

# **Double Role of Music Criticism**

**- A Model of the Inner Structure of the Funding of Music**

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**Pro gradu-tutkielma**

**Sosiologia/Kulttuuripolitiikan**

**koulutusohjelma**

**Yhteiskuntatieteiden ja filosofian laitos**

**kevät 2008**

## TIIVISTELMÄ

### DOUBLE ROLE OF MUSIC CRITICISM -a model of the inner structure of the funding of music

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Kevät 2008  
sivumäärä: 123 s.

Tarkoituksena on tarkastella, kuinka musiikkikritiikki vaikuttaa musiikin rahoitukseen. Aineistoni muodostuu eri osa-alueiden teksteistä. Tutkimukseni näkökulma perustuu Bourdieu'n, Beckerin ja Maussin määrittelemään **kenttään** ja sen dynamiikkaan. Kentän asiantuntijaosan muodostavat koulutus, kulttuuripolitiikka, ja muusikko (imagon saajan osana). Kaiken keskiössä on kriitikko, taiteellista tasoa evaluoimassa. Näin muodostuvassa sisäpiirissä voi liikkua päätöksiin vaikuttavaa tietoa. Tämä muodostaa rahoituksen yhden haaran. Toinen haara syntyy lipputuloista. Innovaattoreita on tutkimusten mukaan 10-15% yleisöstä (, ja sillä saattaa olla sija sisäpiireissään), suurin osa yleisöä seuraa innovaattoreita. Kolmas haara rahoituksesta syntyy kasvavasta sponsoroinnista. Sponsorit hakevat sopivaa imagoa, jonka siinä kriitikko pystyy näkyvästä positiostaan journalismin kentältä antamaan. Sponsorit tavoittavat näin sen yleisön, josta on kiinnostunut klassisen musiikin konserteissa erityisen hyvinkoulutetun ja hyvätuloisen.

Tutkimustuloksieni esittämisenä, miten mallin kaikki osa-alueet reagoivat joko suorasti tai epäsuorasti musiikkikritiikkiin, ja siten kaikkiin rahoituksen osa-alueisiin. Tutkimuksen tulokset osoittavat myös, että taiteellinen evaluaatio vaikuttaa rahoituspäätöksiin. Vaikutus on suurin, kun kyseessä on nuori taitelija tai tapahtuma, tai tapahtuma, jonka yleisö on maantieteellisesti kaukana. Kriitikko on instituutio, eikä henkilökohtaisen mielipiteen antaja. Kriitikkokunnan pohdittavaksi voisi asettaa muutamia eettisiä ja moraalisia kysymyksiä -minkälaiset kokonaisvaikutukset kritiikillä on. Myös musiikkikritiikin analogian musiikkioppilaitospuolella (, mistä sisäpiiri valmistuu ja sosialisoituu kentän intellektuelleiksi) voitaisiin luoda parempia kurssitutkimuksen arviointijärjestelmiä, oppilaan oikeusturvan vuoksi. Näin voitaisiin eliminoida sisäpiirin vaikutusta.

Tutkielman tuloksista voidaan päätellä, että alkuasetelma oli ns. itsestäänselvyyden purkamista, mutta tulokset osoittavat, että siitä voi syntyä monenlaisia jatkotutkimuksia, ja tarvetta niihin on. Yhtään vastaavaa kokonaiskenttää ei ole aikaisemmissa tutkimuksissa ilmennyt.

**Avainsanat:** funding of music, music criticism, inner circle, definition of artist, cultural consumption, corporate sponsorship of music, model of funding of music

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

The music critic is and has been an important part of the “cultural machinery”- meaning the mechanism that circulates musicians, music and audience. Without a adequate critic from the “right” media, a musician has to annihilate his or her dreams to get established. Musicians seem to need critics, and critics definitely need musicians. Critic and musician should accept each other’s rights and duties – but gap between these partners seems to appear.

Musicians have often felt that they have been misunderstood by critics. As one excellent example of that is Nicolas Slonimsky’s (1894-1995) “Lexicon of Musical Inventive” – a book about how music became “Art” and musicians misunderstood geniuses <sup>1</sup>. According to the editor of Slonimsky’s books latest edition, Peter Shickele, the era of union between composers and audiences that respected them, ended by the middle of last century . Also a very important fact has to be remarked; critic should not foresee what will be successful after decades, but express his or her opinion of piece of music in the time he or she hears it at present.

Another question that has been open lately is, what features, properties a music critic has. A collective picture of these properties can be called as a discourse. The interest of research is to open up the concept of the music critic as a profession with its various demands and connections to many fields.

Certain issues seem to rise constantly from the field. In 1998 I wrote an essay about gender questions in the reception of music critics. My examples were an older, more conventional male critic, and as his counterpart, an younger female that had less conventional writing style. They both were writing in the Gramophone magazine.

The older critic used very strict and stereotypical verbal impressions. His background was in a very hierarchical system- in an English boy choir. So, he considered himself as an authoritative, a dominant character. The younger critic had travelled around the world, and

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<sup>1</sup> Pietilä 2002, p. 34-35

she had less authoritative, more comparative approach. She considered herself as a educator, someone who gave different options. This was the first notion of the discourse of a music critic; the language they use. It forms an impression of the role that the music critic wants to represent. Later, Taru Leppänen<sup>2</sup> proved my point in her doctoral dissertation on dominant and stereotypical language of music critics.

In Bourdieu's<sup>3</sup> distinction theory, the field is the imaginary unit, and its limits are defined by those individuals understanding the same language; all the fields have their own "slang", professional terms. Symbolical power is gained by adapting that language. Bourdieu is launching the term "symbolical violence" in his theory, meaning representation of power by using highly established, specialized terms, dominant expressions to get access to the power. Bourdieu takes thereby education in the centre of the function as access to the field. In the education students learn the professional language, and those who speak that, form a kind of "inner circle". Nattiez<sup>4</sup> in his semiotic model of musical communication reveals that one the most convincing "mind maker" in the field is the music critic.

I have been studying music practically through my early years, all the way to the professional level. During those years, I found a parallel system to a music criticism. All the students have to attend in testing system, where a small board criticized their playing or singing. The reputation was growing level by level. It was like a label stamped on the forehead, somehow self-evident. When students were graduating and attending in the professional field, their reputation seemed to follow them. Sometimes, a good student seemed to have "a wrong teacher" (I mean with this the battle of the schools etc.), and the point of the critic was addressed to the teacher, through criticizing the student.

Something similar seems to take place in the professional field as well. Media battles between musicians and critics seem to rise constantly in the field of classical music. Other genres of music have similar evaluating systems, and possibility to have same kind of issues, is basically the same.

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2 Taru Leppänen 2000

3 Bourdieu 1984

4 Nattiez 1990

Simon Frith is speaking broadly about the critics of rock <sup>5</sup>, and comes to the conclusion that classical music critic is the role model for rock music critics. There are some differences in those systems, but nevertheless; enthusiastic listeners seem to have the qualification to be as a critique, or as a A&R – manager in some record company <sup>6</sup>. Rock music is considered to be more commercial, especially in the form of pop music, but the same unwritten laws seem to exist in the field of rock and in more generally, pop music as well.

Later, during my academic studies, I attended in the Finnish Opera Seminar 2001. In the discussion, professor Jorma Hynninen posed the same question; a music critic had caused a major decline of the ticket sales in the Savonlinna Opera Festivals. The festivals had marketed “Aika ja Uni” (“The Ages of Dreams” 2000) strongly, and sold also well. The critic of Helsingin Sanomat, Hannu-Ilari Lampila was not too exited of the project, and soon after his critic, the ticket sales nearly stopped. Eventually, this unique project (collaboration of three composers; Rechberger, Kortekangas, Aho) was silently forgotten. Lampila protected himself by denying the financial responsibility of his acts, and right to say out aloud his *personal* opinion. He used Bourdieu’s distinction theory’s “battle in the field” as his main point <sup>7</sup>.

Music critic works in the double-position; firstly in the field of music, but secondly, also in the field of journalism. How personal is one’s statement, when it is published in the biggest newspaper of Finland? As a journalist, an individual has certain kind of working methods. As an investigating journalist, a music critic may feel his responsibility to educate, spread knowledge. What if critic takes hierarchical or dominant approach? Is the criticism always addressed to its goal directly? On the other hand, a music critic is without doubts also one of the central figures in “music machinery”.

Another double-position is formed when we consider the financial issues and music criticism. For most of the musicians, it seems to be a self-evident fact that criticism effects

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5 Frith 1996

6 Frith 1983, p. 186, Frith-Goodwin 1990, p. 36

7 <http://www.finnica.fi/seminaari/01/luennot/lampila.htm>



on the funding of the music. Apparently, exactly so happened in 2000, in “Aika ja Uni/ The Ages of Dreams” -case. It is more than obvious that no project will be started without funding. In the country like Finland, the public funding is still the biggest source.

Answer seems to already exist, but what kind of mechanism works in the background? What kind of boundaries circulate this mystical power? Why failures in reputation forming are so fundamental?

## **2. EARLIER RESEARCH**

### ***2.1. Concept of the law***

To open the discussion and work, I bring out firstly the discussion of the laws of aesthetic. This is one of the many analogies existing between laws of politics and laws of art. According to Hugoson, there are two kinds of laws in society. Written laws are deterministic laws – a big framework of ethics and processes in real life. There are also another part of truth – reflective laws. That is in other words “common sense”, unwritten knowledge. They are constructed in the spirit of deterministic laws, but cover significantly broader part of everyday life. In other words, we are living in the world of both deterministic and reflective laws. Many political decisions are decisions that cover the field of reflective laws - questions and themes considering life and lifestyles, values of society<sup>8</sup>. And the deeper we can see in deterministic laws the clearer we can see that the basis for these laws lie strongly in religion – a strong collection of deterministic and reflective laws itself.

In the arts there is also a deterministic type of law – aesthetics. It is very easy to define technical level, and the relations between composer’s own remarks or questions like period instruments. How about then reflective parts of laws – expressiveness, meaning? As Kurkela comments, “truth” (deterministic and reflective area together) is substituted other with more narrow concept of objectivity (deterministic area)<sup>9</sup> in evaluating of music.

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8 Hugoson 2001

9 Kurkela 1998, p. 281

Deterministic law is verbalized, meaning very exactly defined properties, features, instructions etc. Reflective area is more free – as deterministic law says “is “ or “must”, reflective law says “as it would be...” or “should”. Law and person is more convincing when he or she is “hidden” behind deterministic laws – in illusionary objectivity.

When we are judging a piece of art, we have to remember that we are in touch with something very human; one can hurt another by pulling another down as an object, being himself a subject. Still, own perspective and even provocative text is more natural for critics than purely scientific approach <sup>10</sup>. In action of critic there is an eternal paradox;

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on the other hand one should do interpretation and evaluate; one should be responsible “servant” , but also a responsible creator. On the other hand the tension of evaluating, judging the piece of art is to be seen that one should judge without permanent scale of evaluation <sup>12</sup>. Question of responsibility is also at present, a critic can not say everything he would like to say as a private person , because in ultimate cases models of interpretation can come from former critics <sup>13</sup>.

To draw a picture of the music critic’s discourse, there has to be first the concept of what criticism and critic is. Therefore, firstly, I am defining the music critic. Secondly, the position of the critic has to be primarily defined, and it will be presented with the help of the semiotic model of music criticism that is creating the discourse of the critic in the context of the artistic production <sup>14</sup>. Frith is implying that there are gatekeepers in the field of music, in different positions. These gatekeepers are giving opportunities to their selected ones, and annihilating those who do not seem to have potential in their eyes <sup>15</sup>One of the strongest works in the background of my work is Leppänen’s doctoral thesis on the

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10 Haapala-Ukri 1998, p. 96

11 Haapala-Ukri 1998, p. 96

12 Haapala- Ukri 1998, p. 102

13 Haapala- Ukri 1998, p. 96

14 Nattiez 1990

15 Frith 1983

framework of critic- conscious or unconscious mind set-ups that are reflected to the final critic <sup>16</sup>. This work suggests that the discourse of the critic is not necessarily fully objective, and some stereotypes are controlling also reading of the performance process. Nattiez and Leppänen are defining together what importance music critic has in the process of shaping the opinion of the audience ( Nattiez) and the formation of musician's identity (Leppänen), and the gatekeepers will decide what the audience may listen to (Frith).

## ***2.2. Definition of the music critic and music criticism***

The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Music says that music criticism is

*“...the profession of writing about the aesthetics, history and evolution of music and reviewing musical compositions and performances in newspapers, periodicals, books and on the radio and TV.”* <sup>17</sup>

This definition is taking the critic as a professional who has his own place in system. New media is now been considered part of the definition.

The Collins Pocket Dictionary of Music sees the function of music critics as

*“...to assess value, to maintain standards, to sift, define and educate, and to say, simply, what it was like to be listening to music at a certain time.”* <sup>18</sup>

Another definition, by Webster's Student Dictionary says that the critic is

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16 Leppänen 2000

17 Kennedy (ed.) 1980

18 Wilson 1982

- 1) *“One who judges anything by some standard or criteria*
- 2) *One whose profession is to judge or evaluate literary, theatrical, musical, or other artistic production*
- 3) *A faultfinder,*

And criticism is

- 1) *The act or art of criticizing*
- 2) *The principles or rules for judging*
- 3) *A review, article etc. expressing a critical judgement”*<sup>19</sup>

As one can see, the definition of music criticism as function has not changed from the 30’s to the present: for example, Webster’s definition comes close to The Oxford Dictionary 1933. Appearance and surroundings of music have however changed radically that time because of the expansion of the media. Music critics seem to have connections with at least two broad and old research areas; music philosophy, and (in fact as its subtitle), especially with aesthetics of music<sup>20</sup>.

The most significant critic is working in the journalistic field, more specifically in the newspapers in my work. Critics appear also on TV, radio channels, internet etc. forums. Critics are also attending in the boards – and the board as such is a critic. A critic is also an artistic director of an event. An art critic is accepted in the artist lists for example in Finland<sup>21</sup>, so a critic might accept scholarships of an other critic in the arts councils and boards. An critic can also compose , using his or her own name or some false, artistic name, and are therefore evaluated by their colleagues. Limited professional circles have caused for composing critics (that were the main type of critics before the Second World

19 Landau (ed.) 1997, p. 168

20 [www.grovemusic.com](http://www.grovemusic.com)

21 Rensujeff 2003, Jokinen 1988

War) cautious approach towards colleagues works- in the fear of fierce feedback in the form of critic in the future. It has been mentioned that some composing critics were using pseudonyms in Finland to avoid contradictions between the two positions they were holding<sup>22</sup>. Professional criticism departed ever since the 1950's from the music field, to represent both the music and journalist fields<sup>23</sup> Eskola and Linko have an assumption that the same people represent the artist and decision-makers in the same personality in the artist politics of the cultural politics. Altogether, the appreciated intellectuals seem to decide on the general rules of the art<sup>24</sup>. One generalization of the newspaper readership is, that to read the cultural section, arts section of the newspaper has mostly intellectual readers<sup>25</sup>. All of these critic types are included in the concept of critic, unless a newspaper critic (in the journalistic field) is specifically used. In the following, I will introduce closer the researches that have had a special influence in this work.

### ***2.3. Nattiez: A Semiotic Model of Musical Communication***

Jean-Jacques Nattiez is considered to be one of the most remarkable music semiotics of our times. Nattiez's model places music critics in a certain position in the chain of music interpretation processes.

Nattiez's model (figure 1) is explaining the chain of communication in music. At the same time, it is describing the process of interpretation of music. It follows the creation of a piece of music; how that arises from dynamic genetic processes of composer (Wagner) 1, is getting its background from philosophical, literary and musical factors 2. After putting in the form of a score of libretto 3, it is going to performers 4, who interpret the score according to their knowledge of a composer 5, and their own poietic processes 6. Performance 7, turns in symbolical form 8, to the spectators. The critic is evaluating the piece of music in terms of this particular production 9, but also according to what they know about the conductor and the artists 10, and the composer's text, about the composer and his or her creative processes 12, and about the background of the composer 13. Where

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22 Hurri 1993, p. 52-53

23 Hurri 1993, p. 53

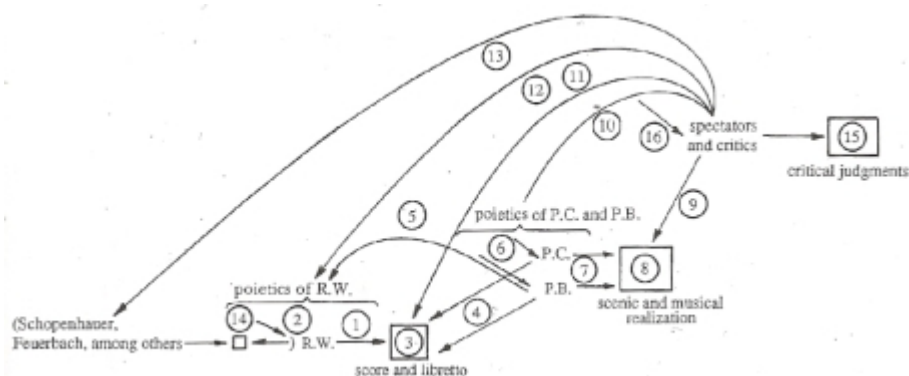
24 Eskola - Linko 1986, p. 16-19

25 Hurri 1993, p. 48

we can repeat the whole process endlessly 14.

The immediate response of an audience is applause or hisses, comments expressing pleasure or ignorance, intermission analyses, critical evaluation, journalistic reviews, analytical articles, books 15. These traces left behind may be explained in terms of what the audience retained of 9, 10, 11,12,13 or 14 and in terms of this material, but also in terms of each person's poetic processes 16<sup>26</sup>. Ideas seem to create a closed circle together ; idea is able to grow into a piece of art and further only if it gets funding. That means that qualification of funding is closely related to qualification of artistic values , (in other words artistic definition means reference for getting funding,) an imago of musician, composer, people behind art events or artists.

