Anu, Carola, Susanna, Suvi, Harri, Roman, Tim, Wiriya, thank you for the seminars and peer support over the years! Heidi and Tiina, my dear fellow Irish dancing doctoral students, thank you so much for your friendship, understanding, and sharing the ups and downs of both dissertation work and this crazy lifestyle of dance; we have to come up with a special doctoral number soon! Lastly and most importantly, to my parents Kaisu and Henry Karjalainen: äiti ja isä, kiitos kaikesta tuesta ja rakkaudesta.

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Noora Karjalainen

TABLES

APPENDICES

CONTENTS

1 INTRODUCTION

The representation of female folk singers is constructed in the media via cultural remembering. It is influenced by sociocultural circumstances: the time and place in which it is constructed, and by the ways in which observers of the artists make sense of what they see and experience. The attitudes of audiences observing such artists are shaped by myths, memories, stereotypes and circumstances specific to the situations in which the observations are made. This meaning-making process requires remembering and that the observers of female folk singers are able to place them in context with regard to their performance, musical genre and origins. The media representation thus constructed for female folk singers is premediated, shaped with the help of existing media, myths, stereotypes and conventions, the use of which in the construction process is based on remembering. This process, much like remembering in general, is an active one, constantly in motion, constantly shaping and reshaping the observer's understanding of such a phenomenon as a female folk singer.

The descriptions of female artists in the media consistently repeat the tropes of what is 'traditionally' viewed as feminine and womanly, such as their physical appearance, assumed feminine character projected through their music and performance, and their private family life connected to their professional artist persona. The writers of media texts repeatedly position the female artist in the media as a woman with the help of nostalgising such characteristics, using them to authenticate the artists, describing their performance with a heavily gendered vocabulary and eventually, with all of this, rendering them as the Cosy Other[1] of the music scene. This dissertation studies these structures in the media representation processes of four 21st century female folk and traditional music artists: Julie Fowlis, Muireann Nic Amhlaoibh, Emily Portman and Kate Rusby. These singers were chosen for this study because of their prominence and standing in the field of folk music in Scotland, Ireland and England, and because

[1] *Cosy Other* is my own conceptualisation, meaning an other that is exotic but not over-much, both familiar and foreign at the same time. This otherness is based on the singers' origins, their musical genre, their approach to their art, and their gender. For a more detailed discussion, see chapters 2.4 and 3.4, and Original Paper IV.

their artistry and careers fit the demarcation criteria applied in this dissertation (for a more detailed discussion, see chapter 1.3). Studying these four artists gives an insight into how contemporary female folk musicianship is perceived in the media and how it relates to both the representation of artistry in the folk music scene and the representation of female musicians and women in the media in general.

The theoretical framework of the dissertation relies on memory studies, focusing on cultural memory (Erll 2009, 2011; Keightley & Pickering 2012; Boym 2001) and the ways in which it influences the representation process. Cultural memory and cultural remembering, as discussed by these scholars, is seen here as an active meaning-making process that is intertwined with the process of representation and thus central to understanding how the media representation of female folk singers is constructed. As a social meaning-making process, cultural remembering is part of the wider social constructionist understanding of the world, and in this dissertation social constructionism (Berger and Luckmann 1966; Crotty 1998; Burr 1995) governs how the concepts applied here link together and how the meaning-making processes they describe are perceived. The research material was analysed using the method of close reading as it renders visible the various thematic features in the media texts written about the four singers. These are read as narratives of femininity in the context of contemporary commercial folk music and analysed in the four original papers (see chapter 3 and Original Papers I–IV). The theoretical framework also draws on gender studies (de Lauretis 1987; Butler 1990/1999; Gill 2007; Ross 2010; Talbot 2010; Budgeon 2014), as the social construction of gender participates in the process of representation of the four artists studied here. It is seen as part of the wider social constructionist approach to the construction of the media representation of female folk singers and is thus examined as a component of the whole process. Therefore, the dissertation aims to enhance understanding of the social construction of femininity in popular culture. Given its topic, this study also applies stances taken in popular music studies and ethnomusicology (Middleton 1990; Frith 1996; Moisala & Diamond 2000; Hesmondhalgh & Negus 2002; Gelbart 2007).

The presentation of women in the media in general, including the presentation of female artists of various musical genres, has been studied before. Perhaps understandably, studies conducted on media representation in popular music have centred on pop and rock music artists as research materials, including media texts, media appearances, photographs and film material, covering the entire careers of such artists, is both easily obtainable and abundant (see, for example, van Zoonen 1994; Greig 1997; Mayhew 2004, 2001, 1999; Whiteley 2000; Davies 2001; Kruse 2002; Gill 2007; Ross 2010; Biström 2015; Lieb 2018). As such, analysis of the media representation of female folk music artists is based on this previous research and is a part of that same scholarly continuum. The area has not been studied very extensively in terms of professional folk or traditional

musicians, and the previous studies tend to focus on pre-Folk Revival[2] singers and musicians, folk collectors' sources and song material, Folk Revival era artists, and pioneering bands (see, for example, Finnegan 1989; Chapman 1994; Ní Uallacháin 2003; Boyes 2010; Williams & Ó Laoire 2011; West 2012; McKerrell 2016), leaving contemporary artists, who are equally influential in the field of folk music, out of the continuum (see also chapter 1.4.1 for more discussion on this issue).

The present study applies the concept of cultural memory and its influence on the media representation process in the case of female artists, an approach which has not been used in the studies mentioned above. Moreover, this dissertation is an English Studies thesis and contributes to that discipline on several fronts. Here 'English' has to do with the context of the present topic– anglophone and Celtic[3] folk and traditional music artists and their media representation – and hence the use of the English language is analysed in the construction of media representations of the chosen artists via the text-based research material. In fact, given the research material and the constructionist focus of the dissertation, language and the way in which things are said and described is of central interest here, although the analytical perspective is not linguistic. The media representation of female folk singers and the narratives emerging from it all come into being via language. They are all expressed through specific wordings and the interpretation of what instigates them is done by analysing the language that constructs them.

As the discipline of English Studies engages strongly with the study of English language culture[4], this dissertation also forms part of that tradition, combining popular culture and music, text analysis, memory studies, social constructionism and gender studies. The meaning-making constructions studied and literary methods applied, not to mention the written textual research material studied in this dissertation, all bear the hallmarks of the overall frame of the field of humanities, and the combination of the various fields of studies listed above provide further links to the discipline of English. Folk music and other genres of music have also previously been studied within the discipline of English Studies. Whereas these previous studies of folk music have largely concentrated on song lyrics (see Kvideland & Porter 2001; Porter 2001, 2008, 2009, 2018) or, with other music genres, on analysing the discursive construction of artists' authenticity, identities, and culture (see Westinen 2014; Jousmäki 2015), the present study focuses specifically on commercial folk music artists. The study

[2] "Folk Revival" in this context refers to the upsurge in the popularity of Anglophone and Celtic folk and traditional music that took place from the late 1950s to 1970s. This period has also been called the second Folk Revival, the first of which was the early 20th century boom in folk song collecting and general interest in folk culture, music, dance and lore both in the British Isles and in North America.

[3] "Anglophone and Celtic" is used throughout this dissertation to refer collectively to the four Scottish, Irish and English folk music artists who form the focus of this study.

[4] While acknowledging that studying Scottish Gaelic- and Irish-speaking artists in this context may complicate the field, because these artists perform in these minority languages in English-speaking contexts and the research materials concerning them are written in an English-speaking context and in English, I consider this minor generalisation justified within the confines of this dissertation.

contributes to the discipline of English Studies in that it introduces a method of studying the concept of media representation in relation to music media and musicians as well as in relation to female artists and women in the media in general. By combining contemporary anglophone and Celtic folk music, text analysis, media representation and gender, and applying social constructionism and memory studies as the theoretical starting points, it offers a means of understanding the ways in which difference is interpreted in social meaning-making processes.

Following this introduction, the first section of the first chapter of the dissertation presents the aim and research questions. The second section introduces the method used to analyse the material and details and discusses the theoretical framework of the dissertation, starting with the overall framework of social constructionist theory, then moving on to introduce the research approach consisting of the conceptualisations of media representation and narrative. The third section discusses the material, the singers studied and the ways in which the textual research material was collected and categorised. The fourth section contextualises the research by considering its links to the field of ethnomusicology, discussing folk music as part of popular music studies, aspects of music journalism, and the case of the female artist. The second chapter focuses on cultural memory and its function in this dissertation, its four sections discussing the central concepts of nostalgia, authenticity, musical performance and gender, and the Cosy Other, which emerge from the narratives in the female folk singers' media representation. The third chapter presents summaries of the four original articles on which the dissertation is based, and chapter four considers the findings of these articles, drawing conclusions on the issues discussed in this dissertation.

1.1 Aim and research questions

The aim of this dissertation is to show, through case studies of four contemporary 21st century artists from Scotland, Ireland and England, how the media representation of female folk singers is constructed in text-based media material. For this purpose I examine the research material to understand how the media representation of female folk singers is based on processes of remembering and premediation. I endeavour to explore what kinds of narratives are discernible n the media representation of female folk singers and what kinds of attributes these narratives attach to the singers. In other words, this dissertation looks for answers to the question of what makes folk singers folk singers in the print and online music media. The dissertation aims to demonstrate how deeply embedded in the cultural memory the imagery of a female folk singer is and how extensively it is used by journalists and audiences in constructing the media representation of the singers studied here.

In this dissertation, representation is understood as a continuous process, and the research material analysed here is a part of that representation process.

Cultural remembering, also a process, plays a part in the production of the media texts, as the observers (journalists) make sense of their experience of a folk music artist with the help of the process of premediation integral to cultural remembering. Such socially constructed remembering also affects the process of representation overall, as it displays its temporality, and recurring themes and tropes, all of which are influenced and produced in conjunction with the various meaning-making processes in which people are involved as individuals and as members of different social groups (for a more detailed discussion, see chapter 2 and especially pages 45–47). These recurring features and meanings are of interest here, and as a researcher I have actively looked for them in investigating the process of the representation of female folk singers in the research material and have constructed specific narratives concerning them. I agree with Montgomery et al., who define narratives as something that "permeate culture as a way of making sense, packaging experience in particular ways for particular groups and audiences. A society's common narratives […] provide collective focus for self-understanding" (2013: 266). Narrative is thus connected to cultural remembering, and the overall interlinkedness of the social constructionist characteristics of narrative, as well as representation and remembering as processes, also dominate the theoretical approach in this dissertation.

The four articles, on which the dissertation is based, focus on examining the narratives of female folk singers produced by the media texts. Defining these narratives not only provides insight into the make-up of "a female folk singer" in the media, but also demonstrates what features are valued in folk music as a genre, folk singers as performing artists, and women musicians in general in the media. The narratives of origin, authenticity, performance and otherness link together and influence each other, and construct the singers as nostalgic, authentic, feminine and Cosy Other. The Cosy Other is my own conceptualisation, and as this dissertation aims to demonstrate, in their media representation, female folk singers are constructed as the Cosy Other, meaning an other that is exotic but not overly so, both familiar and foreign at the same time. This otherness is based on the singers' origins, their music genre, their approach to their art and their gender (for a more detailed discussion, see chapters 2.4 and 3.4, and Original Paper IV). Thus the conceptualisations of nostalgia and authenticity along with the construction of gender and femininity in musical performance and the process of othering the singers on the basis of their origins, musical genre and gender are significant in the media representation process in the case of these singers. All the above concepts are discussed in detail in connection with the construction of the media representation of female folk singers in chapters 2.1–2.4 and chapter 3 (see also Original Papers I–IV).

In the course of this study I have looked for patterns discernible in the media representation of contemporary female folk singers, and the emerging narratives studied in the articles on which the dissertation is based testify to the existence of such patterns. Although I have only focused on four female singers, and some of the features discussed are specific to these four (such as the

languages of performance and signature styles of music), the media representation of these four artists has many parallels with that of other female artists, whether folk singers or representatives of other genres of music. One of the most prominent of such common features in the media representation of female artists is the language used by journalists and critics in media texts written about the artists. The language of these media texts is heavily gendered, and I argue that writing about female folk singers in this way not only constructs them as feminine in the media but also conforms to the conventions of the media representation of 'authentic' folk music artists (see chapter 2.2 for a more detailed discussion on authenticity). *Feminine* in this dissertation refers to a culturally defined combination of attributes which are socially constructed. Judith Butler defined gender in her influential work *Gender Trouble* as fluid, constantly moving, and socially constructed (1990/1999: 33, 178, 179). On the other hand, according to Mary Talbot, femininity is "a particular structuring of social space […] a conglomeration of concepts, themes and images, and of kinds of social relation and social practice" (2010: 138). Such traits confine female artists (and women in general) to a predefined category of "female artists", and the language used by music critics illustrates the dominant male-centred and male-normative power relations of society in general and in the music business in particular. Thus, in this dissertation, femininity is viewed not only as an active, socially constructed process but also as constructed and applied in a way that confines and contains women artists as specifically female. This issue is discussed in more detail in chapters 1.4.3 and 2.3.

1.2 Method

Close reading was the central method applied to analysing the research material to find out the cultural and semantic meanings in the texts (Johnson 2004). Close reading is often connected to the New Criticism, the dominant school of English-speaking literary criticism, especially in the 1930s and 1940s (Klarer 2004: 80; Bressler 1999: 37). However, unlike in the New Criticism, in this study the method of close reading was not used to ascertain the one correct interpretation of a text believed to exist by the New Critics (Bressler 1999: 37, 46). Instead, the method was used to look for recurrent themes in the ways of writing about the four singers which comparisons had shown to be very similar. These themes were further defined into the four specific narratives of origins, authenticity, performance and Cosy Other. The narratives are examined separately in the four dissertation articles (see Original Papers I–IV) but they overlap, link together, and influence each other in the construction of the female folk singer's media representation. As such, this meaning-making method used for analysing the media texts also echoes the theoretical framework of constructionism.

In determining the narratives of origin, authenticity, performance and Cosy Other, close reading was applied to the research material in order to analyse longer sequences, full sentences, phrases and even single words describing the

singers, their music and their performance. To facilitate the analysis and processing of the research material, such descriptive sequences, phrases and sentences were compiled according to the themes of origins, nostalgia and memory, authenticity, and mythical. This was useful as a starting point for the analysis and as a shortcut reference to the body of research material and helped in gaining familiarity with the texts. The narratives of performance, especially, are based on an analysis of single descriptive words referring to the four singers' voices, singership (meaning the artists' skills as singers combined with their artistry) and music in the media texts, thus emphasising the importance of semantic meanings in the media texts. A total of 303 such words were extracted from the collected body of 196 media texts[5]. These words were then checked across the material to ascertain the frequency with which they were used to describe the singers' performances. To facilitate the analysis, the collected words were divided into nine subcategories, the themes of which were defined by the features of the singers' performances that they describe. The subcategories include *soundscapes, the mythicalised, audience reaction*, *quality*, *physical appearance, feelings, heard light*, *professionalism* and *the unspoiled*. As previously stated, categorising the collected body of words in this way was to aid the analysis and not meant as absolute and rigid separation, as many of the words fall into several categories simultaneously. When the groupings of the collected words were categorised in this manner, clear narratives began to emerge, the most prominent of which were the narratives of seduction, innocence and professionalism, of which the first two in particular exhibited a strong gender bias. These narratives were used to study the singers' performance and the construction of them as feminine in the media.

1.2.1 Social construction of meaning

The foundations of this dissertation lie in the social constructionist approach. The media representation of the artists studied here is socially constructed within certain sociocultural constraints. The theoretical approaches of representation, narrative and cultural memory (discussed in detail in chapters 1.2.2, 1.2.3 and 2) applied in this research are constructions and processes involved in making sense of the world in general as well as of specific phenomena and experiences such as the construction of media representation. As such, they connect to the wider conceptualisation of social constructionism, where humans interact with the world, experience and interpret it, and consequently construct meanings of it (Crotty 1998: 43). According to Marko Aho, "reality is socially constructed, not in exactly the same way for everyone, but not in an entirely different way either: the meanings emerge and join together in some social context." (2003: 36, my translation) Hence, the processes of representation, narrative and remembering in such a construction of reality are also social and cannot work or be performed

[5] See chapters 1.3 and 1.3.2, tables 1 and 2, and appendix 1 for more detailed discussion and displays of the research material.

in a void. Hannu Heikkinen's view of the constructionist approach follows similar lines:

> a person – the knowing subject – constructs his or her knowledge on the basis of his or her previous knowledge and experiences. [...] The constructivist concept of knowledge is representative of knowledge as relative; dependent upon time, place and the position of the observer. (2002: 17)

Although Heikkinen uses the term 'constructivism' instead of constructionism, his meaning is concerns the latter, as according to constructivism, reality is constructed in individual minds, whereas according to constructionism the interaction between people constructs reality (Crotty 1998: 58; Burr 1995: 4, 10). The latter approach is also adopted in this dissertation.

The seminal work on social constructionism by Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann (1966) emphasises the social aspects of the construction of reality and understanding. According to them, this construction involves three central processes: externalisation, objectivation and internalisation (Berger & Luckmann 1966: 69–70, 78–79; Burr 1995: 10). In practice this means that people act in their world, construct ideas via social constructionist influence, and externalise them by way of creating either a product or a practice of those ideas. Here such a product or a practice could be a way of representing a female artist, and especially a female folk music artist, in the media. This product or practice is then circulated in society, where other people choose, either consciously or unconsciously, to adopt the practice and the ideas embedded in it. The practice is thus "objectivated", and becomes a "natural", "truthful" feature of the constructed reality. The way in which a female folk singer is depicted shows that such a depiction is embedded in the collective memory, as is indicated by the fact that the same attributes, tropes and narratives are repeatedly attached to female artists representing this genre of music. According to Berger and Luckmann, as "future generations are born into a world where this idea already exists, they "internalise" it as part of their consciousness, as part of their understanding of the nature of the world" (1966: 78–79, 149–150; Burr 1995: 10). Therefore, the deeply ingrained similarity in the media representation of a female folk singer is the result of this three-phase process of the social construction of reality.

The collectively agreed ideas of what constitutes a female folk singer, circulating in the processes of cultural remembering, could be taken to stand for what Vivien Burr calls "taken-for-granted knowledge" (1995: 3). According to her, social constructionism calls for a critical stance towards such knowledge, as the easiness of such information speaks of a complicated conditioning process that has rendered it so internalised and embedded in the human consciousness that it is taken for granted (Burr 1995: 3). Burr further defines social constructionism with three additional key assumptions, namely historical and cultural specificity, social processes sustaining knowledge, and the connection of knowledge and social action (1995: 2–5). The circumstantiality of this knowledge

is also evident here, as the idea of a female folk singer is a western, modern, 20th century construct, and therefore historically and culturally relative. The interactions between people sustain this construct and its prevalent and extensive use, especially in the media. In general, and especially in this study, language and its use are of central importance in constructing and sustaining the representation of a female folk singer. Burr's last assumption defining social constructionism is perhaps the most problematic in this context, as according to her, knowledge of the world, being inherently circumstantial, encourages certain types of social action and suppresses others (1995: 5). This would then mean that the construct of a female folk singer has always been unsuitable for generating understanding of such an artist. The connotations attached to an image of a female artist and a folk musician, constructed and repeatedly reconstructed on the basis of the restrictive, stereotypical imagery attached to a specific genre of music, the artists' origins and their gender has grown even more unsuitable with every reconstruction.

Michael Crotty further opens up the conceptualisation of social constructionism, stating that in the social constructionist view, meaning is always both subjective and objective (1998: 48). Meanings are not simply produced and then imposed on an observed object; rather, they are constructed in interaction with the observed object and relate to it (Crotty 1998: 48). Thus, in this context, the meanings of, for example, female artists, folk music, folk music artists, and women performing folk music cannot be produced in a void, with no connection to the observed objects. Such meanings as those studied here emerge in connection with those objects and are socially meaningful. According to Crotty,

> […] we are all born into a world of meaning. We enter a social milieu in which a 'system of intelligibility' prevails. We inherit a 'system of significant symbols'. […] Our culture brings things into view for us and endows them with meaning and […] leads us to ignore other things. (1998: 54)

Therefore, to make sense of a phenomenon such as, for example, a female folk singer, is to apply the "system of significant symbols" to construct meaning and to understand it in the way that either fits in or disrupts the "system of intelligibility" existing in society.

At this juncture, it would be easy to interpret what Crotty calls the "inherited system of significant symbols" (1998: 54) as what is essentially the content of cultural memory and the "material" in circulation within the process of premediation (see Erll 2009, 2011a, 2011b; also chapter 2); however, the parallel, although it exists, is not that straightforward. It is true that a social construction of meaning in constructing (media) representation, or in the active process of remembering, uses symbols made meaningful within a culture through social interaction, and that such symbols are "inherited". However, the construction of meaning in a new situation involves, in addition to the inherited

system of meaning, taking into account the prevailing circumstances at the time, and adapting the possible, recycled meanings to the new situation.

Following Berger and Luckmann (1966), Burr (1995), and Crotty (1998), I view the social construction of meaning as an interactive, constantly reassembling process. In constructing the media representation of female folk singers, it has to do with the social structure defining the attitudes that direct the meaning-making, the active process of remembering, the conscious or unconscious reference to stereotypes, and categorising music and artists into genres. All the factors that contribute to constructing the media representation of female folk singers are in some way socially defined and their meanings constructed in human interaction, not ready-made or appearing of their own accord.

1.2.2 Representation

Representation is a way of remembering: it has to do with making sense of the world and of phenomena experienced in a certain time and place. Representation both constructs reality and is constructed within it, on its terms. This is to say that reality is thus a construction, produced by representation (Webb 2009: 132–133). The world and everything in it may exist in themselves, but in social constructionist terms they need to be interpreted to make sense, to mean anything; this is achieved via constructing a representation of them, which allows "meaning to be made, yet prevents it from being made (in any "real" sense)" (Webb 2009: 135). This makes representation as a process and concept an integral part of the social constructionist world view, complying to and explaining how reality is really "reality".

The representation process is inherently selective; according to Orgad, it is a "particular depiction of some elements of reality, [promoting] some specific meanings and [excluding] others" (2012: 20). As such, also the more rigid and limited meaning-making processes of stereotyping and othering are components of representation, as they are selective processes constructing a certain kind of image. Stereotyping reduces a phenomenon into selected, memorable characteristics and exaggerates them (Hall 1997b: 257), constructing a representation of the phenomenon that is simplified and superficial. Othering as a process (discussed in more detail in chapter 2.4) is instrumental in determining the psychological, social and cultural identity of both the individual and social groups; it is defined in terms of opposition, of what the other is not, focusing on such characteristics as reinforce the observing other's domination over the observed other. As such, the selectiveness of representation as a process and as a result of that process illustrates the power structures that underlie such social constructions.

These power structures are clearly manifested in the representation of women and femininity in the media. The circularity and layered nature of the representation process reinforces existing gendered images; according to Richard Dyer, representation defines how people see each other and consequently treat each other (1993: 1). Thus, representation affects both one's understanding of

others and one's understanding and construction of one's self image, and a new representation is constructed on these. This affects gender roles and their representation. As Anu Koivunen states: "how women and femininity are represented (how women are portrayed), is significant to both the cultural image of women (how women are seen), and the self-image of women (how women see themselves)" (1995: 25, my translation). Both the textual and pictorial representations of women in the media therefore construct the overall cultural attitudes to them as well as how women understand and define themselves. This gender-constructing aspect of the representation process is tied to and influenced by the power structures prevalent between individuals, within groups and between the individual and society (see also chapter 1.4.3).

Media representation, then, refers to how different texts, images, and stories created for and circulated in various media forums shape understanding of what the world is like, what is real, and how the world view thus achieved affects individuals' understanding of themselves (Orgad 2012: 17, 25). The selective nature of socially constructed meanings is repeated and reflected throughout the construction process of the media representation of female folk singers. In this context, the media representation of female folk singers is understood as a particular portrayal of largely premediated characteristics and features of a performer which are interpreted by audiences, the observers of such performers, and combine to produce a representation of "a folk singer". Placing the term a folk singer in quotation marks is due to the amorphousness of representation as a concept: it is, as Webb says, that

> [t]he [artist] resembles its representation; the representation resembles the [artist]; they are not identical with each other but they exist for us hand in hand. The representation allows us to make (some) sense of what is going on, but we can never really experience it in all its fullness because it belongs in the realm of reality, that which is always other to us, the subjects of representation." (2009: 133).

"Resemblance" is the key word here: that the artist represented can be recognised as, say, a folk singer. This is to say that the representation of an artist is not an exact replica and cannot encompass all the features of an artist's persona. Representation is a selective and ongoing process, and a considerable part of the constructed representation is based on culturally "shared meanings" (Hall 1997a: 1). That genres of music can exist, that an artist can be recognised to resemble the representation constructed of her means that such shared meanings are needed.

The main concern here is the media representation of a female folk singer, which is constructed simultaneously on several levels. To begin with, it connects to the wider imagery of the representation of a folk singer in general, male or female, the musical genre taking precedence over the artist's gender. Still, as the concern here is specifically female artists, meanings are constructed via the representation of a female musician and more broadly via the representation of a female artist. Such representations and the meanings they create are inevitably

linked to the general representation of a female in the media, constructed as an othered character in the dominant masculine discourse in media texts (van Zoonen 1994: 7; Gill 2007: 117; Ross 2010: 112–114). The representation of difference is central to the construction of female folk singers' media representation; their places of origin, nationality, musical genre, gender and musical performance are all factors contributing to their difference, whether from the more dominant genres of popular music and artists, male artists of any genre, or connotations attached to the singers' nationalities and localities exoticising their origins. The singers studied here represent the genre of folk music, and are, through that connection, presented in the media as representatives of a specific culture. Additionally, such representation of a culture, nationality and country forges links not only to the traditions and heritage of the countries, nationalities, and cultures in question (Scotland, Ireland, England) but also to minority cultures such as Gaelic Scotland and Irish-speaking Ireland. Heritage and tradition carry heavy connotations of the past and history in the popular imagination, and however vibrant and current the traditions are in practice, they are represented in the media along with that label of pastness. Therefore, singers representing a genre of music connected with such imagery are themselves connected with it too, thus representing a constructed past of their place of origin through the music they perform.

The constructed image of a "folk singer" is imposed on Fowlis, Nic Amhlaoibh, Portman, and Rusby through the narratives contained in their media representation. As such, they do not represent any earlier "real" or original folk singer, but a generic, constructed type to which the narratives in their media representation return and refer to again and again throughout the research material. Jen Webb calls this representation transitive, "representation through an image" (2009: 29), meaning a representation representing something. Webb's second direction, representation as reflexive, in which someone is understood as representing something (2009: 29), therefore relates more to folk singers' own agency in constructing their media presentation. The singers' answers recounted in the interviews included in the research material illustrate their personal influence in constructing their media representation, if only to a small degree. The singers represent themselves as performers but also as a recognisable type of performer. Webb defines this as a type of iconic representation which means "a direct representation of something already known: the representation is like the referent (but not the referent itself in the world)" (2009: 47). The singers thus fall into using the same typifying, and at times also stereotypifying imagery of a "folk singer" in presenting themselves in the media. This demonstrates how deeply the imagery connected to and representing a folk singer, and a female artist in general, are embedded in the collective memory and cultural consciousness.

Although the media representation constructed for these singers is a recurring one, repeats the same features, and the same narratives can be constructed of them, it does not mean that there would be an "original" folk singer on whom this representation is based and once existed in such a form. The "original" itself is also a construct; it does not exist and has never existed – it is

an idea, and an imaginary character. The female folk singer is observed and then represented in a certain way in the media, dependent on time, place, circumstances and observers. The media representation constructed of her builds on the learned categories of music and types of performers associated with those categories. Information on such features is circulated in the cultural memory and affected and applied by premediation in the active process of creative remembering (Keightley & Pickering 2012: 6–7; Erll 2009: 142).

1.2.3 Narrative

The concept of narrative is understood here as "part of the general process of representation" (Cobley 2001: 3–7). Narrative, like the process of representation, is a specific way of remembering, and cultural memory is instrumental in the ways in which both these processes construct meaning. In the media texts written about the four female folk singers, the emerging narratives of origins, professionalism, performance, and otherness are components of the process of representation. The media representation of female folk singers projects these different narratives in which nostalgia, authenticity, gender and cosy otherness reflect the central values associated with such artists. The discussion on narrative templates by James V. Wertsch and Doc M. Billingsley is relevant here, as they define such templates as "general, schematic forms of representation […and] underlying codes that differ from one mnemonic community to another" (2011: 33). The significantly uniform presentation of a female folk singer in the anglophone and Celtic tradition testifies to both the general schematic forms of her representation and the underlying codes defining that representation. Such codes are constructed in the process of cultural remembering and attached to the artists studied here. The narratives of origin and professionalism form the narrative of authenticity, and the narrative of professionalism, together with the two-sided narrative of seduction and innocence, forms the narrative of performance. The narratives of origin, authenticity and performance link within the narrative of the Cosy Other and all these four narratives read as narratives of femininity in the media representation of female folk singers (for a more detailed discussion of all the narratives, see chapters 2.1–2.4 and Original Papers I–IV).

Donald Polkinghorne's (1995) discussion of the two types of narrative inquiry, the paradigmatic and the narrative types, illustrate how the concept of narrative also works within the confines of the topic of this dissertation. The paradigmatic-type of narrative inquiry, which Polkinghorne also calls the analysis of narratives, is concerned with defining the common themes and elements that occur repeatedly in the stories of interest (1995: 10–12). Here, correspondingly, the media texts which form the research material of this dissertation are narratives in themselves, recounting the stories of the singers and their musical processes. Following the process of paradigmatic cognition within the analysis of narratives emerging from the media texts (Polkinghorne 1995: 9–11), the singers are categorised as female folk singers. Such categorisation focuses therefore on the common denominators that link these artists to a specific genre of music and type of artist. The narrative-type of narrative inquiry, also narrative

analysis according to Polkinghorne, focuses on the elements of the data that are organised into a coherent story (1995: 11–12, 15). As the media texts studied in this dissertation are written about individual artists who either tell the interviewers about their careers and projects, or whose performances and musical processes are parsed bit by bit by journalists, this narrative cognition type of narrative analysis is also relevant (Polkinghorne 1995: 11–12). The selected elements on the singers, their careers, projects, personalities, and performances, are thus plotted together into coherent stories. Consequently, continuing Polkinghorne's categorisation of narrative inquiry, I study the research material written about the four folk singers who form the focus of this dissertation, and define the common denominators. I thus apply the analysis of narratives in identifying these repetitive features. By recognising expressions that reappear throughout the media texts studied, I also configure them into a narrative of what makes a folk singer a folk singer and which illustrates the place of folk music in the popular music scene and of female performers within it. Therefore, narrative analysis is also used in this process, producing a unifying and meaningful account of the elements in the media texts.

I agree with Cobley (2001: 6–7) that this infused selectiveness in the construction of narratives is also inherent to the process of media representation of the female folk singers from which these narratives stem. Narratives make sense of and describe reality, are culturally constructed and based on language, and are thus influenced by the circumstances in which they are formulated (Mäntymäki 2015: 101). As Heikkinen states, "[i]ndividuals make sense of the world and of themselves through narratives, both by telling them and listening to other peoples' stories."(2002: 15.) This suggests a degree of collectiveness in the narratives and in their construction; people, and different social groups, societies, and cultures are connected and divided by narratives and connecting and dividing narratives are actively constructed within such groups, both by individuals and as more collective ventures. Here, the active process of remembering is central, and especially the concept of cultural memory, which will be discussed in more detail in chapter 2. Suffice it to say here that for narratives, such as the ones studied in this dissertation, to come into being, the processes of cultural memory and individuals remembering as individuals, but also as members of social groups, are essential.

1.3 Material

For the purposes of this dissertation I studied media texts written about four contemporary folk and traditional music singers, namely Julie Fowlis from Scotland, Muireann Nic Amhlaoibh from Ireland and Emily Portman and Kate Rusby from England. All these singers are prominent artists in the folk and traditional music scene, producing albums and performing live regularly. Their efforts have also been noticed in the field, as they have all been recipients or nominees of the most significant folk music and music awards, including the BBC

Radio 2 Folk Awards, Gradam Ceoil, the Scots Trad Music Award, and the Mercury Prize.

My choice of these particular singers as the subject of my research was based on the following criteria: all the singers studied are contemporary artists, all began their musical career in the late 1990s to early 2000s or are conducting the larger part of it in the 21st century, and all are prominent names in the field and noticed in the music press. I first became interested in Julie Fowlis as a topic of research because of her performance language, her prominence in the music media, and the pattern of representation based on her origins and femininity visible in the media texts written about her. I wanted to explore this further, to see if this pattern was more widespread and chose to include Kate Rusby, a very prolific, well known English folk singer, who meets the research criteria for singers listed above. Her productivity as an artist and standing in the field of folk music ensured that there would be plenty of media text material to study. Rusby's case repeated the pattern of representation I first observed with Fowlis. I then saw it necessary to include another minority language folk music artist and, for the sake of symmetry, another English language folk music artist from the same folk music scene as Fowlis and Rusby, and thus chose to study Muireann Nic Amhlaoibh and Emily Portman, who, again, meet the research criteria outlined for the singers as listed above. Both these singers' media representation constructed via the media text material repeated the same pattern observed with Fowlis and Rusby. Nic Amhlaoibh, a native Irish speaker who performs in that language, is described and represented in the media very similarly to Fowlis, and a considerable part of this has to do with their performance languages and ability to interpret the traditional song material they both perform. Portman, like Rusby, is a talented songwriter, and both these English-language singers utilise traditional material as inspiration and as building blocks for their original music and in constructing their unique musical styles. The choice of two minority language singers and two singers performing in English provides a more heterogeneous view of the field than would be obtained from a focus solely on English-language singers. The prominence of Irish and Scottish traditional and folk music in the field of anglophone and Celtic folk is undisputable and studying this combination of artists has revealed how strong the premediated representation of a female folk singer is.

On the surface, these four singers exhibit features similar not only to each other but also to other current and past folk and traditional music female artists, and the media representation constructed of them repeats the same tropes used with , for example, the 1960s Folk Revival artists, not to mention female artists in general. This observation alone points to the involvement of collective cultural remembering in the representation process. Likewise, these singers are representatives of their era and a product of their media age as much as they are of the premediation process. Although respectful of the past and tradition, the four singers also reinterpret their material. Their revitalising of the genre is both a testament to their authenticity as artists and an indicator of their innovative, forward-moving musicianship, even if it is often masked by the social

construction of their media representation, which is strongly influenced by the collective process of cultural memory in premediating and nostalgising them. The pastness inherent to folk music as a genre and the artists representing it is illustrated in the media texts written about these four singers. This attributed estrangement from contemporaneity was one of the features common to all these artists that first motivated this research, and its prevalence has been shown here to be instrumental in constructing the media representation of female folk singers.

Considerably less media text material has been published on folk and traditional music artists than on artists in the more dominant music genres. The main reason for this scarcity has been the marginality of the folk and traditional music genre. This is not to say that no such material has been published—several different-sized publications, underground press, and fanzines dedicated to folk, traditional, and world music have covered folk music and folk music artists since the 1960s (Jones 2002: 2–3), when the genre began to be viewed (and criticised) as a sub-genre of popular music rather than an opposite to it (Gelbart 2007: 256–258). Nonetheless, as print magazines and newspapers have limited resources and space for content that they publish, they focus on well-known artists who sell copies of the publications in which they appear. Therefore, folk music artists, however well-established in the field, have not enjoyed media attention on the scale that is self-evident for artists in the more dominant genres of popular music. Still, the expansion of online music media forums and the digitisation of many print publications (either parallel to the print magazine or overtaking the print format entirely) focusing on the folk music genre have provided avenues for journalism and criticism in the more marginal genres, folk and traditional music included, and has increased the publication of media texts written about, for example, artists like those who form the focus of this dissertation (see Table 1 on pages 28–30). The cases of these four artists, and the text material collected on them, show how music media is moving increasingly away from print publications to online platforms.

1.3.1 Singers Studied

Julie Fowlis and Kate Rusby have been the subjects of a considerable number of articles, reviews and interviews and, in some respects, their careers have had a comparable impact on the media in the field of folk music. Although Rusby broke onto the scene some ten years before Fowlis, media interest in both these artists has followed very similar lines. In Rusby's case, media interest in the early stages of her solo career was due to her Yorkshire origins, the late 1990s folk revival wave, and her Mercury Prize nomination in 1999, which most likely brought her to the attention of the mainstream music business and media. Rusby's ongoing, 25-year-long, steady career is likewise not a given in the field of folk music and has made her one of the most prominent contemporary British folk singers of her

generation. She has published sixteen solo albums[6], has received multiple awards, and her stature as a folk music artist and representative of her home town of Barnsley in Yorkshire has earned her several honorary titles.

Fowlis, with her all-Gaelic repertoire and Scottish origins, has, like Rusby, made an impact in the field of folk music and traditional music. While her solo debut in 2005 was well received, she achieved international fame through her cooperation with Disney/Pixar to provide music and sing the title song for the animated movie *Brave* (2012), situated in ancient Scotland. The song's subsequent Oscar nomination was a further boost to her career as a professional folk singer, especially in the US market. Thus, Rusby and Fowlis's forays into the mainstream music business have been beneficial to their careers as folk and traditional singers; however, they have not "sold out" to such music, but have stayed true to their chosen genre, following the authentic style of the folk music artist.

Fowlis has found a niche in the music business and in folk music as a singer who performs in Scottish Gaelic. Although not the only or first artist of her kind, she has earned numerous accolades as a solo artist from music awards to cultural ambassadorships and a side career as a radio and TV presenter. She is, consequently, one of the most prominent folk singers of her generation not only in Scotland and the UK but also in the United States and Europe. Immersed in Scottish Gaelic traditional singing from an early age at school and home, she studied both classical and traditional music at university level. She is not only a singer but also a multi-instrumentalist. (www.juliefowlis.com; "Sixteen Questions for Julie Fowlis" 2008; Adams 2012.) She has published five solo studio albums, one live album, and one album in collaboration with Irish folk and traditional singer and musician Muireann Nic Amhlaoibh. In addition to her solo work, she has performed and published albums with the Scottish traditional and folk music bands Brolum and Dòchas. She has also performed in the Transatlantic Sessions series both on TV and in live concerts and worked as a radio and TV presenter for several folk music programmes.

Muireann Nic Amhlaoibh's career parallels that of Fowlis, and in addition to performing in a minority language and originating from a peripheral culture (in comparison to the central, anglophone culture), their musical styles and career progression have been perhaps the closest to each other of all the four singers studied here. Nic Amhlaoibh is an Irish traditional folk singer and musician from county Kerry in the west of Ireland who performs both in Irish and in English. She is perhaps best known for performing as lead vocalist and flute player in the Irish traditional music band Danú for over thirteen years, and has made five albums with the band. Nic Amhlaoibh, in turn, has made a name for herself as both a traditional sean nós singer[7] and folk singer, and has also produced four solo albums, and one album in collaboration with Julie Fowlis. She has university degrees in fine art and traditional music performance. In addition to her work as

[6] For a full list of albums by all the four artists, see the discography list in the references chapter of this dissertation.

[7] *Sean nós* (Irish, lit. 'old style') is a traditional style of often unaccompanied singing indigenous to Irish traditional music. It has prominent regional variations in Ireland, one of which is the Kerry style.

a musician, she also works as a television and radio presenter and has hosted several programmes for Irish and Scottish television and radio (www.muireann.ie 2017). Her vocal abilities demonstrate her professionalism, and touring the world for years with Danú has been beneficial in making her name and skills known in terms of her newly embarked-upon solo career as well.

Like Fowlis and Nic Amhlaoibh, the media texts available on Emily Portman contain a considerable number of parallels to the text material on Rusby. Portman is an English folk singer and concertina player who, since her solo debut in 2010, has made a name for herself as a singer-songwriter, and has received several awards for her work, including the BBC Radio Two Folk Award for Best Original Song (2013). She has published two other solo albums, as well as three albums with the folk music band The Furrow Collective. Portman also has a university degree in music. In addition to her work as a musician, she has presented folk music programmes on the radio, written articles for folk music magazines and given talks on Ballad Studies ("Emily Portman Official Home Page" 2017). Portman and Rusby both represent the English folk music scene, which has not enjoyed the prominence accorded to Irish and Scottish folk music scenes by their more noticeable cosy otherness. Nonetheless, both folk singers are able to attract audiences that are not limited to folk music enthusiasts but encompass a more mainstream demographic. Their signature styles, although clearly distinctive from each other, are described and discussed in very similar terms in the media texts collected on both of them; these descriptions, in turn, construct narratives in the two singers' media representations, which strongly resemble each other.

In the course of this research the material collected on each of the singers has been studied equally, with a view to identifying similarities and differences between all four, not only between the pairs discussed above. Although in some cases the focus has been more on one or two of the singers, this does not mean that the others have been less relevant or less valuable in terms of the research. The research in this dissertation has been conducted phenomenon first, meaning that the media representation of female folk singers has been my focus, not the media representation of specific singers, even if the phenomenon has been studied through four individual singers. Thus, the aim of the analysis has been to reveal patterns and trends in the media representation of female folk singers. While a focus on only four singers makes for a relatively small study, the number of media texts analysed and the consistency of the narratives that emerged from the analysis indicate that some generalisations on the topic can be made. These singers appear similar enough in the media to justify claims for the existence for the patterns found, yet also different enough for the existence of these patterns to be noteworthy, and hence merit research.

1.3.2 Research material

The dissertation material comprises 196 articles, concert and album reviews published in English about the four singers discussed above and transcriptions of interviews in English, with each of the singers (see tables 1 and 2 and Appendix

I). These media texts have been published in both print and online versions of newspapers, music and folk music-specific magazines, indie (independent) and folk music-related webzines and web pages, and music promotion and review web pages. The texts were collected over a period of four years, from 2012 to 2016 and cover the singers' ongoing careers up to 2016. Excepting the two texts (Chipping 2014a; Frost 2014) sourced from print publications, the majority of the research material texts were found by entering the singers' names into a generic online search engine with "review", "interview", or "article" as additional keywords. When references to one of the singers in an online source was found (see Table 1 on pages 28–30), possible references to the other three were also ascertained. A small number of texts were also found via online links that the artists themselves had added to their own social media pages (Fowlis, Nic Amhlaoibh, and Rusby are active on Facebook and for the most part manage their own artist accounts). This manner of collecting the research material not only yielded a serviceable number of texts, but also revealed the variety of sources publishing material on folk music artists. The length of the texts was not a factor in the collecting process, and hence all articles, interviews, and reviews found were included. The collected material was limited to texts written by outside observers, meaning journalists and other writers, not the artists themselves or their publicity teams. This demarcation leaves out the artists' publicity material (both texts and photographs) and their social media posts. Collecting a body of research material from so many different sources was necessary for obtaining an extensive body of texts. Had the research material been limited to texts published in print publications only, much less material would have been available and more constraints imposed on the collection period. It would also have been much more difficult to find printed material, as all the publications carrying articles on these particular artists are published abroad and, apart from a handful of the bigger daily newspapers with an international circulation and some music magazines (*The Guardian, The New York Times, The Telegraph, fRoots Magazine, The Living Tradition,* and *Songlines Magazine*), are not circulated or available in Finland.

As the aim of this study was to examine the patterns discernible in the media representation of contemporary female folk singers, the media types and sources of the texts vary. They show the uniformity in the language used and in the representations and narratives constructed of such artists by the journalists throughout the music media. The texts included in the research material are all more or less "stable", meaning that in comparison to, for example, social media postings (which were not included), editing or deleting these texts from the sources in which they were published is a more complicated process involving several other actors in addition to the author of the text. As such, the texts in the research material can be characterised as "permanent" to a degree. The sources were divided into seven categories based on their form and content. The more traditional media forums, newspapers and music magazines (although for the most part accessed through their online formats), were the most straightforward to classify. The various other online sources were defined according to their

content and the pages' self-declared profile. The collected research material comprises four types of texts: articles that discuss the artists in general terms, article/interviews that combine general information about the artists with quotes from the artists' answers to journalists' questions, interviews, which clearly display the questions asked and the artists' answers to them, and reviews of the artists' albums and live concerts. The different sources are listed in Table 1 below, which displays the individual publications and web pages as well as the numbers of the texts obtained from those sources[8].

Table 1. Media text sources (R= Review, A=Article, A/I=Article/interview, I=Interview)

Source type	Online (number of texts in brackets)	Text types
Newspapers (25)	*-Bath Chronicle (1 R)* *-The Boston Globe (1 I, 1 A)* *-Boston Herald (1 R)* *-Boston Phoenix (1 R)* *-Bothell Reporter (1 A/I)* *-Culpeper Star Exponent (1 A)* *-Dingle News (1 A)* *-The Fairfax County Times (1 A/I)* *-Forge Press (1 R)* *-Good News Liverpool (1 A)* *-The Guardian (15 R, 1 A/I, 1 A)* *-Herald Scotland (3 A/I, 2 I, 1 A, 1 R)* *-The Irish Times (2 R, 1 A, 1 A/I)* *-The Journal (1 R)* *-Lancashire Telegraph (1 R)* *-The New York Times (1 A)* *-The Pantagraph (1 A/I)* *-The Pittsburgh City Paper (1 A/I)* *-The Scotsman (1 R)* *-The Sentinel (1 R, 1 A/I, 1 A)* *-The Sun (1 I)* *-The Telegraph (5 R, 1 I, 1 A/I)* *-The Vancouver Sun (1 A)* *-The York Press (1 R)* *-The Yorkshire Post (2 R, 1 A, 1 I)*	Articles 11 Article/interviews 11 Interviews 6 Reviews 34
Folk/world music magazines (5)	*-fRoots (1 print A/I)* *-The Living Tradition (4 R)* *-Penguin Eggs (1 A)* *-Irish Music Magazine (1 R)* *-Songlines Magazine (1 print R, 1 online A/I)*	Articles 1 Article/interviews 2 Interviews - Reviews 6

(continues)

[8] Appendix I displays all the collected research material texts and their full source references. See also Table 2 on page 37, displaying the numbers of collected texts per singer.

Table 1 (continues)

Online music and culture magazines (16)	*-Exclaim! (1 R)* *-Fatea Magazine (1 R)* *-Folk Radio UK (3 I, 5 R)* *-FolkWorld (1 R)* *-Hot Press (1 R)* *-Innocent Words (1 A)* *-The Journal of Music (3 A, 1 R, 1 A/I)* *-The Mouth Magazine (2 R)* *-No Depression (1 R)* *-The Northern Soul (1 A/I)* *-Northings (1 R)* *-Outline (1 I)* *-RootsWorld (1 R)* *-Smile Politely (1 R)* *-The Skinny (1 R)* *-World Music Central (1 R)*	Articles 4 Article/Interviews 2 Interviews 4 Reviews 18
Music blogs (6)	-www.songofteisles.com (1 I) -www.thewoundedjukebox.com (1 I) -www.lucidculture.wordpress.com (1 R, 1 I) -www.musicroad.blogspot.com (1 R) -www.wholemusicexp.blogspot.com (1 R) -www.serendipityproject.wordpress.com (1 I)	Articles – Article/interviews - Interviews 4 Reviews 3
Music promotion and review webpages (21)	-www.allmusic.com (1 R) -www.hearthmusic.com (1 R) -www.copperplatemailorder.com (4 R) -www.cdhotlist.com (1 R) -www.enjoythemusic.com (1 R) -www.irishmusicreview.com (1 R) -www.irom.wordpress.com (1 A) -www.femmusic.com (1 R) -www.folking.com (5 R) -www.folkandhoney.co.uk (1 A) -www.forfolkssake.com (1 R) -www.67music.net (1 R) -www.greenmanreview.com (1 R) -www.brightyoungfolk.com (3 R) -www.louderthanwar.com (1 R) -www.netrhythms.co.uk (1 R) -www.spiralearth.co.uk (2 R) -bbc.co.uk (10 R) -Der Schottlandberater (1 I) -www.thereviewshub.com (1 R) -www.ukmusicreviews.co.uk (1 R)	Articles 2 Article/interviews - Interviews 1 Reviews 37

(continues)

Table 1 (continues)

Popular culture and music content webpages (11)	-www.buzzine.com (1 R) -www.buzzmag.co.uk (1 R, 1 I) -www.popmatters.com (4 R) -www.ukvibe.org (1 R) -amazon.co.uk (2 R) -last.fm (1 A) -list.co.uk (1 I) -www.allgigs.co.uk (1 R) -www.dcmetrotheaterarts.com (1 R) -www.entertainment.ie (1 R) -www.liverpoolsoundandvision.co.uk (2 R)	Articles 1 Article/interviews - Interviews 2 Reviews 14
Other (14)	-Sage Gateshead event listing page (1 A) -www.womex.com (1 A) -www.underthestarsfest.co.uk (1 A) -www.hebceltfest.com (1 I) -www.irishabroad.com (1 A) -www.irishphiladelphia (2 R) -www.npr.org (1 A) -www.thistleradio.com (1 I) -www.musicscotland.com (1 R) -www.rockpaperscissors.com (8 R, 1 A/I, 1 I, 4 A) -www.townofhuntergov.com (1 A) -carolinelifecoaching.com (1 I) -www.robadamsjournalist.com (1 A/I) -www.highfieldresidents.org.uk (1 A)	Articles 11 Article/interviews 2 Interviews 4 Reviews 11

Although the publication forums of the media texts are diverse and vary from traditional print media, online magazines and conventional webpages to blog based webpages, the text types of articles, article/interviews, interviews, and concert and album reviews can be found in all of them. The majority of the collected media texts (63 percent) are concert and album reviews, indicating that this text type is the most common of the media texts available on the four artists. The abundance of different online sources compared to the traditional print media sources listed above supports my earlier claim that the increase in online music media sources has offered folk music artists and artists in other music genres increased publicity and visibility.

Fowlis, Nic Amhlaoibh, Portman and Rusby's own agency in constructing their media representation cannot be ignored, but understandably in the case of the media texts studied here, their influence in how they are projected through the media texts written by journalists is limited. Interviews give the artists a voice in this material, but the construction of their media representation remains strongly governed by what the interviewing journalists choose to write about them and the kinds of questions asked of them. Interview questions asked of Fowlis, Nic Amhlaoibh, Portman and Rusby typically have to do with their musical background, singing in Gaelic or Irish (Fowlis and Nic Amhlaoibh), the songs they sing and their origins, Gaelic or Irish language and culture (Fowlis and Nic Amhlaoibh), other projects they are engaged on besides making music,

awards they have received, their albums, and their families and life as a musician. Thus these questions, while giving a voice to the artists in promoting their artist personae, display the premediated idea of what a folk singer is, the importance of place and tradition in the singer's make-up as a credible artist and the defining force of gender in the construction of her media representation, thereby conforming with the overall media representation of female folk singers and female artists.

Although the media material produced by journalists and the media material produced by artists themselves cannot be wholly separated from each other since they influence one another and are linked together by content and how the journalistic material is used by the artists and the artists' PR material is used by the journalists, in this dissertation the choice has been made to focus on the media texts produced by journalists, leaving the artists' own (largely visual and photographic) PR material[9] outside the analysis.

1.4 The context of the research

There is a long tradition of studying folk music and traditional music by applying ethnographic methods and conducting lengthy, immersive field work to collect material and interview representatives of a particular culture or social group in which the music of interest is prevalent (Middleton 1990: 127–135; Boyes 2010: 41–62, 94–119). The music of the artists studied here certainly lends itself to the idea of studying music in terms of its cultural connections to the artists performing it and audiences experiencing it, especially as it is categorised as folk and traditional music, and hence as part of a national and community identity. However, since the material studied in this dissertation is not the music itself or the artists performing it, but their *representation* in media texts, it has been necessary to apply other methods (see chapters 1.2 and 2). Nevertheless, the undercurrent of an ethnomusicological understanding of and interest in music as culture (Järviluoma 2008: 14; Nettl 2015: 5–6) remains strong here. According to Martin Stokes, "[…] music is not just a thing which happens 'in' society. A society […] might also be usefully conceived as something which happens 'in music'." (1994: 2), a view which resonates with the social constructionist meaning-making and cultural remembering focus of this study.

While this dissertation does not claim to perform purely ethnomusicological research - it includes no field work and its research material is text-based instead of a group of informants interviewed and observed in the field - it does, however, engage with aspects that, according to Hellier are features

[9] For a more detailed discussion on folk singer PR photographs, see Karjalainen, N. (2016). "Elfin beauties in eternal summer: Nostalgic and gendered imagery in folk singer publicity photographs". *Teksti ja tekstuaalisuus. Text och textualitet. Text and textuality. Text und Textualität*. Eds. Nestori Siponkoski and Daniel Rellstab. 48–59. Vaasa: VÄKKI Publications 7.

of "ethnomusicologically framed research", namely the "politics of difference […] in relation to key societal divisions (race, ethnicity, religion, gender)." (2013: 12). The narratives that emerge from the female folk singers' media representation as studied here all display and articulate an aspect of a difference, connected to a place, gender and genre of music. The social construction of gender in these media representations especially resonates with the directions taken in ethnomusicological research where the importance of the study subjects' and informants' gender and its influence on music as culture is frequently underlined (see, for example, Moisala & Diamond 2000; Hellier 2013; Koskoff 2014). This chapter considers the contextual links of this dissertation to music as culture and the way in which folk music fits into it. Also discussed are features specific to (folk) music journalism and the construction of a female artist in the music scene and media.

1.4.1 Folk music as part of popular music studies

Traditionally, music studies as an academic discipline have divided their focus into "art music" and "folk music", with popular music as a later addition. However, exponential developments in the multiple genres of popular music have elevated it into the canon of music studies as a discipline in its own right (Hesmondhalgh & Negus 2002: 4–7; Gelbart 2007: 2–7). In the material sourced for this dissertation, folk music (and traditional music as its subgenre) is approached as a genre of popular music rather than an independent and equal category of its own. It is performed live in front of a paying audience, or as recorded tracks compiled into albums, with the artist making a monetary profit. Therefore, the framework of popular music studies, rather than the traditional approaches of folk music studies or ethnomusicology, applies better to studying folk music in this commercialised form.

In this dissertation, "folk music" is used as a major concept encompassing the genre of traditional music. Precise and exclusive definitions of folk music as a genre are never sufficient, since to categorise music is to assume that it is "timeless, objective truth" whereas it is actually a "human construction […] undergoing constant minor variations and additions" (Gelbart 2007: 1, 4). Folk music in this context refers to music connected to a specific culture and locality (such as Scotland, Ireland or England) that is often orally transmitted and draws on a strongly defined cultural and social canon of tradition. Such music may not have a known composer or writer but this is not an absolute requirement; recently written tunes and songs are often admitted into the canon of folk music provided they are performed in an accepted style or because of the status of the author as an established artist of the genre. Thus the definition of folk music has broadened from being the music of the folk, of people living in rural areas dating from a time before the industrial revolution, to encompass not only such source music, but also newly composed music from different periods, whether from the 19th century, 1960s or 2010s. As a category or a concept, "folk music" eludes precise categorisation, much like its part-opposite, part-parallel concept "art music", and "popular music". In fact, the last-mentioned tends to blends with

folk music even if traditionally the two have been positioned as distinct from each other with regards to authenticity and creative merit (Gelbart 2007: 7, 256–257). The blending of the two categories is exhibited in the present research material of concert and album reviews, interviews, and articles where the music and its performance are evaluated in the context of popular music, focusing on the performers and their performances, but described in terms of what has traditionally been considered as the item of tradition (Boyes 1986: 11).

The four singers who are the focus of the present research illustrate both the difficulty of defining "folk music" exactly, and the diversity within the genre (see Cohen 2006: 1–3). Kate Rusby and Emily Portman are accomplished songwriters, who each perform material that is either traditional, inspired by traditional sources, earlier versions of songs, and stories, or are wholly the product of the writer's imagination. Julie Fowlis and Muireann Nic Amhlaoibh, in turn, perform mainly traditional songs in Scottish Gaelic and Irish, occasionally supplementing their repertoires with songs in English and other languages, also either traditional or written by other artists. As an added complication to defining the genre of music studied here exactly, Fowlis and Nic Amhlaoibh, due to their places of origins, musical repertoire and performance languages could broadly also be categorised as Celtic folk music artists. However, "Celtic folk music" as a definition is often even more vague and wider than "folk music", and thus in this dissertation this definition is not used extensively (see Thornton 1998: 261; Thornton 2000: 19–29; Mutch 2007: 116–129). "Celtic" as a definer is here used more in reference to the performance languages not English (Irish and Scottish Gaelic) than the music, since I agree with Thornton and Chapman that "Celtic" as a definer in music industry is mostly a marketing tool and a category defined from the outside of the cultural group on which it is ascribed (Thornton 2000: 20–21; Chapman 1994: 39). Although the singers' origins and repertoires might be slightly different, the ways in which they approach and value the music that they perform and how they are described in the media and constructed as "folk singers" follow very similar lines. Therefore, for the sake of clarity, all four singers are categorised as folk singers, even though Fowlis and Nic Amhlaoibh could more accurately be classified as traditional singers and musicians and Portman and Rusby as folk singers and musicians.

As Hesmondhalgh and Negus state, "a distinctive feature of popular music studies has been the willingness of participants to address the relationships between musical meaning, social power and cultural value" (2002: 7). Musical meaning in the context of this dissertation is interlinked with the social meaning and cultural connections that folk music as a genre inherently has and which emerge in specific ways in the narratives of origins, authenticity and Cosy Other constructing that media representation. On the other hand, musical meaning also relates to the idea of folk music and the artists performing it being treated as a commodity, and the promotion of such a commodity to consumers. The issue of social power connects all the narratives defined in this dissertation. Here, folk music as a genre and the four singers exemplifying it illustrate both the social and cultural power structures influencing them as representatives of the genre as

well as their cultural and national origins. The singers' places of origin, performance languages, approach to the music, dedication to tradition, gender and position in the music business as folk singers all exhibit these power structures and also position the singers in a certain way within those structures.

The cultural value of folk music, and the way it is discussed in the media and connected to the artists performing it, form a considerable part of the discussion in this dissertation. It is generally recognised that folk music is culturally valuable because of its strong links to specific countries and locations; for example, according to Richard Middleton, "folk is always seen as 'real' music, not imposed on or sold to people but produced by them, expressing their participation in an unalienated culture" (1990: 129). This kind of characterisation of folk music strongly influences the genre, its media representation and the media representation of the artists associated with the genre. The value of the music that folk singers perform also adds to their value as artists and affects the narratives that construct their representation in the media. Consequently, as proposed by Hesmondhalgh and Negus (2002: 3–10), these three aspects of popular music studies are closely linked, and in examining the phenomena of the folk music genre through them, one cannot be studied without the other two emerging from the context and influencing each other.

The traditional, functional aspect of folk and traditional music, as music made for work, dancing, rituals and different events of the year, has largely diminished in Western cultures owing to the rapid industrialisation of the 19th century, the wars of the first half of the 20th century, and the resulting break-up of rural communities that had been the natural environment for such music-making for generations. While this is, of course, a very simplified account of developments with regard to folk and traditional music, as such changes have taken place at different times in different countries, it is clear that the most significant changes in folk music as an integral part of people's lives were caused by the major events listed above. The subsequent periods of the folk music revival have taken place in the sphere of the commercialised music business, although folk music as a genre, which has been regarded as amateurish and of little commercial significance, has always inhabited a marginal place within it (Finnegan 1989: 16–18; Miller 2016: 8–9; Miller 2014), despite the success of the late 1950s and 1960s–1970s folk singers such as Joan Baez, Judy Collins, Joni Mitchell, Sandy Denny, Bob Dylan and many others.

For Folk Revival artists and contemporary folk music artists alike the function of folk or traditional music is to be performed in a concert situation with the original cultural functionality removed. Fowlis performing traditional Scottish Gaelic *port a beuil*[10] mouth music songs (which originally came into being because of the lack of any musical instruments; the songs imitate the sounds of bagpipes and fiddles) or waulking songs (which were traditionally sung to the rhythm of waulking or fulling wool fabric) in concert, Nic Amhlaoibh singing laments of historical events in Irish, or Portman and Rusby telling stories of everyday events and supernatural beings through their songs show how songs

[10] Scottish Gaelic, literally "music of the mouth".

that often served a specific function in a specific society have become so removed from everyday life that they and their performers can be othered as quaint, different, exotic and nostalgic. One element of functionality that has stood the test of time is the socio-political message of protest included in many folk songs, especially in the Anglo-American folk music tradition, where the function of a song as a means of political protest is often regarded as synonymous with folk music. In many cases, traditional songs in the anglophone and Celtic canon were originally social comment on current events, an element that is preserved in many of the traditional songs that Fowlis, Nic Amhlaoibh, Rusby, and even occasionally Portman, perform. However, as the once current events and prominent people that the songs refer to appear dated and insignificant to a modern audience, the functionality of social commentary is thus eliminated and they are presented as in aspic, as nostalgic and quaint memories of yesteryear. Even the minority languages of Scottish Gaelic and Irish are, for the most part, reduced to quaint remnants of ancient cultures in the media texts studied here. Although both languages carry political connotations and often stand as symbols of oppression and as examples of the dominance of the English language over smaller language and cultural groups ('Historic day for Gaelic' 2005; Gaelic Language (Scotland) Act 2005; Magan 2016), this issue is not prominent in the research material texts. Rather, it is glanced over, referred to in passing and coated with nostalgia, and the singers, as native speakers of these languages, are romanticised because of it.