Figure 1<sup>27</sup>:



#### 2.4. Frith: The Gatekeeper System in Music Industry

Simon Frith is a sociologist, and a well- recognised researcher of popular music. Frith is speaking broadly about the critics of rock<sup>28</sup>, and comes to the conclusion that the classical music critic is the role model for rock music critics. Hirsch claims that all the available material cannot be produced as productions, and therefore the gatekeepers are selecting and filtering the candidates, deciding the ones that are the most promising in the sense of further production and public visibility<sup>29</sup> There are some differences in those systems, but

26 Nattiez 1990, p. 75-77

27 Nattiez 1990, p. 76

28 Frith 1996

29 Hirsch 1972, p. 640-642

nevertheless; (according to Hirsch), enthusiastic listeners seem to have the qualification to be a critique, or as an A&R – manager in some record company<sup>30</sup>. Rock music is considered to be more commercial, especially in the form of pop music, but the same unwritten laws seem to exist in the field of rock and more generally, pop music as well.

Frith has represented an analogy for my framework of ideas:

*”What public gets, then, depends on the decisions of a series of “gatekeepers.” A&R men at record companies decide which musicians to record, which records to issue and promote; agents and concert promoters decide which performers to present live; music journalists decide which acts to report; radio station program directors and disc jockeys decide which records to broadcast; record store owners decide which products to stock. In this process the emphasis of “public choice” seems spurious. The gatekeepers make the decisions that matter and the public’s own options are limited by these decisions – all people can “want” is what they can get .”<sup>31</sup>*

It seems reasonable to assume that a similar (until a certain extend) gatekeeper system can be found in classical music as well. That would mean that music critics are an important part in the communication chain in classical music. According to Bourdieu, the gatekeepers are investing their power of authority when they are rising artists and talk for them in public forums<sup>32</sup>.

### ***2.5. Leppänen: Tools for Symbolical Power***

Taru Leppänen is a musicologist who has researched music critics. Leppänen’s thesis is relevant to my work. She refers to Michel Foucault<sup>33</sup>: Knowledge and power are connected with each other, and power is everywhere. It does not consider only official, juridical relations but also complex social nets. Leppänen writes that power limits one’s

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30 Frith 1983, p. 186, Frith-Goodwin 1990, p. 36

31 Frith 1983, p. 92

32 Bourdieu 1985, p. 178, Bourdieu 1986, p. 153

33 Foucault, Michel 1980

ways to write, it creates meanings / significance, and takes place by using certain articulation. She puts music in its context; music is not autonomous but connected strongly in society, with similar representations of symbolical power <sup>34</sup>. Also Stuart Hall <sup>35</sup> comes to the conclusion that properties connected with music do not indicate the original or inner identity of music. They are the results of those in power considering music's reproduction. Hall continues that identities create inner representation <sup>36</sup>, and that come close to my definition of imago, as well as Leppänen's concept of identity.

Leppänen sees connections between music reception (in music critic) and sex, race and ethnic origin that create a concept of "other" in Western classical music <sup>37</sup>. That means that music critic have already some sort of basis to their reception and it can create experience. She continues that education has a significant role in this system; who has been one's teacher <sup>38</sup> means. Music is considered to be an even sacred experience, it is something separate from everyday life – the concert hall is a special place for that experience <sup>39</sup>, and people involved with music making are dressed formally<sup>40</sup>. This is a very similar impression than the indication to luxury product that is represented later in this thesis. Adaptation in the system in Bourdieu's distinction theory refers to Leppänen's concept of "panopticiating" (adapted from Foucault). In this the idea that people involved in this field accept the procedures, concert behaviour and merciless effects of judgement <sup>41</sup> because of the power. The significance of language is obvious <sup>42</sup>.

## ***2.6. Some literature connected to this work***

I have read a number of books that have similarities with the ideas in this work, and they have helped me to get oriented in the specific questions of this thesis, but the most adequate works are referred in the further text. I am representing them in three subgroups, depending on the emphasis of their research tasks.

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34 Leppänen 2000, p. 10, 26-66

35 Hall 1999, p. 15

36 Hall 1999, p. 255

37 Leppänen 2000, p. 67-73, 109-147, 148-194

38 Leppänen 2000, p. 166-172

39 Leppänen 2000, p. 27, 40-41

40 Leppänen 2000, p. 30

41 Leppänen 2000, p. 29

42 Leppänen 2000, p. 61-66



First one is defined in terms of education. Sanna Karttunen (1992), Kirsti Tulamo (1993), Leena Hyvönen (1995), Helmi Järviluoma (1997), Anne Seppänen (2000), Sara Sintonen (2001), and Erja Kosonen (2001) have been researching themes related in educational perspective. Education seems to be an important area in this research.

Second main area seem to be funding of music. Merja Heikkinen (1994 and 1996), Merja Heikkinen and Tuulikki Koskinen (1998), Ilkka Heiskanen (1994), Pauliina Ahonen (2000), Minna Martikainen et al. (2001) seem to define the area of funding in general – meaning both public and corporate sponsorship incomes. Kari Vaijärvi (1997) is writing about grants and other kind of public support. Pekka Gronow (1996) and Manu Aunola (2000) are commenting popular music and music industries in their researches. Funding is the main question in my research, and both public funding and corporate sponsorship are in represented. The music industry is one of the machineries of music world, and thereby also popular music analogies are covered.

Third main guideline in previous research is music critic and taste research. Soili Nurmi (1993), Nils-Göran Sundin (1994), Jukka Sarjala (1994), Timo Cantell (1996), Pertti Savolainen (1999), Antti Juvonen (2000), Antti Vihinen (2000) and Jari Muikku (2001) have illuminated different perspectives on music critics and closely related concept of music taste. Taste in in the centre of this work – in the sense Bourdieu it considers.

### **3. THE CONTEXT OF THIS WORK**

The context of this work is consisted of the discussion of three major theories. Firstly, Bourdieu's distinction theory describes sometimes even contradictory processes in the field, in order to gain distinction. This process provides the essence of the dynamics of the field, and deeper understanding of the typical features in the art field.

Becker's theory of the institutionalization of the art gives an insight to the structure of the field, on institutions, their internal and external hierarchy, and how art is defining itself by gatekeepers. Becker's innovation is also "the reputation", a concept, an invisible power,

that is binding the field together.

Mauss's input to the discussion is connected to the discussion, what holds this field together, other type of dynamics. According to him, "the reputation" (Becker) is circulating reciprocating between various parts of the field. Concept "potlach" (Mauss) refers to the ultimately human function, reciprocation of the gifts, is able to explain how "the reputation" keeps the parts of the field together. That leads back towards Bourdieu, and his concept "the field" is thereby the primary unit in explaining, how music criticism effects on the funding of the music. The critic as an institution in very traditional and visible, in defining artistic quality. At the same time, since it is also a strong voice in imago making process, it is connected to the very goal-oriented field that operates the funding of the music.

Basically, other genres of music have parallel systems inside their record companies and music managements. The similarity to these fields is revealed by Frith, in his researches 1983, 1990 and 1996. He considers the classical music as a role model to other genres of music in terms of a gatekeeper system. Although classical music is in the centre in this work, this fact cannot be forgotten since classical music is already operating inside record companies.

### **3.1. BOURDIEU'S INTRODUCTION**

#### **3.1.1. The Field - the Operating Unit of the Critic**

*"Taste classifies, and it classifies the classifier."*<sup>43</sup>

Pierre Bourdieu (1930-2002) is one of the most recognised sociologists in the world. His approach is based on revealing power constructions of society. Bourdieu's career has been untypical – full of scientific intellectual arguments. No wonder; he has defined himself "as a disturber of self-evident truths" weakening power by commenting in an intellectual way all kinds of public bodies and positions. Despite all kinds of difficulties, he managed to

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43 Bourdieu 2002, p. 154

break into the “castle of intellectuals” – Collège de France in 1981. Eventually there has been formed a group around his research – one might even call that school of Bourdieu<sup>44</sup>. His most famous theory is distinction theory – first introduced in 1984<sup>45</sup>. Twelve years later (1996) he wrote about art, entitling the book “The Rules of Art”.

Howard S. Becker (1928 - ) is an American sociologist who has an institutional approach to the sociology of art, he introduces arts as a social product. All human activity, as for example artistic work, involves a joint activity of a large number of people<sup>46</sup>. For Becker, the art world is considered more as collective activity, ( field, network etc.) – a sociological approach more than aesthetic study .

### **3.1.2. Capitals**

According to Marx there is economical capital, and the famous struggle of classes. Bourdieu extends his idea by naming several other kinds of capital. Capitals are accepted in different ways in different *fields*<sup>47</sup>. However , the three generally most important capitals are economical, cultural and social capital<sup>48</sup>. All these capitals are connected to each other , somehow dependent on each other. Economical capital is money and property, in other words the ability to consume.

Social capital means a net of contacts. One is defined by people surrounding him or her. Social capital depends firstly on one’s family. In more class- oriented cultures (such as France and Great Britain because of historical reasons), family origin has meant and still means more than for example, Nordic countries. Nevertheless, social capital is also people one is seen with, and extended, who one know, or one’s family, friends, colleagues, business partners etc. know. Contacts are access to inner circles, to better working positions, to good imago in society. One can not operate in the net of social contacts without having at least a reasonable economic capital. That is needed to be able to move in the same circles with the people one want to be seen with. The more distinctive the life-

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44 Sabour 2002

45 Bourdieu 1984: Distinction – A Social Critique of the Judgement of the Taste.

46 Becker 1984, p. 7

47 See chapter about field later in this thesis.

48 Bourdieu 1984 p.114-124, Bourdieu 1991 p. 14, Bourdieu 1996, p. 262, Bourdieu 1992, p. s.126

style, the more expensive the living costs.

In a certain social group people are interested in the same kind of things, and therefore are seen in same venues, places, surroundings. The reason for that is the peer group<sup>49</sup> - the group one wants to belong to. One is looking for references of similarity, and the best way for that is to consume similarly, to live in the same areas and even to think in the same way as one's peer group. In other words, to be what one wants to be seen as.

The most important of these three capitals is cultural capital.<sup>50</sup> One can have cultural both cultural and economical capital. Should a person have cultural capital without economical capital, can he or she be respected in society. It has even to be a tendency; being too popular means most of the times that one is not artistic enough<sup>51</sup>. There is a reason to believe that if great audience accepts a work of art easily, there is a lack of the mysterious "touch of God" that means also some special skill of understanding – higher level consciousness<sup>52</sup>. The creator of the "sacred" expression is him- or herself labelled to the divine ideas by signing it, in other words giving the exclusiveness to the work<sup>53</sup>. This process is the social creation of a fetish, because the fetish- value is forming in the social field from unattainable features for the most people<sup>54</sup>. The value is more relying of the piece of art itself, rather than the creator, in other words the artist<sup>55</sup>. A great work of art is supposed to be alienated from money<sup>56</sup>; there is one ultimate explanation for this. Work of art is a genuine proof of divine creative power its artist has or has got. The social ageing is processing it at the same time towards rarity<sup>57</sup>, and the piece of art has properties of "wearing out", meaning it is familiarized more and more in time<sup>58</sup>. By having that in possession, purchasing that, and by seeing that divine power one is able to touch that him- or herself. That is a sign for the rest of the world that the person who owns that work of art

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49 See "Consumer behavior" later in this thesis.

50 For example Bourdieu 1984, p. 270, Bourdieu 1988, p. 189

51 Bourdieu 1991, p. 16

52 Bourdieu 1996, p. 302

53 Bourdieu 1996, p.230

54 Bourdieu 1996, p. 231

55 Bourdieu 1996, p. 229

56 Bourdieu 1996, p.154, 254

57 Bourdieu 1996, p. 254

58 Bourdieu 1996, p. 253

has some special ability, special gifts to lead others. This pattern is very well-known from history ; endless number of alliances of artists and people having political power, from Ancient Greece until to today, in all political and administrative systems.

That value of a piece of art is called illusion of fetish value <sup>59</sup>. The fact that an artist can be wealthy is acceptable and it depends of patrons – those of earlier days or modern systems of our society. Habermas´ s assumption is that the independence of the art from the society has been born from the raising capitalism, and the consequence of that process was the definition of the art as commercial values, as a product. The old hegemony of defining the value and significance was rupturing, and the power of definition was shifting towards citizens and the public sphere <sup>60</sup>. Times are however about to change – at least from one part. For example ultimately successful and commercially big, The Beatles, among some other big rock bands, are nowadays also considered to be a piece of culture, if not art as such, but closer to that than commercial mass culture product. Economic capital only cannot guarantee success, and profits are usually made in time- unless phenomena such as the Beatles is reconverted into symbolical capital <sup>61</sup>

Bourdieu´s “taste” connects with cultural capital and social classes attempt to display their place in a hierarchical system of distinction. Consumption is gradually learned habit and is deeply embedded in class concept and is therefore normatively highly regulated. <sup>62</sup>

*“ Taste is the practical operator of the transmutation of things into distinct and distinctive signs., of continuous distributions into discontinuous oppositions; it raises the differences inscribed in the physical order of bodies to the symbolic order of significant distinctions... Taste is thus the source of the system of distinctive features which cannot fail to be perceived as a systematic expression of a particular class of conditions of existence, i.e. as distinctive life-style, by anyone who possesses the practical knowledge of the relationships between distinctive signs and positions in the distributions. “ <sup>63</sup>*

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59 Bourdieu 1996, p. 229

60 Habermas 1986, p. 52-60

61 Bourdieu 1996, p. 148

62 Warde 1997, p. 10

63 Bourdieu 1984, p. 174

The most significant and at the same time most invisible capital is a combination of these three – symbolic capital. It is power that is essential in *field*, and is ultimately important in getting more capacity in social circles, inside this certain *field*. Symbolic power is something that is given to one from outside, from the authorities of the *field* who have power to give legitimate judgements on example of quality<sup>64</sup>. The forms of symbolical capital are prestige, charisma charm and the relations of exchange through which capital accumulates<sup>65</sup>. The most strongest way to gain symbolical power is to consume culture, especially legitimate culture (classical music, jazz, modern paintings, modern literature etc.)<sup>66</sup>. Symbolic capital tends also to accumulate<sup>67</sup> and the accumulation of economical power seems to accumulate the symbolical power<sup>68</sup>. However, history proves that a person with economical power without cultural power is usually seen as a brutal and heartless leader<sup>69</sup> and durable presence of art in alliance with power has also affected to the fact that these people of political or economic power have a genuine love for the arts. This has much to do with the life- style<sup>70</sup> factors and opportunities to be educated<sup>71</sup>.

Possession of symbolic capital (often cultural capital) is taken by possession rituals<sup>72</sup> that are usually in social circumstances that need economic capital. In the artistic field specifically, the merchandise and symbolic signification are apart from each other, leaving symbolic and market values remaining side by side, but still apart from each other<sup>73</sup>. This indicates that commercially successful artistic product is seldom artistically highly valuable. Cultural producers have to highlight both economic and cultural capital as the dimensions of their enterprise<sup>74</sup>, but still to obey the aesthetic or artistic rules, as next reference indicates:

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64 Bourdieu 1991, p. 23, Bourdieu – Wacquant 1992, p. 181

65 Bourdieu 1991, p. 128

66 Bourdieu 1984, p. 55, 65, 303-315

67 Bourdieu 1996, p. 267

68 Bourdieu 1984, p. 291, also Solomon 1999 Chapter 13 p. 403-435

69 Tiainen 2000

70 Miller 1996, p. 177, 178-184, and consumer behavior chapter later in this thesis

71 See for example chapter of education later in this thesis.

72 See chapter of consumer behavior later in this thesis.

73 Bourdieu 1996, p. 141

74 Bourdieu 1996, p. 149

*“It is in the name of this collective capital (symbolic) that cultural producers feel the right and the duty to ignore the demands or requirements of temporal powers, and even to combat them by invoking against them their own principles and norms.”<sup>75</sup>*

### **3.1.3. Fields**

As mentioned in the beginning of this chapter, Bourdieu has used terms that have been originally in Karl Marx’s theories. Because of that term field is familiar.

*Field can be defined as objective net of relations or configuration between positions .... And those determinations which effect on those having positions, agents or institutions.<sup>76</sup>*

There are numerous number of fields present in one’s life at the same time<sup>77</sup>. One is a member of several circles in the social environment. In each field one has different competence, depending on education, profession. life-style, environment etc.<sup>78</sup> There have been analyses that the world is getting fragmented in terms of subcultures, marketing, markets etc<sup>79</sup> This means that there are a countless number of fields. People who have a certain combination of properties that are valid in a certain field are accepted in.<sup>80</sup>

*“Borders of field are defined to end where the effect of field stops. There is exclusive rules and restrictions for who is able to enter.”<sup>81</sup>*

Each and every field has its own set of laws, rules that can not be combined or compared with the rules of another field.<sup>82</sup> In other words, they are autonomous from each other.

<sup>75</sup> Bourdieu 1996, p. 221

<sup>76</sup> Bourdieu 1992, P.125

<sup>77</sup> Bourdieu 1984, p. 226

<sup>78</sup> See chapters of Bourdieu’s elite and petit bourgeoisie and consumer behavior later in this thesis.

<sup>79</sup> See for example Kemp 2000, Uusitalo 1998 among many others

<sup>80</sup> Bourdieu – Wacquant 1992, p. 136

<sup>81</sup> Bourdieu - Wacquant 1992, p. 128

<sup>82</sup> Bourdieu – Wacquant 1992, p. 146, Bourdieu 1996, p. 239-242

They have their own special language, slang or use of specialized terms.<sup>83</sup>

Fields are living side by side, but basically there is a constant element of struggle of the fields at present<sup>84</sup>.