The marginalisation of the genre of folk music and folk music artists in the wider domain of popular music here complements the marginalisation of the present four artists based on their places of origin and the cultures with which they identify. Therefore, they are linked with "the preindustrial idyll, devoid of politics, urbanism, social disquiet and any contemporaneity" (Boyes 2010: 96) connecting to the label of "pastness" attached to folk music as a genre. According to Middleton, "the supposed 'purity' of folk society […] goes hand in hand with the 'authenticity' of the music" (1990: 139), and this romanticisation, in particular, of folk music and folk music artists appears as a staple feature of the media representation of the genre, placing it in a marginal position and emphasising the cultural minority status of the artists' origins. Such cultural minorities refer here to England constructed as a rural idyll, the imaginary English village (Winter & Keegan-Phipps 2015: 113; Boyes 2010: 3, 7, 70) where, as implied by their media representations, Portman and Rusby reside. Also included are the Scottish and Irish cultures in general and especially the Scottish Gaelic- and Irish-speaking cultures. The rural English idyll is marginalised by underlining the regional character of the artists and their music and discussing them as "discoveries", positioning them as representatives of a "strange England" (Winter & Keegan-Phipps 2015: 118–119, 123–125). The Scottish and Irish cultures are marginalised by the anglophone centre for their being distinctive nations and cultures with different languages and cultural histories. These representations attached to certain countries, nationalities and locations are reconstructed in the media and music press and attached to the artists, constructing them as distant, mythical

and romantic, as opposed to the dominant Southern metropolitan culture in the British Isles, and to Western anglophone culture in general.

Although Fowlis, Nic Amhlaoibh, Portman and Rusby cannot be compared directly with the 1960s Folk Revival folk music stars, as the music that they perform and the time and social context in which they perform it are different, their media representations are constructed on the premediated ideals, memories and imagery attached to those commercially popular female folk music artists. However, this dissertation does not claim that the media representations of the Folk Revival artists can somehow be considered "the original" representations of female folk singers on which those of today's artists is based. Their representations are as much constructs as those of the present-day folk singers, and the same tropes, features, phrasings and narratives emerging from their media representations are recycled in those of today's artists. This is because the processes of narrative construction, remembering and representing utilise existing information on experiences and phenomena, constantly searching for points of reference with which new experiences and phenomena can be compared, and on which narratives and subsequent representations are then constructed.

1.4.2 (Folk) music journalism

As the research material of this dissertation consists of various texts produced by music journalists, it is necessary to consider what this means and if indeed a sub-category of folk music journalism can be said to exist. On the basis of this dissertation research I argue that folk music journalism is not a genre of music journalism in its own right but instead mimics and recycles the tropes and tones of popular music journalism used in articles, interviews and reviews of rock and pop music. Such mimicking and recycling is also significant in the influence of collective cultural memory on the construction of the media representations of the artists about whom the journalists write. The existence of musical genres and the typification of artists identifying with those genres are both processes that rely on cultural remembering, reproducing and recycling specific features and imagery associated with artists of a specific genre. Journalism in general makes use of the past in order to make sense of current events, structure new stories, and interpret new phenomena (Edy 1999: 72, 83; Edy & Daradanova 2006: 132–133, 148; Zelizer 2008: 82; Tenenboim-Weinblatt 2013: 92). According to Zelizer, "journalism's treatment of the past tends to be as variable, malleable and dynamic as other kinds of memory work" (2008: 81). She also argues that

> In that the past offers a point of comparison, an opportunity for analogy, an invitation to nostalgia and a redress to earlier events, journalism's look to the past suggests some attendance to memory, though journalists do not insist on or even necessarily recognize its presence. (2008: 82–83)

In the media material studied here, the past is applied in a more subtle way, rather than making direct comparisons with specific artists in the past or

particular events or even places. Although the origin narratives of the singers are a crucial part of the construction of their media representations and are mentioned with unfailing frequency in the research material, the places thus brought to attention are imaginary, recreations of the actual countries and places connected to the artists. Overall, the past alluded to by the journalists is more of a pastness attached to the artists as a typical feature of folk music artists (for a more detailed discussion, see chapters 2, 2.1, 3.1, and Original Paper I).

As a profession and demographically, the overwhelming majority of journalists in general and music journalists in particular are male, whether generally popular music-oriented or specialising in folk music (Moisala 2000: 179; Davies 2001; Johnson-Grau 2002; Kruse 2002; McLeod 2002; Gill 2007: 121; Original Paper III). In addition, the assumed readership of music journalism has conventionally been male-dominated (Davies 2001: 301), and thus female artists are doubly defined in terms of male normativity by both the critics themselves and the audience consuming their critical writings and other music journalistic media (Frith & McRobbie 1978/1991: 374; Kruse 2002: 135). This is also true in the present context, as most of the media texts collected and analysed for this dissertation were written by male journalists or other male writers. Table 2 below depicts the number of articles, reviews, and interviews per each of the four singers. Although the number of the media texts varies across the artists, the percentages of male and female writers, and cases where the writer was not specified, remain relatively the same.

Table 2. Writers of the articles, reviews, and interviews

Artist	Total of texts	Female journalists	%	Male journalists	%	Writer Unknown	%
Fowlis	83	15	18,1%	49	59,0%	19	22,9%
Nic Amhlaoibh	31	6	19,4%	20	64,5%	5	16,1%
Portman	26	5	19,2%	14	53,9%	7	26,9%
Rusby	56	10	17,9%	38	67,9%	8	14,3%
TOTAL	196	36	18,4%	121	61,7%	39	19,9%

It is also notable that both male and female writers attach the same tropes to Fowlis, Nic Amhlaoibh, Portman and Rusby throughout the research material. According to Rosalind Gill, this has to do with employees conforming to the language prevalent in a given organisation: "those people who succeed in media organizations tend to be those who take on the professional values and ideologies of those organizations" (2007: 126). Kembrew McLeod discusses this same phenomenon in the context of rock music journalism, stating that its "most significant aspect […] is its role in maintaining the circulation of particular discourses, and the content of those discourses helps determine who feels comfortable […] to participate" (2002: 95). This means that genres of music and artists representing them are described in largely predefined ways in the music press, and journalists and critics (regardless of their sex) are expected to adhere

to those descriptions. According to Karen Ross, the predominance of male journalists "encourage[s] a conformist outlook which produces hegemonic journalistic output in terms of "routinizing" a male-ordered perspective" (2010: 112) and "allows male perspectives to be constructed as neutral and uncontroversial and, most importantly, to appear as value-free" (2010: 114). Therefore, since music journalism as a profession has conventionally been a male-dominated field, and since the majority of the writers of the texts in question are men, the predominantly masculine discourses of music journalism, and of folk music journalism as an extension of it, define the representation of female artists and the aspects that are valued in female artists.

The popular music business operates on the normative basis of a male artist, and thus female artists are inevitably compared and defined in relation to the dominant male performers. For this reason, only a limited number of closely defined boxes are available for the types of female artist. Whether she fits the type or deviates from it, she is either criticised heavily for being an out-of-control or crazy woman, petulant child or mere figurehead with no artistic merit (Davies 2001: 302–311; Mayhew 1999: 69–75), or patronisingly given professional acknowledgement by first rendering her unthreatening to the dominant male artist with narratives of seduction and innocence that construct her as feminine in the media (see Original Paper III).

As artists' gender defines their representation in the music press, so too does the genre of the music they represent. With folk and traditional music, the question of professionalism is central in media texts and underlined in articles, reviews and interviews by discussing the musical processes of the artists in detail. This bestows on artists the level of credibility required to enter the "performance community" (Godlovitch 1998: 77), and as the level of credibility and the performance community are both defined according to the male norm, female artists paradoxically need not only to be both highly accomplished professionals but also rendered unthreatening via media texts constructing them as conventionally feminine. Thus, the gender of the artist and the genre of music that she represents are linked in constructing her credibility as a musician, both within the field and in the media.

1.4.3 The female artist

As this research is grounded in social constructionism and focuses on female artists, it is necessary to examine the social construction of gender. Fluidity, a process-like nature and shifting to accommodate changing circumstances are inherent features of any socially constructed concept, including gender. Judith Butler famously defined gender as doing, not being; a performance, not something one has but something that is acted out (1990/1999: 33, 43–44, 178). Butler also emphasised the crucial role of representation in constructing gender: according to her,

> […] representation is the normative function of a language which is said either to reveal or to distort what is assumed to be true about the category

> of women. […] The domains of political and linguistic "representation" set out in advance the criterion by which subjects themselves are formed, with the result that representation is extended only to what can be acknowledged as a subject. (1990/1999: 3–4)

This normativeness of the representation process, the representation defining in advance what the represented subject will, and should, be like, speak also of how the female artist is represented in the media. As such, "performing gender to societal specification" (Lieb 2018: 184) is here intertwined with cultural memory, nostalgia, authenticity and otherness as memory devices influencing this socially constructed process of performance. Hence, as with the other socially constructed processes already discussed above, gender too is a selective, continuing process which does not simply exist but is constructed, not in a void but under the influence of social circumstances.

Cultural memory affects the social construction of gender as it does any other socially constructed process. Understanding of what is deemed suitable, typical, or acceptable for different genders is governed by collective memory, also when interpreting cultural phenomena such as musicians in the construction of their media representation. In the domain of the music industry, the practice, or performance, of gender (Budgeon 2014: 321; see also Butler 1990/1999: 178) is generally constructed as narrow and binary, with little or no regard to the varieties of gender performance that do not fit into the rigid male-female polarity (Lieb 2018: 183). According to Beverley Diamond, "music and gender are both sites for negotiating an individual place within communities that tend to reinforce certain values and behaviors as normative" (2000: 100). This normativity, relying heavily on the femininity-constructing narratives of seduction and innocence, is visible in how the female artists, their performance and their music are described in the present research material (see chapters 2.3, 3.3, and Original Paper III).

Several previous studies of women and men both as producers of media content (as journalists and other media professionals) and as objects and topics of media products, not to mention as audiences consuming such products, have focused on the differences in how gender is represented in the media (see Gill 2007; Ross 2010; Schmutz & Faupel 2010; Gauntlett 2002; Budgeon 2014). In this dissertation, the discussion of the media representation of gender focuses on how women are represented in the media and, therefore, how female gender is constructed in this process. The representation of gender in the media relies strongly on stereotypes of what is considered feminine or masculine and hence on what are the socially constructed recognisable types of women and men. According to Teresa de Lauretis, "gender is the product of various social technologies including film and media, and of institutionalized discourses, epistemologies, and critical practices, as well as practices of everyday life" (1987: 2, 18). Such ideas about the practice of gender in society influence the media representation of both women and men, and consequently, those media representations further influence the practice of gender.

Rosalind Gill (2007) and Karen Ross (2010), who both examine the more general representation of women in news media, offer examples of women as news topics and of the discourses used in the news to represent female politicians. These studies provide further evidence on the othered status of women in the media, whether they are producing media content or positioned as objects of media scrutiny. The balance between representing women as professionals and as women most often tips in favour gender, making it the defining feature of such media representations (Gill 2007: 117; Ross 2010: 42, 101). Advertising also exhibits a long tradition of depicting the female subject conventionally as a body, or parts of it, more often an object to be looked at than an active agent (see Ross 2010: 41–63; Gill 2007: 42–112). Consequently, the media representation of the female artist is based on how women in general are represented in the media, and what is valued in a woman, whether she is a musician or something else. According to Joseph A. Kotarba and Phillip Vannini, "[d]espite the fact that there are multiple scripts available for preforming one's gender, it seems that popular entertainment media […] are most intrigued with very few particular ways of doing femininity." (2009: 100). It follows, therefore, that "limited roles available for female musicians lead to limited meanings, and thus redundant narratives." (Lieb 2018: 16). Hence, as Helen O'Shea states, "[m]usic is a gendered discourse in which the meanings of musical acts differ according to whether the musician is male or female." (2008: 66). Male and female artists are perceived and interpreted differently and therefore their representations also differ from each other.

The detailed study by Kristin Lieb (2018) on the female pop music star and her branding in the media also provides insight into how a female folk music artist (inhabiting what Lieb calls a lower level of the industry (2018: 109) alongside indie stars) is represented in the media. According to her, the music industry as a whole operates on a rather narrow view of gender and sexuality norms, according to which female and male artists are presented and marketed differently, with female artists treated as the deviation from the male norm (see Davies 2001: 301–302; McClary 2000: 1283), and in which the focus on a female star is first on her physical appearance and attractiveness and second on her music (Lieb 2018: xvii, 9, 113). This practice also leaks into the media representation of the present female folk singers, in that their physical appearance is commented upon, their music, voices, and performances discussed in the media texts in pointedly gendered language, and their professionalism, although acknowledged, is constrained by the conventionally feminine narratives of innocence and seduction (see Original Paper III and Chapter 3.3). Lieb postulates that "female musician[s …] must adhere to set cultural templates of femininity" and that "[t]he gender constraints [are] imposed upon female pop stars by society, industry handlers, audiences, and even female pop stars themselves" (Lieb 2018: 117, xxviii). A female artist is limited in her media representation by her biology, her gender performance and the extent to which the genre of music she is associated with emphasises that gender construction. Lieb calls the construction of a type of a female artist framing, which entails

"eras[ing] meaningful differences […] and emphasi[zing] similarities" (2018: 179). This means that a template that has been successful in the past is used and reused to market subsequent similar artists (Lieb 2018: 12, 24, 179, 180, 184). This is normalised via the process of cultural remembering. The repetition of similar acts of gender performance renders them normal in society, obscuring their learned nature (Lieb 2018: 183). To perform one's gender in a socially expected way is encouraged and rewarded in the music industry and is required of both female and male artists, although female artists seem to be more constrained by it.

The female folk singer falls into what Lieb categorises as the *indie star,* "a critical darling and fan favorite among the cool kids, but her influence outpaces her sales […] They also have more artistic freedom than top-level pop stars to focus on their music if that's all they really want to do" (2018: 47–48). The representation of these artists appears as a curious mix of stereotypical descriptions of a woman and a female pop music artist and more neutral, often typically male-normative, discourses of authenticity. Therefore attached to their bodies, musical performance, voices and music are the conventional attributes of femininity, while at the same time their undisputable talents, professionalism and authenticity are discussed in terms of what Keightley (2001: 137), Coates (1997: 52–53) and Lieb (2018: xvii) categorise as qualities of rock authenticity, which is conventionally seen as a feature of masculine artistry.

The male artist appears as the yardstick of musicianship: as Pirkko Moisala remarks, creativity is not linked to the cultural representation of 'woman' (2000: 170). Moisala's discussion on the composer Kaija Saariaho, and especially on the media reviews she has received, resonates with the topic of this dissertation. According to Moisala "[m]ost music critics […] are male, and music journalism as a whole […] is based on male conventions and patriarchal ideology" (2000: 179). Being a female artist, therefore, means subjecting oneself to male-dominated perspectives on all fronts of the music industry. The female artist performs both her music and her gender on the margins of the social groups of musicians, music criticism and music industry in general.

Although the construction process of female folk singers' media representation employs stereotypical elements, the resulting media representation cannot be defined simply as "reducing, essentialising, naturalising, and fixing difference" (Hall 1997b: 258). Such practices underlie the dominant power structures, especially in constructing the female folk singer as the Cosy Other; however, according to Michael Pickering, the othering practice, "render[s] the stereotype rather more complex, opening up for interrogation its ambiguities and contradictions of meaning and effect" (2001: 69). Through othering the power relationship between those doing the othering and those being othered is more foregrounded, contrary to the simplifying process of stereotyping in which the difference instigating the process is made to appear natural and innocent (Pickering 2001: 69–71).

The social construction of gender operates on the objectivation of the practice of gender (Berger & Luckmann 1966: 69–70, 78–79; Burr 1995: 10). In the

field of music, the construction of gender is even more objectivated and narrower than in general. Female artists' media representation is modelled on internalised constructions of the 'female artist', in the present instance, the 'female folk singer'. To enable this modelling and circulate the premediated features connected to artist types, performances of gender, and genres of music requires the active process of cultural remembering.

2 MEMORY STUDIES

The analysis in this dissertation is based on the idea that the descriptions and tropes circulated and applied in the construction of the media representation of female folk singers are culturally remembered. To discuss the field of memory studies in its entirety within the confines of this dissertation would be neither possible nor expedient as it extends over a wide range of social, psychological and cultural phenomena, experiences, circumstances and fields of study. Therefore, I concentrate on the concept of cultural memory and its individual and collective levels, as that aspect of memory studies is the most central to my research and features prominently in all the articles included in this dissertation. I consider premediation, as well as reading the artists' performances as exhibiting the narratives of nostalgia, authenticity, gender and Cosy Other, as specific processes and devices of cultural remembering contained within cultural memory. These processes work as meaning-makers, constructing the female folk singers' representation in the media in its social and cultural context (see chapters 2.1–2.4 for a more detailed discussion).

Cultural memory as a concept originates from the definition of and studies on *mémoire collective* proposed by the sociologist Maurice Halbwachs in the 1920s (Halbwachs 1992: 38–39; Erll: 2011a: 13). According to Halbwachs, although only individuals can remember, no act of memory is wholly personal or individual but is always necessarily influenced and instigated by social frameworks and interaction between people (Halbwachs 1992: 38–39, 43, 52–53; Erll 2011a: 14–15). Thus, Halbwachs views cultural memory as a purely social process and product of everyday communication, whether it is a question of individual memory, memories between generations, or the processes of cultural transmission and the creation of tradition (1992: 38–39, 43, 52–53; Erll 2011a: 14–15).

Pierre Nora's influential work on sites of memory (*lieux de mémoire*) can be said to define cultural memory in terms of what Jan Assmann, Jeffrey Olick, and Astrid Erll (1995; 1999; 2011a; see below) define as its institutionalised, collective level. Nora's extensive study on symbolic memory images of France as a nation and its culture operates on the principle that as there are few or no memories left, the real environments of memory no longer exist. Therefore, a common,

culturally unifying past must be constructed on the sites of memory, that is, on aspects of the past that should be remembered (Erll 2011a: 23–24). Such sites of memory can be material, functional, and symbolic, and can include, for example, cities, specific areas of a country, monuments, notable characters and dates in the past as well as cultural products such as literary and art works (Erll 2011a: 23–24).

Following Halbwachs' and Nora's theorisations, Jan Assmann's conceptualisation of cultural memory differentiates the everyday collective memory and the more institutionalised collective memory from each other, referring to these two frameworks respectively as communicative memory and cultural memory (Assman 1995: 126–131; Erll 2011a: 28–29). The framework of communicative memory relates back to Halbwachs' *memoire collective*; such memory processes are mediated naturally and informally in everyday situations in the various groups to which people belong, and have a limited time frame, confined to 'living memory', no more than eighty to a hundred years (Assmann 1995: 127; Erll 2011a: 29). However, this aspect of memory as a social process does not cover the more objectivised and institutionalised culture and the memories contained and circulated therein. Assmann's concept of cultural memory offers an answer to this shortcoming in Halbwachs' theorisation. Here, the memory process is consciously established and formal, and the contents of memories produced are specific to a society or group at a given time and work to define the identity of that society or group. Despite this fixity, Assman says that "cultural memory works by reconstructing, […] it always relates its knowledge to an actual and contemporary situation" (1995: 130). This means that such objectivised and sometimes even 'frozen-in-time' content of cultural memory is interpreted and appropriated anew from each successive contemporary perspective (Assman 1995: 130; Lowenthal 1985: 210).

Further developing Halbwachs' *memoire collective*, Jeffrey Olick divides the conceptualisation of collective memory into the slightly confusingly titled categories of "collected memory" and "collective memory" (1999: 337–343). The former refers to the individual level of cultural memory, which is socially and culturally produced and influenced, and the latter to the collective level of cultural memory, "the symbolic order, media and institutions through which social groups and societies establish their knowledge systems and versions of the past" (Erll 2011a: 99). Thus, Olick's definition is both more inclusive and focused than Halbwachs' version, allowing more room for the social and media level of cultural memory in the analysis of the phenomenon, and bringing the collectiveness of cultural remembering into closer connection with its individual level.

Despite all these slightly different ways of separating out the individual and collective levels of cultural memory, it is important to understand that in the process of remembering, and producing memories, the two aspects work together and influence each other and, as Erll says, "can only be understood through their interaction with each other" (2011a: 101). Examining aspects of cultural memory with this two-fold method is merely to assist in the analysis of

a complex and circumstantial process and apply it to examining phenomena such as the construction of the media representation of female folk singers in this dissertation. For the purposes of my research I have adopted Erll's definitions of the two, individual and collective, levels of cultural memory, as they are perhaps the clearest of the options and definitions briefly discussed here.

As the argumentation in this dissertation follows a fundamentally social constructionist direction, it is important to point out the constructionist nature of remembering and the resulting memories. I agree with Keightley and Pickering, who describe remembering as an active, ongoing, and creative process (2012: 6–7). Memories cannot therefore be viewed as "unitary entities, stored away as coherent units to be called up wholesale at a later date" (Olick 1999: 340). They are not reproduced but remade, interpreted anew in relation to contemporary circumstances and also used to interpret the current phenomenon based on what has gone before (Olick 1999: 340). According to Keightley and Pickering, imagination is a central factor in the process of remembering and in constructing memories, and it facilitates the coexistence and interaction of individual and collective levels (or personal and popular as Keightley and Pickering call them) of cultural memory (2012: 6–9). The influence of imagination on remembering and the aspect of the imaginary in memories is significant for the construction of female folk singers' media representation in two respects. On the one hand, the imaginative, creative construction of the singers' presentations in the media involves remaking and adapting memory material both on the individual and the collective levels of cultural memory. On the other hand, as Keightley and Pickering also state (2012: 11, 150–154), relying too much on an existing, limited selection of stock images, tropes and descriptions of phenomena results in breaking the organic connection between past and present, "retrotyping" the past as idealised, symbolic, and unchanging (Keightley & Pickering 2012: 11, 150–154).

The concept of premediation, which Astrid Erll (2009, 2011a, 2011b) and Richard Grusin (2004) discuss at length, is especially central to this study, since I argue that it is not only the basis on which the media representation of female folk singers is constructed but that it also instigates the process of that construction. As Erll states, "premediation […] is the effect of *and* the starting point for mediated memories" (2011a: 142, original emphasis), which form a significant part of the media representation thus constructed. According to Grusin, "premediation seeks to make sure that the future has already happened by capturing the moment when the future emerges into the present, that is, the moment when the future has already become the past, by extending our media networks into the future." (2004: 36–37) Therefore, any new phenomena and events are defined based on what has already come to pass, on what is already known, before they even occur.

Premediation, like narrative and representation, is a meaning-making process, and according to Erll, it refers to the way in which "existent media circulating in a given context provide schemata for future experience - its anticipation, representation and remembrance" (2009: 111; 2011a: 142). As a concept, premediation is accompanied by that of remediation, which Erll defines

as "the memory of media", and which as a process means "the ongoing transcription of a 'memory matter' into different media" (2011a: 140–141). Remediation works in a different way from premediation; its effect on cultural memory is more one of solidifying and stabilising, as it produces selected and set narratives of the past (Erll 2011a: 141). Grusin states that remediation focuses "on prior media forms" whereas premediation "focuses on future media events" (2004: 37). In this context, the narratives of origin, authenticity, performance and Cosy Other appear as the conventional narratives of a female folk singer in the English, Celtic and Anglo-American canon and can be viewed as remediated. Their emergence in constructing the media representation of a contemporary female folk singer, however, speaks of premediation at work in the construction process. As Grusin says, "[p]remediation […] insists that the future, like the past, is a reality that has always already been remediated. […T]he future is remediated at the very moment that it emerges into the present" (2004: 29). Grusin's development of the notion of remediation-premediation works perhaps better with news stories about current events (such as war coverage, unexpected nationally and globally important events) whereas Erll's and also Tenenboim-Weinblatt's (2013) take on the remediation-prememdiation pair of concepts applies better to the topic at hand. Premediation, according to Tenenboim-Weinblatt, "belongs to the realm of interpretation, understanding, and emotional management regarding the future, with the past serving as a template of interpretive framework for future stories" (2013: 99).The media representation of a female folk singer (or any artist) is largely predefined before she even takes to the stage. Since all artists of the same genre cannot be exact copies of each other, their media images display a degree of variation. Nevertheless, their strong similarities typify them as representatives of a particular style, genre of music, nationality, and gender on the basis of what is already known about these features, that is, what has been premediated about their combination.

Erll also considers another conceptualisation of cultural memory, the travelling or transcultural memory (2011b), which in many ways illustrates the point made in this dissertation about the construction of female folk singers' media representation. According to her, "*all* cultural memory *must* 'travel', be kept in motion, in order to 'stay alive', to have an impact both on individual minds and social formations" (Erll 2011b: 12, original emphasis). Here, travelling means the ongoing construction and reconstruction of memory content, and its passage between media and the minds of people, thus bringing cultural memories into existence (Erll 2011b: 13). Transcultural, travelling memory, is therefore not bound to a specific place or social group but crosses such borders in its ongoing construction process (Erll 2011b: 11).

The collective level of cultural memory contributes to the construction process of these representations, and it influences the meaning-making processes of individual members of social groups when they interpret the phenomena of these artists. Although this suggests the fixity of a memory, I would emphasise here that remembering is a creative and active, travelling and transcultural, ongoing process, which adapts to time and circumstances (Erll 2011b: 9–15).

According to Jan Assman, "cultural memory […] is fixed in immovable figures of memory and stores of knowledge, but every contemporary context relates to these differently, [either] by appropriation, […] criticism, […] preservation, or […] transformation" (1995: 130).

2.1 Nostalgia

Nostalgia, a specific way of remembering, is contained within the active process of remembering, sharing that active quality. This is to say that nostalgia cannot simply exist or come into being of its own volition but that it is actively ascribed to experiences and phenomena, and as all remembering, is highly circumstantial, dependent on the person or persons remembering, the event or thing remembered, the time and place of remembering and so on. Originally thought to be a clinical and debilitating condition that one could suffer from and from which one could be cured, the conceptualisation of nostalgia has shifted in the two centuries since such diagnoses, and become more diverse and abstract as well as more elusive to definition (Lowenthal 1985: 10–12; Boym 2001: 3–7; Wilson 2014: 21–22).

Svetlana Boym considers nostalgia to be "a yearning for a different time" (2001: xv) and an attempt to recreate places, phenomena and events in time as something that they could have been but never were (2001: 351). According to her, the concept of nostalgia can be divided into restorative and reflective nostalgia. The first of these Boym characterises as utopian and intent on truth and tradition and the second as ironic, doubting and concentrating on longing (2001: 41–55). Here, the references to the singers' origins, the cultures of the past, and traditions and heritage produce restorative nostalgia because they not only inspire the singers as artists but also work as their image-building components, and are used by the journalists writing about them. The same references to origins, past and traditions also instigate reflective nostalgia by constructing the imagined past - the imagined place and time - that the singers represent. Thus, the singers embody the longing for something or some place "not in the way it was, but […] the way it could have been" (Boym 2001: 350). Here the restorativeness and reflectiveness of nostalgia are seen as two sides of the nostalgic representation of female folk singers: as both looking for that truth and tradition but at the same time concentrating on longing and imagining the possible pasts that the singers represent.

Boym also talks about nostalgia as horizontal, not directed toward the past but sideways toward a parallel reality (2001: xiv, 354); this echoes strongly with the definition of reflective nostalgia discussed above. The nostalgia constructed by the origin narratives emerging from the singers' media representation is nostalgia for something imagined, something that is remembered fondly, though no one actually experienced it in the past, in order to be able to reminisce about it in earnest. This connects to what Katharina Niemeyer calls the re-presentation of the past, that the past viewed from the point of view of the present is always a

recreation, an imagined, constructed version, affected and embellished by emotions, and dependant on the circumstances in which such a recreation comes into being (Niemeyer 2014: 3). Therefore, especially in the construction of origin narratives, nostalgia is more about longing than recreating or reminiscing about an actual event or past phenomenon.

The inherent pastness attached to the media representation of female folk singers results in vicarious (Boym 2001: 352–353), displaced (Wilson 2014: 32) or 'false' nostalgia (Niemeyer 2014: 9), a reaction to something not experienced or remembered first-hand but through an intermediary, be it a person, a text or a cultural connotation. Nostalgia such as this actualises through the remembering done by others, as a second-hand memory, reminiscent of the concepts of premediating and collective memory. For example, the romanticisation of the folk singers' origins, and the nostalgic experiences of their performances in Scottish Gaelic or Irish demonstrate such vicariously experienced nostalgia, as the accounts of such experiences in the media texts are usually written by people who have no personal connection to the singers' country of origin, do not speak or understand the minority languages they sing in and thus cannot remember such fondly selected moments or experiences in their own past. The nostalgia constructed in this way is second-hand, vicarious, to begin with, and thence conveyed third hand to the readers of the media texts.

The objects of nostalgia as imaginary and experienced through an intermediary are features of nostalgia that Aaron Santesso also refers to in his definition:

> [n]ostalgia, […] is not a longing for the past per se; nor is it ever an emotion rooted in empirical reality or concrete autobiography. Rather, it is a longing for objects that are idealized, impersonal and unattainable. A work may look to the past; it is only truly nostalgic if the past is idealised. Thus if nostalgia is composed of two elements – idealisation and desire for the past – idealisation is the only necessary one. (2006: 16).

In Santesso's view, then, idealisation of the past is a key element in constructing nostalgia, and this is certainly a well-used constituent in the media representation of female folk singers. The descriptions of the singers' places of origin, their connections to the past and tradition, and the songs that they sing are all discussed in the research material in pointedly idealised terms: for example, they are described as "elfin beauties", singing "enchanting" songs with "pure" voices (Hopper 2008; Jones 2015; Hazlewood 2016; Leech 2012). This partly relates to the general tendency in the music press to commend performers who are able to emulate what is considered to be the essence of the genre, the established characteristics that make it 'great' (Frith 1996: 88–93; see also Guesdon & Le Guern 2014: 75). Thus Santesso, like Boym (2001), considers nostalgia to be constructed on an imaginary experience that nevertheless is real for the individual experiencing it, such as vicariously nostalgic (Boym 253–253) feelings for a past event not experienced first-hand.

In their media representation, the singers' origin narratives instigate nostalgia. Individually, place, sound and tradition, the three strands of origin narratives (see Original Paper I), can be characterised as what Paul Grainge (2000: 28) describes as a nostalgia mood. According to Grainge, who sees nostalgia as a cultural style, it has tendencies of both nostalgia mood and nostalgia mode, nostalgia as experience and nostalgia as something consumable (2000: 28–29). This proposed mood-mode polarity of the concept - although according to Grainge nostalgia mood and mode are not opposed nor do they emerge from one another - illustrates how layered both the construction of nostalgia, and nostalgia as realised, are. Nostalgia generated by references to place, to the sound of particular languages and the singers' voices, and to the artists' links to tradition involve interpreting and reconstructing memories, either at first- or second-hand. Correspondingly, as the origin narratives, the three strands of place, sound and tradition, together constitute nostalgia mode, nostalgia as something consumable (Grainge 2000: 28–29). Nostalgia generated by references to the singers' origin narratives is treated as a quality attached to the artists to promote them. Remembering and memories are made consumable, into a package of "pastness". Both Grainge and Wilson point to how the past is available to us in constructing reality and its meanings only indirectly, through present interpretations of it (Grainge 2000: 29, 33; Wilson 2014: 31). Selectiveness in choosing the components of such constructions and idealising past reality results in stylised - nostalgic - representation.