*“A field of possible forces exercised on all bodies entering it, the field of power is also a field of struggle, and may thus be compared to a game: the dispositions, that is to say the ensemble of incorporated properties, indulging elegance, facility of expression or even beauty, and capital in its diverse forms- economical, cultural, social-constitute the trumps which will dictate both the manner of playing and success in the game- in short, the process of social ageing.”*<sup>85</sup>

As I described earlier, there seems to remain some sort of struggle between the economic and cultural field. In the same way, there are struggles between legitimate arts (“fine arts” or older art forms) and new innovative art forms are on. These conflicts arise from the opposition to the hierarchy that is in favour of old arts, and at the same in favour of products of that culture, where newcomers try to become established them by getting themselves canonised in the recognition of the arts.<sup>86</sup> Field tries to maintain the present perspective and canon by censoring products<sup>87</sup> in terms of legitimating quality (i.e. critics). That is the creation of something new, a circle of *distinction*.

To Becker, the arts is an activity, and it is all about who attends in creation<sup>88</sup>. There are many professions, organisations, fields who make the art to progress from idea of an artist through variable productions to be presented to the audiences and evaluated<sup>89</sup>. Artists raise money by distributing their work to audiences in return for some sort of payment. It is not necessarily financial, but often fame, good reputation and such non material values. On the other hand, we all are interested in event (or work) which consists of a work being made

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83 See chapter about language later in this thesis.

84 Bourdieu – Wacquant 1992, p. 126

85 Bourdieu 1996, p. 10

86 Bourdieu-Wacquant 1992, p. 129, Bourdieu 1996, p. 254

87 Bourdieu 1991, p. 20

88 Becker 1984, p. 1-2

89 Referring to Nattiez’s theory on musical perception later in this thesis



and (public) appreciated <sup>90</sup>. Both of these parts of network of art seem to carry concern of authenticity that seems to be defining factor of “artistic vs. commercial artefact” <sup>91</sup>. Coming close to Lagerspetz and his theory of conventions, Becker is claiming that these artefacts are conventions specifying what a good art should look or sound like <sup>92</sup>. Distributions of conventional knowledge changes <sup>93</sup>, so conventional rules can occasionally also break .

*“...Someone must respond to the work once it is done, have an emotional or intellectual reaction to it. “See something in it”, appreciate it.”<sup>94</sup>*

*“...It matters not only because we appreciate and judge the (artistic) work differently, but also because artists’ reputation are sum of the values we assign the work they have produced. ...Museums and collectors have suffered severe financial losses as a result of such changes of attribution.”<sup>95</sup>*

*“... Distribution has a crucial effect on reputations; what is not distributed is not known and thus cannot be well thought of, or have historical importance. The process is circular what does not have a good reputation will not be distributed.”<sup>96</sup>*

The “machine” of distribution, the background is the art world, that is , as Becker defines:

*“...people whose activities are necessary to the production of the characteristic works which that world...define as art.”<sup>97</sup>*

Artistic work lasts when it has an organisational basis that preserves and protects it. <sup>98</sup>

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90 Becker 1984, p. 3

91 Becker 1984, p. 22

92 Becker p. 33

93 becker 1984, p. 50

94 Becker 1984, p. 4

95 Becker 1984, p.23

96 Becker 1984, p. 95

97 Becker 1984, p. 34

98 Becker 1984, p. 350

*“...social readings of artworks can only be generated through institutional spaces”<sup>99</sup>*

One of the parts of arts worlds connecting arts with society, is cultural industry.

*“... In the system of cultural industry, artist do not connect with audience directly, but through distribution.”<sup>100</sup>*

(Cultural industry does not mean only big organisations, but can be understood also as for example a single agent in arts field who makes the distribution process proceed.)

Most participants in the art worlds make aesthetic judgements continuously<sup>101</sup>, there is even “school” (in the sense Bourdieu is speaking) of “aestheticians”.<sup>102</sup> There is constantly raising the question of legitimation.<sup>103</sup> Schools ( in the sense of educational institutions) are making reputations to grow through the individuals who have been in touch with education institutions.<sup>104</sup>

For Becker’s institutional approach, the specified field in the field of art and music is the machine of distribution. In side Becker’s field, the definition of the Bourdieu’s field is valid. The field closes its boarders, and that is seen as the accumulation of history<sup>105</sup>.

### ***3.1.4. Intellectuals vs. Petit-bourgoise***

Bourdieu uses colourful terms in describing different kind of actors in the field. He means

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99 Roberts 1990, p. 156

100 Becker 1984, p. 126

101 Becker 1984, p. 131

102 Becker 1984, p. 134

103 Becker 1984, p. 145-146

104 Becker 1984, p. 358

105 Bourdieu 1996, p. 243

by this the distinction between members. Intellectuals are in the minority, the ones who have the highest competence in field. They have lots of symbolical power and their aim is on the one hand to lead the progress towards something “good”, on the other hand to criticize ongoing progress. Getting competence in the field means some kind of education – either formal with legitimate arts, or then informal “street credibility” in different sorts of subcultures, as part of an elite. As I have mentioned earlier in this thesis, the correlation between high amount of symbolical power and cultural capital is the most obvious distinctive factor in general field, as cultural capital is mentioned as the most important capital in the system of (Western) society. In other cultures values of music can be more connected with religious, social and ceremonial purposes, and because of that have no critics institution as all the forms of Western music.

Education seems to be the gateway, first of all to field, ultimately to membership of intellectuals<sup>106</sup>. It gives better possibilities and the “right” to be self-monitoring, more independent in one’s choices<sup>107</sup>. It provides the most important tool – language – for the certain field. Education also creates social relations between people that are interested in the same things, and collects people together to attend in concerts, gigs etc. Education covers (except music) also the behavioural codes, dressing styles etc. essential parts of attending. No wonder that Bourdieu mentions that music consuming is the most revealing thing about the person<sup>108</sup>, referring to bohemian and bourgeoise life-styles<sup>109</sup>. This comment is strongly related to consumer behaviour, especially the method of researching life-styles – laddering technique. (By starting questions from some general question, and forming always following questions on previous answers. As a consequence in the end of the process there is a possibility of getting a total picture of a person’s life-style and even values.<sup>110</sup>) I would also like to point out the fact that whenever one is intellectual in one field or some fields, he or she is petit-bourgeoise in some other fields. It is question of the values of society which fields are appreciated of a certain time in history.

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106 Bourdieu 1977, p. 54-67, Bourdieu 1984, p. 405-410

107 Bourdieu 1984, p. 54, see also chapter of consumer behavior later in this thesis

108 Bourdieu 1993, p. 103-104

109 Bourdieu 1996, p. 56-57, 58-59

110 See chapter of consumer behaviour later in this thesis

Intellectuals mean for Bourdieu a specific authority that is founded on the relatively autonomous world of art, science and literature, and on all, the values that are associated with that autonomy- disinterestedness, expertise etc. <sup>111</sup> A person, who want to represent his or her intellectual qualities in the field of art, is intervening in the political field constituting him or herself as “intellectual” <sup>112</sup>, and that is, because of the high quality and individual qualities of the artistic field, such as classical music <sup>113</sup>, for instance. In France the right-wing (politically) intellectuals are labelled primarily with conservatism in polemic discussion with the left-wing intellectuals. From the outside (meaning in the general consciousness) the left-wing intellectuals are regarded as intellectuals.

Petit- bourgeoisie is “the big audience” , followers of intellectuals. Their reason to attend in cultural events is to be able to be socialized in their wanted peer group. They follow the voice of intellectuals, attending concerts and art exhibitions wishing to get the value of their investment by getting symbolical power. They are listening to authorities and intellectuals because education, which is the gateway to being intellectual, provides competence to question things. Petit-bourgeoise believes words of critics or some other institution, because the only way to gain symbolic power is to consume legitimate art. The only way to get legitimate art is to get that form outside, from the authorities of the field.

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As opinion makers, intellectuals are described as following;

*“Intellectuals are two-dimensional figures who do not exist and subsist as such unless (and only unless) they are invested with a specific authority, conferred by the autonomous intellectual world (meaning independent from religious, political or economic power) whose specific laws they respect, and unless (and only unless) they engage this specific authority in political struggles.”* <sup>115</sup>

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111 Bourdieu 1996, p. 340

112 Bourdieu 1996, p. 129

113 Bourdieu 1996, p. 128-129

114 Bourdieu 1984, p. 55, 65, 303-315 ,Bourdieu 1991, p. 23, Bourdieu – Wacquant 1992, p. 181, Bourdieu 1996,

p. 163

115 Bourdieu 1996, p. 340

Circulation that is born when the petit-bourgeoise is getting more and more involved with a certain piece of music or art after the learning process and confirmation of quality factors of this work. As a consequence of that new direction of consuming, because intellectuals want to stay distinguished is called *distinction*.<sup>116</sup>

### 3.1.5. Education in the Field

As mentioned earlier, education is essential for creating capital in symbolical markets.<sup>117</sup>

Bourdieu defines relationship between legitimate arts and education like this:

*In the case of activities like visual arts, or playing a musical instrument which presupposes a cultural capital generally acquired outside the educational system and (relatively) independent of the level of academic certification, the correlation with social class, which is again strong, is established through social trajectory (which explains the special position of the new petite bourgeoisie). The closer one moves towards the most legitimate areas, such as music or painting, and, within these areas, which can be set in a hierarchy according to their modal degree of legitimacy, towards certain genres or certain works, the more differences in educational capital are associated with major differences (produced in accordance with the same principles) between genres, such as opera and operetta, or quarters and symphonies....*<sup>118</sup>

Many audience surveys in different fields of culture show that there is a strong correlation between culture consuming and education<sup>119</sup>. This means accumulation of symbolical power, as Bourdieu among many others analyzed<sup>120</sup>. This is another level – high education

116 See later the chapter Distinction in this thesis.

117 Bourdieu 1977, p. 54-67

118 Bourdieu 1984, p. 14

119 Bourdieu 1984, p. 1

120 See chapter Capitals earlier in this thesis

*per se* creates a willingness to attend cultural events <sup>121</sup>.

Second, a more specialized level of educational refers to musical education (or other kind of education). It has been said on many occasions, in speeches and comments, reports and articles concerning music education and the existence of music schools for example in countries like Finland that justification for those institutes is not in educating only professional musicians but also audience for concerts. Same kind of progress there seems to be increasing in different kind of audience education projects by concert halls and music associations which have been born as a consequence of thatcherism since 80's in countries like UK and Ireland, among many others.

### ***3.1.6. Judgement of Music (or Arts) Education***

The education is the gate to being a professional musician, critic, pedagogue, administration member (many of them have background in the beginning of their curriculum in the music schools). The music education is creating a framework for the each of these professionals, and at the same time adapting them in the field of music. That would implicate also similar, conscious or subconscious, definition criteria, and mutual understanding the reception, and accepting the work of the “dominant one”- as Bourdieu would say.

As Bourdieu says, education is the way to gain symbolical capital. Different institutions in different countries are working with education of music and the arts. Amount of audience education programmes has increased since 80's, when Margaret Thatcher (former PM of Great Britain) launched political programmes that forced cultural institutes to search funding from private sector. Audience education programmes have spread ever since around the world <sup>122</sup>. In many countries music is part of curriculum, and consuming of legitimate music and art have significant role in leisure, as a symbol of status symbol, further seen as sign of distinction.

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121 Bourdieu 1988, p. 100

122 My seminar work on audience education programmes for the pedagogical studies, and interviews of the audience education projects in the National Opera of Finland

Bourdieu simplifies the meaning of education by saying it is a way to collect symbolical capital (see earlier in this chapter). He sees as education as reason for distinction, a tool for getting towards higher level of understanding. That considers both big audience (petit-bourgoise) and intelligence.

*“ Academic capital is in fact the guaranteed product of the combined effects of cultural transmission by the family and cultural transmission by the school... Through its value-inculcating and value-imposing operations, the school also helps... to form a general, transposable disposition toward legitimate culture...”* <sup>123</sup>

*“ Thus, it is written into the tacit definition of the academic qualification formally guaranteeing a specific competence...that it really guarantees possession of a “general culture”, whose breadth is proportionate to the prestige of the qualification; and conversely, that no real guarantee may be sought of what it guarantees formally and really, or, to put it another way, of extent to which it guarantees what it guarantees, This effect of symbolic imposition is most intense in the case of the diplomas consecrating the cultural élite. ... This is virtue of a clause which, though tacit, is firstly binding on the qualification-holders themselves, who are called upon really to produce the attributes assigned to them by their status .”* <sup>124</sup>

Petit- bourgoise, big majority, great audience, is trying to get higher in circle of distinction by getting involved with new (for example Gregorian music) and contemporary areas of music, whereas for example formal qualifications and degree in music is a access straight to intelligence, elite. Formal training increases in many occasions artist’s income <sup>125</sup>. As following comment from Bourdieu himself:

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123 Bourdieu 1984, p. 23

124 Bourdieu 1984, p. 25

125 Towse 1996, p. 35

*“ The relation to culture characteristic of those fractions of the petite bourgeoisie whose position is based on possession of a small cultural capital accumulated at least partly through autodidacticism can only be understood in the context of the effects pronounced by the mere existence of an educational system offering (very unequally) the possibility of learning by institutionalized stages in accordance with standardized levels and syllabuses .”*<sup>126</sup>

The main goal for musical education is on the other hand, provide musical skills and improve abilities, but also to establish a distinctive set of impressions, professional language<sup>127</sup>. Language is a visible board between fields, and different groups have different accents, ways to talk, in other words: manifestation of social habitus<sup>128</sup>. In Western societies there have been set a political guideline – consumer education or knowledge. It is considered to be a sign of a well-fare state<sup>129</sup>.

Audience education programmes are working in the spirit of that idea – mostly concerned however of financial side of the matter. As mentioned earlier, legitimate education, formal qualification is significant in systems like classical music. However, other genres (jazz, traditional music, rock) have followed the footsteps of oldest institutional model of musical education of classical music . More standardized and established forms of education are nowadays in Nordic countries (especially in Finland) , but idea is getting established also in countries like Ireland – very high level and activity of non- educational music genres.

Audience education has been mentioned already as early as 1964, when Alvin Toffler used many familiar terms in his book “Culture Consumers” . Music critic is seen as “official taste maker”<sup>130</sup>, concept of “active amateurs” occurs<sup>131</sup>, and even “audience education”<sup>132</sup> is considered to be a challenge of the future. David Riesmann described even earlier , in 1950, enthusiastic listeners and big majority<sup>133</sup>.

<sup>126</sup> Bourdieu 1984, p.255

<sup>127</sup> Bourdieu 1993, p. 70 and Peacock 1972, p. 28

<sup>128</sup> Bourdieu 1991, p. 17

<sup>129</sup> Uusitalo 1998, p. 2

<sup>130</sup> Toffler 1964, p. 9. 123

<sup>131</sup> Toffler 1964, p. 225-228

<sup>132</sup> Toffler 1964, p. 73-90

<sup>133</sup> Riesmann 1950, p. 359-371



Audience of music and arts institutions is mainly middle-aged, well- educated, typically women (also as motivating people as background of decisions of attendance). In other words this is strongly indicating to certain life-style – factors, and rather high level of incomes – just as Bourdieu assumes. That means in the same time rather conservative mainstream of consuming. The more certainly legitimate form of art is the best way to get symbolical power and respect in their own social circles.

Biggest challenge of music and art institutions is to create new audiences, new consumer groups. That is also a way to increase level of quality by expanding production to new areas. Different subcultures are living in different terms of values, and ways to get symbolical power are not close to mainstream solutions <sup>134</sup>. Education' s justification is to bring up new active, performing artists and fresh, active audience <sup>135</sup>

### ***3.1.7. Non-educational Sector of Music and Art***

There is other kind of education, “street credibility” . According i.e. Simon Frith ,

*“..musical judgements referring to production processes obviously depend on particular sorts of knowledge... “ <sup>136</sup>*

This usually means that very enthusiastic fan is ending up to be a music critic <sup>137</sup>or professional in some board. This means that my model does cover also non-educational genres of music – if education is seen as analogy for “street credibility” in terms of expert position in various genres. Cultural politics is accepting non-professional sector of music and arts gradually in financial support systems <sup>138</sup>. On the other hand fragmentation of the field of music, “sub-fields”, creates ever-increasing amount of new experts.

Education is eventually a deep enthusiasm that creates around music a totally covering

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134 Hannikainen –Vainio 2000 and Taalas 2001 and 2002

135 Mantere 1996, p. 117-141

136 Frith 1996, p. 70

137 Frith 1996 p. 51, 66-67

138 Towse, 1996, p. 27

lifestyle.

### 3.1.8. *Habitus and hexis*

Education provides tools to create *habitus* and *hexis*. Definition of habitus is more in general this:

*“Habitus links a person’s social and economic position with corresponding position in the “universe of lifestyles” and “makes it possible to account both for classifiable practices and products and for the judgements, themselves classified, which make these practices and works into a system of distinctive signs.”*<sup>139</sup>

*“Systematicity...is found in all the properties – and property- with which individuals and groups surround themselves , houses, furniture, paintings, books, cars, spirits, cigarettes, perfume, clothes, and in the practices in which they manifest their distinction, sports, games, entertainments, only because it is the synthetic unity of the habitus, the unifying generative principle of all practices. Taste, the propensity and capacity to appropriate (materially or symbolically) a given class of classified, classifying objects or practices, in the generative formula of life style, a unitary set of distinctive preferences which express the same expressive intention in the specific logic of each of the symbolic sub-spaces, furniture, clothing, language or body hexis.”*<sup>140</sup>

Habitus means a series of dispositions which forces agents to act and react in certain, particular ways. The dispositions are creating practices, perceptions and attitudes which are ungoverned by any rule or consciously formed.