The media play an important role in the triggering, producing and maintaining nostalgia, and in producing narratives that enable the 'nostalgising' of phenomena, objects, products, people and events (Niemeyer 2014: 7, 11). The female folk singer described in romantic terms, depicted as an exotic creature from a place conveniently associated with mythical connotations, invites a nostalgic experience. Such representations recreate a feeling of the past: according to Niemeyer, "the aesthetics of the past become […] a tool through which media [is] used as [a…] stand-in for former rituals, feelings or past, without actually replicating them exactly." (2014: 12). The past is represented and recreated selectively through the singers' media representation as pastness, as a mood or feeling, "a consumerist packaging of the past" (Keightley & Pickering 2014: 92), not as a realistic, comprehensive replica. Keightley and Pickering refer to such selective recreation of the past as 'retrotyping' whereby "the past [is reduced] to a limited repertoire or set of stock images" (2012: 150). I argue that while retrotyping is part of the construction of the nostalgic representation of the female folk singers, it is not the whole story or the only factor at work in the process.

The origin narratives emerging in the research material thus construct the singers' media representation through collective memories of specific places, which are imagined anew within the active process of remembering. According to George Lipsitz, this process is possible because of electronic mass media: people "can experience a common heritage with people they have never seen; they can acquire memories of a past to which they have no geographic or

biological connection" (1990: 5). Circling back to the vicarious experience of nostalgia, these origin narratives demonstrate that remembering and manipulating the past to make sense of the present do not require a first-hand experience or connection to the said past of a specific location, culture or nationality; a connection can be achieved through a second-hand cultural memory, interpreted on the individual level to make it meaningful (Lipsitz 1990: 5). Based on Boym, Santesso, Grainge, Wilson and Niemeyer, I view nostalgia in the context of folk singer media representation as idealising the past and constructing a version of the past that is imaginary[11]. It is a longing for something unattainable, something that could have been but never was. In this dissertation, nostalgia is constructed through the origin narratives connected to the folk singers' representation in the media, consisting of place, sound and tradition. It is also constructed via narratives of the singers' professionalism in displaying their personal connection to their music as well as via the narratives constructing the singers as the Cosy Other.

2.2 Authenticity

In this dissertation, authenticity is seen as a memory device, as a product of the active process of remembering. Approaching the concept of authenticity in this way means that individual remembering takes place as part of a socio-cultural environment (Erll 2011: 99), while at the same time collectively negotiated memories exist of authenticated phenomena against which a new phenomenon is compared and evaluated as authentic or not authentic. These memories are based on "a symbolic order, media and institutions" (Erll 2011: 99) through which individuals make sense of their experiences and interpret the past. In effect this describes the use of the process of premediation (Erll 2009: 111, 114) in defining the authenticity of phenomena and events. Authenticity as a concept is problematic as it eludes exact categorisation and is highly circumstantial, "ascribed not inscribed" (Moore 2002: 210) on phenomena from the outside. It links up with the constructionist view of meaning-making and constructing reality, depending on the circumstances, time, place and experience in question (Heikkinen 2002: 17; Aho 2003: 36). This circumstantiality is further underlined by Moore, who states that the authenticity of an artist depends on who is observing and experiencing the artist's persona and her performance (2002: 210). Bendix defines authenticity "as a quality of experience" (1997: 13), rendering the experience of authenticity as an active concept, something to do with emotions and as a reactional phenomenon.

Here, authenticity is linked very closely to nostalgia, as the same and overlapping narratives emerging from the media texts produce both nostalgia and authenticity in the representation of female folk singers. The authenticity of

[11] In particular, the four first-mentioned scholars' conceptualisations of nostalgia have been used in the analysis of the media texts in the original papers (see chapter 3).

a folk music artist emerges in close connection to their perceived identities as artists, to who they are and whether or not they appear credible in performing that identity. Regina Bendix (1997) and Vincent J. Cheng (2004) both discuss authenticity in connection with identity, and through it with nationality and ethnicity. According to Cheng, the globalization of the world is pushing us to "define a unique and authentic national character and identity, one that is distinct from all others" (2004: 31). Following Bendix, he also suggests that the quest for authentic identity stems from a longed-for escape from modernity (Cheng 2004: 33), a search for the ideal and the real. Here, therefore, authenticity links up with nostalgia; as Baudrillard states, "when the real is no longer what it used to be, nostalgia assumes full meaning. There is a proliferation of myths of origin and signs of reality; of second-hand truth, objectivity and authenticity." (1983: 12–13). Experiencing authenticity, and ascribing authenticity as a process, are thus connected to the constructionist foundation of this dissertation.

Being associated with a specific place, nation, social group or community is central for authenticity to be ascribed to female folk singers. Steven Redhead and John Street (1989: 178) argue that the collectivity which people define themselves as belonging to has an associated culture that is mediated through music. As such, the authenticity of a musician is based on her "right to speak for a community or people" and represent her audience (Redhead & Street 1989: 178). As folk music as a genre is conventionally often understood as an extension of a specific nation or ethnic group, the performers of such music also represent the nationality, ethnicity or community connected to it (Gelbart 2007: 12; McKerrell 2016: 53).

Although authenticity (much like nostalgia, the social construction of gender, and otherness) is viewed here as a product of the process of cultural remembering, and experiencing it is instigated by the premediated information circulating in the cultural memory, this does not mean that an original source, one authentic artist, exists against which all the artists studied, for example, in this dissertation are compared (Redhead & Street 1989: 182–183). Rather, the idea of what is a folk singer has accumulated over time and is adapted and applied to different artists in different eras, adding to the definition of the authentic folk singer. The authenticity ascribed to artists and the music that they perform is a construct, a collection of features that meet the requirements of authenticity for a given audience, time and place. For the artist to be able to "speak for a community" then means that the criteria for authenticity are fluid, changing and cannot be based on an established entity of "people" (Redhead & Street 1989: 183).

Authenticity as discussed in this dissertation has, therefore, to do with the close connection between the singer and her audience. The origin narratives contained in the process of the artist's media representation both nostalgise and authenticate the artist, as she is interpreted as belonging to an imagined place and community (Anderson 1983/2006: 6–7), fondly remembered via what is processed in cultural remembering about an artist of her genre and similar origins in general, and about her and especially her actual place of origin. The

artist's representative role, of speaking for the social community of the audience, as well as for the community of her genre of music and her own personal background, exhibits the need for belonging. Such an artist's performance also represents a social community of some kind, be it cultural, national or joined together by a common experience (Weisethaunet & Lindberg 2010: 470–471, 478). This process is defined by Hans Weisethaunet and Ulf Lindberg (2010) as folkloric authenticity. They discuss authenticity from six directions, identifying, in addition to folkloric authenticity, the discourses of authenticity as self-expression, authenticity as negation, authentic inauthenticity, body authenticity, and authenticity as transcendence of the everyday. Of these, the first two are the most applicable in this context and I will return to discuss authenticity as self-expression further below.

In addition to the connection with her audience, the folk singer's authenticity calls for the artist's connection to tradition, to both the performance traditions of the genre and the traditions of the community for which the artist speaks and which she represents through her music. This is referred to by Keightley in his definition of Romantic authenticity when discussing authenticity in popular music in general and rock music in particular: according to him, the tendency to Romantic authenticity highlights the artist's connection with tradition, her sense of community, her personal journey with the music and her directness and naturalness of expression (Keightley 2001: 135–137). The concept of Romantic authenticity applies to folk music and the folk singer, especially since the basis of what is called rock authenticity lies in the sphere of folk music, in its ideals and anti-mass polemic (Keightley 2001: 121–127).

Keightley (2001: 136) presents authenticity in music and musical performance as having two broad tendencies, Romantic authenticity and its part-opposite, part parallel, Modernist authenticity. Ideologically, they are linked to the 18th and 19th century artistic and cultural movements of Romanticism and Modernism, both of which emphasised the authenticity of an artist, but from different angles (Keightley 2001: 135). While the Romantic and Modernist authenticities exhibit certain features that can be used to differentiate between artists or music genres, with many artists and music genres the two overlap and form hybrids (Keightley 2001: 137–138). According to Keightley, the individual talents of the artist and her personal connection with the music that she makes, as well as her artistic originality and innovation, speak of Modernist authenticity (2001: 138). Thus, in agreement with him, I argue that "the belief that a true artist must keep moving forward, constantly re-inventing him or herself" (2001: 136) is also applicable to folk singers. Although the re-invention or forward-moving that they exhibit may not be as radical as, for example, that of rock or indie musicians, it is visible in their professionalism, the honing of their craft, in their staying true to their chosen genre and its traditions, while continuing to find new things and new ways to work with the tradition, proving its vitality and resilience. Authenticity constructed in this way has the self-expressive dimension also discussed by Weisethaunet and Lindberg (2010: 472), showing that in order to be

authentic and convince her audience, a folk singer needs to bring something original and personal to her performance.

In his well-known article on the concept of authenticity in popular music, Moore (2002) considers authenticity to have three dimensions, which he terms first person, second person, and third person authenticity (211–220). The first of these has to do with the authenticity of expression whereby the performer manages to appear sincere and communicates directly with her audience (214). The second concerns the authenticity of experience, the performance seemingly echoing the listener's experience of life (220). The third concerns the authenticity of execution, meaning that the performer is seen as "accurately representing the ideas of another, embedded within a tradition of performance" (218). Of these three, first and third person authenticity are relevant to how the female folk singers' media representation is constructed. The integrity of the artist and the authenticity of her expression as discussed above are also central in Moore's first person authenticity. The seemingly simple and natural arrangements of music in both live concerts and recorded albums, along with the singer's natural vocal talents, testify to this authenticity. Third person authenticity, consisting of the authenticity of execution, of the artist staying true to the traditions of the genre of music, connects to the above discussion of belonging as well as to the folk singer's authenticity of expression. Appreciating the simplicity and naturalness of the music and the artist's dedication to her genre conventions testify to cultural remembering, acknowledging both the artist's place in the stylistic and historical continuum of the genre of music, and the audience's understanding of the existence of such continuums, neither of which would be possible without active remembering in the cultural context.

It is notable that the definitions of authenticity applied to the authenticity of female folk singers are based on the conceptualisation of authenticity in popular music in general or, more specifically, in rock music. Analysing folk singer authenticity in terms of what Grossberg (1992: 205–209) and Keightley (2001: 131–139) call rock authenticity, is justified for two reasons. First, the so called rock authenticity is in many ways based on what were originally considered to be the defining features of folk or folk music authenticity, such as the "rejection of mass society and mass culture […] and musical experiences [which are] musically pure, genuine and organically connected to the community that produced them" (Keightley 2001: 121). These were adopted in rock ideology, the "[claims] to historical origins or ideological purity" being redefined to include rebellious artistic legitimacy in order to accommodate the heterogeneous identity of its audience (Grossberg 1992: 206). Second, the media texts analysed for this dissertation discuss folk singers via the tropes and tones of popular music journalism and evaluate the music and the performances of female folk singers in the context of popular music.

The ways in which the authenticity of a female folk singer is constructed parallel those applied to female artists representing any music genre. The narrative of a female folk singer's authenticity reflects the overall position of folk music as a genre within the sphere of popular music. On the one hand, it

continues to be discussed in stereotypical terms, emphasising what can be described as early folk revivalist ideals of "simplicity, purity, directness and unaffected beauty" (Boyes 2010: 71) and "continuity, tradition, and stability" (Kallioniemi & Salmi 1995: 47, my translation), portraying tradition as set, rather than evolving. On the other hand, the media texts emphasising the personal connection of the artist to her music and describing her musical processes of obtaining the song material and working on it to create her reinterpretations, establishes both the artist's professionalism and the credibility of the genre of folk music as a professional genre.

2.3 Performing music – performing gender

Media texts written about female folk singers construct a specific representation of gender, especially in narratives based on the features of performing (voice, singership, music) and authenticity (origins, professionalism), where gender is emphasised in relation to the artist's voice, singership and music. Cultural gender conventions along with the conventions of music journalism and connotations attached to perceiving a musical performance, construct the gender of an artist in the media. Gender, like all the other concepts with which this study works, is understood here as a social construction - that is, it is "a compilation of personally lived and experienced reality and cultural structures that govern our ways of living and experiencing things" (Karkulehto & Rossi 2017: 10, my translation).

The performativity and fluidity of gender (Butler 1990/1999: xiv–xv; 178) appear considerably more static in the media representation of female folk singers. The narrowness of the performances of femininity available in the popular media is reflected in these representations (Kotarba & Vannini 2009: 100). As people in general learn to perform gender in a particular, acceptable way through repetitive exposure to such performances (Lieb 2018: 185; Butler 1990: xiv–xv; 43–44; 178), so too, the performance of gender in media representations of female folk singers is solidified by the repetition and recycling of the same descriptions and themes, which then emerge as the performance narratives. According to Mary Talbot, "femininity is a mass media construction, […] a key factor in the constitution of women's subjectivities, […] a discourse realised through and on women's bodies" (1995: 144–145). The artists' performance and music are perceived as an extension of their gendered body, which in the media and in music business is constructed and represented in a certain, premediated way. As such, a female artist is always defined by her gender, with her artistry and professionalism defined in its terms and fighting for space in her media representation.

As discussed above in chapters 1.4.2 and 1.4.3, the music business operates according to the norm of the male artist, and defines music genres, the artist's credibility and the value of music on that foundation. Therefore, a female artist is inevitably also discussed and evaluated on these terms, with her gender

defining the values attached to her performance and the music she creates. The social construction of femininity in female artists' performance and music is especially apparent in the ways that these features are described in the music press. Music in itself has no gender; however, the genres of music, types of artists and performances, and therefore also the music that they perform and produce, are tend to be gendered, and in the case of female folk music artists, often constructed as feminine. The embeddedness of the practice of gendering artists, their performances and music is taken for granted.

This embeddedness has to do with the process of cultural remembering in the social construction of meaning. According to Lieb (2018: 12, 180), the music business sells and markets what has been known to sell before, reusing the popular templates for various types of artist. The learned representations of gender are taken for granted and repeated consistently in the media texts, thus reinforcing the categorisation of women musicians as 'female artists'. The similarities of the features used to describe a female folk singer (see Original Papers I–IV), a pop music artist (Lieb 2018; Davies 2001; Kruse 2002) or even a composer (Moisala 2000) show how the music industry and music critics are strongly influenced by gender as socially constructed and learned through its repeatd representation and circulation in cultural memory.

The female folk singer can, in the general framework of popular music artists (see Lieb 2018: 47–48), be viewed as parallel to the indie star, meaning that the singer's artistry has more freedom and is more appreciated. Singers are praised for their professionalism, dedication to tradition and the music they perform, and their integrity for staying true to their chosen genre of music. The gender of the artist continues to strongly define her media representation, but, in addition to a more conventional feminine representation, a singer's representation also includes active agency, determination, and courage. Thus, the gendering of female artists in the media appears to be more diverse than simply reproducing conventionally passive femininity.[12]

Media texts written about singers and musicians invariably refer to their performance. The research material here centres around four singers' performances, describing their voices, singership and music in ways that draw on different processes of memory, thereby constructing nostalgia, authenticity, gender and otherness in the singers' media presentation. In this context, issues connected to performance are largely based on listeners' (represented by the journalists and music critics in the research material) experiences of the artists' performances – their voices, singership and music

Musical performance is a "value-driven, value-laden, communicative exercise of specialized manual skill" (Godlovitch 1998: 4). All the aspects of this definition are represented in the descriptions of the singers' performances in the media texts, and they lay the foundation for the narratives that emerge from the female folk singers' media representation. The performers themselves have an agenda which they wish to convey with their performance, but their expression

[12] This aspect of the female folk singers' media representation is discussed in detail in Original Paper III and in chapter 1.4.3.

is defined by their personal abilities and the material they perform as well as the musical and performance conventions of the genre of music they represent. The way that a performance is experienced depends not only on these aspects but also on the expectations of listeners, their preconceived, premediated ideas and understanding of the performer in question. This includes the performer's gender and the way it is represented, the genre of music the performer represents, and whether or not the performer manages to perform in a way that is credible in terms of the genre of music and the message they are seeking to convey.

Credibility and authenticity are significant aspects of a musical performance and are ascribed to it by listeners, based on the effect that the performance has on them. The female artist, already marginalised by the male-normative music business, faces a struggle in obtaining artistic credibility (Davies 2001: 301–302). In Godlovitch's terms, the credibility of a musical performance depends on the artist's musicianship, which comprises technique and mastery of their instrument (including voice), and musicality, meaning interpretive sensitivity and the music's links to its interpretive tradition (1998: 77). Here, the two are here combined into the concept of "singership", which encompasses the artist's skills as a singer and their artistry. Of the two aspects, technical skill and the ability to artistically interpret the music and convey it as intended to the audience, the latter is perhaps the more important when it comes to both giving a credible performance and evaluating a performance as credible. According to Godlovitch, it is possible to perform in an artistically credible manner even with mediocre skills, whereas a skilfully perfect performance will lack in credibility if the interpretive sensitivity of the artist is insufficient (1998: 19). A female artist's credibility as a musician is based on her skills but it is also defined in relation to her gender, thus containing her in a pre-defined category.

It is not only the artist who shapes her performance, but the audience, the spatial and temporal circumstances, cultural values, connotations, memories, definitions, stereotypical imagery and ideals all affect the outcome of a musical performance. As any meaning is socially constructed and does not simply appear ready-made in the public consciousness, so too is a musical performance; its meaning and value depend on being socially constructed. The representation of the artist in the media is similarly socially constructed, her gender and the learned, collectively remembered performances and the audience's acceptance of it steering that representation process.

2.4 Cosy Other

The roots of othering folk music and folk musicians go deep; the discussion in chapter 1.4.1 on the categorisation initiated in the early eighteenth century of "folk" and "art" music based on their differences played (and still plays) a significant role in this othering process (Gelbart 2007: 9–10). Notably, in defining an indigenous other, setting folk music, and the "folk" by proxy, in opposition to

art music and civilised, educated, urban citizens, employed - among others - ideas about Scottish music and Scottish people (Gelbart 2007: 10–11).

The concepts of representation and media representation in general, and the media representation of female folk singers in particular, are in considerable part based on difference, opposition and stereotyping. For this reason, the concept of "other", and especially the concept of the Cosy Other, which I define in my fourth dissertation article (see Original Paper IV), are relevant to the topic of this dissertation. Defining an other, something not I/us, is a fundamental function of human identity construction on both the individual and communal or social levels. It is a process by which a social group, a single individual, or even nature is constructed as the other. The concept of otherness originates in psychoanalytic theory (see, for example, Lacan 1977; Kristeva 1982) and features extensively in post-colonial studies and post-colonial literary criticism (see, for example, Saïd 1991/1978; Bhabha 1994; Spivak 1985, 1988; Hobsbawm 1992; Anderson 1983/2006), and also in feminist theory (see Kristeva 1982; *The Kristeva Reader* 1986; Butler 1990/1999). The other and the process of othering connect closely to the formation of cultural identity and considering otherness and othering alongside the concepts of remembering, gender, nation, nationalism, and their construction, provide the analytical starting points here. As the discussion in chapters 1.4.2, 1.4.3, and 2.3 shows, othering through gender is a common process in the media and the music business, including the folk music scene. Woman as an active agent, as a body and as a musical professional is othered to man, male artist and the male normativity of media content and the music business (see Butler 1990/1999; Davies 2001; Kruse 2002; Lieb 2018; Gill 2007; Ross 2010), and constructed as feminine. The femininity so constructed intertwines with the woman musician's artistry, and with the folk singers studied here, including with their origins and cultural identity as projected through their music and performance. The mix of female folk singers' gender, romanticised and temporally distanced origins, and the musical genre construct the artists' representation in the media not as the conventionally distant, dangerous, threatening and negative other of the post-colonial definition; rather, this other is a cosy one, based on the conceptualisation of an internal or indigenous other, an other that is simultaneously foreign and European (McKerrell 2016: 126; Gelbart 2007: 64; O'Flynn 2014: 238; Bohlman 2000: 189–193).

In his discussion on the concept of Orientalism, which has significantly influenced the development of both Colonial Discourse Analysis and Post-Colonial Theory (Childs & Williams 1997: 97–121) , Edward Saïd (1991/1978) considers the process in which the strange other becomes less strange and distant, and more familiar:

> Something patently foreign and distant acquires […] a status more rather than less familiar. One tends to stop judging things either as completely novel or as completely well-known; a new median category emerges, a category that allows one to see new things, things seen for the first time, as versions of a previously known thing. […S]uch a category is not so much a

> way of receiving new information as it is a method of controlling what seems to be a threat to some established view of things. [...] The threat is muted, familiar values impose themselves, and in the end the mind reduces the pressure upon it by accommodating things to itself as either 'original' or 'repetitious'. (58–59; see also Bhabha 1994: 73)

This description of a gradual lowering of the distinction between the strange and familiar, distant and close, the other and us, connects to my earlier discussion on the concept of premediation (see chapter 2) and also shares some features with my conceptualisation of the Cosy Other. The Cosy Other links to and parallels what Saïd describes as a median category of otherness. The definition of it as "versions of a previously known thing" resonates in how premediation, the use of existing media, or meanings constructed in connection with previous experiences, affects the construction of the Cosy Other.

The emergence of the other as a process links to the overall theoretical framework of social constructionism, whereby meanings are constructed in a social context. Gayatri Spivak has discussed the post-colonial other and the subaltern extensively, and defines the othering process as the colonising other and the colonised other coming into being simultaneously and only being able to exist, or "be known", in relation to each other (Spivak 1985: 255, 1988: 76; Childs & Williams 1997: 166–167; Ashcroft et. al 1998: 169–171). Thus, the observing and the observed others are interlinked, defined in relation to each other; the female folk singer in the media is constructed as the other in terms of the genre of music she represents and her musicianship as well as in terms of her gender. As the popular music business employs the norm of a male professional musician, representing a commercially dominant genre of popular music, the female folk singer is constructed as the other of all these features.

The construction of the Cosy Other is based here on the juxtaposition of centre and periphery, as discussed by Malcom Chapman (1994: 36–44) with what he defines as Celtic music, which demonstrates the emergence of the internal, indigenous other (McKerrell 2016: 126; Gelbart 2007: 64; O'Flynn 2014: 238; Bohlman 2000: 189–193). Chapman defines four stages in the construction of a peripheral other that are constantly in flux and influence each other in the process. The first of these sets up the opposition between the centre and its proposed periphery. These two come into being simultaneously, much in the way Spivak describes the interlinked emergence of the observing other and observed other; one cannot exist in that precise form without the other also defined in the same precise way (Spivak 1985: 255, 1988: 76; Childs & Williams 1997: 166–167; Chapman 1994: 36). In analysing these singers' representation in the media, the periphery is constructed in terms of the genre of music the artist represents, her professionalism and musical processes (including dedication to the genre and tradition as well as the feeling of responsibility that the folk singers exhibit for their songs), her origins, and her gender. Thus, the dominant centre may, for example, be a more dominant genre of popular music within which folk music and folk music artists are positioned as the other. It may also be a more

commercial approach to music making (for a more detailed discussion, see chapter 1.4.3 and Lieb 2018), where the popularity of the artist and the musical products and amount of money made are more important than the artistic value of the songs and the integrity of the artist and her performance. Further, the dominant centre may be defined as the opposite of the folk singers' rural places of origin. Lastly, the centre peripheralising the female folk singer may be – and in most situations, is – the norm of the male artist. Here, the centre can be any of these, or a combination of any or all of them. The established pairing determines the content of the second process; Chapman defines this content as "fashions [progressing] from a centre to a periphery" (1994: 36) which in the context of this dissertation could refer to, for example, the portrayal of and attitudes towards folk music and folk music artists within the greater popular music scene and in popular culture. These portrayals and attitudes have both changed and remained the same, influenced by different eras and changes in society and culture. The second process produces phenomena which in the third process are fully constructed as the other (Chapman 1994: 36, 38–40), such as the influence of folk singers' places of origin in their portrayal in the media, or their approach to music defined by a deep personal connection to tradition and responsibility felt for the song material. Female folk singers are thus presented in the media as near mythical creatures who have an organic connection to the land, and who approach the music that they perform as if it were a living creature. Chapman names his fourth process in defining centre and periphery as a Romanticism that "glamorises the other that is constructed in processes 1 and 3 [… it] is a re-evaluation, in the centre, of peripheral features" (1994: 37, 41). Here this has to do with how the female folk singers' origins, professionalism and performance are nostalgised in the media, and consequently constructed as the Cosy Other (see Original Paper IV).

By introducing the Cosy Other I wish to insert what could be seen as an intermediate level (or, in Saïd's terms, a median category) of otherness between the observing, dominant other and the observed distant, threatening and negative other. Such a benign, Cosy Other is also needed in the construction of the dominant centre, and therefore the opposing periphery does not always have to be extremely distant and strange. A near-by, sufficiently different element can also be othered. Characterising this level of otherness as cosy illustrates its experiential nature: the Cosy Other is experienced in a positive light. It is something sufficiently exotic, but not too strange, different or potentially dangerous.

3 SUMMARIES OF THE ORIGINAL PAPERS

This chapter contains summaries of the articles that form the argumentative whole of the dissertation. Here the connections between the articles are explained and the findings discussed. The dissertation is based on four articles, three of which have been published in peer-reviewed journals (Original Papers I, II, and IV) and one that is a completed manuscript, not yet submitted for publication (Original Paper III). In this chapter they are discussed in the order in which they were written. This demonstrates the development of my research and the progressive deepening of the analysis of the research material. In articles I, III, and IV material written about all four singers has been analysed, whereas article II focuses on just one of these, Julie Fowlis. This is because I wanted to concentrate on a single case to ascertain the reliability of my argument on the effects of cultural remembering and premediation on the construction of the media representation of the female folk singer. Alternating the focus from a group of artists to a single artist and back to the group again in the four articles thematically following each other showed that my argument is applicable to a wider, more general focus group of singers as well as to the case of an individual artist.

The development of my thought processes in the course of this research project is also visible in the articles. In the beginning, the most accessible starting point was the singers' origins and how they were presented in the media texts. This then directed the study to explore more abstract conceptual levels, revealing in turn that authenticity, and consequently the artists' professionalism, were also connected to the perception of their origins, and to their otherness, both in society in general and the music industry. Examination of these women artists' professionalism, authenticity and otherness drew the attention to the aspect of gender and its effect on the construction of the singers' media representation. Understanding the presentation of women in the media in general as well as that of female artists in the music business and in the media, was especially instrumental in shaping the narratives of performance and otherness. The framework of memory studies, which in the early stages of this study formed just one of the theoretical starting points, proved to be more than that and was

applied more extensively to conceptualise the four narratives emerging from the singers' media representations.

The four articles focus on narratives emerging from the research material, all the while tying them together with the concept of cultural memory on its individual and collective levels, working together and influencing each other in constructing the four singers' media representation. While the interpretation of the singers and their performances in the media texts is at the centre of all the articles, the singers' voices in the construction of their media representation is heard in the interviews included in the research material and the exerpts drawn from them and analysed in the original articles. As such, the narratives that these sources project in the media representation of these artists are very similar. The representation of a female folk singer is therefore built on premediation and cultural memory, and its embeddedness in the public consciousness shows through the presentations fashioned by the journalists and artists alike. The presentation of Fowlis, Nic Amhlaoibh, Portman and Rusby as folk singers in the media comprises narratives constructing nostalgia and authenticity and narratives of performance, which foreground their gender. All these are integrated in the narrative that constructs the singers as the Cosy Other, a character who is different but not too much, and can thus be safely positioned as a representative of a culturally and socially accepted type of an artist.

3.1 "Place, Sound, and Tradition: Origin Narratives Constructing Nostalgia in the Media Representations of Female Folk singers"

The first article, titled "Place, sound, and tradition: Origin narratives constructing nostalgia in the media representations of female folk singers" (see Original Paper I), shapes a pattern for studying how the processes of remembering construct the media representation of contemporary folk singers Julie Fowlis, Muireann Nic Amhlaoibh, Emily Portman, and Kate Rusby. It examines how place, sound and links to tradition construct nostalgia in the media representations of these four artists from Scotland, Ireland and England. The research material, consisting of both online and print magazine articles, reviews and interviews written about the artists, nostalgises them, in turn constructing them as authentic as folk singers. Nostalgia in this context is a specific, unified, and even totalising story about the past which is manifested in the origin narratives of the singers.

These origin narratives consist of place, sound and tradition, meaning the singers' places of origin, their sound in reference to their voices and performance languages, and their links to the continuum of tradition. Place refers not only to the actual existing place of the singers' origins, but simultaneously to an imagined place in memory which is constructed on the cultural connotations attached to that place. The singers come to represent their places of origin and

those places of origin represent them, and thus place strongly influences the construction of their media image. Sound refers both to the sound of the music that the singers create and to the sounds of the languages in which the singers sing. Sound is thus connected to the singers' origins on more than one level, through their cultural, national and linguistic background, and through the genre of the music they perform. Links to tradition are the third strand of origin narratives, illustrating the artists' appreciation of their cultural heritage, especially the song tradition to which they have dedicated their professional lives.

Origin narratives present the female folk singer in terms of a particular kind of "pastness", based on nostalgic imaginations of particular places. Although the artists themselves see tradition as vibrant and living, and produce music that exhibits this, the constraints of the genre norms— the genre of music and the genre of music journalism—call for them to be seen as creatures of a nostalgised past, defined by their origin narratives. Origin-centeredness, which is a central feature of folk and traditional music, defines the singers' presentations in the media. The prevalence of origin narratives in the media representation of these artists points to a process of premediation (Erll 2009: 111, 114; 2011a: 142–143) where pre-existing media are used in making sense and representing newer phenomena. Much like experiencing nostalgia, premediation is an internal active process within the process of remembering, and in this context remembering, premediation and experiencing nostalgia all intertwine in the construction of the media representation of female folk singers.

3.2 "Origins and Originality: Authenticity in the Media Representation of Julie Fowlis"

The second article focuses on the concept of authenticity and the ways it is manifested in the media representation of Julie Fowlis. The article is entitled "Origins and Originality: Authenticity in the media representation of Julie Fowlis" (see Original Paper II). The origin narratives discussed in the first article, combined with the narratives of professionalism, consisting of musicianship, the work ethic and dedication to the craft, construct Fowlis's authenticity in the media as a folk singer. In this context, authenticity as a concept is very closely tied to the concept of nostalgia, since the nostalgic and romanticised references to Fowlis's origins are presented partly as the basis of her authenticity as a folk singer. Both authenticity and nostalgia are experiential features, ascribed to phenomena from the outside, by the observer.

Fowlis represents the new Gaelic speaker, but is presented in terms of stereotypical imagery connected to Scotland, which portray tradition as stagnant, quaint, and in need of preservation. As the case of Fowlis illustrates, the representation of female folk singers in the media is very origin-centred and the singers' nostalgic origin narratives informing their representation ascribe to the

artists a label of pastness that in the media is seen as an inherent quality of the genre of folk music and female folk singers (see Original Paper I; Karjalainen 2016). However, the singer is also presented as a professional artist, remaking and reinterpreting the tradition of the living culture which she represents. The narrative of a female folk singer's professionalism, as discussed here through the example of Fowlis, is just as conscious of the past as the narrative of origins is.

The artist's connection to music, her interpretation of tradition in a respectful way, and descriptions of such features imply that both the artist and the audiences have a premediated idea about what constitutes an authentic folk singer and how she performs and works. Thus, here, the authenticity ascribed to the artist is viewed as a device of cultural remembering, built on the interaction of individual collective levels of remembering along with the process of premediation. (Erll 2009; 2011). The last-mentioned process has to do with how the connection to past media material, acquired knowledge, understanding and memories of earlier phenomena are used to understand new phenomena and also to create new authentic representations of artists within the genre conventions of folk music. (Original Paper I; Erll 2009: 111, 114; 2011a: 142.)

3.3 "Pure Voices, Confident Singing, Enchanting Music: Narratives of Performance Gendering the Media Representation of Female Folk Singers"

The third article "Pure voices, confident singing, enchanting music: Narratives of performance gendering the media representation of female folk singers" (see Original Paper III) examines the performance narratives constructed by the vocabulary used in the media texts written about the four female folk singers who are the focus of this dissertation. The research material texts display three prominent narratives of performance, those of seduction, innocence and professionalism, the third of these linking back to the concept of authenticity discussed in the second article. These three narratives actualise in the research material through the descriptions of the singers' voices, singership, and music, which together constitute the singers' performance.

Unlike in analysing the narratives of origins, authenticity, and the Cosy Other that emerge from the media representation of female folk singers, the analysis of the descriptions of the singers' performances - and further, the construction of their performance narratives - focuses on single words rather than longer phrases. To facilitate the analysis of the material and to define the performance narratives, the extensive body of words collected from the media texts was divided into nine subcategories. These subcategories are *soundscapes, the mythicalised, audience reaction*, *quality*, *physical appearance, feelings, heard light*, *professionalism*, and *the unspoiled*. Although the words referring to the three aspects of the singers' performance were divided into these subcategories to

facilitate the analysis, the division is not exclusive and many of these words could be categorised to belong in more than one subcategory simultaneously.

Therefore, the nine subcategories listed above demonstrate how listeners (the journalists and critics included) experience and describe a female folk singer's voice, singership, and music, and how narratives of her performance are constructed in the media. Conducting the study on the single word level reveals the consistency of the narratives of performance in the media texts on the folk music genre and music journalism. It shows how both male and female journalists, either consciously or unconsciously, adhere to and make use of the imagery conventionally connected to female folk singers. The generalized narrative of the female artist constructed in the music press, based on the angel-temptress dichotomy, is used extensively in the media texts studied, although the singers are also given due credit for their accomplishments. Thus, the narrative of professionalism grants the singers artistic credibility because they are rendered unthreatening via the narratives of seduction and innocence, the conventional performance narratives available for female artists in the music press.

3.4 "Imagined, remembered, gendered: Narratives of Cosy Other in the Media Representation of Female Folk Singers"

All the concepts and narratives discussed above and examined in detail in the three previous articles come together in the fourth article, "Imagined, remembered, gendered: Narratives of Cosy Other in the media representation of female folk singers" (see Original Paper IV), which concentrates on the narratives of otherness in the media representation of female folk singers. The descriptions of the singers' places of origin, their genre of music, and their gender construct otherness in their media representation and are also staple features in discussing female artists, and in some cases especially folk music artists, in the media. In this context, however, the otherness of these singers is that of an internal other, an other that is both European and foreign (McKerrell 2016: 126; Gelbart 2007: 64; O'Flynn 2014: 238; Bohlman 2000: 189–193), a familiar character, but yet different enough to be marvelled at. In the media texts studied the singers are discussed in terms of their difference – be it their genre of music, gender, origins or performance language – all the while coating that discussion with nostalgia and romantic imagery. This reconstructs the singers as the Cosy Other, something charming and unthreateningly different with singular cultural traits, such as a performance language other than English, a discernible regional dialect, or a pronounced regionalism. The possible cultural baggage accumulated in the course of history is wrapped up in cosiness, niceness, and nostalgia. The singers are experienced as exotic, but not excessively so.

Here, the narratives of the Cosy Other combine the narratives of origins, authenticity, and performance, which in turn are connected in the active

processes of remembering and premediation, and construct the four singers as nostalgic, authentic, and feminine in the media. Thus, the concept of the Cosy Other is also built on remembering and cultural memory with its individual and collective levels affecting each other and working together in the process. This article shows how female folk singers are marginalised as the Cosy Other, not only through their origins and music but also through their gender. Such a narrative defining the media representation of the female artist shows how (folk) music journalism closely follows the guidelines of popular music journalism, placing female artists in a peripheral position. This, and the position of folk music in the sphere of popular music as marginal and exotic, render female folk singers the most evocative of cosy otherness.

4 CONCLUSIONS

This dissertation has examined how four contemporary female folk singers, Julie Fowlis, Muireann Nic Amhlaoibh, Emily Portman and Kate Rusby are represented in the media as women artists. Their gender and artistry intertwine in their media representation, which is governed by the active process of cultural remembering. Each of the original papers summarised in chapter 3 explores the processes of media representation through a different lens. The media text material of concert and album reviews, interviews and articles remains the same throughout, but the focus shifts between more tangible features such as the singers' places of origin, their performance languages and the music that they make, and more abstract concepts such as their authenticity and otherness as artists, their performance and their singership.

As outlined in the introduction chapter, this study has sought to answer to three research questions: what makes folk singers folk singers in the media, how deeply embedded in the process of cultural remembering this premediated representation of female folk singer is, and what narratives are discernible within that media representation and what attributes those narratives attach to the singers. The analysis of the media texts and definition of the narratives of origins, authenticity, performance and Cosy Other provided answers to the first question. Second, the analysis was conducted and the emergent narratives outlined in order to demonstrate how the transculturality of the process of cultural remembering, its incessant "travelling" between and across places, national communities, social groups, media sources, individual minds, and past, present and future (Erll 2011b: 11–13) have participated in the construction of the premediated media representation of female folk singers. Third, the analysis and outlining of the narratives enabled study of the kind of femininity these narratives produce in the singers' media representation.

The narratives of origin, authenticity, performance and Cosy Other emerging from the singers' media representation in the media text materials were the focus of study in the four original papers. These narratives show how the process of cultural remembering produces a romanticised media representation of these female artists. The genre conventions of folk music have an effect on the

narratives; the preoccupation with origins and preserving and reinterpreting tradition is inherent to folk music as a genre and those traits are also ascribed to artists representing the genre, emphasizing the temporal distance and image of pastness constructed of a folk singer in the media. The same focus on folk singers' origins and dedication to tradition also is also present in the narrative of authenticity, in which a singer's origins and traditionalism are combined with the singer's professionalism. An authentic folk music artist exhibits her work ethic via her dedication to tradition, which is romanticised as quaint and unusual. The narrative of professionalism is gendered in that it is accompanied with the narratives of seduction and innocence. The three go together in the media texts, forming the narrative of performance through which the professionalism of a female artist is acknowledged; however, the pointedly gendered narratives in the female artists' media representations counterbalance it, confining the singers to the predefined categories available for women in the folk music business as well as popular music business in general. Thus, the narratives emerging from their media representation are overlaid with how women overall and female musicians in particular are represented in the media.

While, for the sake of clarity, the narratives of origins, professionalism, authenticity, performance and Cosy Other have been discussed here more or less in isolation from each other, it is important to note that in practice they cannot be separated. Rather, they are linked in various ways, and all read as narratives of femininity in the context of contemporary folk music. As such, all these narratives make visible the power structures that also permeate the folk music scene as a part of a wider social community and define the female artists' position within it. It is debatable whether, for example, the cosiness of female folk singers' otherness is a liminal stage and a step towards equality within the music business, or simply a sum of the factors that construct these artists' media representation. Nevertheless, making the construction of these structures visible is in itself significant in explaining why the representation is constructed the way it is, and what meanings can be extracted from it. The prevailing social structures define the attitudes, norms and values that steer meaning-making, and thus maintaining or changing the representation of female folk singers would require a deep structural adjustment in any given community or social group in which such a representation is constructed. Considering that female artists in folk music, and in other genres of popular and art music, are not an anomaly and have gained – albeit with a struggle – a foothold in the field, and are in no way inferior to male artists in their musical endeavours should alone be enough to call for such a structural adjustment.

Although the four artists studied are representatives of the folk music genre, they are not identical as artists and exhibit differences in their musical style, performance language and material. Still, the representations constructed of them via the media texts studied appear significantly uniform, and the same narratives of origins, authenticity, performance and otherness emerge from them all. This uniformity refers to a gendered norm that governs their construction. However, although clearly gendered and represented as feminine, these artists'

professionalism, their authenticity or the value of their performance, or the 'folkness' or 'traditionalism' of their music is not dependent on their gender or on mentions of it in the media. Femininity does not diminish the female folk singers' professionalism; rather, it is an integral part of their representation and is always brought up in the media text as closely intertwined with their origin narratives, professionalism and authenticity and also as defining the narratives of their performance. The intertwining of narratives of what could be called "traditional femininity" with the notion of female professionalism is interesting in the sense that it highlights specific power structures in the popular media and music industry that are based on an amalgamation of the past and present. On the one hand, traditional femininity refers to women's restricted social space and lesser power while on the other the recognition of their professionalism indicates the turning of a new page when it comes to female musicianship, reflecting the actual impact of women artists in the music business.

Folk music artists themselves have recently become increasingly vocal about issues of gender equality in folk music (Chipping 2014b; Long 2016; Molleson 2017; Kinder 2018) and the discussion on that topic in this study shows that there is certainly room for improvement. Like the majority of music genres, the folk and traditional music scene is male-dominated and it shows not only in the numbers of male artists and all-male bands or bands with a male majority, but also in festival and event performer line-ups and in the fact that some of these events actually employ a quota of female artists and all-female bands, and can thus limit the number of gigs and performance opportunities available for female artists (Savage 2018; Sherlock & Bradshaw 2017; Molleson 2017; Chipping 2014b; O'Shea 2008: 56, 59, 65). Recent developments around this situation are the BIT Collective set up in 2017 by Rachel Newton, Jenn Butterworth, and Michaela Atkins to "discuss and address gender issues in Scottish folk and traditional music ("The BIT Collective Facebook page" 2017; Kinder 2018: 41), and FairPlé (2018), a grass roots initiative call for gender equality within the Irish traditional music scene, launched by Karan Casey, a well-known Irish traditional folk singer, in January 2018 on her Facebook page (Karan Casey 2018; "FairPlé Facebook page" 2018). Both projects have been welcomed by other artists (both male and female), including the singers studied here, and by audiences alike, and FairPlé in particular has gained wide and positive attention, especially in the social media. Since its launch, the initiative has set up an official website (www.fairple.com), begun to compile a directory of female musicians, and is planning and arranging interactive events focusing on gender issues in traditional and folk music. The further impact of such initiatives remains to be seen as they are still in their early stages, but acknowledging the existence of a gender bias in the folk and traditional music scene, as elsewhere, and having artists themselves claim agency in trying to change the status quo is a significant step.

The 21st century folk and traditional music scene is more visible in the media than ever before, and hence the framework established here could be adopted in further studies in the field. In the light of the current gender equality discussion

both in the folk music scene and in general, a study of female folk singers' own influence in the construction of their media representation would be both timely and important. This would benefit both the artists themselves and the folk music scene, as well as the popular music business in general, making more visible the embeddedness of the current representation of female artists in popular music and culture, including the folk music scene. The large number of media texts analysed for this dissertation has both provided an extensive overview of the various media sources publishing articles, reviews and interviews about folk music artists and supported the claim of the embeddedness of a certain kind of a media representation throughout the different publication forums. However, as the research material was restricted to texts written by journalists and not by the singers themselves or their PR teams, the analysis and its outcomes are inevitably one-sided. A more comprehensive picture of, especially female, folk singers' and musicians' own agency in constructing their media representation could be obtained through an analysis of their PR material (both written and photographic), their official web pages, and their social media presence. Although this study focused on just four singers, their standing and prominence in the field of contemporary anglophone and Celtic folk music, and the recurrent themes in the media texts written about them suggest a wider phenomenon that concerns not only them but also other female artists in the same music genre. In addition,, conducting similar research with media texts written about male folk singers and musicians would offer answers to the questions that have arisen in the course of this study, such as the gendering of male artists and the male normativity of the music business, as indicated by the predominance of male artists' in the music business, in record sales, event performance listings and the fact that the majority of music journalists, and music industry professionals in management, PR, recording, producing and sound engineering are male. At present, such future research directions appear the most worthwhile and in studying them the findings of this dissertation would be a useful starting point.

YHTEENVETO

Tämä väitöskirja tarkastelee naisfolklaulajien mediarepresentaation rakentumista 2010-luvulla keskittyen neljään aikalaisartistiin. Tutkimuksen kohteiksi ovat valikoituneet skotlantilainen Julie Fowlis, irlantilainen Muireann Nic Amhlaoibh, sekä englantilaiset Emily Portman ja Kate Rusby. Nämä neljä laulajaa ovat kaikki hyvin tunnettuja nimiä folk- ja kansanmusiikkikentällä sekä kotimaissaan että maailmanlaajuisesti. He toimivat kokopäiväisinä ammattimuusikoina ja ovat luoneet solistiuraa 2000-luvun alusta alkaen (Fowlis, Nic Amhlaoibh, Portman), osaksi jo 1990-luvun jälkipuoliskolta lähtien (Rusby). Musiikillisilla taidoillaan he ovat ansainneet kukin useita alan palkintoja, palkintoehdokkuuksia, ja kunnianimityksiä ja toimivat säännöllisesti myös muissa mediatehtävissä kuten radio- ja televisiotoimittajina ja juontajina.

Väitöskirjan teoreettinen kehys muodostuu sosiaalisen konstruktionismin perustalle, josta mediarepresentaation, narratiivin ja kulttuurisen muistin käsitteet kumpuavat. Lehtiartikkeleista, konsertti- ja levyarvioista sekä haastatteluartikkeleista koostuva tutkimusaineisto on analysoitu näiden käsitteiden kautta ja väitöskirja liittyykin siten mediarepresentaation tutkimuksen jatkumoon. Tutkimuksen tavoitteena oli selvittää, kuinka naisfolklaulajien mediarepresentaatio rakentuu ja tarkastelun kohteena olivat etenkin narratiivit, joita olen tutkijana poiminut tuosta mediarepresentaatiosta.

Väitöskirja perustuu neljään tutkimusartikkeliin, jotka kukin tarkastelevat neljää tutkimusaineistosta määritellystä mediarepresentaatiosta noussutta narratiiviryhmää. Näitä ovat alkuperän narratiivi (narrative of origins), autenttisuuden narratiivi (narrative of authenticity), esittämisen narratiivi (narrative of performance) ja mukavan toiseuden narratiivi (narrative of Cosy Other). Artikkeli I tarkastelee miten paikka, ääni ja perinne rakentavat artistien alkuperän narratiiveja ja kuinka tämä narratiivi tuottaa nostalgiaa heidän mediarepresentaatioissaan. Artikkeli II syventää tätä perustaa ja keskittyy siihen, miten alkuperän narratiivi yhdessä professionaalisuuden narratiivin kanssa rakentaa autenttisuuden narratiivia naisfolklaulajasta mediassa. Artikkeli III keskittyy tutkimusaineiston teksteihin sanatasolla ja selvittää, miten laulajien ääntä, laulajuutta ja musiikkia kuvaamaan käytetyt sanavalinnat tuottavat vietteleviä, viattomia ja ammattilaisuudesta kertovia esittämisen narratiiveja. Artikkeli IV kokoaa yhteen kaikki nämä edellä mainitut narratiivit ja määrittelee, kuinka ne yhdessä muodostavat naisfolklaulajista mediassa mukavan toiseuden narratiivin heidän alkuperänsä, musiikinlajinsa ja musiikillisen ammattilaisuutensa sekä sukupuolensa pohjalta. Näiden narratiivien kautta naisfolklaulajien mediarepresentaatio näyttäytyy nostalgisena, autenttisena, sukupuolittuneena ja toiseutettuna. Erityisesti analyysissä kiinnitettiin huomiota siihen, miten kulttuurinen muisti, muistamisen aktiivinen prosessi ja premediaatio vaikuttavat mediarepresentaation ja sen sisältämien narratiivien rakentumiseen ja kuinka syvään juurtuneita kulttuuriseen muistiin naisfolklaulajiin yhdistetty mielikuvasto ja tavat rakentaa heidän imagoaan.

Yllä mainittujen artistien mediarepresentaatioon sisältyvien narratiivien analyysi paljastaa prosessiin vaikuttavat yhteiskunnan valtarakenteet: mukavan toiseuden narratiivi on tässä väitöskirjassa analysoiduista naisfolklaulajien mediarepresentaatiota rakentavista tekijöistä vaikeimmin havaittava, mutta myös tätä mediarepresentaatiota voimakkaimmin määrittävä. Tämä toiseuttava narratiivi kokoaa yhteen alkuperän, autenttisuuden ja esittämisen narratiivit ja osoittaa siten niiden tarkoitusperät. Kaikki nämä neljä narratiivia ilmentävät sitä, miten naisfolklaulajien mediarepresentaatio rakentuu sukupuolittuneena.

Tutkimuksen tuloksena voidaan sanoa, että 2010-luvun länsimaisen naisfolklaulajan mediarepresentaatio rakentuu sosiaalisessa kontekstissa kulttuurisen muistamisen vaikutuksen alaisena. Kulttuurisen muistamisen transkulttuurisuus, sen lakkaamaton ”matkustaminen” paikkojen, kansallisten yhteisöjen, sosiaalisten ryhmien, medialähteiden, menneisyyden, nykyisyyden ja tulevaisuuden poikki mahdollistavat tässä väitöskirjassa analysoidun kaltaisen mediarepresentaation rakentumisen. Premediaation vaikutus näkyy etenkin siinä, että sekä analysoituja mediatekstejä kirjoittaneet kriitikot ja journalistit rakentavat keskenään hyvin samanlaista, samoja narratiiveja toistavaa ja käyttävää representaatiota naisfolklaulajasta mediassa. Vaikka tutkimuksen kohteena olleet neljä laulajaa ovatkin suhteellisen suppea otanta genren kaikista artisteista, heidän tunnettuutensa folk- ja kansanmusiikin kentällä sekä heistä kirjoitetussa tekstimateriaalissa ilmenevät, toistuvat teemat ja niistä tässä työssä koostetut narratiivit viittaavat laajempaan ilmiöön, joka koskee heidän lisäkseen myös muita saman musiikkigenren artisteja.

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ORIGINAL PAPERS

I

PLACE, SOUND, AND TRADITION: ORIGIN NARRATIVES CONSTRUCTING NOSTALGIA IN THE MEDIA REPRESENTATIONS OF FEMALE FOLK SINGERS

by

Noora Karjalainen, 2017

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Place, Sound, and Tradition: Origin Narratives Constructing Nostalgia in the Media Representations of Female Folk Singers

INTRODUCTION

This article examines the constructions of nostalgia in the media representations of four female folk singers from Scotland, Ireland and England. The research material, consisting of both online and print magazine articles, reviews and interviews written about the artists, nostalgises them and this in turn constructs them authentic as folk singers. Nostalgia in this context is a specific, unified, and even totalising story about the past which is manifested in the origin narratives of the singers. These origin narratives consist of place, sound and tradition, meaning the singers' places of origin, their sound in reference to their voices and performance languages, and their links to the continuum of tradition. I therefore discuss the ways in which the media representations of female folk singers appear nostalgic through place, sound, and links to tradition.

The singers studied in this article are Julie Fowlis and Muireann Nic Amhlaoibh, who perform in Scottish Gaelic and Irish respectively, and Kate Rusby and Emily Portman, who both sing in English. These four singers have been chosen not only because of their prominence in the Anglo-Celtic folk music scene and steady productivity as artists but also because they embody the characteristics of my study. Of the four singers, Kate Rusby has had the longest career as a solo act, having issued her first album already in 1997. The other three entered the folk music scene in the early years of 21st century and have since performed regularly in the British Isles, Europe and United States, and produced several acclaimed albums each. Fowlis, Nic Amhlaoibh and Portman

have also performed as members of folk and traditional music bands but in my research I concentrate on their careers as solo artists and how their media representations as solo folk singers are constructed.

In what follows, I first present the research material used in this article and then proceed to discuss the theoretical framework. I present my approach on the concept of nostalgia with the help of previous studies on the subject by Svetlana Boym (2001), Paul Grainge (2000), Aaron Santesso (2006), and Janelle Wilson (2014), and I also touch on the concept of cultural memory as defined by Astrid Erll (2009, 2011) and Emily Keightley and Michael Pickering (2012). With the help of this theoretical framework I then move on to analyse the material and show how origin narratives construct nostalgia in the media representations of the four above-mentioned female folk singers.

Material

I have used altogether five articles, five interviews, nineteen concert and album reviews, and one press release written about the folk singers Julie Fowlis, Muireann Nic Amhlaoibh, Kate Rusby and Emily Portman. These texts have been published in the printed or online versions of *Fairfax Country Times, The Guardian, The Journal of Music, The Living Tradition, The Northern Soul, The Observer, The Skinny, The Songlines Magazine, The Telegraph*, *Time Magazine,* and *The Yorkshire Post,* the music promotion and source websites allmusic.com, bright young folk, Copperplate Distribution, FRUK music & culture webzine, Last.fm, 67music.net, RootsWorld, Song of the Isles, UKVibe, and The Wounded Jukebox, and music review sites of BBC Music. The magazine articles, concert and album reviews, and interviews selected for analysis cover a time period from 2005 to 2015, and are part of a larger body of material collected from online and

printed sources between 2012 and 2015. From this text material I have chosen examples of origin narratives that illustrate the centrality and prominence of nostalgia in the female folk singers' media representations. The examples are analysed with the help of the above-mentioned theoretical framework.

The contested concept of folk music

In my study I treat 'folk music' as a major concept which includes the genre of traditional music. It is difficult to say definitely what folk music is or is not, but in the simplest definition of the genre folk music is often orally transmitted, and has no known composer or writer. While part of folk music material may conform to this definition, it cannot be applied to all the music under that label. The tunes and songs may be orally transmitted as is often the case in the traditional music scene, but the practitioners and performing artists of the genre may contribute to the canon of tunes and songs by writing new ones. The established Anglo-Celtic canon of folk songs in circulation on both sides of the Atlantic has been replenished time and again by prolific songwriters, and those songs have become a part of the canon, accepted by the practitioners and audiences as folk music because of the status of the songwriter as an established folk music artist, or because of the style in which they are performed. Of the four singers studied in this article, two, Kate Rusby and Emily Portman write many of their songs themselves, taking inspiration from old stories, earlier versions of songs, and folklore. Julie Fowlis and Muireann Nic Amhlaoibh perform traditional songs in Scottish Gaelic and Irish, or songs written by others. Because of the vagueness and often circumstantial nature of music genres, folk music as a defining term is therefore used in connection to all the four singers. It is chosen also for the sake of clarity because mainstream media sources—

where the majority of my material originates—rarely make the distinction between folk music and, say, traditional music.

PLACE, SOUND, AND TRADITION: ORIGIN NARRATIVES CONSTRUCTING NOSTALGIA

The media representation of female folk singers is strongly based on the artists' origins, which in this context comprises of the places where they come from, the languages they perform in, and the tradition that the places and the languages carry, and about which the singers are very passionate. This three-way divide into place, sound and tradition of the female folk singers origin narratives reflects the conceptualizations of nostalgia introduced by previous research. Although nostalgia has been extensively studied before as a wider concept (see Boym; Grainge; Lowenthal) and in connection to music and media (see Elliott; *Media and Nostalgia*), this particular direction of research has been largely unchartered.

The places where the singers come from are here studied as the first strand of the origin narratives, and they are idealised and constructed anew on the basis of nostalgic memories and stereotypical connotations attached to those places. This idealisation of the past (Santesso 16), the recreation of places as something that they could have been but never were (Boym 351) – something that Svetlana Boym (xiv, 354) calls horizontal nostalgia, nostalgia directed not towards the past but sideways towards a parallel reality – is constructed in the female folk singers' media representations through the references to their places of origin. The sound as the second strand of the singers' origin narratives includes not only the languages in which the singers perform, but also the values ascribed to the languages, as well as to the voices of the singers themselves. Especially the soundscapes of the two minority languages in which Fowlis and Nic Amhlaoibh

perform create what can be characterized as vicarious or displaced nostalgia (Boym 352-353, Wilson 32), a reaction to something not experienced or remembered first-hand but through an intermediary, be it a person, text, or a cultural connotation. The sounds of the singers' voices also have the transportative abilities of sending the listeners on a journey to imagined places in memory. Tradition, the third strand of the singers' origin narratives, is manifested in the singers' media presentations as their passion for their craft and as accounts of their musical processes. Alongside place and sound, references to tradition construct nostalgia in the media representations of folk singers. Tradition is as idealised as the other two strands and recreated not as vibrant and living as the singers themselves see it but as something quaint and romantic, an idealised reference to a culture seen as past and to an imagined place recreated in memory.

Individually, the three strands described above can be characterised as what Paul Grainge (28) describes as nostalgia mood, nostalgia as an experience. Nostalgia generated by the references to place, to the sound of particular languages and the singers' voices, and to the artists' links to tradition involve experiencing, interpreting and reconstructing memories, either first-hand or second-hand. Correspondingly, I see the three strands of place, sound, and tradition, combined together as the origin narratives, as what Grainge titles as nostalgia mode, nostalgia as something consumable (28-29). The experiences of nostalgia generated by the references to the singers' origin narratives are treated as a label, something that is attached to the artists to promote them. The remembering and the memories are made consumable, past in a package of "pastness".

The implied pastness of folk music as a genre and the folk singers as artists is featured in their media presentations regardless of from which era the singers themselves are. The descriptions of the artists as being guides to another world and time, and provoking imagery of a golden, simpler time closely apply to a statement made by Sean Williams and Lillis Ó Laoire (90): "[Heaney's

performance] carried them […] into the Ireland of their imagination, which is, for many non-Irish people, perpetually in the past". Though the reference in the quote is to Ireland and to an Irish language folk singer, it also applies well to the Scottish Gaelic singer Julie Fowlis and the English language singers Kate Rusby and Emily Portman. The Scotland re-created by Fowlis's music and the soundscapes of the Gaelic language, combined with the already existing ideas of the country and its culture in the minds of audiences creates such an imaginary place (Stenhouse; Long) as described by Williams and Ó Laoire. Similarly, the storybook settings of the songs that Rusby and Portman sing evoke the imaginary land of England that is remembered fondly even though it never existed in that form. The idea can be further applied to the folk singers themselves, as in the media they are often viewed not as ordinary people living their everyday lives in a modern world, but as messengers from the past or guides to an imagined place (The Wounded Jukebox; Holland), therefore rendering the folk singer also as being "perpetually in the past".

Based on Boym, Santesso, and Wilson, I view nostalgia in the context of folk singer media representations as idealising the past and constructing a version of the past that is imaginary. It is a longing for something that is unattainable, something that could have been but never was. Nostalgia in this context is constructed through the origin narratives connected to the folk singers in the media, consisting of place, sound and tradition. The above-mentioned fascination with past and the idealised recreations of it in connection to folk singers and folk music are manifestations of nostalgia. Boym's (41-55) conceptualisations of restorative and reflective nostalgia are visible in the ways that the origin narratives are constructed in the folk singer media representations. The restorative tendency of nostalgia, which Boym characterises as utopian and intent on truth and tradition, is instigated by the references to the singers' origins, the past cultures, traditions and heritage, because they are the inspiration not only to the singers as artists, but also work as image-

building components for them and are used by the journalists writing about them. The reflective tendency of nostalgia, characterised as ironic, doubting and concentrating on the longing, is instigated by the same references, because they construct the imagined past, the imagined place and time that the singers represent in the media.

When discussing nostalgia it is necessary to consider its link to remembering and to the concept of cultural memory and its individual and collective levels. Astrid Erll (*Memory* 99) defines these levels of cultural memory respectively as "individual remembering in a sociocultural context" and as "symbolic order, media and institutions through which social groups […] establish their knowledge systems and versions of the past". According to Erll (*Memory* 98), the latter shape the individual memory and must also be appropriated through individual minds lest it remains useless and has no effect on memory culture. Cultural memory is thus central in constructing the folk singer media representations. Like Emily Keightley and Michael Pickering (41, 59), I see remembering as a creative process, and memory as an imagined construction of an earlier experience rather than an exact repetition of it. In Keightley and Pickering's (9-10) view, imagination also has an important role in creating a coherent relationship and interaction between individual and collective, or personal and popular memory. This combination of Erll's and Keightley and Pickering's conceptualisations of cultural memory and remembering theorises the way I see the concepts in connection to the topic at hand.

According to Keightley and Pickering (94, 103) processes of remembering are both individual and social at the same time, and we remember as individual group members. The products of such remembering are made tangible by using, interpreting and reproducing them, and this kind of application gives collective memory an active quality, making it something that is done rather than simply possessed (Keightley and Pickering 103). This active, experiential

characteristic of memory and remembering is reflected also in the concept of nostalgia and the ways it is constructed in the folk singer media representations through the origin narratives.

This in connection to Erll's statement of the media working as the link "between individual minds and the collective frameworks of memory" (*Memory* 130) suggests that collective memory would not be possible without the aid of the media and therefore, the existence of, say, genres of music would also not be possible without the collective level of cultural memory. (Erll, *Memory* 113) Thus, a singer's media representation is based on a particular social construction of her as a singer of a specific genre of music. This information, experienced, interpreted and reconstructed through both the individual and the collective memory practices, is circulated through varied media sources. Not only dates and facts but also more group and society specific information, ideas and attitudes are learned and absorbed via the media (Halbwachs 64 qtd. in Erll, *Memory* 130).