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139 Bourdieu 1984, p. 170

140 Bourdieu 1984, p. 173

Habitus is one's surroundings that has capability to message about establishment and peer group. In that spirit Bourdieu defines habitus as *a socialized subjectivity*<sup>141</sup> and *a social libido*<sup>142</sup>. Habitus is thereby also a sign of education, for example formal (or other kind of) education in music<sup>143</sup>.

*The schemes of habitus, the primary forms of classification, owe their specific efficacy to the fact that they function below the level of consciousness and language, beyond the reach of introspective scrutiny or control by the will. Orienting practices practically, they embed what some would mistakenly call values in the most automatic gestures or the apparently most insignificant techniques of the body... and engage the most fundamental principles of construction and evaluation of the social world.*<sup>144</sup>

And finally,

*“In short, the habitus is the basis of the social structuration of temporal existence, of all the anticipations and the presumptions through which we practically construct the sense of the world- its signification, but also inseparably, its orientation towards the still-to-come.”*<sup>145</sup>

Hexis is credibility, representation for the environment that your imago fits with habitus, (“expanded way to express oneself”), some durable organizations of one's body and of its deployment in the world; as Bourdieu describes,

*“Bodily hexis is political mythology realized, em-bodied, turned into a permanent disposition, a durable way of standing, speaking, walking, and thereby of feeling and thinking.”*<sup>146</sup>

Habitus and hexis are central concepts in Bourdieu's theory, and exist in many different

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141 Bourdieu – Wacquant 1992, p. 157

142 Bourdieu 1996, p. 172-173

143 Bourdieu 1984, p. 66

144 Bourdieu 1984, p.466

145 Bourdieu 1996, p. 329

146 Bourdieu 1991, p.13

references<sup>147</sup>.

Higher competence in field of music one has, the more certain one is a member of intellectuals', elite. As Bourdieu mentions,

*“allocation effect and the status assignment it entails doubtless play a major role in the fact that the educational institution succeeds in imposing cultural practices that it does not teach does not even explicitly demand, but which belong to the attributes attached by social status to the position it assigns, the qualifications it awards and the social positions to which the latter give access.”*<sup>148</sup>

The higher education one has, the more “neutral” his or her opinion is considered to be. It is supposed to give an ability to do comparison and see things from “the arms length”<sup>149</sup>. This is one of the key principles of cultural politics in their policies concerning for example grants – local level is better to judge than national <sup>150</sup>. Education increases the ability to learn and try new things; one can see that clearly in audiences for modern music, or contemporary films. This kind of progression seems to be in relation with things mention later in this thesis, imago and imago society, and willingness to representations of individualism.

### ***3.1.9. Inner circles and symbolical violence***

At the same time education is creating inner circles.

*Indeed, the publicity attached to such awards may increase the public demand for the services of those recognised by their fellows as their intellectual leaders. Long may this remain so, but always provided that composers and academic economists whose distinction has been buttressed*

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147 Bourdieu 1984, 1988, 1991, 1993, 1996, Bourdieu - Wacquant 1992

148 Bourdieu 1984, p.26

149 Bourdieu 1984, p. 50-53

150 See chapter of Cultural politics later in this thesis

*by state support can convince those who finance them that they (or their heirs) will receive massive unconvenanted benefits from efforts to extend the frontiers of knowledge* <sup>151</sup>.

Inner circles <sup>152</sup> are created or born starting from early days of education. Musical education takes years, and circles are rather small. The possibility that people, involved later in professional field of music, have met earlier, and know each others qualifications, skills and reputation are fairly large. These same people are involved later in model; some of them as musicians, some of them as professionals in music boards, some of them as critics. Contacts between bodies, organisations and field are based on long-lasting friendships and a net of people that know each other. Thereby, flow of information is good between parts of the system.

Inner circles can be an up-lifting force, a pushing factor for some fortunate, gifted young musician (or artist). Unfortunately, there seems to be an open gate for quite opposite action. Bourdieu describes symbolical violence in these words:

*“Symbolic violence”... “it is gentle, invisible violence, unrecognized as such, chosen as much as undergone, that of trust, obligation, personal loyalty.... The educational system provides a good example of this process: the development of this system involves a certain kind of objectification in which formally defined credentials or qualifications become a mechanism for creating and sustaining inequalities, in such a way that the recourse to overt force is unnecessary. Moreover, by concealing the link between the qualifications obtained by individuals and the cultural capital inherited by virtue of their social background, this mechanism provides a practical justification of the established order* <sup>153</sup>.

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151 Peacock 1993, p.147

152 For example Bourdieu 1991, p. 42

153 Bourdieu 1991, p.24

Symbolic violence seems to be one form of censorship<sup>154</sup> that emerges in field in order to maintain status quo, stable circumstances, can be also be seen as a resistance of novelties. The best opportunity to operate in terms of symbolical violence there are the members of inner circle, and the person who has most influential position – and social capital. As such this phenomena is dangerous, still in many occasions ignored – sometimes even tabu in the field of music. Yet, stories from the field<sup>155</sup> seems to confirm its presence. Bourdieu points out that it exists in academic world, and there is no reason why it should not appear in fields such as music and the arts.

### ***3.2. Language and Symbolic Power***

Language is the central tool in field in order to be distinguished, represent one's education and symbolical power. It is a tool for defining<sup>156</sup>, in other words a tool for giving, defining imago of some artistic product, or artist him- or herself. The ability to use specified and professional language (and also in the spirit of Bourdieu's habitus and hexis<sup>157</sup>); convincingly enough) creates the illusion of symbolical power<sup>158</sup>.

Language is distinctive power, that puts people in unsymmetrical positions considering relevant capital<sup>159</sup>. The higher one is in the hierarchy of a certain field, the more abstract it is<sup>160</sup>. The same pattern; analogy to intellectuals – petit-bourgeoise is seen in the use of language; popular vs. distinctive professional language<sup>161</sup>. Education creates aesthetic distance, and vocabulary turns out to be more "hygienic", same effect that in education and professional touch it is able to provide<sup>162</sup>.

At the same time language is a tool for symbolical violence. Language is the presentation of our imago, habitus, hexis, in other words a way to distinction<sup>163</sup>. It is a distinctive factor

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154 Bourdieu 1991, p. 20

155 Pietilä 2002

156 Bourdieu 1996, p. 270

157 Bourdieu 1991, p. 17

158 Bourdieu 1991, p. 7, 18, 20; see also symbolical power earlier in this thesis

159 Bourdieu – Wacquant 1992, p. 178

160 Bourdieu 1984, p.44

161 Bourdieu 1984, p.34

162 Bourdieu 1984, p. 34, Bourdieu 1993, p.78- 88, see also chapter Education earlier in this thesis

163 See chapter Education earlier, see also chapter Distinction later in this thesis.

between different fields <sup>164</sup>. Different terms, but also distinctive profession – oriented or sub-cultural slangs are strong sign and proof of the importance of language in fields and society in general.

### ***3.3. Distinction Theory and the Progression of Art***

As a conclusion to all mentioned earlier in this thesis, distinction is progression of the field of music and the arts. It is moving towards higher levels is imaginary social system by increasing cultural capital <sup>165</sup>. Tools and representations in the process of distinction are language, taste <sup>166</sup>, life-style, education, social control, habitus and hexis. Distinction means higher understanding, rising in hierarchy <sup>167</sup>. That reflects in the following behaviour: once experts and intellectuals have defined legitimate art, there is tendency that big audience, petit-bourgeoise, is starting to follow them in order to gather symbolical capital. Eventually intelligence have to find another phenomena – a way out from “common appreciation”. This circulation is ongoing, and reason for progression of the art.

That explains inflation of distinctive, even aesthetic value of a work of art. For example Albinoni’s Adagio and Vivaldi’s Four Seasons have been very special, very distinctive pieces of music and proof of fine taste in the past, some decades ago. Now they are seen as “second level of music” – too familiar for everybody, too recognized, too much beloved by “ordinary people”. This would implicate the shift from the art towards the “popular aesthetic” <sup>168</sup>. That appears in the countries like Germany or France (old cultures) most distinctive music might even be works of Boulez (contemporary composer) or very hard pieces of Wagner (need to have very much background knowledge and ability to follow things like *leitmotiv* etc.).

Is the aesthetic value supposed to be *status quo* ? Sign of eternity, touch of the God? Distinction theory is the description of the social mechanism of progress. Inflation of distinctive value does not automatically mean that aesthetic value has decreased. As a

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164 See chapter Fields earlier in this thesis

165 Bourdieu 1984, p. 130- 168

166 Bourdieu 1984 , p. 310, 466-467, Bourdieu 1993, p. 64, among many other references throughout Bourdieu’s books

167 Bourdieu 1996, p. 302

168 Bourdieu 2002, p. 153

strong sign of our dependence on fields, our social imago, distinction seems to change until some also extend the aesthetic value of the peace of art.

Finally, I want to justify using Bourdieu in this study; Although Bourdieu is considered to be a very questionable source in taste studies, and researchers like Baumann<sup>169</sup> keep consumption as realm of freedom, not normatively defined, I still keep Bourdieu in his place in my study. If there would be question of any other form of consumption, I could accept Baumann's ideas, but in the question of "luxury product" (as art could be seen), consumers are highly dependent of the evaluation of a professional<sup>170</sup>-, and that makes the field to be interpreted through Bourdieu's distinction theory.

What keeps art separate phenomena from the general field of consumption? As Bourdieu says, "The Divine Touch", seek for immortality – art is always out of main stream, reflecting society in the way that later has many times turned out to be prognosis of the future. Because of that it is natural that consumer group is more secluded, and at the same time, really dependent on evaluation of professionals (who share the same divine touch).

One version of modern progress are "neo-tribes". Although there are no standards, no foundation for disciplined behaviour, no universally binding codes, but small groupings that share self-images. Social life is influencing through shared group identification.<sup>171</sup> In that way even "individualisation" of 1990's has a little bit of Bourdieu's distinction theory;

*"In such account, personal expression, whether clothing, durable goods, leisure activities, or aesthetic preference, becomes detached from affective communal norms and ideals, thus becoming socially embedded."*<sup>172</sup>

Issue of consumption and its social relations is ongoing, but coming again to justify

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169 Baumann 1988

170 See chapter of consumer behaviour; Puohiniemi's theory, later in this thesis

171 Warde 2002, p. 16

172 Warde 2002, p. 13



Bourdieu in this thesis: it was also Durkheim, who revealed in 1895 in his study of suicides<sup>173</sup> the fact that although suicide is an individual decision, it is yet still caused by social circumstances.

### ***3.4. Mauss and the Boundaries of the Field***

Marcel Mauss (1872-1950) was French sociologist and anthropologist who did his life work by researching in the field archaic cultures. Mauss was working closely together with his teacher and relative, Émile Durkheim, and together they founded “Année Sociologique” – time of modern sociology. Conclusions he draw are still accurate in the field of sociology. They seem to explain also what keeps the field together.

Exchange and contracts are natural way to express bonds in a human societies through the history.

*In theory these are voluntary, in reality they are given and reciprocated obligatory.*

<sup>174</sup>

Collectives impose obligations of exchange and contract upon each other.<sup>175</sup>Originally exchange was according to Mauss,

*...exchanges of politeness: banquets, rituals...dances, festivals, fairs.*<sup>176</sup>

Still further, this mechanism is all about total services and counter-services that seem to be voluntary, but actually are strictly compulsory.<sup>177</sup>

The classical music as phenomena has these features strongly; “the rules” and behaviour codes of the attendance of the classical music event, and the external signs of the people

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173 Durkheim 1970

174 Mauss 1990, p.3

175 Mauss 1990, p.5

176 Mauss 1990, p.5

177 Mauss 1990, p.5

consuming classical music seem to bind this special group of people together. The attendance is a big ritual in all of its aspects, participating is voluntary, but once one is in the certain position in the society, one might suggest it is almost compulsory.

Continuing Mauss's ideas, in old Maori culture the original gift was "hau"- actually a spirit of the gift that was moving between the objects.(Part of the person who was giving, was following in form of the gift that was transforming to be the spirit of given object. <sup>178</sup>) Return gift "utu" was not to be bargained. If one did not circulate, bad spirit followed. Rights and duties to consume and reciprocate, to offer and accept gifts defined social rights in society. <sup>179</sup> In extended system goal is moral, to foster friendly feelings between participates. Therefore nobody was not able to refuse the present that was offered. <sup>180</sup> Competition in giving established the clan link and strengthened the society. Departure gift was always superior to the arriving gifts. <sup>181</sup> Exchange is a symbolic, collective way, subgroups are segmented societies. <sup>182</sup>

There are three obligations: to give, to accept and to reciprocate . The obligation to accept the gift and to reciprocate worthily is called "potlatch" <sup>183</sup>. If somebody was dropped out of this system, there was punishment ordered – it was to be dropped out of society, to be an outcast of everyday functions. In this circulation very precious things were circulated, and therefore exchange was very productive power itself. <sup>184</sup>

If we think more of this cultural phenomena, we start to realise that this system is accurate also in modern Western society. Gift has and is signifying values of liberality, honour, money and credit.<sup>185</sup> Our legislation is emerging only through certain customs; if one will fill his duties, he will also have rights and advantages in society. If one is ignoring the laws, he will be limited in terms of rights and advantages- in other words limited

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178 Mauss 1990, p. 11-12

179 Mauss 1990, p. 10-14

180 Mauss 1990, p.19

181 Mauss 1990, p.28

182 Mauss 1990, p. 33

183 Mauss 41-42

184 Mauss 1990, p. 43

185 Mauss 1990, p. 19 and 33

citizenship. Worker has to contribute to his insurance, not through wages, but because state owes him security in case something should limit their ability to work.<sup>186</sup>

Exchange could be seen everywhere; also in the field of arts. It is not only material, but considers also fame, reputation, recognition, symbolic power. So, reputation (defined by Becker) is the exchange object in all the parts of the field in this research. Also Bourdieu talks of different kind of capitals that are very much in connection with Mauss's exchange. All the participants of the field of music are looking for reputation, imago. Everybody is looking for connection with immortality – in the spirit of Bourdieu's "Divine touch" that makes them wiser and better.

*“ All the parts of holders of cultural capital may find themselves granted as a counterpart to the technical or symbolic services they render to the dominants (notably in the reproduction of the established symbolic order). “*

<sup>187</sup>

The Arts and science are, according to Mauss, products of collective mind as much as individual's.<sup>188</sup> This collective mind can be seen as the art world. "Potlatch" exists also in art world, when even Mauss claims it is representing itself in juridical, economic, religious, aesthetic, morphological etc.<sup>189</sup> It is the relation between social classes, subgroups, individuals - deeply structural phenomena creating stability, relationships, mutual interest, satisfaction, eventually wisdom and solidarity.<sup>190</sup>

Society could not work without exchange and that makes all participants "to sit around round table".<sup>191</sup> Art world could not exist without all the different part participating both in creative and distributive role, not to forget the funding part either. If we return to think about the elements of Bourdieu's distinction theory, we can connect Mauss's gift ideas and

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<sup>186</sup> Mauss 1990, p. 66-67

<sup>187</sup> Bourdieu 1996, p. 221

<sup>188</sup> Mauss 1990, p. 67

<sup>189</sup> Mauss 1990, p. 78-79

<sup>190</sup> Mauss 1990, p. 80-82

<sup>191</sup> Mauss 1990, p. 83

exchange in the relations between the bourgeoisie and the intellectuals; he intelligence is gaining its legitimacy based on the opinions and reputation or imago the bourgeoisie is including in its concept of intellectuals- that could be seen as a gift. On the other hand the part of the bourgeoisie that is getting sozIALIZED in more distinctive art as the rest of the bourgeoisie, is rewarded by extensive amount of symbolic power- and that can be seen as a gift as well.

The exchange- the circulation of the reputation and imago, seems to keep the field of music together in the functional level.

Baudrillard is also accepting Mauss's thought of art as collective mind <sup>192</sup> as well the idea of gift:

*“ Considerable part of our morality and our lives themselves are still permeated with the same atmosphere of a gift, where obligations and liberty intermingle. ”* <sup>193</sup>

“Basic imperialism” of human beings <sup>194</sup> means that in social life we still can not “lag behind”; we must give more than we have received (rounds of drinks, invitations, symbolic presents, items or features that have a soul of its owner). <sup>195</sup> The one who has given the last gift is in the strongest position. Every gift can be equalised by counter-gift that shifts the power in new hands. Language is the central tool in power-taking of an (music or art) critic <sup>196</sup>.

#### **4. LIMITS OF MY RESEARCH; MAIN QUESTION**

First important concept for this thesis is the gatekeeper. A music critic is a central figure in the field of music. An important part of being a professional (as a critic is), is to learn the

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192 Baudrillard 1983, s. 67

193 Baudrillard 1983, p. 65

194 Baudrillard 1983, p. 65

195 Baudrillard 1983, p. 66

196 See chapter of critics later in this thesis

language of the field -by education. Language (according to Frith <sup>197</sup> and Leppänen <sup>198</sup>) forms a discourse of the critic as a gatekeeper. According to Nattiez <sup>199</sup>, a critic has a key role in the reception chain. Used language can be educational or dominant – depending on how a music critic is defining his or her role in the profession, or, who or what is the target of their critic.

Second important concept is the field- as Bourdieu <sup>200</sup>, Becker <sup>201</sup> and Mauss <sup>202</sup> it define. Again, the field is limited by the language. Those who have adapted best that language, form an inner circle. According to Bourdieu, inner circle holds also power.

Thirdly, my attempt is to find the field that considers the funding of the music. Its dynamics is concentrated around effects of the music criticism. This is, because music critic has "a public voice", and therefore an important impact on the reception process.

The research question is, to find the mechanisms, dynamics and features of this earlier undefined field and analyze some of its consequences. My hypothesis is that music critic effects on the funding of music.

## 5. METHODOLOGICAL FOUNDATIONS AND PROCEDURE

This chapter consists of two parts. Either of these following theories are inadequate to explain procedure by itself, On the other hand both of the theories interact and support each other by fulfilling the picture of process of research methods. In the phase of this licentiate's dissertation theory is not established completely because of lack of empirical evidence. There are some expectations of its accuracy, though, based on my professional experience in the art world.

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197Frith 1996, 1983, Frith-Goodwin 1990

198 Leppänen 2000

199 Nattiez 1990

200Bourdieu 1984

201Becker 1984

202Mauss 1990

### ***5.1. What is the result of my study in methodological sense? – Niiniluoto's theory concept***

According to Niiniluoto <sup>203</sup>, I am forming a model, a theory of the discourse of the music critic. My hypothesis is that the discourse of the music critic is very multiple, and national differences in the discourse are existing. However, they are not recognized to be very important. Secondary hypothesis in this phase of the research is that the criticism is effecting on the funding of the music. It gives the bases for the first step of theory <sup>204</sup>; problematization (problematisointi) of self-evident belief : Since this system of music critics has been valid since the early days of Romantic, it works fine under contemporary circumstances, and the phenomenon itself would remain somehow mystified. Then I have approached the second phase of model and theory –forming; explication (eksplikointi), . Via analysis and synthesis or composition , I am listing the features of the discourse of the critic, including the discussion of the funding of the music in; this is written by using the hermeneutic method <sup>205</sup>. Starting from hypothesis and by explaining, how the factors work together, in am finally arguing the consequences of these relations and coming up with dome background facts existing in the background of the discourse of a critic. . I am coming in the conclusion that my hypothesis seems to be accurate- at least in some extend. The work seems to have a good validity of prophecy <sup>206</sup>, evidence is “everyday knowledge” from real world.

The signs of a model and a theory are

1. It forms of a group of laws that are able to systematize (systematisointi) the regular empirical evidence of some phenomena. Theory should have power to explain and do prognosis about phenomena. It uses theoretical concepts a s its tools <sup>207</sup>.

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203 Niiniluoto 1997

204 Niiniluoto 1983, p. 264- 271, Niiniluoto 1991, p. 22, Haaparanta - Niiniluoto 1997, p. 64-65

205 Niiniluoto 1983, p. 166-176, Niiniluoto 1997, p. 64-69

206 Niiniluoto 1983, p. 296 – 302, Niiniluoto 1997, p. 193

207 Niiniluoto 997, p. 193

2. It is a model (or in this work, listing of features, properties) about some phenomena or object <sup>208</sup>.
3. Theoretical models are collection of some object or system, especially of its inner structure <sup>209</sup>.

This theory of methodology is describing what I have done. It is somehow pale description about the process. In fact, I got the first idea on the funding of the music already five years ago, in the proseminar of musicology, my first main subject before sociology and cultural politics. The results did not get formed properly then, because the filed concept did not find its place. After finding the solution that the field concept will be the entire framework concept for the thesis, I eventually formed the model of the funding of the music and its connections to the music critic. (as the master's thesis in musicology 2003). For the second master's thesis in sociology and cultural politics, I decided to change the object of the work, to describe the discourse of the critic, and to find out some distinctive characteristics between the national discourses of the music or art critic. At the same time this idea was expanding to be a licentiate work in the musicology. The first master's thesis created a good basis, although many new references, chapters and conclusions are brought in.

### ***5.2. How did the process go on? – Grounded theory answering in question : How?***

Nature of my process is reflected through the grounded theory. It can describe how I came to this conclusion. Grounded theory was launched in the field of social sciences in 1967 by Barney G. Glaser and Anselm L. Strauss <sup>210</sup>. Its background is general method of comparative analysis <sup>211</sup>. All begins with collecting data that is systematically obtained and analyzed <sup>212</sup>. Then this material is categorized <sup>213</sup> and based on empirical generalizations broaden the theory to explain phenomena in general level <sup>214</sup>. After specifying the concept in terms of distinctive elements process is going on to verifying the theory <sup>215</sup> that verifies

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208 Niiniluoto 1997, p.206

209 Niiniluoto 1997, p. 206

210 Glaser-Strauss 1967

211 Glaser-Strauss 1967, p. 1

212 Glaser-Strauss 1967, p.1

213 Glaser-Strauss 1967, p. 23

214 Glaser-Strauss 1967, p. 24

215 Glaser-Strauss 1967, p. 25-27

hypothesis. Generating theory <sup>216</sup> is the systematic generalization of the field. All the elements can go on in the same time, and the whole process is like hermeneutic circle – constant process back and forth in terms of these steps. In this system there is crucial element that is the good knowledge of the whole field <sup>217</sup>.

That could be clearly seen from the book of Anselm Strauss and Juliet Corbin (eds.) <sup>218</sup>, the background for people creating grounded theories is very professional, and they are using already existing, quoted theories as background of their theories. That is exact description of my method in this thesis. I have not been very strict in the collection of data- in this particular phase of my research, my empirical evidence is the tacit knowledge I have as a professional musician with the background in the various administrative parts of the field of music. As such, this work could be seen as the part of the doctoral thesis (that will be ongoing), and the empirical evidence, the data, has already been partly gathered in the form of newspaper articles, interviews and archive search. That part however will be complete in the future, when my doctoral dissertation will be published.

Substantive theory is conceptualizing area of sociological inquiry, such as formal organizations, socialization, status congruency, authority, power, reward systems or social mobility. It helps to generate new grounded formal theories and to reformulate previously established ones <sup>219</sup>. Its advantages are that theories fit in empirical situations and they provide relevant predictions, explanations, interpretations and applications <sup>220</sup>. Based on the research of the background literature, the discourse of the critic, and as a specialized feature of the critic, its effect on the funding of the music, is concerned as self-evident, a matter of course, in the field of research. The importance of the critic is revealed, but no further research of the discourse of the critic is done in general contexts, although there is research on the Finnish critics, specialized on the typical features of Finnish art and music critics as such.

I have gathered the material together by referring a number of references that are selected

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216 Glaser-Strauss 1967, p. 28

217 Glaser-Strauss 1967, p. 28-29

218 Strauss-Corbin (eds.) 1997

219 Glaser-Strauss 1967, p. 32-34

220 Glaser-Strauss 1967, p. 1



based on the tacit knowledge of my former professional expertise; all mentioned in the reference listing. This operation could be considered as analysis. The conclusions are inducted from the analysis.

## 6. ANALYSIS

This part of the work is consisted of the parts that play an important role in the funding of music. Each of the chapters are illuminating the dynamics of the field. All the parts mentioned are connected to each other in the final model.

### 6.1. EDUCATION

As Bourdieu considered earlier, education is in the key role in socializing process, adapting the language of the field.

#### 6.1.1. Expert in legitimation process

Being an expert in the field means to have competence to understand its products;

*“A work of art has meaning and interest only for someone who possesses the cultural competence, that is, the code, into which it is encoded.”<sup>221</sup>*

Good critics is separate from institutions – at least in ideological level, because it is sign of authenticity of a good review, as Simon Frith says <sup>222</sup>. Critic should be able to create its own norms, and still be able to be controlled by some system of equality and fair judgement.

*“The speaker who can “take the liberty” of standing outside rules fit only for pendants grammarians.... Froward as a maker of higher rules, i.e., a taste-make...create norm.. appear simultaneously as distinctive and different, and therefore both arbitrary...and perfectly necessary, absolute*

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221 Bourdieu 2002, p. 151

222 Frith 1983, p. 174

*and natural .”*<sup>223</sup>

Critic has to wake up the discussion by acting via public field, and his position is remarkably important because of the impact in public opinion-forming<sup>224, 225</sup>. Critic is defining norms to art and has to monitor that these norms are followed<sup>226</sup> - as such it is working as a part of ritual appearing a number of times in the music school as exams, later in the professional field in the boards of funding and media – in the “cultural machinery”<sup>227</sup>. Critic is passing on his or her opinion only by existing in event<sup>228</sup>, only existence of an institution that can give legitimacy is a proof of symbolic capital for big audience. Should the critic not appear in the event, it would never reach the consciousness of a potential audience. In that sense it is almost regardless what the critic is writing- to exist in the art world is to be seen on the art and music critic pages of a newspaper or magazine, also in other media. The growing competition in the field of press has risen some newspapers and magazines in the specially important position, even as monopolies as Helsingin Sanomat. That sets the critics of those newspapers and magazines in ultimately crucial position<sup>229</sup>.

Bourdieu sees the competence for critics in education

*“The relation to culture characteristic of those fractions of the petite bourgeoisie whose position is based on possession of a small cultural capital accumulated at least partly through autodidacticism can only be understood in the context of the effects pronounced by the mere existence of an educational system offering (very unequally) the possibility of learning by institutionalized stages in accordance with standardized levels and syllabuses.”*<sup>230</sup>

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223 Bourdieu 1984, p. 255

224 Kangas-Kangas 1992, p. 5

225 Kangas-Kangas 1992, p. 6

226 Kangas – Kangas 1992 p. 5

227 Manterra 1996, p. 138-140

228 Frith 1990, p. 128

229 Kangas- Kangas 1992, p. 9-11

230 Bourdieu 1984, p. 160

*“ The competence that is specifically linguistic ...is also one of the ,manifestations of competence in the sense of the right to speech and to power through speech. There is a whole dimension of authorized language, its rhetoric syntax, vocabulary and even pronunciation, which exists purely to underline the authority of its author and the trust he demands .”* <sup>231</sup>

Frith adds concept a fan as a critic <sup>232</sup>, based on the deep enthusiasm in the field, and expertise gathered from countless sources of information- rarely only formal education curriculum. Musical judgements referring to production processes obviously depend on particular sort of knowledge <sup>233</sup> - active listeners who are interested in specialized things such as arrangement instead of melody line <sup>234</sup> .

It is said that education gives a superior authority, following right to judge, what is art and what is not <sup>235</sup>, giving in the same time consumers an interpretation of “good quality” <sup>236</sup>. Critics effect primarily on external evaluation <sup>237</sup>. Secondly the effect on the internal existence of musician or artist is also reached by critic, because for example Hirvonen is defining identity both as social and personal identity project <sup>238</sup>.

Gino Stefani sees serious problems in the work of music critics. He refers to the process of Nattiez’s theory <sup>239</sup> about many layers of understanding, last of them the opinion of music critic as a professionally qualified expert. In words of Frith that criticism is not just producing a version of the music for the reader but also a version of the listener for the music <sup>240</sup>. Many different procedures, and the whole scene of the process – public arena, and most obvious lack of generally accepted rules in terms of evaluation process and its emphasises <sup>241</sup> .

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231 Bourdieu 1991, p. 76

232 Frith 1996, p. 76-77

233 Frith 1996, p. 70

234 Riesmann 1950

235 Peacock-Rizzo 1994, p. 8

236 Peacock-Rizzo 1994, p. 12

237 Peacock-Rizzo 1994, p. 58

238 Hirvonen 2003

239 Nattiez 1990, p. 73 - 75

240 Frith 1996, p. 68

241 Kangas-Kangas 1992, p. 5

### 6.1.2. Tools for judgement

First judgement to be a critic is education that provides expert position and professional language – as Bourdieu sees habitus and hexis to be. They are tools the ultimate tools for distinction<sup>242</sup>. Frith is speaking about dominant language in examples,

*“ selfishness: bad musicians forget that “good music” is collective practice, and use performance to show off their own virtuosity*

*emptiness: bad musicians indulge in form at the expense of content, make music that “has nothing to say”*

*incomprehensibility: bad musicians play in a completely introvert way... critique of “arty” music .”*<sup>243</sup>

Bourdieu sees also another level in dominant language; using very difficult ways of expressing oneself, so that there is a certain illusion of “greater and higher knowledge” in the eyes on the one who has not as much of the habitus and hexis - typical phenomena in academic world<sup>244</sup>. Kotler adds credibility of message in list of tools<sup>245</sup>, having credibility means to being defined as an established professional in music journalism in the features mentioned to belong in the discourse of a critic. Barthes has famously remarked that critics are obsessed by adjectives<sup>246</sup>. That is a straight reference to the concept of imago<sup>247</sup>- imago is built of adjectives and related definitions.

Another sign of legitimacy is position in media – as a professional journalist in a established newspaper or magazine. Earlier commented monopoly position of a newspaper or magazine is very remarkable way to make one’s voice heard in the field. Quite a few newspapers are nowadays published in internet, and as the internet is seen as an extensive source of all kinds of information and news, still the legitimate, established position of

<sup>242</sup> See chapter of Bourdieu earlier in this thesis

<sup>243</sup> Frith 1996, p.58

<sup>244</sup> Bourdieu 1991, p. 7-10

<sup>245</sup> Kotler 1997, p. 642

<sup>246</sup> Barthes 1972, p. 267

<sup>247</sup> See chapter of Imago earlier in this thesis

source is in important position in credibility.

There is no doubt that a membership of inner circle would not help critic. That is originating from the times of education, and gives critic some background knowledge, social capital and opinions of other experts <sup>248</sup>. That leaves remark of separate position from other institutions <sup>249</sup> only as a theoretical and ideological note .

As it is already remarked in this thesis <sup>250</sup>, legitimacy is given for one from outside, from legitimate institution. Legitimate institution is education system (both formal and informal), but also culture politics that is considering critics as one definition of artist. As critics is defined to give legitimacy for a piece of music or musician by defining its quality, it is an institution itself. Power for critics can be seen given also from consumer's side; they are expecting critics as a sign of recognition – firstly by appearing, secondly by defining the quality of artistic product.

*“ ... “Sincerity” ..is only possible – and effective- in the case of a perfect, immediate harmony between the expectations inscribed in the position occupied and the dispositions of occupant. One cannot understand how this agreement, for example between many journalists and their newspaper (and the same time their readership and the newspaper) , is established without taking into account the fact that the categories of perception and appreciation which structure the field of production are the basis of the categories of perceptions and appreciation of the different positions offered by the field and its products...may all functions as classificatory schemas, allowing one to give labels and to take one's bearings .”* <sup>251</sup>

### **6.1.3. Critic in the inner circle**

Because the music education is the primary source of symbolical and social capital of a critic in a newspaper, in other media, or in any other organization, it is also the primary

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248 See chapter of Education earlier in this thesis

249 Frith 1983, p. 174

250 See chapter of Bourdieu earlier in this thesis

251 Bourdieu 1996, p. 164-166

place for inner circle progression. . Eventually the combination of habitus and hexis together, education and appearance, will decide of the final positions in the field of music. As far as one can say based on experiences from the field, this system has worked always in the “inner circle of music and science” . This means constant information flow between professional parts of the system. The inner circle has a common language, shared meaning in verbal expressions of language. Firstly, people studying music will get to know each other. Later, part of them will become artists, part of them for example critics, some of them will work in the other positions in the field. Seeing from the critic’s point of view, the conservatories and the music faculties of universities are also excellent “inner circle information” sources. Secondly, the circle of established teachers, even some individual pedagogues, might have motivations in the power game (meaning whose students will be the most established ones in the field), even power struggle. As Hirvonen suggests, the social interaction with significant persons, is one of the primary motivations for five students of the Sibelius Academy (of Music) , in the soloist department, to get established as a professional, successful musician <sup>252</sup>.

One feature in the Finnish exam system in the higher music exams seems to indicate in the direction of the possible inner circle power and its misuse. Should a student be unsatisfied in the results of his or her exam, enormous amount of extra work prevents students to use that right. In the case of a professional student, the amount of work for the new attempt in the exam is far more than only music that will be played- a significant part of prepared programme (that is not played in the exam) has to be replayed, as well. In studying years, this will practically add at least one year, if not more, in the studying time. Besides, there are no guarantees that the new jury would be any more favourable, either.

As Mantere implies, the reasoning for evaluation might be in contradictory, as the following comment the feedback or critic in some exam in some music school in Finland shows;

*“You should not take too individual and expressive approach, too soloist – like style without appropriate background knowledge and skills.”*  
( One pedagogue in the exam board on February 25<sup>th</sup>, 1995)

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252 Hirvonen 2003

As already told, the goals and entities of an instrument playing and teaching in the music schools is to attach the student in the tradition, and thereby set a place in the social and hierarchical field. How well a student is actually succeeding, might be a question of who is his or her teacher, and what is this pedagogue's position in the social field among other pedagogues or administration, and their relations to the other field of music. Mantere is also writing that in the music school exams critic and feedback is pointed towards both a student and his or her teacher- and thereby the exams might be appropriate fields for the power struggle of pedagogues.

I suggest that music education institutes should establish a system of filing or copying the exams by using the technical abilities of their studios etc. In the case of a suspicion that the judgement should not been fair (negative inner circle effects), there could be second round of judgement, in the hands of some other institution or different members of board. The procedure already exists for example at the universities, and the fact of the real actions in re-evaluation is not as significant that the only the existence of this particular procedure. It would prevent negative inner circle effect.

To begin from the inner circle effect in general, thirdly, different gatekeepers in the field have some inner circle knowledge that might in some cases reflect on the ultimate critic in the significant media. For example in Rannikkoseutu, a newspaper in Raisio region in Western Finland, was a debate on the decisions made in "Tangomarkkinat".

Tangomarkkinat is a big event, built to maintain and promote commercially the Finnish tango music annually in Seinäjoki Tangomarkkinat. The tango singers have some features that come close to opera singers- and although this article is on commercial music, it shows the bound between classical quality of voice with other, commercially important features. At the same time it seems to indicate that some inner circle dislike towards a certain pedagogue has influenced on the decisions.