Erll's ("Remembering" 111, 114) concept of premediation applies here, meaning that already existing media and memories of earlier events are used to understand new phenomena and events, and make sense of the contemporary artists. These memories are created and reconstructed both individually and collectively at the same time. The media material produced earlier – for example during the folk music revival era of the 1960s and 1970s – about folk singers, about the folk music genre, and the attitudes and ideas about what typifies a folk singer is used by the audiences and the journalists in order to understand and write about the new artists of the same genre. The following example from an early 1960s issue of *Time Magazine* discussing Joan Baez and the 1960s folk music revival gives an insight into the representations imposed on folk singers:

> Her [Joan Baez's] voice is as clear as air in the autumn, a vibrant, strong, untrained and thrilling soprano. […] The purity of her voice suggests purity of approach. She

> is only 21 and palpably nubile. […] She sings Child ballads with an ethereal grace that seems to have been caught and stopped in passage in the air over the 18th century Atlantic. ("Sibyl With Guitar", *Time* 1962: 3)

Baez is romanticised, nostalgised and described in gendered terms. Even here the origins of the singer manifest the constructions of nostalgia in her media representation, the focus being on the sound of her voice and on her links to the continuum of the tradition. The pastness of the singer is strongly implied, though the 1960s folk singers are linked to a past more distant in history than what it is with the present day artists. The folk revival singer is compared to an earlier idealized model, the singer of the earlier centuries, perhaps that of the early modern period whence many of the Scottish, Irish, and Anglo-American folk songs originated (see Karjalainen 28). The media representations of contemporary 21st century folk singers attempt to recreate that earlier, so called original image of a folk singer and on top of that the contemporary singers' representations also channel the image of an idealised folk revival era singer of the 1960s and 1970s. Fifty years may have passed, but a folk singer is still keeping "everyone in thrall to the purity of her voice", exercising "haunting power" with her "deceptively innocent voice" (Nugent; *Uncut Magazine* qtd. in The Wounded Jukebox; Chilton).

Place

Folk music and folk music artists are easily linked with national connotations even though folk musicians and the folk singers studied here often consider their connections to a nation more locally, as the Scottish folk singer Julie Fowlis states: "[m]ost of the time my thinking is smaller, about Uist or the Hebrides or the Highlands, not about Scotland." (Denselow). However, in the

media the singers are viewed as exponents of their native country and often connected to the common and stereotypical cultural connotations of that nation. The aspects of nation, language, ethnicity and popular culture imagery are mythicalised, romanticised, and interconnected with the singers themselves, as well as with the genre conventions and both the national and music genre traditions. This means that the nostalgic longing in the context of folk music is targeted at times to the imagined past of the nations that the singers—often inadvertently—represent, to their inherent traditionalism, to the past of folk music as a genre, or to all of the above at once. Santesso suggests that

> [n]ostalgia, then and now, is not a longing for the past per se; nor is it ever an emotion rooted in empirical reality or concrete autobiography. Rather, it is a longing for objects that are idealized, impersonal and unattainable. A work may look to the past; it is only truly nostalgic if the past is idealised. Thus if nostalgia is composed of two elements – idealisation and desire for the past – idealisation is the only necessary one. (16)

Santesso's statement thus circles back to that of Boym (351), who claims that nostalgia is longing for an idealised version of the past that never actually existed. According to Boym, nostalgia is often directed neither towards past or present, but sideways, and this horizontal nostalgia is yearning for that parallel reality, and idealised version of the known world (Boym xiv, 354). These ideas are applicable to folk singers, as the representations recreate the idealised version of the past folk singer without the past complications, an artist with an affable ethnicity, singing reassuringly traditional songs. Through their music and personas as artists Julie Fowlis, Muireann Nic Amhlaoibh, Kate Rusby and Emily Portman are all exponents of cultures that in popular culture and cultural memory carry strong romanticised and mythicalised connotations. Those connotations

are applied and attached also to the singers, and they then have a nostalgising and authenticating effect on the artists' media representations as folk singers.

Place is here understood not only as a locality but also as a place in time, and as a representation of something that never existed, an imaginary locale. The constructions of nostalgia in the research material are based on this faceted interpretation of place, locating the singers in terms of geography, cultural memory, and imaginary place and time. The genre of folk music appears as place-conscious, meaning that roots and 'originating-from-somewhere' are important construction units of the singers' media representations, and of their authenticity as folk music artists. According to Sara Cohen, referring to the 'Liverpool sound' (118),

> [t]he linking of particular artists with particular places identifies them with roots and presents them as real people embodying artistic integrity and honesty, rather than glitzy stars representing an unreal world of glamour, commerce and marketing strategies.

Such places of origin are of course real and existing localities but in relation to the folk singers those places are recreated through nostalgia, thus distancing them from reality and presenting idealised versions of them. All the four singers are represented through their connections to places and nations. The singers are repeatedly endowed with a string of place names and given titles and nicknames such as "the Barnsley Nightingale" (Hastings; Long; Aston), and "the Poster Gael" (Frost), and their places of origin are minutely described.

Fowlis, Nic Amhlaoibh, Rusby, and Portman are hardly ever just 'folk singers' or 'traditional singers'; instead they are referred to for example as "singer from North Uist, a small island in the Outer Hebrides in Scotland" (The Diary of Julie Fowlis), "this singer […] originally

from Innis Oirr, in the Aran Islands, and Cape Clear Island, off County Cork" (McBride), "Penistone folkie Rusby" (Simpson), and "the Northumberland native" (The Wounded Jukebox). The minority language singers Fowlis and Nic Amhlaoibh's places of origin are described in more detail than those of Rusby and Portman, who sing in English. The distinction highlights the exotic image of a singer who performs in a near-mythical, all-but-extinct language that nobody but the inhabitants of her home village understands. If that village happens to be on a small, remote island, as is the case with both Fowlis and Nic Amhlaoibh, the effect is even more pronounced. The fact that both the singers in question now live somewhere else than the island community of their childhood is beside the point. The recurrent references to their places of origin solidify their authenticity as folk singers, and the exoticised and romanticised imagery in the descriptions of the singers' origins constructs nostalgia in their media representations. The pastness of a folk singer is enhanced through the descriptions of small, rural communities on the shores of windswept, wild islands which stand as the last "bastions of Gaelic culture" (Denselow) resisting the overpowering forces of Anglicisation.

The English language singers Rusby and Portman's places of origin are not described in as much detail as Fowlis and Nic Amhlaoibh's—they might get a mention of a county or town in which they reside, rather than a veritable geography lesson that often accompanies the latter two. Still the connection to a locality or the nation itself is important in the context of folk music. It is notable that in the course of their careers, Rusby and Portman have become increasingly more connected to the nation rather than a specific area, town, or county. When in the earlier years they were "Yorkshire-based" and "Northumberland-based" musicians, over time their connection to a locality has shifted and they now represent the folk music scene in the whole of Great Britain, sporting titles such as "the youthful Yorkshire Queen of English Folk" (The Times qtd. on Kate

Rusby homepage) and “one of British Folk Music scene’s most loved performers” (Gallacher). With Fowlis and Nic Amhlaoibh the perception of their local connections has shifted and expanded though they are still defined in terms of their performance languages. Fowlis’s musical achievements have made her “the best-known Scottish Gaelic singer on the planet” (Denselow), and Nic Amhlaoibh is being praised as “the leading female Irish vocalist of our day” (Margeson). Therefore in the case of Rusby and Portman, their Englishness has been globalised and it globalises them, whereas Fowlis and Nic Amhlaoibh’s positions in the field of folk music as minority language singers marginalise them, not allowing for as all-encompassing a presentation as is possible for the English language singers.

The singers’ connection to, and their ability to create and inhabit a distant, mythical land are at the centre of all the four examples below. The sounds of their music and—in the case of Julie Fowlis—performance language evoke nostalgia in the listeners. Epithets such as an “other world”, “the highlands”, and a “distant land” are repeatedly linked to Julie Fowlis (examples 1 and 2), Emily Portman (example 3), and Kate Rusby (example 4), and they manifest the concept of an idealised past as discussed by Santesso (16) and Boym’s idea of longing for and imagined place and past that never existed (351). This is parallel to the singers’ connections to specific localities and nations. However, this more mythicalised connection to an otherworldly place is an example of how nostalgia is constructed in the media representations of the folk singers. Being described in this way places the singers in the past and allows for that pastness to construct nostalgia in their media representations.

(1) Julie Fowlis began proceedings with an evocative walking [sic] song that conjured up her native northern Uist and one almost felt as though one had been transposed to the highlands. (Stenhouse)

(2) As a resident of the Hebridean isle of North Uist, it is simply her mother tongue, yet its curious sounds and unusual structures make her songs take on the otherworldliness of some distant land. (Long)

Here Julie Fowlis is explicitly linked to the place that is the basis of her presentation in the media. "Northern Uist" and a "Hebridean isle" are of course real, existing places but the way that Fowlis is connected to them in the media recreates them as fabled and distant, imagined places in the past shrouded in mystery, much like the fairytale settings referred to in these examples of Emily Portman and Kate Rusby:

(3) Listening to **Hatchling** [Portman's second solo album] you feel that you are breaking into other worlds, plunging a thousand leagues beneath the sea or going through the back of the wardrobe in C S Lewis' The Lion, the Witch and the Wardrobe, ending up in another land. There is a dreamy feel to Portman's music which is irresistible and inviting. (Horowitz)

(4) So, plug this *Ghost* [Rusby's fourteenth solo album] into the machine, let Kate be your guide and surrender to the mysteries and whispers of the other world contained therein. (Holland)

The places connected to Portman and Rusby in their media presentations are in these examples more clearly imaginary than those referred to in examples 1 and 2. The literary references in example 3 and the storybook allusions in example 4 give evidence of the processes of imagination

at work when the singers' media presentations are constructed. The places in these examples are admittedly more imaginary than the ones referred to in examples 1 and 2 but the way in which they are used in constructing the media presentations of the singers and the ways in which they evoke nostalgia are markedly similar.

The varied embodiments of and links to place in the media representations of female folk singers construct nostalgia in them. The languages, the traditions, and the localities to which the singers are connected construct nostalgia and manifest 'place' in different ways. The pastness of the folk singer is an indicator of this, as well as the way that the folk singers are connected to imagined places and nations. Longing for a version of a past, of a place, or a community that never existed in exactly that form connects to Boym's ideas about both horizontal and vicarious nostalgia (xiv; 351), as well as Santesso's statements about the idealised past (16). All these concepts epitomise the ways in which origin narratives construct nostalgia in the media representations of folk singers.

Sound

Sound as a nostalgising factor in connection to folk singers refers to the sound of the language in which the singers sing, the meanings that those sounds create, and to the values or modes given to the sounds of their voices. The minority language singers Julie Fowlis and Muireann Nic Amhlaoibh are nostalgised because of their performance languages, and the way they sound, and the meanings they create for the listener not able to understand the language are central themes in the research material concerning them. For Fowlis and Nic Amhlaoibh, performance language plays a more prominent role in their media representations than it does in Rusby and Portman's

case. Scottish Gaelic and Irish have cultural connotations of their own which in the context of folk music and folk singer media representations appear as nostalgic through the origin narratives, through the mythicalised and romanticised, as well as gendered language used to describe the singers.

In all three examples below the performance language is at the centre. Because of the performance language, here either Scottish Gaelic or Irish, the journalists' descriptions of the singers present them as romantic beings from strange countries where languages that 'no one understands' are still spoken. The cultural connotations attached to the performance languages are attached also to the singers by extension and their connection with the romanticised past of their home countries is emphasized.

(5) Part of the problem in how to interpret her music is that even her name, Muireann Nic Amhlaoibh, hints at tradition, as does the album's title. And it doesn't help that she sings a number of old folk songs in her native tongue, again hinting at a commitment to traditionalism. (Lankford)

(6) In truth, trying to pin down the beauty of her music is like trying to grab the Highland mist. Her voice rings out with a joy and gentleness that is enhanced by the non-Gaelic speaker's need to rest simply on the sound. (Long)

(7) Muireann's voice to me is butterflies and dappled light - especially in Irish. (de Bie)

The examples 5 and 7 refer to Muireann Nic Amhlaoibh, whose name, the Irish language title of her album, her performance language and the very voice in which she sings all construct her media representation as significantly nostalgic and romanticised. Her singing, especially in Irish is likened to a visual experience of a summery scene of butterflies and sunlight, a comparison that

shows how the performance language affects the interpretations made of her music and her as an artist by extension. Example 6 describes the Scottish Gaelic singer Julie Fowlis, presenting her in an equally romanticised way. Again, the singer is defined by the performance language which here, as in many other instances, is reduced to mere sounds, instead of a language conveying a particular message. In the space of just one sentence Fowlis is connected with stereotypically Scottish imagery (Highland mist), referred to in gendered terms (her music is *beautiful*, her voice *joyful* and *gentle*), and her native language is categorized as sounds comparable to those produced by musical instruments.

Both Scottish Gaelic and Irish are minority languages and fairly unknown outside the British Isles or even outside Scotland and Ireland respectively. Therefore the languages appear conveniently mysterious, and the all-but-vanished cultures they often represent for the non-Gaelic-speaking general public are kept alive in cultural memory mostly in stories and traditional songs. This mystery is also attached to Julie Fowlis and Muireann Nic Amhlaoibh as they have chosen to perform their music in those languages, and the language issue is always underlined and discussed in the articles, reviews and interviews written about them. The minority languages in this case embody the experience of vicarious or displaced nostalgia as discussed by Boym and Wilson. Boym (352–353) states that vicarious nostalgia "gives us the […] sensation of returning to where we have never been". Boym explains how certain objects or things might trigger a nostalgic reaction in people even though they have no previous connection to them; usually, a feeling of nostalgia would require an earlier experience of a phenomenon, which, when remembered later, acquires nostalgic features. Wilson (32), for her part, discusses the same phenomenon, calling it displaced nostalgia, and describing it as "nostalgia for times which were not known to us firsthand". According to Wilson (31), even those who have not experienced a particular time in

history can still be "looking back" to those eras with a fondness. Audiences, including journalists, who do not speak Scottish Gaelic or Irish and thus do not understand what Fowlis and Nic Amhlaoibh are singing about still connect with the artists, and experience their music not as an obstacle but as a way to connect with an imagined past of a particular culture and country.

The peculiar nature of the languages, their uniqueness, and the journalists' surprise at Gaelic and Irish language music actually reaching audiences to whom it is a wholly unknown are recurrent features in the reviews written about Fowlis and Nic Amhlaoibh, and in addition to evoking nostalgic reactions, the singers' choice of performing in a minority language also establishes them as authentic folk music artists. Understanding the lyrics of Fowlis and Nic Amhlaoibh's songs is beside the point, and they are even applauded for "staying true to [their] roots" and not "[pursuing] a career in more mainstream music" (Gaelic music and song). A non-Gaelic speaking listener "rest[s] simply on the sound" (Long), not on the meaning of the words. As the examples 6 and 7 (see page 17) illustrate, minority language singers' performance languages have symbolic value and such music is not experienced rationally; "the song[s] bypass the brain and go straight for the soul" (de Bie), inducing emotional reactions, the experience of nostalgia being one of them.

Tradition

The origin narratives also evoke nostalgia through the ways in which in the singers are linked to the continuum of folk music tradition. This is illustrated in the ways that all four singers—Fowlis, Nic Amhlaoibh, Rusby, and Portman—approach music, and in the ways that they learn and create their songs. It is notable that the singers' musical processes need to be mentioned, that the methods

with which they source and create their music are something so unusual and different in the context of the mainstream music business that they have to be discussed in detail. The singers "[bring] centuries old [sic] songs […] to a modern audience" (Julie Fowlis Artist Page, www.last.fm), immerse themselves in the history and the stories and create "new songs with old bones, old stories with new skin, drawn from folktales, ballads, dreams and real life" (Hendry). The singers learn traditional songs from their neighbours and family, pore over old collections of songs, folklore, and stories, and are inspired by characters that populate traditional songs. They act as advocates of tradition, stating how "tradition [is] a huge thing that goes back thousands of years and it feels really nice to be part of that big, long line" (Julie Fowlis qtd. in Frost 37) and how "[f]olk music is so very important because it's music of the people, music of the common man" (Kate Rusby qtd. in Holland). They stay true to their roots, examine what went before and express their wish to "reconnect with the whole feel of the place […because] the music and the landscape […], and the people and the language, [are] all connected" (Muireann Nic Amhlaoibh qtd. in Wood). This connection to tradition constructs nostalgia and it also portrays them as authentic folk music artists. The folk singers' commitment to tradition and their practices of using the history and culture of their homelands as their primary source of inspiration for their music are the measures of their authenticity as true exponents of the genre of folk music.

The traditionality versus taking new directions is another issue frequently connected to the folk singers in the media. On the one hand they are praised for their commitment to the tradition, their passion for folk music and lore, and their traditional approach to the music itself. On the other hand their inventive versions of traditional songs, new versions of old stories and unique style and delivery are also very much at the centre of the construction of their media representations. Exactly this opposition of new and old, traditional and modern brings out aspects that are instrumental to

the singers' popularity and have aided their success in the field. Paradoxically the singers, though praised in turn for their traditionalism and innovative creations, also receive criticism for doing more of the same when they publish a new album in their signature style (Denselow; Spencer), or taking too mainstream, more accessible or less daring directions (Murphy; Vile) when they introduce not so folky elements in their music or choose to perform songs that are more modern or mainstream.

This duality of traditional values and modernity in the media representations of the singers is also underlined by discussing their family situations. All four singers have young children and the articles and interviews never fail to mention that. On the one hand mentioning and discussing motherhood and childcare in the articles and interviews connect the singers to traditional family values and also present another side to their commitment to tradition when they describe how their children's first language is Gaelic (Terhune) or how their children are immersed in music from a very early age and sing the same songs as their mothers did when they were young (Gallacher; Wood). On the other hand the fact that these singers are mothers and also successful artists on their own right connects them to the modern idea of a career mother, balancing their professional and family life. The journalists choosing to bring up the singers' family lives in the text material is another tool of image building and presenting a more personal dimension of the artists to the readers. However, the mentions of families, children, motherhood, and passing music and tradition from mother to daughter are all ways in which tradition as a strand of origin narratives constructs nostalgia in the singers' media representation.

Fowlis, Nic Amhlaoibh, Rusby, and Portman appear as a curious mix of both innovative and highly traditional and nostalgic. Their innovativeness is visible in for example Julie Fowlis

with her all-Gaelic-language repertoire, and Emily Portman with her signature style of dark, "weird-folk" tales. Still, they perform their daring acts within the sphere of folk music, which in popular culture and in the cultural memory is seen as inherently past, and nostalgic. The singers' media representations are therefore always affected by nostalgia, regardless of how new and different their performances as musicians are.

CONCLUSIONS

The origin narratives, comprising of place, sound, and connections to tradition, construct nostalgia in the media representations of Fowlis, Nic Amhlaoibh, Rusby, and Portman in notably similar ways. Viewed individually in connection to the singers, these three strands exhibit the experiential and creative characteristics of memory, and nostalgia by extension. Applied together as origin narratives the three strands demonstrate the market value of nostalgia, showing how past and memory are reconstructed into pastness, a tool applied to promote the artists.

All the four singers are nostalgised through their places of origin which link closely to their sound: the meanings that their music creates regardless of the language, and also through the values and modes given to the sounds of their singing voices. These contemporary singers' connections to tradition and their appreciation of the previous generations of singers are also important both to them personally and to their presentations in the media. The singers' creative musical processes are a testimony to their links to the continuum of folk singers preceding them in history. The constructions of Fowlis, Nic Amhlaoibh, Rusby, and Portman's presentations in the media are strongly embellished by the journalists'—and by extension, the audiences'—

fascination with the singers' nostalgising attributes discussed in this article, and those presentations do then conform to the collectively agreed idea of what constitutes as a folk singer.

Therefore, Fowlis, Nic Amhlaoibh, Rusby and Portman are represented in the media as creatures of the past, regardless of which era in time they are from, and this feature is also the foundation of their authenticity as credible folk music artists. Though the artists themselves see tradition as vibrant and living, and produce music that exhibits that fact, the constraints of the genre norms—both in terms of the genre of music and the genre of music journalism—call for them to be seen as creatures of the nostalgised past, defined by their origin narratives. The factors constructing nostalgia in the media representations of folk singers are closely linked to those constructing authenticity in them, and to some extent the same factors also present the singers in a gendered way in the media. Thus, examining all these concepts in connection to folk singers opens up new, more extensive avenues for future research.

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II

ORIGINS AND ORIGINALITY: AUTHENTICITY IN THE MEDIA REPRESENTATION OF JULIE FOWLIS

by

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Origins and originality: Authenticity in the media representation of Julie Fowlis

Noora Karjalainen, University of Jyväskylä

Abstract

This article examines the ways in which Scottish Gaelic singer Julie Fowlis is constructed 'authentic' in the media. Two narratives that I call 'narrative of origins' and 'narrative of professionalism' construct her authenticity as a representative of the folk music scene. Fowlis represents the new Gaelic speaker, but is presented in terms of stereotypical imagery connected to Scotland, which portrays tradition as stagnant, quaint and in need of preservation. However, she is also presented as a professional artist, remaking and reinterpreting the tradition of a living culture that she represents. Thus, here authenticity ascribed on the artist is viewed as a cultural memory device, built on the interaction of individual collective levels of remembering and the process of premediation with it. The material analysed consists of printed and electronic articles, concert and album reviews, and interviews written about Fowlis. The theoretical framework is based on the discussion on the concept of authenticity and on memory studies.

Keywords

authenticity

female artists

folk music

media representation

cultural memory

premediation

In this article I discuss the ways in which Scottish Gaelic singer Julie Fowlis is constructed as an ‘authentic’ folk singer in the media. I argue that this authenticity is to great extent based on descriptions of her origin and professionalism. The former consists of her place of origin, her sound (performance language, sound of the voice, signature style and the values attached to all these) and links to tradition, together forming what I call the narrative of origins (Karjalainen 2017). The latter, drawing on Fowlis’s musicianship, work ethic and dedication to the craft, forms the narrative of professionalism. These two narratives are discernible in texts written by journalists, and interviews in which her own words are quoted. Through selected examples from the text data of articles, reviews and interviews this article aims to clarify how the above narratives construct a female folk singer as an authentic representative of the folk music scene. The case of Fowlis serves as an example of how authenticity becomes an important part of the representation of a female folk singer.

In the analysis I apply authenticity as discussed by Keir Keightley (2001), Allan Moore (2002), Hans Weisethaunet and Ulf Lindberg (2010), Steve Redhead and John Street (1989), Regina Bendix (1997) and Vincent J. Cheng (2004). These studies discuss the concept of authenticity mainly in rock or pop music, with occasional references to the folk collectors of the first half of the twentieth century or the artists of the Folk Revivals of the

1960–70s or the 1990s. The contemporary folk music artists have not yet received much attention in studies on music and authenticity, even though many of them – like Julie Fowlis – have a profound influence in the folk music scene and have also attracted the interest of mainstream music business. This article aims to fill this gap.

In addition to the above theoretical approach, this article draws on the studies by Astrid Erll (2009, 2011) and Emily Keightley and Michael Pickering (2012) with cultural memory and premediation as the most central concepts. According to them, individuals remember as members of various social groups (Keightley and Pickering 2012: 94, 103), and therefore construct and reconstruct their understanding of the world and phenomena via premediation, meaning the use of media that already exist in cultural memory (Erll 2009: 111; see also Keightley and Pickering 2012: 198–99). I claim that ascribing authenticity in this context is a memory device and a negotiation between the individual and collective levels of cultural memory (Erll 2011: 98). This approach plays a significant role in explaining the uniformity of the narratives of Fowlis's authenticity throughout the analysed media text data.

Research material and focus

The material of this article consists of both printed and electronic articles, concert and album reviews and interviews that were published in 2007–15. Altogether 28 texts were studied for this article and the table below displays the source and text types:

Source/text type	Article	Review	Interview
Newspaper	*Bothell Reporter* *Fairfax County Times* *Pittsburgh City Paper* *Scotland Herald (3)* *The Guardian*	*The Boston Phoenix* *The Guardian* *The Telegraph (2)*	*The Boston Globe* *The Sun*

	The Sentinel *The Vancouver Sun*		
Music magazine	*fRoots* *Songlines Magazine*	--	--
Online magazine	Innocent words	Buzzine	--
Music blog	--	--	Lucid Culture
Music promotion and review website	--	rockpaperscissors.biz bbc.co.uk	--
Popular culture and music content website	last.fm Rob Adams Journalist	allgigs.co.uk amazon.co.uk UK Vibe.org	--

Table 1: Research material sources and text types.

This media text data were analysed via close reading, concentrating on the aspects that construct the narratives of origin and professionalism. All the material used was chosen because of its variance and wide scope in terms of the forum, and place and time of publication. The timeline of the material covers Fowlis's ongoing solo career.

Julie Fowlis has been an active folk music artist since the early 2000s, starting her solo career in 2005, and has found a niche in the folk music business as a Scottish Gaelic language singer. Although she is not the only or the first artist of her kind, she has earned numerous accolades from music awards to cultural ambassadorships, and has a side career as radio and TV presenter. Therefore she is certainly one of the most prominent folk singers of her generation not only in Scotland and Great Britain but also in the United States and Europe. Immersed in Scottish Gaelic traditional singing from an early age at school and home, she has studied both classical and traditional music, and has a BA in applied music and an MA in material culture and environment (Anon. 2017; Anon. 2008; Adams 2012).

Although Fowlis could more specifically be classified as a traditional singer and musician, in this article I call her folk singer and musician. The research material tends not to distinguish between folk and traditional music, or uses the terms interchangeably, with 'folk singer' taking precedence over 'traditional singer', but 'traditional music' and 'traditional song' taking precedence over 'folk music' and 'folk song'. Thus, for the sake of clarity, here I refer to Fowlis as a folk singer and her music as folk music.

In what follows I will first discuss the concept of authenticity, connect it to the concepts of cultural memory and premediation, and then examine the two narratives constituting Fowlis's authenticity in the media.

Authenticity of a folk singer

Authenticity as a concept is problematic as it eludes exact categorization and depends on the time, place and situation to which it is applied. Bendix defines authenticity 'as a quality of experience' (1997: 13), thus associating authenticity with emotions and as a reactional phenomenon. Authenticity is therefore an active concept, something that is looked for and bestowed upon phenomena. This also corresponds to Allan Moore's (2002: 210) statement of authenticity as being 'ascribed, not inscribed' to a performance. Thus, authenticity is applied from the outside by those who observe, say, a folk singer. Moore (2002: 210) also claims that the authenticity of an artist depends on who is observing and experiencing the artist's persona and performance.

Connection to a specific place is central to the authenticity of female folk singers. The origin narratives defining their national and ethnic identities highlight the need for belonging to a nation, social group or community that according to Vincent J. Cheng is

caused by the globalization of the postmodern world, pushing us to ‘define a unique and authentic national character and identity, one that is distinct from all others’ (2004: 31). To belong is to represent, and as folk music as a genre is conventionally often understood as an extension of a particular nation or ethnic group, the performers of such music also represent the nationality, ethnicity or community connected to it (Gelbart 2007: 12; McKerrell 2016: 53). Further, as Steven Redhead and John Street argue, people define themselves in terms of a collectivity that has an associated culture, and this is mediated through music (1989: 178). As such, the authenticity of a musician is based on her ‘right to speak for a community or people’ and thus represent her audience (Redhead and Street 1989: 178).

Therefore, folk singer authenticity emerges in the close connection of the singer and her audience. One of Hans Weisethaunet and Ulf Lindberg’s six directions of authenticity, folkloric authenticity, defines this process, whereby a performance represents a social community of some kind, be it cultural, national or joined together by a common experience (2010: 470–71, 478). Similarly, Keir Keightley defines this as a tendency to Romantic authenticity, with which the sense of community and connection to tradition are also central (2001: 135–37). The social community, and the influences of time and place define the authenticity of a female folk singer. When discussing the origins of the authenticity concept, Charles Lindholm (2008: 5) points out that

> Tribes living in isolation (or even peasants living in the countryside) were imagined and portrayed as representative of coherent and pristine rural cultural traditions, integrated with nature, unashamed, communal, loving and close to the paradisiacal Garden of Eden. They were authentic in the double sense of being pure and original

> and of being without falsity. At the same time they were regarded as being in contact with the mysterious and primordial spiritual forces no longer perceptible to modern humanity.

Even though this statement refers to encounters between different cultures in the early modern time, it connects with the construction of authenticity in folk singer media presentations. The communality, the assumed purity of a culture and connections to traditions that folk singers demonstrate – which can be understood in this context as 'the mysterious and primordial forces' to which Lindholm refers above – all build an idealized representation of both the folk singer and the community that she represents. The authenticity ascribed on the artist is always a construct, a collection of features that meet the requirements of authenticity for a given audience, time and place. For the artist to be able to 'speak for a community' then means that the criteria for authenticity are fluid, changing and cannot be based on an established entity of 'people' (Redhead and Street 1989: 183).

Although in this article the narratives of origins and professionalism are examined separately, they overlap and influence each other. The connection to a place implies a connection to the traditions of that place, and thus the authenticity of a folk singer entails traditionalism in their work. This approach to performance and music is defined by Moore in his discussion of authenticity having three dimensions, first-person, second-person and third-person authenticity (2002), and by Keightley's Romantic authenticity (2001: 136–37). Third-person authenticity concerns the performer's ability to represent the ideas 'embedded within a tradition of performance' (Moore 2002: 218), whereas Romantic authenticity highlights the artist's connection with tradition, sense of community, her personal journey with the music,

directness and naturalness of expression (Keightley 2001: 136). Therefore, the connection to tradition in the narratives of origins and professionalism constructing authenticity does not mean only such traditions that have to do with specific national, ethnic or local cultures, but also the traditions connected to the genre of music and the perception of the artists within its sphere.

Authenticity constructed by musical professionalism centres around that connection to tradition, but it also has to do with the sincerity of the artist's performance. Both Moore, with his definition of first person authenticity (2002: 214), and Keightley discussing Romantic authenticity (2001: 136) emphasize the importance of the authenticity of expression in musical performance. Within the genre of folk music this means, first, the natural, direct and 'unmodified' sound of the artist's voice and her performance, and second, the arrangement and performance of her music in a way acceptable to the genre norms of folk music.

Such authenticity of expression and sound is further enforced by the evidence of the artist's self-expression through her music, her talents and abilities and, perhaps most importantly, personal connection to the music that she is performing. According to Weisethaunet and Lindberg, the artist's individual expression, talent and personality are the defining features of authenticity as self-expression (2010: 472). For the artist be able to express herself through her music she needs to establish a personal connection to the music that she is performing and be true to her artistic integrity. This corresponds to what Keightley calls Modernist authenticity, second of his two tendencies of authenticity in popular music, and a part-opposite, part parallel to Romantic authenticity (2001: 135–37).