Mme Tamara Lund, the late pedagogue and opera and operetta - musical singer, criticized the jury of semifinals in Raisio of unprofessional and insufficient work, and accusing some inner circles of ignoring her students. The member of the jury, musician and the town

administration representative Matti Inkinen replied that firstly, Mme Lund's students have not been successful in semifinals lately. The jury has to consider the music production, record industry, music agency field, and in addition, the journalist of the main sponsoring magazine, and the Raisio town administration member in the jury. The CEO of Auraviihde (a large music agency) , Seppo Kulmala added, that this particular competition has commercial principles. The jury's admission is to find a marketable product, and the jury is therefore setting rules, and defining, based on the voice, performance, external appearance and charisma, who is eligible. <sup>253</sup> The same kind of coincidence could be seen to happen in the classical music field.

#### ***6.1.4. Return to Roots –The Ongoing Crisis of Music Education System***

Markus Mantere has analyzed the Finnish music school system in 1996 in his article <sup>254</sup>. He sees the curriculum of the music schools, already since the very first steps, as the continuity of the system, programming the aesthetic ideal of music towards the internal tradition of the music . The norms to define the process of an exam is based on the “ideal aesthetic”. The aesthetic norms are seen to appear naturally in the music itself, on the other hand the music school system is keeping them as a framework of the entire teaching set-making system. The student's performing in the exam <sup>255</sup> is compared with to tradition – in other words to cultural capital, and the process is referring to the power and social hierarchy. Mantere sees the exam as a ritual; the programme is prepared, defined, the audience (i.e. the board) is silent, applause after the performance, the student is bowing etc. This ritual, as any other, provides a context for the function, and the function's external limits are at the same time also function's external limits. The critic provided by the board of the exam is the part of the ritual. Further, the “cultural machinery” according to Mantere is consisting of the exams, music schools, classical music, its concert institution and recording markets. In the process of music education the goal and ideal is to create performing musicians and active audience. <sup>256</sup>

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253 Laiho 2003

254 Mantere 1996, p. 140

255 Exam is ”kurssitutkinto” in Finnish; the curriculum of the Finnish music education in the music schools is divided in three levels (basic, professional-orienting, professional level), and further, to various exams inside the each level to measure the musician skills and learning music.

256 Mantere 1996, p. 117-141



Music education system seems to be in some kind of cross-roads at the moment, as my example from Finland indicates. Professor Kari Kurkela has commented in 1998 in his article <sup>257</sup> music schools and education arrangements. According to him there is too much drive to get 100% results, in order to fulfil financial expectations. Judgement of creative work is impossible if the judge him- or herself is not able to reach creative attitude. There seems to be also a crisis of trust in future in professional organizations. Teachers and administrative people feel pressures to get measurable results increasing and depressing. Same thoughts are reflecting to further in system – same kind of comments can be heard from the field of music non-profit organizations.

Kemp <sup>258</sup> sets aims for education. It should be able to keep children out from streets, increase ability to focus on things, patience in learning processes, ability to teamwork. Education should improve use of memory and ability to express oneself. Music education is form of both social and individual narcissism . The metaphysical features in making of music and experiencing music should be the core idea of education, ability to create new ideas <sup>259</sup>. These values are in broader concept seen as self-confidence and feel of inner security in society. Kurkela is questioning music education system by asking, is that ideology completely vanished in times of financial pressure.

#### ***6.1.5. How Education Affects***

As earlier mentioned, education is establishing one in field. Process is starting by defining wanted peer group, and then continuing by attempts to get closer and closer to ideal imago. This process forms consumer groups. Members strongly remind each other because of similar life- styles and background factors. Process is called getting socialized, socialization <sup>260</sup>.

In addition to language people adapt codes of behaviour during education process. In classical music concert tradition there is a set of traditions, based in history. Tradition that audience do not applause in the middle of symphony of sonata is very clear rule and simple

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257 Heino- Ojala 1998

258 Kemp, A.E. 1996

259 Kemp 1996, p. 285

260 Bourdieu 1984, p. 474 , among many others

to understand for musically educated people. Symphony or sonata is one piece of work, and musician's concentration on creative process is disturbed if parts of symphony or sonata are separated by applause. For a person coming from popular music tradition that is not so simple – tradition is totally in opposition with his or her own field's tradition.

In the same way dressing code seems to wake interest among people. Classical music concerts have had imago of distinctive events for a long time. People attending in concerts are dressed in formal way. They want, firstly to honour occasion, but secondly, also make themselves a feeling of special occasion by wearing something specially nice. Especially in the premières crowd seems to follow that idea. Drinks offered during intervals are quality products. Whole venue is carefully designed in order to make “specialized” impression, sense of exclusiveness .

In broader concept, it is a question of searching for *total experience* , terms widely known in music industries <sup>261</sup>. In the times of huge amount of media and very wide range of culture and sports industries dressing code and exclusive atmosphere is one of the oldest form of this leading ideology of leisure considered as sector of high profile industries of 21<sup>st</sup> century. Although realities, that at least in Nordic countries people tend to attend in concerts very casually dressed (among more formal way dressed ones), there is still strong label of quality, prestige and exclusiveness in classical music. One of the reasons for that is the fear of ending up to make fool of oneself in classical music concert <sup>262</sup>.

On the other hand audience education programmes are working with these themes, but somewhere between the lines there is also signs that distinction in attending classical music concerts is not after all so bad idea. Imago is attracting wealthy, well-educated consumers, and if this is the true result of audience research, there would be no difficulties to find appropriate sponsors.

If education is able to establish things like language, behaviour - and dressing code, it is also able to establish some patterns of procedures – such as degrees. In order to get degree in some music institution, one have to take many exams. Instrumental skills are tested in

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261 Kemp2000 and 2001

262 Hannikainen-Vainio 2000 and Taalas 2001 and 2002

exams that are reminding concerts. Student is playing prepared programme in front of board of professors and teachers. Board is giving response and student gets a mark from exam.

The most crucial in this system is *imago*, or as Becker defines, reputation. Student gets a certain mark based on exam. However, circles are small, and people know each others. Certain feeling of “who belongs to what category” is sensed more or less in institutions like conservatories / music high schools or universities. Relations, formal and informal, are able to effect on the result. Despite of education and illusion of “arms –length-principle” and attempts to neutrality, system is working in real life strongly in terms of existing formal and informal organisation and its reflections in exams. Pedagogical education of instrument teachers and education of musicians has been based on musical aspects, ignoring organizational factors that are pretty invisible in traditional musical education, but still in real working environment very significant. They are as such very difficult things to face if people have not any kind of picture of theories or real-world knowledge of these kind of themes. The good reputation in the pedagogical side as artists seems to create an *imago* of the qualifies students. Seppo Kimanen, a former artistic director of Kuhmo Chamber Music Festival is writing as a columnist in the music magazine *Classica* on the star cult that is penetrating in the music schools, is objecting this principle, but still revealing that the phenomena exists at least in Germany<sup>263</sup>

Hirvonen has studied more advanced pianists, and is saying that the construction of identity is both a social and personal identity project. During schooling years, “social integration” with significant persons and recognition achieved through successful studies and music competitions are regarded as essential factors in the constitution of musician’s identity. A student is gaining social respect and recognition for his or her talents from competitions. According to Hirvonen, some students regard competitions and exams important and significant events of orientating to professional studies. On the other hand, the extreme stress and pressure are also causing feelings of insufficiency.<sup>264</sup> Already in 1992, the article in *Rondo*, established Hirvonen’s findings. CEO of one of the biggest agencies of the field in 1992, *Festium Oy*, and its CEO, Mirja Salomaa;

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263 Kimanen 1998, p. 25

264 Hirvonen 2003

“ *At least so far we have not fought over the competition winners.* “ <sup>265</sup>

In that time, the potential artists found their agents without battles in the field, but the imago of the “competition winner” was helpful in the process, and further the marketing of the musician.

Imago means one, but important definition of one as musician. Impact is very strong – person is more or less living and growing in terms of definition /definitions . Should one under evaluation be unhappy with judgement, after certain processes there is a possibility to take that exam again. That however requires totally new programme, in some cases also totally new kind of background work (requirement to exams; requirement in earlier played repertoire). Still, in times of technology , there seems to lack the possibility to use technological solutions in order to improve the rights of a student under these described circumstances. Cases of re-exams are extremely rare in music institutions. Re-evaluation possibility that would be more equal with other institutions, like universities and other schools, would prohibit the possibility of “negative inner-circle effect”.

#### ***6.1.6. Analogy to the Broader Field of Music***

This process, procedure of exam, is analogy to what happens in the field of music criticism. People who have been part of music education system have in the same time adapted strongly exam – procedure. In other words, if one analyzes music critics and its reflectance on musicians, the progress of the chain of events, it seems to be exactly same to exams in music institutions. Critic is playing the part of the board at public arena.

Important mechanisms in creating imago are firstly, these analogous operations –familiar to everybody who have been educated musically. Another important factor are *inner circles*. As mentioned in definition of fields and intellectuals and petit - bourgeoisie <sup>266</sup> , there are existing inner circles . Flow of information is fluent. According to Kotler , Solomon, Hill-O’Sullivan-O’Sullivan and many others, mouth –to – mouth information is

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265 Amberla 1992, p. 22

266 See chapters Fields and Intellectuals and petit-bourgeoise earlier in this thesis

the most efficient form of advertising <sup>267</sup>. If mouth- to- mouth information is efficient in terms of marketing, it is important also inside field in terms of “inner circle knowledge”. Information flow from music education organizations is soon also knowledge for music critic and members of boards.

*” Indeed, decision-makers have private interests in the cultural area, as everywhere else. They have a great many personal, political, social and regional relationships to some artists and art institutions, and none to others. It is obvious that public support tends to be directed into those of the arts with which they are most familiar ”* <sup>268</sup>

Finally, on education; it is building up a field of events (the field of music) and its functions – social and hierarchical game. All of the participants in this particular field are adapting the defining process that is always proceeded by someone or ones who has or have ultimately symbolical power in the field. This symbolical power is gained in education. The most effectively defining one or ones is or are some kind of a board or a critic. Critic is in a key role testing and thereby continuing the tradition of the music, and its aesthetic ideals

## **6.2. THE AUDIENCE AND TICKET SALES**

Consumer behaviour can be defined for in the example following thoughts of Kotler <sup>269</sup> as factors or features that effect on consumption and via that, to people’s lifestyles. Bourdieu comments consumption in the following way:

*“ The science of taste and of cultural consumption begins with a transgression that is in no way aesthetic: it has to abolish the sacred frontier which makes legitimate culture a separate universe, in order to discover the intelligible relations which unite apparently incommensurable “choices“, such as preferences in music and food, painting and sport, literature and*

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267 Kotler 1997, p. 177, Solomon 1999,p. 350-354, Hill. O’Sullivan, O’Sullivan 1998

268 Frey – Pommerehne 1989, p. 28

269 Kotler 1997

*hairstyle* “<sup>270</sup>

In other words, consumption seems to have a big role in our society. People participate in cultural life because they want to express their attachment to its existence.<sup>271</sup> Recognising the appearance of culture and consuming it binds us in art's magical quality that is sustained, art still seems to have a sacred, mystical aura in the eyes of consumers<sup>272</sup>.

The consumer's motivation (at least unconscious) is, according to Bourdieu, to indicate their social position by consuming art and music, and the products that are available for that function, are provided and selected by producers that are trying to gain legitimacy to their products. In his own words, the internal changes (by the transformation in the changes of access to the art field) in correspondence with external changes offer new categories of producers and their products. The consumers occupy the positions in the social space which are homologous to their own position in the field. Thereby the dispositions of the consumers and their tastes are in harmony with the products these producers are offering them<sup>273</sup>.

### ***6.2.1. Definitions and Key Concepts***

Key concepts in consumer behaviour research include product, value, language, consuming atmosphere and availability / accessibility.

Product is the tool for consuming, purchasing is operation that is meant to switch symbolic value to economic value.

” *Product is anything that can be offered to satisfy a need or want* “<sup>274</sup>

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270 Bourdieu 1984, p.6

271 Greffe 2002, p. 16-17

272 Greffe 2002, p. 25-26

273 Bourdieu 1996, p. 253

274 Kotler 1997, p. 9

*“ Product is physical good, service or idea. Product is an extension of “self“; it helps to determine oneself ’s self-concept and social identity . “<sup>275</sup>*

**Value** is in other words symbolical price for the product. Values are also a framework of significant factors that are controlling our decision- making - processes. As Kotler defines, there are both core and secondary cultural values. Core ideas are persisting ,reflecting strongly in our lives through social institutions such as parents, family, school etc. Secondary values are more open, like beliefs. Times might change secondary cultural values. Subcultures have shared values inside to combine members, but various set of values that differ them from other subcultures, seen from outside. Value chain is extended value of a product<sup>276</sup>, for example “total experience“<sup>277</sup>, life style, imago etc. Reputation is basis of labelling and thereby price setting.<sup>278</sup>

Evaluation and selection of products, in other different styles depends from **language** , i.e. messages concerning decision-making – processes that are sent verbally or non-verbally. Message should first say something desirable and interesting about the product, and there should be a statement of exclusiveness and distinctiveness included. Message should also be believable and provable<sup>279</sup> in order to effect in a positive way on the decision – making process of a consumer. Public attitude to the arts seems to be positive; great public seems to appreciate the arts, its support and its accessibility<sup>280</sup>. High, established quality reflects willingness to spend money.<sup>281</sup>

**Consuming atmosphere** seems to turn towards imago society<sup>282</sup>. Liisa Uusitalo, professor of marketing, is saying in her interview that consumption is being transformed towards imagoes; it is question of rise of individualism and individual imagoes that are reflecting to society. Hedonistic consumption is also the way to search for inner coherent world in oneself. Further analyses about consumption as the modern way of hedonism in

<sup>275</sup> Solomon 1999, p. 136

<sup>276</sup> Kotler 1997, p. 44-45

<sup>277</sup> Kemp2000 and 2001, Hannikainen-Vainio 2000, Taalas 2001and 2002 among many others

<sup>278</sup> Greffe 2002, p. 46-47

<sup>279</sup> Kotler 1997, p. 642

<sup>280</sup> Survey from 1991, commissioned by the Arts Council in Hill - O’Sullivan - O’Sullivan 1995, p. 12

<sup>281</sup> Greffe 2002, p. 43-44

<sup>282</sup> See Hugoson’s analyses in chapter Imago later in this thesis

Campbell's book : *The Romantic Ethic and the Spirit of Modern Consumerism* 1987. We are living in the society of experiences, and according to individualism features such as the art are rising <sup>283</sup>.

Another change is the faster circulation of progress (distinction) that is driven by the mass media, especially tools like internet. Life –circle of a product is getting substantially shorter, and by that the impact of single critic, report, advertising campaign etc. is increasing <sup>284</sup>. According to Roland Barthes, object is more that it is or does, rather, it is what it signifies <sup>285</sup>.

**Availability, accessibility** is distinctive factor, if there is lack of some particular product, bigger demand keeps the value of the product high. As I earlier mentioned <sup>286</sup>, classical music is not even meant to be for everybody – just for limited group of a desired type of people.

Finally, as Hugh McKay writes, conclusion for definitions above:

*“ Consumption is the articulation of a sense of identity, our identity is made up by consumption of goods – and their consumption and display constitutes our expressions of taste. So display – to ourselves and to others- is largely for symbolic significance, indicating our membership of a particular culture.”* <sup>287</sup>

### **6.2.2. Minorities and Majorities in Consuming**

According to Bourdieu there is a distinction between intelligence and petit- bourgeoisie . One of the earliest writers must have been David Riesmann in 1950 <sup>288</sup> who is speaking about active listeners that set rules for big majority in terms of judging appropriate form of

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283 See also Tomlinson 1990, p. 11 - 13

284 Uusitalo, Liisa 12.1.1991

285 Barthes, 1957: *Myth Today in Mytologies*

286 See Education earlier in this thesis

287 McKay 1997, p. 4

288 Riesmann1950



music, artist etc. Alvin Toffler <sup>289</sup> is speaking about active amateurs and better educated ones. Peacock <sup>290</sup> is following the same lines as Riesmann and Toffler. Simon Frith <sup>291</sup> is speaking about fans and ordinary movie goers, experts and casual viewers.

These seems to be a valid pattern for explaining moves in the fields of music and the art. The selection of fields is endless, and it is mainly, a question of values and imago, i.e. wanted message that is sent outside, what is one's expertise areas. Our position in different fields varies in hierarchy – nobody can be an expert on everything. Days of multi talented and wide experienced “Renaissance people” are in history. The world seems to be constantly more fragmented. The reason for that is the rise of individualism and following *niché marketing* <sup>292</sup>. By combining many familiar features in new ways music industry, as well as the whole sector of leisure industries, is trying to reach field of consumers, many different groups. Circulation as such has been happening all through our history, but as mentioned, media and beginning of mass- culture - tools for communication and information flow – has increased the speed of circulation <sup>293</sup>.

This has much to do with the ideas of Bourdieu. He sees cultural consumption as a tool of gaining symbolical capital. Operational side of that is education – gateway to field. Membership of a certain field is reflected to other fields by the various selection of signs, together seen as lifestyle.