Interpreting the above features of authenticity in an artist and her performance requires an individual's experience of the artist and her performance, but also the collective experience of a social group or a community of similar phenomena. Here, the active, creative processes of cultural remembering (Keightley and Pickering 2012: 6–7) and premediation connect to the process of authentication as discussed above. Astrid Erll explains cultural memory and remembering as having an individual and collective level, respectively, 'the socially and culturally formed individual memory' and 'the symbols, media, social institutions, and practices which are used to construct, maintain and represent versions of a shared past' (Erll 2011: 97–98). These levels interact and influence each other in the active process of remembering. I agree with Keightley and Pickering and also Erll in viewing the memory-making process as fundamentally creative and active. As such it makes possible to approach the concept of authenticity in this way, meaning that individual remembering takes place as part of a sociocultural environment (Erll 2011: 99), and at the same time, collectively negotiated memories exist of authenticated phenomena to which a new phenomenon is compared and evaluated as authentic or not authentic. These memories are based on 'a symbolic order, media and institutions' (Erll 2011: 99) through which individuals make sense of their experiences and interpret the past. Therefore, here the concept of premediation (Erll 2009) is essential. According to Erll, 'premediation is a cultural practice of experiencing and remembering: the use of existent patterns and paradigms to transform contingent events into meaningful images and narratives' (2009: 114). This means that media that already exist – memories, mythology and stereotypes – are used as templates for making sense and interpreting new experiences (Erll 2009: 111). The authenticity of a folk music artist thus

emerges in close connection to their perceived identities as artists, to who they are and whether or not they appear credible in performing that identity.

Construction of authenticity in the media representation of Julie Fowlis

The descriptions of Fowlis's origins and her professionalism are the two main narratives that construct her as an authentic folk singer in the media. Irrespective of the type of the text or the publication channel, the same narratives appear in all, and these two narratives are analysed and discussed in the following chapters.

A girl from a small island

An identity connected to a specific place is central to the authenticity of a folk singer. Fowlis's place of origin, one of the three strands of her origin narratives (see Karjalainen 2017), is presented in the media as mythical and nostalgic, creating an imagined place with a specific culture and people that bear resemblance to their real counterparts but are nevertheless idealized and reconstructed (Karjalainen 2017: 5–7). This manifests in media texts for example via the parallels drawn in the media text data between the actual existing area of the Highlands and Islands where Fowlis is from, and 'an other world' (Radcliffe in Adams 2012: n.pag.) or 'a distant land' (Long 2007: n.pag.). Thus, the texts produce a misty storybook reconstruction of Scotland, a much-applied conceptualization dating back to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries when the imagery and tropes for 'Scotland' as a nation emerged from the literary works of the time (McKerrell 2016: 98–100). Fowlis is linked to this mythical place and its specific culture in the media, and thus represents that reconstructed community.

Such premediation of existing memories, media and imagery constructs authenticity, thus reinforcing the folkloristic connotations of Fowlis as an artist (Erll 2009: 111–14; Boyes 2010: 3, 22; Weisethaunet and Lindberg 2010: 470–71; Redhead and Street 1989: 177–78). As the English Folk Revivalists in the early twentieth century constructed the image of 'Merrie England' on idealized imagery of rural life free of any modern (at the time) social and political complications (Boyes 2010: 70–71), similarly, through her origin narratives, Fowlis's authenticity is constructed on the ideals of an early modern way of life:

1. Nestling in the heart of the wild and windswept Outer Hebrides is the island of North Uist, population about 1,200. It's the home of folk singer Julie Fowlis, bearer of a voice as clear and pure as the blue Atlantic waters that lap its shores. (Cosyns 2008)

2. Raised in the Gaelic community of North Uist, Outer Hebrides, Scotland, Fowlis was ensconced in the musical tradition of her homeland. Fowlis embraced the long-established singing and dancing at an early age thanks to her family's background. (Michael 2009)

3. Julie Fowlis's music is at once strikingly youthful and timeless. Singing primarily in Scottish Gaelic (a language which only about 1% of the Scottish population can speak), her voice brings both her language and culture dancing to life with an almost unearthly presence. (Schaeffer 2009)

As examples (1–3) above illustrate, the fabled region of Scottish Highlands where Fowlis originates, her native language in which she performs and the steadfast links she holds with tradition render her pure and original. As an added bonus, Fowlis is from a small rural island community in the Highlands, implying a connection with nature and a communal spirit, which are fertile ground for stories and songs, but also reflect the ever-present longing for a lost place or time, and experience of nostalgia. The 'mysterious and primordial spiritual forces' (Lindholm 2008: 5) are manifested in the stereotypical connotations of Scottishness and folk music that are connected to Julie Fowlis.

Fowlis is Scottish and openly owns up to her nationality, cultural and ethnic roots, and performs folk music, a genre with a close and often problematic relationship with national pride, culture and appreciation of the homeland (McKerrell 2016: 53). Therefore, the connotations attached to Scotland, Scottish culture and Scottishness in the public consciousness and preserved in the processes of cultural remembering (see Erll 2011: 98–99, 113, 130) are invariably also attached to her and her music through premediation. Fowlis, her music and performance, and herself as a person, are repeatedly referred to as 'mystical', 'beguiling', 'charming', 'elfin' and 'otherworldly' (Irwin 2009; Haafke 2011; Gantz 2008; Adams 2012; Denselow 2014; Hopper 2008; Last.fm n.d.; Long 2007). Her representation emulates that of Scotland as a country in cultural memory, and stereotypical imagery attached to descriptions of Scottishness, such as the examples above, is used in describing her and her music. These tropes can be traced back to Sir Walter Scott's fiction writing and cultural mythologizing of Scotland with its unchanging hills, proud people and ancient traditions (McKerrell 2016: 63), and to concepts of tartanry and kailyardism (McKerrell 2016: 76, 99;

West 2012: 161), through which Scotland is reduced to tartans, whisky, bagpipes and the country's supposedly magical and romanticized past.

Together with the qualities attached to the sound of her voice and her signature style, Scottish Gaelic as Fowlis's native performance language acts as 'sound'. In the media text data, Gaelic is described as having 'curious sounds and unusual structures', and understanding the lyrics is not necessary for the audience as the listener can 'rest simply on the sound' (Long 2007: n.pag.). This ununderstandable, mythical and exoticized quality of Fowlis's music results in her songs – and herself – being described as 'otherworldly' and originating from a 'distant land' (Long 2007: n.pag.). The nature of her music is further compared to 'Highland mist' (Long 2007), able to 'transpose [the listener] to the highlands [*sic*]' (Stenhouse 2009: n.pag.), thus linking it with the stereotypical images of Scotland and Scottish culture.

Fowlis's status as a native Gaelic speaker is an important constituent of her authenticity. Scottish Gaelic is the language of her family; it is the first language of her mother and she herself speaks it to her own children (Michael 2009; Nystrom 2009). In the media text data Fowlis is considered an authentic speaker of Scottish Gaelic also because of her birthplace North Uist, an island in the Outer Hebrides off the west coast of Scotland, and one of the few places where Scottish Gaelic is still an everyday language (Michael 2009; Gilbert 2008; Moss 2009; Terhune 2013). Even though she has not lived there since childhood, the detail is important for her media presentation and mentioned repeatedly. Fowlis represents Scotland, the modern Gaelic speaker and the revival of folk culture and music in that language. The media texts depict her as the 'Poster Gael' (Frost 2014) and as the 'Scottish singer [bringing] Gaelic tradition into the pop world' (Hopper 2008: n.pag.). Thus, she represents the ideas that are embedded within a tradition of performance (Moore

2002: 218), in this case the performance of a folk singer, and more specifically a Gaelic language folk singer.

Although Julie Fowlis is not the only or the first folk singer to perform in Scottish Gaelic or other minority language in the Great Britain folk music scene, her success in bringing 'Gaelic song to a following that is far wider than the language's 60,000 speakers in Scotland' (Denselow 2008: n.pag.) has ensured the media attention she has enjoyed since her first solo album in 2005. Fowlis is also said to have 'changed the face of Scottish music by proving that an artist singing almost exclusively in Gaelic can become an international success' (Denselow 2014: n.pag.). Considering that Scottish Gaelic language in Scotland has been in steep decline since the mid-eighteenth century, and has been actively run down by the government and official institutions, and did not receive an official minority language status until 2005 (Anon. 2005a; Anon. 2005b), Fowlis's success as a Scottish Gaelic language folk singer is as timely as it is a political phenomenon. Fowlis's performance language factors in the active processes of remembering and premediation, and thus her artist persona and performance are interpreted not only in terms of folk music artists and performances or Scottish traditional music artists and performances, but also in terms of minority language artists and performances.

Fowlis is respectful about her cultural and musical heritage, including promoting awareness on Scottish Gaelic. This appreciation of tradition and heritage that Fowlis demonstrates especially in the interviews included in the media text data is the third strand of her origin narratives, the 'tradition' (Karjalainen 2017: 9). The interview questions most commonly asked of her centre around her musical background, singing in Gaelic, the songs and their origins, Gaelic language and culture, her other projects besides making music, the awards that she has received, her albums, and her family and life as a musician. Her answers

reveal that she has great passion for the music she performs and feels responsible for doing justice to the songs that have been entrusted in her care:

4. So my challenge is to bring these songs to an audience in such a way that we're making them accessible while being true to the tradition. (Fowlis in Adams 2012)

5. I want to be as true to the songs as I can whilst being true to myself as a musician. […] if I present the songs in this way it shows that I have real respect and affection to them. (Fowlis in Chipping 2014)

6. It feels like a weight on my shoulders, in a good way, knowing that each time I go to a place and perform there will be people who have never heard it before. With that comes a responsibility to do right by it by presenting it in the right way. (Fowlis in Hindmarch 2008)

Such a serious connection to the songs implies a connection to her place of origin and the members of her immediate community. She finds her material in the traditional way 'passed onto [her] by tradition-bearers – people [she knows], family members, friends of the family' (Leadbetter 2012: n.pag.), largely by word of mouth from 'older singers and musicians in the community, teachers, [her] peers' (Cosyns 2008: n.pag.). Her musical activities, from sourcing her songs, arranging and performing them in her signature style, to the sound of her voice and her abilities to affect the listeners despite the language barrier, are highlighted throughout the media text data. These answers provide insight into how she perceives her

music and her personal connection to it. Therefore interviews on their part very clearly steer the construction of Fowlis's authenticity as a folk singer on her origins and her professionalism.

Fowlis's connection to tradition and her methods for finding her music follow the traditions of the folk music field: that her approach to music is accounted in detail in the research material reflects the audience's amazement for finding out that this kind of traditional approach to music is still possible, people still remember songs by heart and that there are others who want to learn them just by listening them singing those songs. This is well illustrated in the following example:

> 7. That Fowlis, the elfin beauty with a voice alternating between piper's staccatos and flautist's glissandos, should spend her days in a fire-lit croft house, learning songs in an all-but-departed language, is a testament to her passion for the music. (Hopper 2008)

The authenticity-constructing facet of tradition is visible in the way she gathers her song material: the 'fire-lit croft house', 'all-but-departed language' and 'her passion for the music' emphasize the unusualness of such a way of approaching music and in their part validate Fowlis's authenticity as a folk singer. Describing her as being an 'elfin beauty' attaches to her the typical mythical elements that are often used in connection to Scotland (McKerrell 2016: 64). Depicting her this way and not for example declaring her to be a classic beauty makes her more approachable, affable but slightly mystical, lending her an air of

mischievousness. Her place of origin is thus referred to, as is the sound facet of her origins. Mentions of pipes and flutes, musical instruments typical for traditional music and her vocal abilities underline her connection to the genre traditions and also draw attention to her musical expertise. This excerpt assures that Julie Fowlis is an artist steeped in tradition, authentic to the core in her craft and harking back to the golden age of her people through her passion. Therefore it also reflects Romantic authenticity but it could also be interpreted as Modernist authenticity (Keightley 2001: 135–37) because from the perspective of contemporary audience, the strangeness of Fowlis's material and her performance make her appear innovative, and re-inventing the tradition.

Fowlis in the media is presented as an ambassador of her country and culture, '[giving] new life to Gaelic' and 'pleased to be a part of a Scottish revival' (Moss 2009: n.pag.). She 'finds resonance with the present with tunes from Scotland's past' (Gilbert 2008: n.pag.) and 'is proud to show of [her] roots' (Hindmarch 2008: n.pag.). As McKerrell also notes, the current trend in movies and on television is to have 'authentic traditional music and musicians […] representing Scotland in sound' (2016: 120), which links directly to Fowlis, her music representing Scotland in traditional music programmes, radio broadcasts and even in a Disney film (*Brave* (Andrews and Chapman 2012)). Although in Julie Fowlis's case the weight of her place of origin, performance language and the heritage and traditions of her native country define her authenticity as a folk singer, she represents an authentic Scottish Gaelic folk singer to an audience extending outside the sphere of her native country and aficionados of her musical genre. The very similar media presentations produced by the various journalists suggest that being categorized and identifying as folk singer results in a clearly typified presentation in the media that is deeply embedded in the process of cultural

remembering. As Keightley and Pickering also state, such ‘employment of cultural conventions of representation loosens the past experiences from the specific social situations of their production’ (2012: 108). Here, this means that in the active and creative process of remembering the previous experiences and interpretations of what is an authentic folk singer are applied more widely than what they were in connection to a specific artist in the past. This authentication is the product of premediation in the process of remembering. Judging on the uniformity of the narratives of authenticity, Fowlis’s audiences (the journalists included) have preconceptions and established ideas about what is a folk singer and what Scottish traditional music is or may be like, and such ideas are influencing the narratives constructing her authenticity and her media representation.

An award-winning Gaelic singer

Authenticity in the context of folk music has to do not only with the authenticity of the artists as folk musicians, but also with their authenticity as musicians, as folk music has been seen as a part-time, uncommercial and amateur or only semi-professional pursuit on which it is not possible to make a living (see Finnegan 1989: 16–18; Miller 2014 & 2018: 72–74). Although the numerous professional folk music artists and bands in the British Isles with lifelong careers and success rather refute the last point, the presentation of folk singers in the media – especially in mainstream publications, for example large daily newspapers such as *The Guardian* and *The Telegraph* – signifies that a folk musician’s musicianship has to be justified by listing and discussing their professional and other achievements related to their music-making.

Fowlis’s professionalism is therefore another dimension of her authenticity as a folk musician. Her musicianship, work ethic and dedication to the craft construct the narrative of

her professionalism that – together with the origin narratives – constructs her authenticity as a folk singer. In the media text data her academic background and achievements are detailed, her awards are listed and her worldwide popularity is marvelled at (Michael 2009; Nystrom 2008; Adams 2012; Denselow 2008; Terhune 2013; Irwin 2011; Gilbert 2008; Moss 2009; Roberts 2009; Chipping 2014; Anon. 2012). The serendipitous way in which she entered the music business is recounted, quoting her own words of how '[she] just took the plunge and resigned from [her] job and started playing music full time' (Nystrom 2009: n.pag.). All this, connected to her documented passion for tradition, and her appreciation of her cultural history and heritage, builds her authenticity as a folk musician.

Folk singers such as Fowlis are depicted as acknowledging their roots and being aware of the continuum in their musical endeavours from the earlier times to the present, whether it is the folk revival period of the 1960s, the nineteenth-century rural societies' traditions or even an earlier period in the sphere of folk music. Presenting Fowlis as a professional artist links to these artistic origins through the descriptions of her musical processes. She is thus constructed not only as a sincere artist with a thorough understanding of the traditions that she feels she is entrusted with (Adams 2012; Roberts 2009), but also as an inventive musician whose originality and ability to give traditional material an individual twist without sacrificing its realness has secured her a niche in the folk music scene (Long 2007; Irwin 2011).

Fowlis is thus presented in the media in terms of both her geographic and artistic origins, highlighting rurality and traditionality, a life close to nature, artistry as a personal self-discovery and fulfilment, which in Keightley's terms reflect Romantic authenticity (2001: 135–37). However, according to him, most artists cannot be categorized cleanly to

represent only one or the other of his two tendencies of authenticity, which mostly overlap and form hybrids. This is also evident in Fowlis's case and I argue that 'the belief that a true artist must keep moving forward, constantly re-inventing him or herself' (Keightley 2001: 136), albeit attributed to Modernist authenticity, is also applicable when discussing folk singers such as Fowlis. Her musical reinvention or forward-moving may not be as radical as for example that of rock or indie musicians, but it is visible in her professionalism, in her staying true to their chosen genre and the traditions, and still finding new things and new ways to work with the tradition, thus proving its vitality and resilience.

Also Fowlis has been authenticated in the media as a folk singer via the common strategy of comparison in popular music journalism and popular music scene, which according to Anttonen has to do with 'mentioning other, already established artists, or alleging an association with them, is a way to construct authenticity' (2015: 94). Perhaps the most cited description of her in the media, by a BBC Radio 2 presenter Mark Radcliffe, likens Fowlis and her music to Kate Bush and Björk (Adams 2012; Last.fm n.d.), thus constructing her credibility as a musician in the mainstream media. Although Fowlis's music represents a different genre of music and is nothing like that of Bush or Björk, such a comparison places her in the company of other female artists boldly creating unconventional music. A similar authenticity-constructing parallel has also been drawn within the genre of folk music, comparing Fowlis to Kate Rusby, a well-established English language folk singer who at the time of such comparisons already had a ten-year career under her belt and eight published albums. Therefore, describing Fowlis at the early stages of her career as a solo folk singer as 'Kate Rusby singing in Gaelic' (Magnussen 2007 in Anon. 2007) or saying that '[i]n some ways she's like a Scottish Kate Rusby' (Baker 2007 in Anon. 2007) placed her in the field of

folk music and provided building blocks for her media presentation as a legitimate folk music artist.

Richard Peterson discusses this phenomenon, ‘authenticity through group membership’ (2005: 1087), whereby the artists themselves claim such an association, but in the case of Fowlis, journalists writing about her make such comparisons to construct her authenticity in the media. As folk authenticity and its defining aspects are in many ways the basis of rock authenticity (Keightley 2001: 120–30), the narrative of professionalism that constructs Fowlis’s authenticity as a folk singer is similar to other female artists independent of the genre of music. Thus, comparisons of Fowlis to established female singer-songwriters of both folk genre and the more mainstream music genres not only establish her as a credible artist but also manifest the existence of such parallels in authenticity construction.

The duality of authenticity versus inauthenticity is also present in the makeup of folk singer media representations, as the realness, and the authenticity of the artists is always underlined, either by stating it bluntly or by implying it through the artists’ nationalities, ethnicities or professional merits. Bendix (1997: 9) states that ‘the notion of authenticity implies the existence of its opposite, the fake, and this dichotomous construct is at the heart of what makes authenticity problematic’. As the case of Julie Fowlis shows, a credible, authentic folk singer needs to have a personal connection to the music and exhibit an understanding and appreciation of the traditions that she is upholding and using for her artistic endeavours. When convincing narratives of origins and professionalism deem the singers authentic, they are taken seriously within the genre. Allan Moore discusses the concept of authenticity as primality in which ‘an expression is perceived to be authentic if it can be traced to an initiatory instance’ (2002: 213). This is a particularly fitting

characterization of the genre of folk music and folk singers since their musical processes and media representations are built on the assumption that they follow the tradition and that their work can be linked to the so-called original version (although no such version actually exists), thus validating their efforts (Moore 2002: 215).

A musician's work ethic authenticates not only folk singers but also musicians of all the genres of music. The rock authenticity discourses often describe music-making and a musician's work methods as destructive and in some way bad for the artist, and as something they cannot do in any other way (Anttonen 2015: 89). Thus, this image of a self-destructive suffering artist makes them authentic. The contemporary female folk singers, Fowlis included, differ from this considerably, projecting a wholesome, thoroughly nice and almost innocent image, where family is at the centre, and no drugs or alcohol are abused, or even mentioned (Adams 2012; Michael 2009; Nystrom 2009; Terhune 2013). Although Fowlis works hard, makes albums, tours and performs, she does it in a way that is presented as normal, everyday and glamourless.

A feature of the professionalism narrative constructing folk singer authenticity is that there are no rags to riches stories with folk singers because it is assumed that none of them takes up folk music to make a fortune; the most important thing is the dedication for the craft, and not selling out, which reflects the ideals of rock authenticity (see Keightley 2001: 128–32). In Fowlis's words

> 8. I have never set out to play music with an agenda – if folk like it, great, I am delighted – but I am not about to compromise what I do musically to please anyone. […] If I had wanted to hit the mainstream I would have ditched Gaelic

> long ago, learned to lip-sync and developed a dance routine. (Fowlis in Anon. 2008)

According to the above example, Fowlis has not chosen to become a folk musician to become rich and famous; indeed, concert and album reviews repeatedly marvel at her popularity despite her being a Scottish Gaelic folk singer. By working hard, and doing what she considers important and reflecting her artistic integrity, she has nonetheless reached a worldwide audience and 'resign[ing] from [her] job to follow a dream' (Cosyns 2008: n.pag.) has resulted in a successful solo career. The serendipitous nature of Fowlis's success is further underlined by her own statements of how in retrospect she has realized 'how instrumental it [her upbringing] was in what I ended up doing in my life for a job' (Fowlis in Hindmarch 2008: n.pag.) and how she 'still can't quite believe I'm doing this. None of it was ever planned. It's all happened by accident. We're not trying to be anything we're not […]' (Fowlis in Irwin 2008: n.pag.). This unplannedness of Fowlis's success solidifies her authenticity as a folk singer because it demonstrates the value of uncommercialism attached to folk and traditional music, and ensures that she is performing her music for the reasons acceptable for the canon of folk authenticity, not for money and fame but because of necessity dictated by genuine love and dedication for the tradition.

The process of premediation in remembering (Erll 2009, 2011) is also at work with the narrative of folk singer professionalism constructing her authenticity in the media. The artist's connection to music, the interpretation of tradition in a respectful way and descriptions of such features imply that both the artist and the audiences have a premediated idea about what is an authentic folk singer and how she performs and works. This narrative

implies that the existence of past and the history of the genre and the past masters is recognized but it is understood that the contemporary artists such as Julie Fowlis are remaking the tradition, with respect to what has gone before but creating new on that basis. The constructions of Fowlis's authenticity as a folk singer reflect the ways in which she as an artist interprets her traditional material and makes it her own. In this narrative, therefore, premediation in the process of remembering factors in with discussing Fowlis's artistic origins, but also with what she is doing with her music now and how she is authenticated because of it.

Conclusions

The media texts studied in this article interpret Fowlis's music and public persona, and manifest the narratives of origins and professionalism constructing her authenticity. She is the 'Poster Gael' (Frost 2014), representing the new Gaelic speaker, but presented in terms of what can be termed early folk revivalist ideals – 'simplicity, purity, directness, unaffected beauty' (Boyes 2010: 71) – and stereotypical imagery connected to Scotland, which portray tradition as something stagnant, quaint and in need of preservation. On the other hand, she is also presented in terms of her professionalism and as a representative of a living and vibrant culture based on tradition, constantly remaking and reinterpreting it. These two narratives set Fowlis up as a representative of a community of people – whether it is her local community, the people of Scotland at large or the multicultural audience of her music – and conforming to the generalizations and stereotypical images of a particular musical genre, and particular nationality and ethnicity. However, the personal connection to the music, the professional pride and a sense of responsibility are at the centre of her media presentations, showing that

superficial appearance and compliance to the norms of the genre of music are not enough, but that the deeds of an authentic artist speak for her. Fowlis's own agency in constructing the authenticity of her artist persona in the media is visible in the interviews that she has given, bringing her closer to the audience and fans, demonstrating that she is just 'a girl from a small island' (Hindmarch 2008: n.pag.), but also indicating her professionalism and, through it, her authenticity as an active, socially conscious folk singer, constructing her as 'an award-winning Gaelic singer' (Michael 2009: n.pag.).

These processes of authentication of Fowlis as a folk singer in the media are products of cultural remembering and the process of premediation within it (see Erll 2011, 2009). Although remembering inherently implies looking backwards, and recollecting an earlier experience, I argue that as a process it has equally to do with interpreting the present and the future and making sense of an experience on the basis of what is happening now, rather than simply on the basis of what has happened in the past. Therefore, the construction of a female folk singer's media representation and ascribing authenticity on her have as much to do with appreciating the past and tradition as something romantic, mythical and nostalgic, as they have with interpreting and understanding the tradition and its exponents, and the links they forge with the past, present and future.

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Contributor details

Noora Karjalainen is a salaried Ph.D. candidate at the University of Jyväskylä, Finland. Her research focuses on the media representations of contemporary female folk singers, examining the narratives of origin, authenticity, performance and otherness emerging from the research material of album and concert reviews, articles and interviews written about the artists. These narratives have directed her research into memory and nostalgia studies, authenticity studies, gender studies and postcolonial studies. She has presented papers

several times at both Finnish and international conferences, including the *Finnish Music Researcher's Symposium*, *International VAKKI Symposium*, *EUPOP Conference* and *ICTM World Conference*.

Contact:

E-mail: noora.p.karjalainen@jyu.fi

https://orcid.org/0000-0003-2988-2951

III

PURE VOICES, CONFIDENT SINGING, ENCHANTING MUSIC: NARRATIVES OF PERFORMANCE IN THE MEDIA REPRESENTATION OF FEMALE FOLK SINGERS

by

Noora Karjalainen

Article manuscript

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IV

IMAGINED, REMEMBERED, GENDERED: NARRATIVES OF COSY OTHER IN THE MEDIA REPRESENTATION OF FEMALE FOLK SINGERS

by

Noora Karjalainen, 2018

Etnomusikologian Vuosikirja 30, 66–91

Noora Karjalainen

IMAGINED, REMEMBERED, GENDERED:

Narratives of cosy other in the media representations of female folk singers

This article examines the ways in which contemporary folk singers Julie Fowlis (Scotland), Muireann Nic Amhlaoibh (Ireland), Emily Portman and Kate Rusby (England) are constructed in the media as what I call the 'cosy other'. Discussed here in relation to these Western European artists, I argue that my concept of cosy otherness derives from the internal other that is both European and foreign (Bohlman 2000: 189–193; Gelbart 2007: 64; McKerrell 2016: 126; O'Flynn 2014: 238). Unlike the conventional definition of a post-colonial other and the concept of an internal other, the cosy other is not ominous, competing, or negative. Rather, it appears charming and unthreateningly different with singular cultural traits such as a performance language other than English, a discernible regional dialect, or a pronounced regionalism. The cultural baggage accumulated over time – for example the troubled history of both Ireland and Scotland with England – is wrapped up in cosiness, niceness and nostalgia. Studying this intermediate stage of otherness reveals the power structures within the popular music scene governing the female artists' access to the field as well as their representation in the media.

The material of the study comprises of articles, reviews and interviews written and published about these four singers who are all active and successful folk music artists, representing the 21st century Anglo-Celtic folk and traditional

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music scene. By analysing this material I look for answers to how the multi-layered othering process becomes manifest and how it works especially in connection to female folk singers. Three narratives are retrieved from the research material through which the cosy other emerges. Firstly, the "narrative of origins" (Karjalainen 2017) consists of references to the singers' places of origin, their sound, and their links to tradition, through which the singers are constructed as nostalgic. Secondly, the "narrative of authenticity" refers to the ways in which the singers' origins and professionalism are associated, and which here places the folk singers in a marginal position in the wider popular music scene. Thirdly, the "narrative of performance", constructed on the strongly gendered language in describing the singers' voices, singership (meaning the singers' artistry combined with the act of singing) and music, others the singers not only to mainstream popular music artists but also engenders them specifically as female performers. In this context, cosy other works as an overarching concept that shows how these different components of the female folk singers' media representation link together.

The narrative of cosy other combines the narratives of origins, authenticity and performance, which are connected in the active, creative process of remembering (Keightley & Pickering 2012: 6, 11, 41) and premediation (Erll 2009: 111, 114; 2011: 142–143). Thus, the narrative of the cosy other is also built on remembering and cultural memory, its individual and collective levels interacting and working together in the process. Memory studies scholar Astrid Erll defines premediation as "the use of existent patterns and paradigms to transform contingent events into meaningful images and narratives" (Erll 2009: 114; see also Erll 2009: 111; Erll 2011: 142–143). This means that media contents that already exist – memories and also mythology, religion, and stereotypes – are used in a given society as templates for making sense and interpreting new experiences (Erll 2009: 111). I argue that premediation is inherent to the process of active remembering. Memory is not static and does not simply exist unchanged, but it is actively shaped by individuals and social groups making sense of different phenomena (Keightley & Pickering 2012: 7, 20, 59). Therefore remembering, as a meaning-making act, including the process of premediation (Keightley & Pickering 2012: 6, 10, 41; Erll 2009: 111, 114), shapes the narrative of cosy other.

I use the concept of narrative to analyse the construction of cosy otherness, as well as the overall construction of the female folk singers' media representation. Following Huisman (2005: 36) and Cobley (2001: 3–7) I view narrative as a "particular, [selective] telling of a story" and "as part of the general process of representation". In this context, the story is the way in which the singer is presented in the media, and the narrative is thus her othering in that media representation. Narratives make sense of and describe the reality, are culturally constructed and based on language, and thus influenced by the circumstances in which they are formulated (Mäntymäki 2015: 101). I agree with Cobley (2001: 6–7) that such selectiveness in the construction of narratives echoes in the media representation that contains the narratives discussed in this article.

I define the concept of cosy other by drawing from the conceptualisation of centre versus periphery (Chapman 1994: 36–42; see also O'Flynn 2014 and Young 1995), as the juxtaposition of dominant social and cultural groups and their minorities, and the closeness of the peripheral to the centre form the basis of the construction of the cosy other. Here the centre-periphery construct encompasses the genre of music that the singers represent, their nationalities and places of origin, as well as their gender. I also draw from strategies of assimilation and projection in diminishing the threat of the other (Middleton 2000), as the gender of the four artists studied further marginalises them in the sphere of popular music which is largely constructed on the norm of a male, professional, skilled artist (Davies 2001: 301–309; Kruse 2002: 135; Mayhew 2004: 150, 159; Whiteley 2000: 72–73).

I have used examples from twenty-six concert and album reviews, seven interviews and seven articles, which are part of a larger body of research material, a total of approximately two hundred articles, reviews and interviews, written about Fowlis, Nic Amhlaoibh, Portman and Rusby. The texts were published both in print and online, in newspapers, (folk) music magazines and webzines, music blogs, music promotion and review websites, and popular culture and music websites. The material was collected 2012–2016 and covers a time period from 2002 to 2016. The sources of the texts used here are listed in table 1 below:

Source/Text type	**review (26)**	**interview (7)**	**article (7)**
Newspapers & magazines	The Sentinel Dingle News The Observer The Sun	Boston Globe The Sentinel The Telegraph	The Sentinel Pittsburgh City Paper Time Magazine (2)
Music magazines	Fatea Magazine Folk Radio UK (2) Folk World Living Tradition The Mouth Magazine	Folk Radio UK	
Music blogs		Lucid Culture Song of the Isles	
Music promotion & review websites	allgigs.co.uk bbc.co.uk enjoythemusic.com forfolkssake.com 67music.net Bright Young Folk Spiral Earth		
Popular culture & music websites	buzzmag.co.uk popmatters.com (2) UK Vibe.org		
Other	rockpaperscissors.biz (5)	rockpaperscissors.biz	robadamsjournalist.com Sage Gateshead events Womex 2013 performers

Table 1: Media text sources

Though the publication forums for these texts vary greatly, the text types of articles, interviews and reviews appear in all of them. In addition, linguistic expressions and issues highlighted tend to be repetitive. The narratives attached to Fowlis, Nic Amhlaoibh, Portman and Rusby are repeated throughout the texts, regardless of the sex of the writer. Kembrew McLeod (2002: 95) discusses this in connection to rock music journalism, stating that its "most significant aspect […] is its role in maintaining the circulation of particular discourses, and the content of those discourses helps determine who feels comfortable […] to participate". Thus, genres of music and artists representing them are described in largely predefined ways in the music press, and both male and female professional journalists and critics as well as voluntary and amateur writers producing texts for various web platforms are expected to – and mostly do – adhere to those descriptions.