*“ Far from being passive or bovine, our culture consumers are quite often alert, active, and possessed of definite opinions . “* <sup>294</sup>

There is ongoing struggle of fields – definitions of legitimate art and artists are changing. In contemporary culture choice of non-legitimate art is also a strong sign of individualism. Subcultures, typically youth cultures such as snowboarding, have exclusive lifestyle. As a sign of membership and position in hierarchy there seems to be a total brand, own kind of lifestyle. That covers everything between clothes and music. There are strong signs that

<sup>289</sup> Toffler 1964, p. 10, 32, 73-90, 225-228

<sup>290</sup> Peacock 1972

<sup>291</sup> Frith 1996, p. 51

<sup>292</sup> Kemp 2000 and 2001

<sup>293</sup> See also Hugoson's analyses in chapter Imago later in this thesis

<sup>294</sup> Toffler 1964, p.218

snowboarding is an ideology on its own<sup>295</sup>. Time will show whether appearance in Salt Lake City Winter Olympics 2002 is going to alienate some members of the ideology towards something new. This means on the other hand distinction, seen as the ever increasing fragmentation fields and markets, in Simon Frith's words; "symbolic resistance to bourgeois hegemony"<sup>296</sup>.

In educational sense road to intelligence is long. Years after years of hard training in order to get formal education. During that there is since the beginning always this setting : teacher – student. Different teachers are in the different position in the hierarchy – both in formal and informal organization. Organizations are also in hierarchical order inside the field of music or the arts, in non-educational areas of music also factors like origins (like in grunge's case significant city is Seattle, USA). That also reflects on the position of students- compared to each other. The formal training itself does not work alone as the qualification in the field. Inner hierarchy of the qualified is defined by acts (like concerts, or then the reputation of the institution).

There seems to be always around the question about the teacher, professor and institute around. That means that inside groups of some distinctive field there is also inner hierarchy – meaning different amounts of symbolical power. That leads to the conclusion of "strong individuals" – most respected individuals in the field. Anybody involved in culture can think of the most significant schools of music by name, or the most central cities in terms of education institutes. The fact that a person has at some stage in his or her life is creating a label of quality (or quite opposite) around , and expectations do vary in terms of background. This is not the only way to make a breakthrough, but certainly quite important to notice.

### ***6.2.3. Self-monitored Consumer and Opinion Leader***

It is more or less obvious that people in the group of intelligence, the experts, advanced etc. are quite self-monitored individuals. That is also seen in the size of the group – it is the minority. In distinction theory there is not question of democracy. Majority, the big

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295 As analogy to the themes of Uusitalo 1999

296 Frith 1988, p. 6

audience, is following the voice, choices and presence of minority. Inside both these groups there are opinion leaders. They are the selected ones who have the power to “move their crowd“. In intelligence the ones who start the definition processes in heading new forms of art, but also in the big audience – the ones who start the process of getting closer to intelligence and actually start the circle of distinction.

Already Kelman <sup>297</sup> mentions typology of opinion change processes, compliance, identification and internalization. Park and Lessing <sup>298</sup> are explaining that informational reference group influences means set of various processes. They give examples, based on their scale, of opinion leadership and observation results of the behavioural significant “others“ , people like independent experts, users of product, friends, acquaintances, relatives, magazines and research institutes) affects strongly in brand choices . Reason being is word-of-mouth (wom) information <sup>299</sup> that is recognized as the strongest reference or then negative judgement in decision – making processes.

Martti Puohiniemi is analyzing self-monitored people in definitions like: “strong believes in adjusting reference group influences“, “high self-monitoring“, “openness to change“. More tradition – oriented people are looking for security. That means pretty low level of self-monitoring <sup>300</sup>. The main findings concern the relationship between values and consumption – related indicators. Earliest result pointing out in that particular binding and dependency between values and consuming motivations is, according to Puohiniemi, Schwarz’s and Bilsky’s research , i.e. the primary content aspect of a value that is the type goals or motivations which represent the interests of some person or group, in 1987. There are similar kind of conclusions in the works of Rajaniemi and Laaksonen <sup>301</sup>, Wilkie <sup>302</sup> and Rokeach <sup>303</sup>, and very important notion in terms of self-monitoring is peer group, as Brindberg and Plimpton are pointing out <sup>304</sup>. Very interesting correlation is proved when Puohiniemi is describing analogies between personality factors and self-monitoring. It

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297 Kelman 1961 p. 57 -58

298 Park-Lessing 1977, p. 102 - 110

299 Solomon 1999, p. 350 -354

300 Puohiniemi 1995, p. 129

301 Rajaniemi-Laaksonen 1989, p. 140

302 Rokeach 1973

303 Rokeach 1973, p. 30

304 Brindberg and Plimpton 1986, p. 297-300

seems that strong leader qualities are usually connected with high self-monitoring.

Kotler is using terms “high involvement consumer“<sup>305</sup>. That means a person who is very involved in information searching and learning processes. Information sources are for example mass media, consumer-rating organizations etc. Based on information gathered, he or she then evaluates alternatives, makes decision and purchases product. It is at the same time an attempt to minimize risks. Post-purchase factors, such as critics etc. then establish the level of satisfaction or dissatisfaction. Learning process creates expertise, and that creates more self-monitoring.

Important thing to notice here is that for professional musicians music is part of everyday life, quite opposite to ones who feel classical music (or live music) as luxurious thing. Professional musicians are intelligent, in other words extremely self-monitored. That does not mean that the great audience of classical (or rock) concerts is the same. Main group of consumers are dependent on public legitimation in terms of Bourdieu, and the significance of music critic institution is hard to ignore – both in marketing and also attitude-forming sense. Also Warde, professor in sociology in Lancaster University, shares this view:

*“Expensive objects are coveted, luxuries sought, extravagance legitimated.”*<sup>306</sup>

According to Kotler, opinion leader is

*“ Person in informal product-related communications who offers advice or information about a specific product or product category .”*<sup>307</sup>

Solomon is using terms of social power (analogy to Bourdieu’s social capital) as capacity to take over the leadership<sup>308</sup>, and information power as the “access to truth“ as well as expert power, not to forget reward power that refers to social acceptance<sup>309</sup>. Frith is seeing

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305 Kotler 1997, p. 190- 197

306 Warde 2002, p. 103

307 Kotler 1997, p. 177

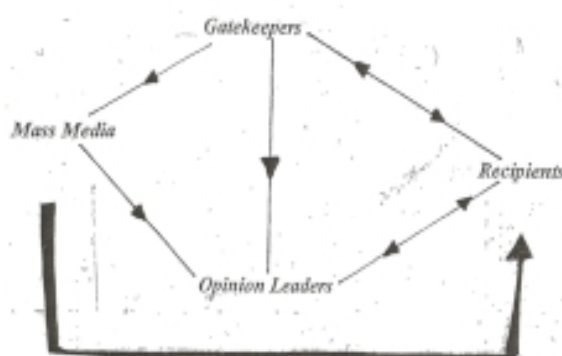
308 Solomon 1999, p. 338

309 Solomon 1999, p. 342 - 343

critic as consumer guidance <sup>310</sup> . Snyder <sup>311</sup> says that high self-monitors have socially effective function.

Hill, O'Sullivan and O'Sullivan have introduced updated model about the perspectives on the communication process <sup>312</sup> (figure 2).

*Figure 2*



In other words, one have to have both habitus and hexis in order to be able to effect on opinions. In general, education provides ability to see more choices and see things from “arms length“ <sup>313</sup>. At the same time it gives one the special tool to be able to represent one’s education – to be isolated from the big audience , and ability to use symbolic power or violence.

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310 Frith 1996, p. 68

311 Snyder 1989, p. 38

312 Hill- O’Sullivan- O’Sullivan 1998, p. 256

313 See chapter Education earlier in this thesis

#### ***6.2.4. Reference Groups as Forms of Self-expression***

As I have earlier said, social surroundings seems to be very important thing for understanding the consumption of culture. Kotler defines reference groups as group of people that have direct or indirect influence on person's attitudes and behaviour . Group that a person would like to belong is called aspirational group <sup>314</sup>. Solomon is seeing reference group as a brand of several similar common factors that are joint together to represent lifestyle <sup>315</sup>, in other words life style as a group identity <sup>316</sup>. Style is considered to be "extension of self" <sup>317</sup>.

Liisa Uusitalo <sup>318</sup> is analyzing consumption as the most significant distinctive factor between groups. And even more – increased amount of leisure and on the other hand short-term contracts in working life drives responsibility of social structures of forming reference groups on the shoulders of consumption – leisure consumption. In other words, hobbies and cultural products seem to have the biggest distinctive force. Consumption is representation of life-style, habitus, taste hierarchies, social world, and is structuring the society. Sense of belonging in some group is working mainly in the imago level. Consumption means identity. It is not only the rational choice, but also search of authentic, genuine experience <sup>319</sup>, sort of implication of postmodern social atmosphere.

Inside a reference group, participants, members, there can be different kind of motivations to join in; there are entertainment -, status-, inspiration or sensation seekers, trend setters, lonely escapists and social attenders <sup>320</sup>. Nevertheless, reference group exists. There is a reason for attending in certain form of art; in our internal motives and external needs. According to Brosio <sup>321</sup> social norms have also emotional element that appears together with rationality. Eventually payment, the price for some product, is evaluated by one's

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314 Kotler 1997, p. 175

315 Solomon 1999, p. 338

316 Solomon 1999, p.175

317 Tomlinson 1991, p. 44-47

318 Uusitalo, Liisa 1998, p. 2-5

319 See also Campbell 1987

320 Hill- O'Sullivan- O'Sullivan 1998, p. 35

321 Brosio, Giorgio 1994: *The Arts Industry: Problems and Measurement* in Peacock-Rizzo 1994 (ed.) *Cultural Economics and Cultural Politics*

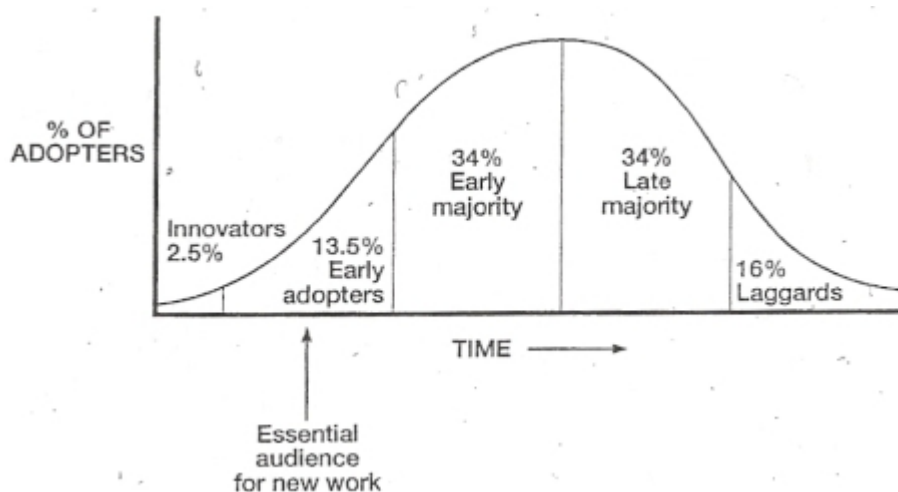
own judgement <sup>322</sup>, and the values and reference group – values of those one is sharing time with, is all question of ultimately abstract concept, *imago*.

### 6.2.5. Differences in Consumer Behaviour

Some researches have been able to define how people are moving in terms of consumption.

Hill, O'Sullivan and O'Sullivan have launched a diagram about the attenders of art <sup>323</sup>.

Figure 3:



*Innovators* are younger, financially stable, well-educated and confident.

*Early adopters* have high readership of magazines.

*Early majority* is solid middle-class .

*Late majority* is more traditional, conservatives.

*Laggards* hesitate, and eventually realize that they could get something special by attending.

*Non adopters* are hostile, and never reached by marketing of arts.

Question of attendance is related to situation in life, too. Certain ages correlate with similar situations in life , such as having children, achieving financial security, big amount of

322 Brosio in Frey 1994: The Economic Point of View in Peacock-Rizzo (ed.) 1994

323 Hill-O'Sullivan-O'Sullivan 1998, figure p. 133, comments p. 132-135

leisure time, legal opportunity to make one's own decision etc <sup>324</sup>.

### ***6.2.6. Closure of Consumers of the Music- the Audience***

There seems to be a connection between a critic and audiences reactions in the ticket and for example CD- sales. Classical music has some features being some distinctive and luxury product, and thereby a significant part of audience is listening to professional references- in other words critic. Also many art organizations, venues and events are planning their program policy to react in the artistic demands, and thereby to the critic. From the artists' point of view, the artistic and commercial breakthrough in the early phase of the career is a necessity in order to continue artistic profession <sup>325</sup>, and in that process the critic is in the key role. According to Williams, the decision-makers in the funding processes were the patrons and other funding parts. Lately the indirect and complex relation-network is based of the audience, the field and the art itself. The oligopoly of few has transferred itself towards the participation field of increasing amount of consumers <sup>326</sup>. This seems to have a link to Habermas's comment on the art as a product, and the process of capitalism rising after the reign of nobility and the power of upper-class <sup>327</sup>. The success of the production was dependent on the ticket income gathered from the petit-bourgeois, but the patrons were still ruling the part based on the "old principles", and the parallel progress of the "pure" art and popular art began. In this assumption Williams seems to be backing up my theories.

## **6.3. IMAGO**

The term "imago" is one of the central definitions in the external value of an artist or a musician. Then imago can be seen to built up by individual comments on the musical skills or expression values of professional musician – in other words, individual critics. Earlier, the basic construction blocks of an imago are the evaluation of the exam board in the primary music school, ongoing until the final exams of the conservatory. What comes to

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324 Hill- O'Sullivan-O'Sullivan 1998

325 Rensujeff 2003, p. 38

326 Williams 1985, 38-44

327 Habermass 1986, p. 52-60



critic's broader role, the audience also has to be concerned. By consuming art and music, the audience is gaining the symbolical capital, and more established role in the social game, as Bourdieu would say. This would suggest that the audience is searching for an appropriate imago by attending in a certain event. The very same imago, in other words the reputation, is recognized also in the funding boards- as a reference for funding decisions. The corporate sponsor would be interested in the imago or reputation of the potential artistic partner, because it tries to impress the part of the audience, and to gain symbolical capital, and convincing role in the art field by supporting the most promising candidate. A critic seem to be in key role for the entire imago building process as a public and respected voice.

According to Roland Barthes, as early as 1892 , Simon Patten said that reproduction of *images* would be decisive for the new economic order <sup>328</sup>. Alvin Toffler adds that imago is something desirable, wanted, driving force in formulating a picture of oneself for the outer word <sup>329</sup>. What is then behind this very well-known, still a bit undefined term?

### ***6.3.1. Definition of the Imago***

Imago was one of the hardest concepts to define because its nature as “will-o’-the wisp“. Imago has been defined as *extended self* <sup>330</sup>. Imago is something that one wants to reflect from his or her personality, abilities, identity, to others. As Solomon continues,

*“ The meaning of “self“ for the others, in interaction, is defined by social consensus – self-fulfilling prophecy, ”* <sup>331</sup>

One is in constant interaction with his or her own environment. If brand is defined by Kotler as

*“...a name, term, sign, symbol, or design, or a combination of them..., ”* <sup>332</sup>

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328 Frith - Goodwin 1990

329 Toffler 1964, p. 93 - 108

330 Yiannis – Lang 1995, p. 86 –91, Solomon 1999, p. 135 - 139

331 Solomon 1999, p. 135

332 Kotler 1997, p. 443

is imago in other words something similar, constituting from a group of qualities, facts and imaginary assumptions. Imago has been described also as identity. Identity of oneself, or a company, is defining, how a person or a firm is identifying one- or itself<sup>333</sup>. Imago can be described also as a style, as for example Tomlinson<sup>334</sup> says. Style is a product of consumption society that has, since entered in our lives, entered through language to our identity. Identity and imago seem to be in interaction<sup>335</sup>, in symbolic interaction of “self“ for the others, on the other hand the response of social environment seems to shape identity<sup>336</sup>. Imago is a model that represents, builds and communicates with real world, reality<sup>337</sup>. Concept of imago comes close to Becker’s concept of reputation, and is definitely in Mauss’s impression flow of gifts.

Imago is something more than selection of facts. It is also strongly something that is only in the level of images<sup>338</sup>, in the rational and emotional framework of mind. In other words, imago is both facts and desirable qualities. Baudrillard is using concept of simulation, and that idea of mixture of realistic facts, desired features and will of the field (how it defines artists) is therefore one of the definitions of imago.

As Vuokko indicates, imago value is very important part of company’s value measuring<sup>339</sup>. Referring Kotler,

*“...identity comprises the ways that the company aims to identify itself or position its products...Image is the way public perceives the company or its products .”*<sup>340</sup>

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333 Kotler 1998, p. 294-295

334 Tomlinson 1991

335 Mc Kay 1997 p. 4, Solomon 1999, p.135

336 See chapter Reference groups in Consumer Behaviour earlier in this thesis

337 Uusitalo 2002

338 Uusitalo1998, p. 3-5

339 Vuokko 1993, p. 60-63

340 Kotler 1997, p. 294-295

If product has lower supply than demand, effects it an illusion of rare, desirable quality, and that rises the price<sup>341</sup>. People attending in première or in very rare kind of an event with special stars etc., are willing to pay more. Bourdieu<sup>342</sup> points out that power, competence, imago are given from society, from institution by using language as a tool for process. That means that musicians imago is in the hands of institutions like music criticism or music schools, in other words, in the hands of inner circle.

Uusitalo sees progress that is leading our western society from mass consumption towards imago society. People want to represent their individualism by consuming. That means increasing demands for markets in order to fulfil expectancies of consumers. That has led for example popular music in fragmentation and niche marketing<sup>343</sup>. Importance of leisure time has increased<sup>344</sup>, and for example classical music has been forced to find new marketing means in order to keep updated in competition with other sectors of developing field of culture, as well as with other big sectors of leisure industries, such as film or sports.

According to Baudrillard,

*“...consumption is a passage from use value to sign value...”*<sup>345</sup>

anchored dynamic of sign and / or imago construction and their interpretation<sup>346</sup>. That gives us a bridge to sources of imago, semantics.