As music journalism as a profession has been conventionally a male-dominated field, and as the majority of the writers of the texts at hand are men

(nearly sixty percent, both with the total body of collected media texts and the smaller sampling used here), the dominantly masculine discourses of music journalism define the presentation of female artists and the aspects that are valued in female artists. Even though the study concentrates on media texts written by others, not the artists themselves, the artists' voice is heard through the interviews included in the research material. The artists identify with and reinforce the strong origin and authenticity narratives, but they generally contest the unnecessarily gendered and romantic descriptions of their persons, music, and performance. The uniformity in the language used, narratives and media representation of the four artists throughout the research material shows that there are patterns discernible in the media representation of contemporary female folk singers.

In what follows I discuss a synthesis of the above-mentioned theoretical framework in connection to the narrative of cosy otherness in the media representation of Fowlis, Nic Amhlaoibh, Portman and Rusby. I then examine the construction of the cosy other by analysing how the singers are presented in the media in terms of their places of origin, musical professionalism and gender.

Otherness in media representation of female folk singers

The basis of the othering process in this context is in the conceptualisation of centre versus periphery, as discussed by Malcolm Chapman (1994). He defines four processes that influence each other in the construction of the peripheral other in relation to the more dominant culture or phenomenon (1994: 36–42). The first process identifies opposing pairs: for example the perceived dichotomy between English/Celtic cultural products, as well as between mainstream popular music and folk music and male versus female artists. The second of each of these pairs is considered peripheral, and "the content of the second is primarily determined by the content of the first, and the requirements of dramatic symbolic opposition to the other" (Chapman 1994: 36). This definition echoes Gayatri Spivak's claim of the observed (colonized) other and the observing (colonizing) other coming into being simultaneously, the observing other defining itself against the observed other (Ashcroft et al. 1998: 169–171; Spivak 1985: 252–257). Chapman's second process provides new material for the first process; thus, the content of the paired

categories can change while the categories stay the same (Chapman 1994: 36–37). The third process involves a phenomenon, such as the media representation of the folk singers and their personal connection to the music. This media representation is constructed via the narrative content of what can be viewed as categories set in Chapman's first process – here the other popular music artists versus the female folk singers – the content of which may change over time (Chapman 1994: 36, 38–40).

As Chapman (1994: 40–41) states, the fourth process, Romanticism, "glamorises the 'other' that is constructed in processes 1 and 3. […] Romanticism is a re-evaluation, in the centre, of peripheral features". In this context I claim that this means nostalgizing the singers through the narratives of their origins, professionalism and performance, and thus constructing them as the "cosy other". In post-colonial contexts the other is conventionally defined as threatening, strange and oppressed (Ashcroft et al. 1998: 169–171). Rather than othering the singers this negatively, they are presented and othered as something charming and unthreateningly different with interesting cultural traits. By describing these differences in the media and emphasising their importance to the artists' perceived authenticity the more negative cultural issues are wrapped up in cosiness and nostalgia. The singers' media representation exhibits them as nostalgic, authentic and gendered, as instigated by the narratives of their origins, professionalism and performance, the different facets of their otherness studied here.

The concept of the other has several subdivisions that are relevant in clarifying the definition of the cosy other. Philip Bohlman (2000: 189) divides the other of Western music into external and internal others, the latter of which, the other within Europe, is central here. According to Bohlman, such a close-by other exists in the same space as the self, and this creates competition between the two, not a sense of awe and wonder that a greater cultural and spatial distance usually produces (2000: 191). The four singers' otherness, as presented in the media in terms of their nationality and origins, their gender, and the genre of music that they represent, is internal. Scotland and Ireland have a long history of existing as the periphery to England's centre, as the colonised other to the colonising other of Great Britain. The stereotypes and marginalisation attached to these countries and nationalities run deep and also affect the presentations of music

and artists (here Fowlis and Nic Amhlaoibh) originating from and associated with those locations. As Scotland, and especially its Highland region, and the indigenous music by proxy, has since the 18th century represented the internal other, the noble, untamed and savage culture to the southern, metropolitan and culturally and economically dominant England (Gelbart 2007: 60–66, McKerrell 2016: 53–55), such connotations still affect the contemporary cultural memory in interpreting phenomena connected with Scotland. More recently, the Referendum for Scottish independence has underlined the relationship of difference between the two countries and has for its part added to the cultural connotations associated with Scotland and, here, the artists identifying with it. Similar internal othering produces Ireland and its culture, including folk and traditional music, in the media as romanticised, nostalgic and vaguely exotic, but with a degree of familiarity.

The two internally other nations, Scotland and Ireland, share the status of being "Celtic" in terms of their culture and its presentation in the media. I place the word "Celtic" in quotation marks, because in this context the term refers to the stereotypical, constructed, romanticised and exoticised idea of who and what the Celts may have been (as much as anyone can know anything about them as cultural groups). Thus, I claim that the cosy othering of the Scottish and Irish folk singers Fowlis and Nic Amhlaoibh on the basis of their origins is strongly connected to the connotation of this cultural memory of what is "Celtic"; according to O'Flynn (2014):

> Celtic people are somehow outside the Anglo-American mainstream of white ethnicity and culture; at the same time the presumed naturalness and antiquity […] of Celtic people bestows on them a degree of authenticity that has been lost by 'mainstream' white ethnicities. (252)

Rather than basing the concept of cosy otherness on this constructed "Celticity" (O' Flynn 2014: 239), I see it here as one of the components building the origin narratives of the singers, and connecting to the label of "pastness" attached to folk music as a genre. Similar marginalising pastness and nostalgia are constructed in the origin narratives of Portman and Rusby by connecting them to the trope of "Merrie Old England" (Boyes 2010: 70–71), and at times

making out-dated references to the pagan origins of Englishness, wrapped up in the cosy presentations of rural past in the songs that these artists perform. According to Boyes, these idealistic images of "England-to-be" (2010: 71) and England "as it was" were the result of archetypal "Englishness and the [early 20th century] Folk Revival interact[ing], […and they] still exert considerable potency" (2010: 99), as the analysis of the 21st century female folk singers' media representation here shows.

Furthermore, I link the concept of premediation as discussed by Erll (2009: 111–114; 2011: 142–143) to what Richard Middleton (2000: 61–62) conceptualises as strategies of assimilation and projection in diminishing the possible threat produced by otherness. In assimilation the other is presented with the aesthetic norms of the dominant culture; thus any differences are assimilated into a false identity (Middleton 2000: 61, 78; Kärjä 2007: 203). In projection "the other is externalised in a sphere of apparent social difference" (Middleton 2000: 62). This strategy romanticises and exoticises the other, and thus projects the differences of the dominant culture outwards. Especially the latter strategy is relevant here, as the media representation of female folk singers is constructed on the observing other – the audience, the critics – defining itself, and simultaneously creating the observed other – the female folk singer – on the basis of how that other differs from it. Middleton's strategy of projection thus circles back to how Spivak defines the othering process and how Chapman explains the processes included in the juxtaposition of centre versus periphery (Spivak 1985: 252–257; Chapman 1994: 36–42). This echoes also in the concept of "secured otherness" as discussed by Antti-Ville Kärjä (2007: 200–203) in connection to (visual) representations of culture, meaning that already existing and widely distributed presentations of cultural features and phenomena are used and recycled in those portrayals, regardless of the culture in question and its societal specifics. Thus, if a cultural feature or a phenomenon such as this is already presented as the other it will retain that status in the portrayal to which it is recycled. The process of premediation (Erll 2009: 111–114) is relevant here also, as the existing ideas and imagery already connected to a female folk singer are reapplied whenever such an artist is encountered and experienced.

The formation of the narrative of cosy other thus depends on what kind of a centre is formed and is in charge of the othering process, influenced by active and

creative remembering in a cultural context. In this case, the centre combines and shifts between the features of the singers' origins, professionalism and gender.

A distant land

> For those of us who don't speak the language, Julie's records are like beautiful messages from another world. (Radcliffe cited in Rock Paper Scissors 2008)

The folk singers' places of origin, their sound and links to tradition are significant factors in constructing their overall media representation (Karjalainen 2017). In the construction of the singers' media representation through their origin narratives, the places of origin connected to the singers – even though real and existing – become imagined locations, fairytale-like settings. Therefore, the singers are located not only in terms of actual geography but also in terms of cultural memory, and imaginary place and time (Karjalainen 2017: 5–7). The genre of folk music – and folk singers by extension – is other to not only art music, made possible by "the reinterpretation and mythologizing of a natural and indigenous other" (McKerrell 2016: 55; Gelbart 2007: 62–64) but also to the various commercially popular and dominant genres of music, such as rock and pop. Because folk music as a genre is strongly origins-centred, the four singers are repeatedly constructed in the media as iconic characters inhabiting mythical places situated on the edge of Europe, and instigating imaginative reconstructions of those places (Karjalainen 2017: 5–7). Such media presentations show the singers as exotic but not too much; they are the other that is familiar but at the same time can be categorised as something that is "not us", rather like a reverse of uncanny (Royle 2003: 9–10). The singers' cultural and national origins have therefore a part in the othering process, as for example Fowlis and Nic Amhlaoibh represent cultural minorities and perform in minority languages.

The Highlands and Islands region of Scotland and the west of Ireland appear in the research material parallel to "the highlands" (Stenhouse 2009), to "another world" (LaBrack 2006) and to "a magical world" (Horowitz 2012). In this way, the

singers' places of origin are recreated as fictional, and remembered through the storybook-like references to places existing long ago in the songs that they sing.

> (1) Listening to Hatchling [Portman's second solo album] you feel that you are breaking into other worlds, plunging a thousand leagues beneath the sea or going through the back of the wardrobe in C S Lewis' The Lion, the Witch and the Wardrobe, ending up in another land. There is a dreamy feel to Portman's music which is irresistible and inviting. (Horowitz 2012)

> (2) Julie Fowlis began proceedings with an evocative walking [sic] song […] and one almost felt as though one had been transposed to the highlands. (Stenhouse 2009)

The examples 1 and 2 illustrate the distancing of the periphery from the centre by such reconstruction and imagining as described above. The singers, who are portrayed in the media as representing these peripheral locations, are thus also distanced from the centre of popular music. Though the examples above are only of Julie Fowlis and Emily Portman, similar, origin narrative constructing descriptions are also available of Nic Amhlaoibh and Rusby. The repeated references to Nic Amhlaoibh's childhood home and current place of residence in the Irish-speaking Gaeltacht region in the west of Ireland underline the significance of the place and its connection to the artist (see McBride 2013; "Dingle News 2010). Likewise, Kate Rusby's Yorkshire origins rarely go unmentioned; her pronounced regionalism is significant in the construction of her media representation (Hazlewood 2016; The Mouth Magazine 2014; Dawson 2016). Rusby's established monicker, "the Barnsley Nightingale" (see The Mouth Magazine 2014; The Sentinel 2011), both connects her to a specific place and also constructs a romantic and nostalgic image of her, nightingale being a much used symbol of "creativity, […] nature's purity, […] virtue and goodness" (Walker 2012: 150–151) in literature and poetry.

Moreover, Portman and Rusby's origins are marginalised in terms of what for example Georgina Boyes discusses as "Englishness" (2010: 96), their local origins and the genre of music that they identify with linking them with "the

preindustrial idyll, devoid of politics, urbanism, social disquiet and any contemporaneity" (Boyes 2010: 96). This otherness is constructed by the dominant, metropolitan British and American cultural and social groups represented by the journalists writing about the singers, the publications publishing those texts, and the implied readership interpreting and making sense of the artists through the media representation. Here the cultural minorities include England as rural idyll, the imaginary English village (Boyes 2010: 3, 7, 70; Winter & Keegan-Phipps 2015: 113) that Portman and Rusby are seen in the media to inhabit, as well as the Scottish and Irish cultures and the Scottish Gaelic and Irish speaking cultures. Whereas the two last-mentioned are marginalised from the Angophone point of view for being distinctive nations and cultures with different languages and cultural histories, the marginalisation of the rural English idyll is done through what Winter and Keegan-Phipps call "strange England", the underlining of the regional character of the artists and their music and discussing them as "discoveries" (2015: 118–119, 123–125). These representations of distinct cultures are reconstructed in the media and music press as distant, mythical and romantic, as opposed to the dominant Southern metropolitan culture in the British Isles, and to the Western Anglophone culture in general.

In connection to the process of remembering Keightley and Pickering (2012: 152) discuss retrotyping, which they define as "a mode of stereotyping the past [with] a marked tendency to homogenise the traits of people in particular periods […] or to heavily stylise the social experience of those periods". Such selectiveness about the past events and experiences mediated through nostalgic reminiscence is a prominent feature of the folk singers' narratives of origin. The examples 1 and 2 above, as well as the quote from Radcliffe at the beginning of this chapter go further than merely creating nostalgic recollections of past events or people. The recreation of the singers' origins as imaginary, fabled places "build walls rather than bridges between past and present" (Keightley & Pickering 2012: 152), thus doing the opposite of what Fowlis, Nic Amhlaoibh, Portman and Rusby themselves attempt to achieve with their music, and resulting in the cosy othering of these singers.

The imaginary construction of the singers' places of origin in the media reflects also through the origin narratives strand of sound – including the performance language, the sound of their voice, their music, and the values and

meanings attached to all these aspects (Karjalainen 2017: 7–8). The performance languages of the singers, especially the two minority languages Scottish Gaelic and Irish in which Fowlis and Nic Amhlaoibh sing, and the regional accents of English discernible in Portman and Rusby's singing, firmly link the singers to a specific location and thus to specific cultural connotations. The centre-periphery opposition and the resulting construction of the narrative of cosy other is especially pronounced in the references to Fowlis and Nic Amhlaoibh's performance languages: repeated references are made to the language barrier between the artists and their audiences, and the two minority languages are frequently described as sounds, not as languages conveying a message (Rock Paper Scissors 2008; de Bie 2012; Long 2007). Understanding the lyrics of Fowlis and Nic Amhlaoibh's songs is not important to the journalists; rather, the songs are "felt" (de Bie 2012) and these romantic and exoticised experiences of the music are recounted in the media texts.

Such descriptions deliberately marginalise the singers and reinforce the centre-periphery division at work in the othering process. The four singers are different enough to be constructed as the cosy other; the strand of sound in their origin narratives complements the strand of place. Cosy other shares some features with the uncanny but the mythical or weird characteristics the singers are attributed with are linked with cosiness, nostalgia and niceness covering any unsettling qualities. In fact, cosy other would be more synonymous to meanings given to the word "canny" than uncanny (Royle 2003: 9-11). The singers' origin narratives render them peripheral to the centre, which is, depending on the circumstances, either the popular music scene, the dominant metropolitan culture in opposition to rural, provincial, Scottish, or Irish cultures, non-Gaelic-speaking or non-Irish-speaking audiences, or a combination of any of these. The romantic, exotic and nostalgic connotations circulated in the cultural memory – premediated and attached to the singers' places of origin and their performance languages – are attached also to the singers.

Rare diamonds

> "That Fowlis, the elfin beauty with a voice alternating between piper's staccatos and flautist's glissandos, should spend her days in a fire-lit croft house, learning songs in an all-but-departed language, is a testament to her passion for the music." (Hopper 2008)

The continuum of tradition, of songs being passed on through generations, is a central theme for the narrative of musical professionalism. All the four singers studied here are frequently reported to have grown up with traditional and folk music (Booker 2016; Dougan 2003; Dryoff 2009; Gilbert 2008; Hopper 2008; Wood 2013; The Sentinel 2011; Sage Gateshead 2012). They learn their songs from family, friends, and neighbours (Adams 2012; Gilbert 2008; Hopper 2008; Wood 2013), research old manuscripts, stories and local folklore to understand the songs' backgrounds and to write their own material (Gilbert 2008; Lucid Culture 2008; Dryoff 2009; Booker 2016; Dougan 2003; Bridge 2015). Their sense of responsibility for doing the songs justice in their performance is pronounced (Adams 2012; Hindmarch 2008), and such humility in their approach to music is also a feature of the narrative of professionalism that for its part constructs these artists as authentic folk singers in the media. This feeling of responsibility of the songs and folk music in general is a recurrent feature of the research material, and the singers are often quoted in relation to it as in the examples 3 and 4 below:

> (3) And a lot of these songs are precious, and for me, part of it is about preserving them as well as taking them on as new songs for myself. So there's a duality there that you have to be careful with regards to respecting them and treating them well, so I would spend a long time listening to other singers. (Nic Amhlaoibh in Wood 2013)

> (4) People still tell me they don't care for folk music, but that they like me, […b]ut in the end that's all I sing and play, folk in almost its truest form. I've never minded it being a minority music. It's like a rare diamond; if everyone

> looks at it, it might seem less special. I like it that people have to look that bit harder for it. (Rusby in Randall 2003)

Recounting the singers' own words regarding their connection to the music is not only constructing the singers' professionalism and origin narratives, and giving voice to their own agency in constructing their media representation. It also affects the othering process, in which the peculiarity of the singers' dedication to their craft is underlined and their enthusiasm for their chosen genre of music is pointed out via their own words, thus giving insight to the readers of what this constructed character of a 'folk singer' is like. Also, such detailed descriptions of the singers' dedication enforce their presentation as professional musicians. Accounts of their work including many of the same features as any popular music artist's work does, such as making albums in recording studios, performing live in front of a paying audience, going on concert tours, giving interviews for music magazines and other publications, and maintaining a social media presence and communicating with fans further solidify their professionalism in the media, something that in the genre of folk music is not a given as it has a status of being amateurish, part-time and inherently uncommercial (Finnegan 1989: 16–18; Miller 2016: 8–9), due to its marginal position in connection to more dominant genres of popular music.

In the media texts, certain features of the female folk singers' work and performance are repeatedly discussed and thus focus the attention on aspects of their artistry that eventually work in their media representation to construct them as the cosy other. Their work ethic, dedication and musicianship, namely the narratives of their professionalism, are exoticised and romanticised: aspects of these, their "manners and customs", merit frequent mentions in the research material. The discourse of manners and customs, applied for example in colonial travel literature as discussed by literary scholar Mary Louise Pratt, which is a normalizing discourse with a purpose of codifying difference (1985: 139) is at work in the descriptions of the female folk singers' musical processes, and it connects to the centre-periphery construct central to this article. The singers' passion for the music that they perform, and their personal connection with the songs is central to their marginalisation. Within the genre of folk music songs appear as more than hits or not: the artists cherish them because they reflect the

tradition and heritage of a place and culture, and the romantic descriptions (for example the Hopper quote on page 12) of the lengths that the artists are willing to go for their material underline their cosy otherness constructed in the media.

The music being personally meaningful and a part of the singers' identities is a contributing factor in constructing not only their authenticity but also the nostalgic representation of a folk singer aware of and connected to her own heritage. Such a representation, appearing uniform across a wide variety of media text sources speaks of premediation, of using such patterns and imagery that already exist (Erll 2009: 114) of categorising a folk music artist to define the contemporary singers. It also enhances the romantic image of a folk singer, one with her community, creating music that interprets the tradition in a unique way. This is what Chapman calls the process of Romanticism as a part of the centre-periphery opposition: the folk singers and their musical processes are presented in the media as "a fashionable and glamorous rarity" (1994: 40–41). The examples 5, 6 and 7 below, selected from concert and album reviews written about Kate Rusby and Emily Portman, display this process. Traditional and folk music is placed in opposition with modern life, implying that such music does not inherently belong to modernity but is in the past and has to be remembered and brought forward by artists such as Rusby and Portman. The romantic idea of these folk singers awakening "old stories and voices" and "innovat[ing] the old-time English folk" by approaching and performing it in a new, signature way is a repeated feature in all the research material studied for this article.

(5) Kate Rusby, reigning queen of the traditional English folk song, knows how to sing a story. […S]he weaves gold into folklore, making music that seems anachronistic, yet makes the listener want to join her on a journey to another world. (LaBrack 2006)

(6) Few artists can rival Kate Rusby's ability to bring traditional music to modern life, to infuse old stories and voices with all the sadness, violence and immediacy that more academic stylists lack. Nor can many rival her ability, with her own material, to write new songs that draw deeply, and effortlessly, from old forms. (Dawson 2016)

(7) Embracing traditional sounds and themes with open arms, she innovates the old-time English folk that she already wears so well in convention with a darkly, enchanting vibe akin to the feeling one might get from being lulled to sleep by a time-honoured fairy tale. (Frahm 2015)

It is notable, that in the examples above the narrative of a folk singer's musical professionalism and her passion for the music appears as set even with ten years between the reviews, as is the case with Kate Rusby in examples 5 and 6. The singers are presented in a nostalgic manner not only in connection with their places of origin and links to tradition but also in connection with those artists of the same genre that precede them. There are striking similarities in this narrative to the descriptions written about female folk singers over fifty years ago, when the "purity of [the singer's] voice suggest[ed] purity of approach" (Time 1962b: 54–60) and she "boast[ed …] an uncanny ability to dream her way into the emotional heart of a song" (Time 1962a: 39–40). Even these few examples show how premediation (Erll 2009: 111, 114) and retrotyping (Keightley & Pickering 2012: 150–158) – of which the construction of the narrative of the cosy other is the result – shape the representation of a female folk singer.

Beguiling and innocent

"Her voice is butterflies and dappled light – especially in Irish."(de Bie 2012)

The descriptions of the singers' performances – their voice, singership and music – construct the singers as feminine and thus as other to the male folk musicians and male musicians of other genres. These exotic and romantic descriptions nostalgize the singers, and furthermore such descriptions of the singers follow the genre norms of folk music scene and music journalism in general, which foster the gendered descriptions of female artists (Davies 2001: 301–302; Kruse 2002: 135–136; Whiteley 2000: 73), thus constructing them as authentic folk singers. The music press operating on the basis of a male norm of an artist appears here as the centre, constructing the female folk singer as peripheral. As Frith and McRobbie

(1991: 374) point out, "popular music's images, values, and sentiments are male products", and male artists are the norm (Kruse 2002: 135; Davies 2001: 302), to which female artists are constructed as other through the gendered language used in the media to describe their person and performance. This is true also within the folk music scene where Fowlis, Nic Amhlaoibh, Portman and Rusby work, and the domination and the genre-defining force of male folk music artists has, paradoxically enough, been noted and discussed also in the music press (Chipping 2014; Long 2016; Molleson 2017). As said, the majority of the writers of the media texts studied for this article are male, and both male and female journalists' texts construct similar gendered presentations of the four singers. Thus, the dominantly masculine discourses of music journalism largely define the presentation of female artists.

As the vocabulary used by the journalists to describe the singers is noticeably similar throughout despite the variance in the sources, it can be argued that the process of premediation is at work here, enabling the singers to be constructed as cosy other in the media. The vocabulary constructs three narratives of female folk singers' performance – those of seduction, innocence and professionalism – two first ones of which are relevant to the narrative of cosy other (the narrative of professionalism was partly discussed in the previous chapter). These narratives are the products of the romanticising and exoticising of the singers in terms of their origins, genre of music and performance. The female folk singers are thus made to appear nostalgic, authentic and specifically feminine in the media and this combination positions them as the other. Therefore, a division is constructed between the observer (audience, music critics) and the observed (the folk singers). The language used to describe the singers and the similar ways of doing it conform to genre norms but also homogenise the female folk singer into an iconic, created character. "Iconic" as a definer refers to what Webb (2009) describes as "a direct representation of something already known: the representation is like the referent in a recognisable way" (29, 47). In connection to this, Kärjä's (2007) concept of secured otherness is also relevant, as there appears to be a premediated way of constructing the representation of especially female folk singer in the media. The consistently repeated romantic and exotic descriptions of the singers' voices, singership, and music – for example "silky" (McFadyen 2015), "siren", "spritely" (Schaeffer 2009), "alluring" (Kidman 2015),

"elfin" (Hopper 2008; Montague 2009), "luminous" (McBride 2013; The Mouth Magazine 2012), "pure" (Leech 2012; Cosyns 2008; Hazlewood 2016; Stone 2006) and "pristine" (Keller 2008; Roberts 2009) – show that conformity to existing ideals of what is already known to describe a female folk singer recognisably. Such descriptions as the ones above would most often not be used of male artists, either of the same genre or any genre.

The performance narratives of seduction and innocence reinforce the representation available for female artists in the sphere of popular music, making them the cosy other in the process. The 1960–70s Folk Revival may have given opportunities to female performers – Fowlis, Nic Amhlaoibh, Portman and Rusby are descendants of the phenomenon in their own ways – but the ways that they are presented, over fifty years hence, still highlight the qualities of sensitivity, passivity and sweetness (Frith & McRobbie 1991: 377; Greig 1997: 174; Whiteley 2000: 72–73).

> (8) An enchantress, using her cheerfully innocent sounding voice to lure you into a disconcerting world of dark imaginings, cruel deeds and surreal fairy-tales (Womex 2013)

> (9) Kate tiptoes into the spotlight, all beaming cheeriness and charming beauty, and sweeps into an exquisitely heart-melting rendition (Jones 2010)

> (10) Fowlis's ethereal vocals that captivate, not least on a solo opener that reflects the elemental beauty of her Hebridean homeland (Spencer 2011)

The examples 8, 9 and 10, as well as the above quotes by de Bie (2012) and Hopper (2008) illustrate the performance narratives of seduction and innocence which for their part construct the singers as the cosy other in the media. Describing the singers as elfin and charming beauties, sirens and enchantresses who lure in and charm their audiences with voices that are like light and ethereal, singing heart-melting and fairytale-themed songs (Jones 2010; Hopper 2008; Womex 2013; de Bie 2012), positions them firmly into the premediated, pre-existing box reserved for female artists and female folk singers in the media and in the music business.

Constructing the female folk singers as the cosy other through the performance narratives of seduction and innocence is perhaps the most obvious way of marginalising female artists. However, it is a more complex issue than a simple male versus female artist duality. Because the folk singers studied here have close links to their places of origin, this means that any such attributes that are attached to that locality are also connected to the singer, and thus feature in the construction of her performance narrative. The highly romantic and nostalgic connotations attached to Scotland, Ireland and England are connected to Fowlis, Nic Amhlaoibh, Portman and Rusby in their media presentations. Thus their voices, singership and music are seen as the naturalised representations of their countries of origin. Their being female artists reinforces this convention, as singing is traditionally depicted as feminine, natural and undervalued as a skill (Davies 2001: 306). Even though the performance narratives include the laudatory narrative of professionalism, through which these singers are given credit for their musical skills and artistic achievements, the two other performance narratives of seduction and innocence are strongly gendered and other the singers as specifically feminine as opposed to the norm of a male artist. I argue that the dominance of the two marginalising performance narratives means that the female artist must first be rendered unthreatening to the dominant male canon of popular music (to which folk music, though marginal, does belong) via the traditional, naturalising presentations before they can be granted the credibility by acknowledging their professionalism (Davies 2001: 309).

According to Simon Frith (1996: 193–196), human voices, singing or otherwise, are heard and listened to as gendered. This means that certain connotations and attributes are linked to female singers' voices. Consequently, this affects the references to their singership in the media (their artistry combined with the act of singing), as there are preconceived ideas circulated in cultural memory of how women perform. The media descriptions of the music that the singers produce and perform connect to these premediated ideas of female artists and women's performances, and also to the premediated ideas of folk music, constructing the narrative of cosy other in the female folk singers' media representation. As Astrid Erll states, such mediated memories work as models or templates for constructing that representation "even before the choice for representing a matter in a certain fashion is made" (2011: 142). The narratives of cosy other are telling examples of this meaning-making process.

Conclusions

The origin narratives within the narrative of cosy other as constructed in the music press present folk music and folk singers in the media not as representing a living tradition, but as peculiar exponents of half-forgotten, past cultures, which exist in the cultural memory in order to be remembered fondly. On the other hand, such connections to the places of origins and the tradition preserved in the folk songs work as authenticators; these connections are needed for constructing a credible media representation of an authentic folk singer. Both these narratives romanticise and nostalgize the artists studied here, connecting them to a specific place and tradition. The singers themselves promote their local connections and are keen to talk about their approach to traditional material, thus reinforcing their cosy otherness in the media.

The female folk singers occupy a peripheral position to a centre, which shifts between the music press dominated by the normative male artist, popular music professionalism, and the dominant metropolitan culture in opposition to rural, provincial cultures. Thus, a single, fixed centre does not exist, but is a fluctuating combination of the above-mentioned, and dependent on the agents operating in the potential centre, observing and constructing the periphery. Such variance makes the artists both cosy and familiar and exotic and other, never settling on either one. A female artist singing folk songs is a familiar phenomenon, but these features, with features of the singer's origins, performance and professionalism are applied to construct them also as the cosy other.

Generally, cosy otherness is ascribed on folk musicians of both genders, thus emphasising the aspects of the nostalgia and authenticity instigated by the artists' origins and professionalism. However, as the discussion in this article shows, the female folk singers are marginalised as the cosy other also through their gender. I argue that such pointedly gendered and marginalising narrative defining the media representation of a female artist shows how (folk) music journalism follows closely the guidelines of popular music journalism which has conventionally placed female artists in a peripheral position in the scene. This and the position of folk music in the sphere of popular music as marginal and exotic makes the female folk singers the most evocative of cosy otherness. Thus, unearthing the structures behind this particular othering process and actively

pointing them out may eventually have an effect on how female artists are represented. For example the Fair Plé initiative (Fair Plé 2018) calling for gender equality in the sphere of folk and traditional music launched earlier this year by female artists in the Irish traditional music scene demonstrates the existence of a wider problem in many other aspects of professional music career besides media representation, and the artists' own awareness of it.

The consistency in the media representation of Fowlis, Nic Amhlaoibh, Portman and Rusby speaks of set expectations for a media presentation of a female folk singer. I claim that this is due to an active process of remembering and application of a premediated imagery adapted to understand new phenomena. The majority of the concepts discussed in this article – cultural memory, premediation, representation, other, stereotype, nostalgia, authenticity – are selective and closely connected meaning-making processes. Thus, the representation of a female folk singer in the media, influenced by all of these concepts, is very selective, highlighting those qualities in the artists' personae and performances that fit the deeply embedded image of a "folk singer". Though the centre that constructs the folk singer as the cosy other is not uniform, the narratives of cosy other in the singers' media representation build on and follow consistently similar themes.

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