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341 Peacock-Rizzo 1994, p. 55, Frey – Pommerehne 1989, p. 36

342 Bourdieu – Wacquant 1992, p. 181

343 Kemp 2000 and 2002

344 Uusitalo 1998, p. 3-6

345 Tomlinson 1991, p. 127

346 Tomlinson 1991, p. 130

### 6.3.2. *Consumption as a Silent Language*

According to Roland Barthes, value of an object is not what it is or does, but rather what it signifies<sup>347</sup>. Personal identities is created by element by others and marketed in terms of these days, aggressively and seductively. This is the key for understanding that consumption can create a sense of selfhood, well-being and the notion of free choice<sup>348</sup>.

Grant McCracken explains, referring to Barthes and Saussure<sup>349</sup>, recreation of meaning. He uses clothing as his sample (mode). Music could be understood through similar framework in terms of consumption of music. Language is constituting from selection of “slots“, small units. These units can basically substitute each other, but at the same time they have different kind of meaning. Second linguistic principle is a combination. The speaker is combining the units selected form above described paradigmatic classes into a third part of this process, syntagmatic chain. This represents the level of sentence. Process is getting in the level of a speech when this process is repeated time after time. Understanding is formed by many hierarchical levels. That is the core idea of semiotics. Message is more than words, it is the also the finest delicacies and little references written between the lines. This system of complex hierarchy of understanding and learning is also in the basis of Nattiez’s work, model in the right beginning of this thesis<sup>350</sup>.

Baudrillard is considering consumption

*“...in, so far as it is meaningful, a systematic act of the manipulation of the signs .”*<sup>351</sup>

*“ Consumption is a system which assures the regulation of signs and the*

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347 Barthes 1957, p. 109 -159

348 Tomlinson 1990, p. 13

349 McCracken 1990, p. 60-63

350 Nattiez 1990, p.76

351 Baudrillard 1988, p. 22

*integration of the group: it is simultaneously a morality (a system of ideological values) and a system of communication, a structure of exchange<sup>352</sup>, .....behaviour, a constraint, a morality and an institution. It is a complete system of values with all that the term implies concerning group integration and social control .”<sup>353</sup>*

The message is understood in terms of understanding the simultaneous presence of all these four levels. Consumption can be seen as analogy to language. Solomon is describing this process in terms of silent language; purchasing a product or brand, identifying oneself with imaginary values , identifying then him- or herself as the part of reference group. Purchasing a certain product is causing respect in desired field, and by pursuing all possible purchases in terms of imaginary values similar to reference group, person is in the eyes of the others what he or she would like to be – not as much what the person in fact realistically is<sup>354</sup>. Also Simmonds is in the same lines as McCracken and Solomon<sup>355</sup>. According to Slater, consumption always involves meanings<sup>356</sup>.

Language is a bridge between identity and imago. In other words, consuming is in many ways modern hedonism, as Colin Campbell (1987) says.

*“ ...we are not simply keeping up external appearances ...inner-directed characters were concerned with maintaining respectability , decorum and esteem through external appearances, The other-directed person is original in that this conformity reaches deeply into the internal life .”<sup>357</sup>*

In the consumption of music there are strong analogies in these theories. Music genre is in the same time some sort of brand that includes dress-code, language, professional slang,

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352 Baudrillard 1988, p. 46

353 Baudrillard 1988, p. 49

354 Solomon 1999, p. 338

355 Tomlinson (ed.) 1991, p.121-137

356 Slater 1997, p. 132

357 Slater 1997, p. 92

other similar activities in the field of leisure, education level, reference group<sup>358</sup>. That creates *extended value*<sup>359</sup> to products like classical music -, rock -, jazz- and traditional music concerts. In this way silent language , consumption, is creating life style. This language is in other words isolating field form other fields, as Bourdieu indicates<sup>360</sup>. In his sense of dialects<sup>361</sup>, differences in nuances, various sorts of using language, say things out, accents, intonations etc., we come across the concept of habitus. That creates roles in the fields, in other words i.e. opinion leaders such as critics, influenced by inner circles.

Antoine Hennion<sup>362</sup> has written about imagoes in popular music. He considers them as an essential feature of consuming of music. Article talks about creating the persona through forming imago, in Hennion's own words:

*“ ...He must intrigue us, compel our attention, make us want to get know him just on strength of his appearance...a star's “magnetism“ should exist...”*<sup>363</sup>

Hennion is using terms like authenticity and quality to describe parts of imago of musician. He sees that from music there could be seen as analogies to style (dressing, appearance, behaviour) to music itself. A whole product is produced in publicity when style (imago) is combined with personal history, real life story of a pop star<sup>364</sup>. System of marketing presents an imaginary object and starts to gamble about the public identification<sup>365</sup>. Hennion is using also terms of Bourdieu, meaning “statutory consumption of elites“ and “industrial production of mass culture“. There is a hope existing that a great audience would recognize itself in stars and musicians. Hennion is using psychological terms like identification and projection in describing this process<sup>366</sup>. Although there is question of pop stars in this article, there could be seen strong identification also in classical music.

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358 Kemp 2000 and 2001

359 Hill-O'Sullivan-O'Sullivan 1998

360 See Chapter about Bourdieu earlier in this thesis

361 Bourdieu 1991, p. 17

362 Hennion 1983 in Frith- Goodwin 1990, p. 185 -207

363 Hennion 1983 in Frith- Goodwin, p. 199

364 Hennion 1983 in Frith –Goodwin 1990, p. 200-202

365 Hennion 1983 in Frith – Goodwin 1990, p. 203

366 Hennion 1983 in Frith – Goodwin 1990, p. 205

Creation of stars is similar in both systems, but has different features in terms of different images of music genres.

Imago seems to be very important feature in the field of music funding, as well as in the field of less material things, such as reputation as an artist. Consumers are searching for indentifying features in the silent language of consuming in terms of their own picture of them selves, identity. Sponsors are looking for objects that can expand their corporate image. As Liisa Uusitalo said in her interview, we have really moved towards the times of imago society <sup>367</sup>.

### 6.3.3. *Reputations as imago*

Reputation is the concept Becker introduced in his institutional theory of the art. In the crucial role there since the school is , according to Becker (among many others), critics that:

*“...provide the reasoning which makes arts acceptable and worth appreciating.”*

<sup>368</sup>

Reason for that is in the “power of speech” (public opinion maker), because in the art world some have right to represent others. <sup>369</sup> That is very important reason for the struggles in the art world . <sup>370</sup> Because audiences remain mostly local, provincial <sup>371</sup>, critic of a local newspaper has important role in art distribution. Art world’s personnel share the knowledge of the basic conventions and art world is collaborating with difficulties. Art world is, thus provincial nature of critics, semiautonomous, and is breaking the rules of conventions using that advantage; “what can not be done here, that is possible somewhere else”. <sup>372</sup> Eventually it is the art world that has a status (or privileges) to possess the status of art. <sup>373</sup> Subcultures, subgroups, lack (by choice or ignorance) some of the conventional

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367 Uusitalo 2001

368 Becker 1984, p. 113

369 Becker 1984, p. 150-151

370 Becker 1984, p. 152

371 Becker 1984, p. 322

372 Becker 1984, p. 332-333

373 Becker 1984, p. 339

knowledge.<sup>374</sup> Genres can develop reputation just like schools.<sup>375</sup>

Though, distribution of art would be impossible without public support. With the monopoly of defining the laws, states follow in the funding decision-making process rules of “defined good taste” – or in some states marketing values control the art world, so state has nothing to say in evaluation of the art. In addition to that, states control also copyright and tax laws that make artist financially able to work in the society and art world.

Most obvious role to artists, in art world, state has in arts councils that define artists’ reputations as distinction for funding decisions.

*“...reputations of individual artists so characteristic of lay and professional thinking.*

*...Art worlds routinely create and use reputations because they have an interest in individuals and what they have done and can do.”<sup>376</sup>*

The theory of reputation, according to Becker, is processing of following features:

- 1) *Specially gifted people*
- 2) *Create works of exceptional beauty and depth which*
- 3) *express profound human emotions and cultural values.*
- 4) *The work’s special qualities testify to the special qualities*
- 5) *Since the work reveals the maker’s essential qualities and worth all the works that person makes, but no others, should be included in the corpus on which his reputation is based.<sup>377</sup>*

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374 Becker 1984, p. 348

375 Becker 1984, p. 358

376 Becker 1984, p. 351

377 Becker 1984, p. 352-353



Having arisen (reputation), it can then be exported to and adopted by societies which formerly did not bother about such things.<sup>378</sup> To close the circle, art critic is the institution that spreads the reputation in media for different societies.

Reputation can therefore be seen as consensus in the art world<sup>379</sup>; criteria and aesthetians are in defining role to create the “establishment”<sup>380</sup>, fellow artists react by imitating, encouraging, rejecting etc.<sup>381</sup>, and audiences should eventually recognise the skills of an artist.<sup>382</sup> Complete information is regrettable possible only in theory, in practice most of the people have to follow the “strong voices” (“the professionals”).<sup>383</sup>

Different art forms are able to reach more limited or totally unlimited audiences; for example music is not bound in communication difficulties in the same extend that literature for language barriers; that creates different kinds of reputations for different kinds of arts.<sup>384</sup> Yet, fact that seems to define art the most is that if it is able to communicate with too many, it is “too common to be true art”.<sup>385</sup>

#### ***6.3.4. From Rituals to Lifestyle***

If imago is as big part of our lives, what are the marks of that in our physical life, behaviour, and signs in our societies?

Purchasing is only the first stage of taking the possession of an object. Consumption is sign of identity, and purchasing- decision and - operation is external part of that. Possession

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378 Becker 1984, p. 354

379 Becker 1984, p. 359

380 Becker 1984, p. 360

381 Becker 1984, p. 361

382 Becker 1984, p. 361

383 Becker 1984, p. 363

384 Becker 1984, p. 364

385 Becker 1984, p. 368

rituals are an attempt to transfer meaning from the individual's own world to the obtained good<sup>386</sup>. Rituals concerning consumption of culture are grooming rituals. Grooming rituals are one of the ways how one is preparing for example in concert. Clothing and all the other external construction considering classical music or other genres means representation of investment<sup>387</sup>. Into this same conclusion comes also Solomon<sup>388</sup>.

Individualism is a sign of distinction, and famous writers like Theodor Adorno from the Frankfurt school emphasize the culture as a sign of class. Adorno is attacking in many of his articles against popular music, mass culture, commercial values and youth cultures<sup>389</sup>. However, since recent decades, popular music, jazz and even traditional music are getting recognition in definitions of artists, i.e. art. There is a strong combining feature between life-style and culture consuming (as well as sports, and all the leisure industries); intellectuals tend to consume products connected in imago level with individualism where as petit-bourgeoise is more commercially oriented<sup>390</sup>. Also Belk sees consumerism as symbolical representation<sup>391</sup>.

According to Alan Tomlinson and Helen Walker increased leisure indicates the emphasis of leisure in the identity<sup>392</sup>. In the same lines is Liisa Uusitalo<sup>393</sup>. Since there seems to be tendency of individualism, it means also that culture, high arts, is supposed to get more sponsors. Popular music, sports, mainstream films etc. are products for big audience. Same indication is seen in art forms such as artistic film, or as phenomenon like the rise of Finnish film, and globally, Chinese film makers during the last few years.

### ***6.3.5. Imago and Reputation in Qualifying***

As I have earlier in this chapter mentioned, imago seems to harmonize with Becker's

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386 McCracken 1990, p. 85

387 McCracken 1990, p. 85-86

388 Solomon 1999, p. 500-508

389 Bourdieu 1984, p. 214, 386

390 Bourdieu 1984, p. 263

391 Miller 1996, p. 62

392 Tomlinson 1991, p. 221-239

393 Uusitalo 1998, p. 3-6, Uusitalo 2001

reputation. Knowing from experience, imago of an artist grows gradually, step by step, evaluation by evaluation ( as McCracken indicates) . As I was as a student at conservatory 1989-1995, I was labelled to be “representing this kind of musician type”, no matter what and how I played, that stereotype seemed to follow me through the system – it was both good and bad imago. I began to believe in that mental set up (so it was my identity), but after some years working life made me change my mind.

It was then when I first realized what the system was feeding and in what position it eventually put me. I was criticised using terms as mentioned in the chapter of education, but still got some feedback of the rare musical talents. I eventually shifted towards chamber music, and were more satisfied in those circles than in the soloist approach. As I know now, my professional road led to academic field, and in the “administration” (that Adorno is questioning). I believe, knowing many things from my own experience, I can do better analysis of issues like this research, and thereby be more critical in my future work.

Imago / reputation seems to be critical, crucial feature in the field of art, in the art world. As Tero-Pekka Henell, the intendant of the Lahti Sinfonia, commented already in 1992, when talking about getting soloists from abroad to play in the concerts of the orchestra he is administrating,

*“In this work one will learn very easily and quickly, what are the reliable agencies and whose marketing leaflets go straight to the rubbish bin.”<sup>394</sup>*

The ultimate question is of the name of the agency. It works as a symbol, image, reputation for reliability. The imago, reputation is based on the previous experiences of the professional features of a particular agency. If the one who makes the decisions or is in the selection process does not know some agency trying to get a contract, or should the agency has a bad reputation, the agreement cannot be signed. Also critic has his or her imago that is known, as Jay K. Hoffman, an American, highly-established publicist comments,

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394 Kuusisaari 1992, p. 24

*“ You should know the critics of the newspapers as well. You have to know who might be interested in a composer, to whom you should address a CD. “*

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The point of view of the agencies that sell the musicians is following:

*“One has to be exceptionally gifted. The talented one has to be distinct from others, somehow.... The contemporary reputation Finland has as a country appreciating music. ESA-Pekka Salonen and Jukka-Pekka Saraste have got an enormous impact on the issue- their reputation has caused an interest towards other Finnish conductors, as well. ” (CEO Tuula Sarotie, Fazer Konserttitoimisto) <sup>396</sup>*

*“It is completely useless to offer to the foreign music markets anything else than genuine quality, the highest one. One have to take care of the fact that one does not receive any negative feedback. Following these footsteps, the reputation and glory in abroad is growing, and the artists will be invited to work another time. “*

*“if one of my artists has established his or her reputation, and gained a certain position, I can relax, and “receive orders”. In the beginning, when the musician is still inexperienced in the field, I have to circulate in the field to praise my artists, convince the event organisers, have to be constantly active - that means to work 24/7. “*

*(CEO Pekka K. Pohjola, Allegro Artists Management Oy) <sup>397</sup>*

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395 Lempinen 1998, p. 30

396 Amberla 1992, p. 18

397 Amberla 1992, p. 19

## 6.4. CULTURE POLITICS

The core of the culture politics is to support the forms of processing art and institutions as distinctive part of its broad field. The focus here is to analyse the tools of evaluation, the artist definitions. Since the art is in metamorphosis with surrounding world, the strict limit between commercial and artistic is vacillating. In terms of supporting machinery, the definition of support eligible art is more process than a fixed structure.

### 6.4.1. *On the field of culture politics and policies*

What is culture politics? Adorno was concerned about arts' future. :

*"Whoever speaks of culture speaks of administrators as well... The combination of so many things lacking a common determinator - such as philosophy and religion, science and art, forms of conduct and mores - and finally the inclusion of the objective spirit of an age in the single word "culture" betrays from the outset the administrative view, the task of which, looking down from on high, is to assemble, distribute, evaluate and organise.... At the same time, however - according to German concepts - culture is opposed to administration. Culture would like to be higher and more pure, something untouchable which cannot be tailored according to any tactical or technical considerations. In educated language, this line of thought makes reference to the autonomy of culture. Popular opinion even takes pleasure in associating the concept of personality with it. Culture is viewed as the manifestation of pure humanity without regards for its functional relationship within society..."*<sup>398</sup>

He is very critical to administration's capability to preserve the "pure culture". According to him, administration do not necessarily understand the essence of art, and it therefore put values that try to appeal to too many people against "the true art". His major enemy is mass culture. Adorno is an aesthetian in its very deep sense; arts and society should not have any

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398 Adorno 1991, p. 93

bindings. Still, modern art world seems to have very strong reflections built in the concept of artist (later in this chapter). However, administration has come here to stay. Culture politics is one part that “machinery”.

Our (Western) society seems to live in the transition in terms of concept of art and culture politics.

*“This essentially in classic Enlightenment view of art in the face of capitalism’s unreason. That is, because art’s pleasures and functions are distorted and fragmented by the injuries of capitalist modernity – the split between arts specialisation and generalisable social interests – the predictatites available such pleasures as the “true”, the “rational”, the “real” and the “good” of art, are necessity refracted through that split.”*<sup>399</sup>

Bennett writes , that management of culture is in the key role in cultural politics and policies,

*“When we speak about the relations between cultural studies and policy, I shall argue, we are not discussing the relations between two separate realms (critique and the state), but, rather, the articulations between two branches of government, each of which is deeply involved in the management of culture”*<sup>400</sup>

State seems to, except create politics and policies for art and culture, also create the concept of culture and art. According to Baumol and many others in the field of cultural politics, culture is the ultimate and most lasting sign of national identities. Nevertheless the estimated increase in private funding, corporate sponsorship has been growing, society have to support culture because of identity reasons. That has been as a sign of artistic proof of quality in the competition of sponsors – for many fear of obeying market forces by commercializing arts. Truth is however not so simple; as earlier mentioned, certain label of distinguished imago and selectivity, “real artistic value“ is attractive for many sponsors.

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<sup>399</sup> Roberts 1990, p. 158 ; John Roberts is a freelancer writer and lecturer from Manchester, UK, who took part in an intellectual debate of 1990’s on cultural politics . His field of expertise is visual arts.

<sup>400</sup> Bennett 1889, p. 6

Both public support and private money seem also to exist in the future.

#### ***6.4.2. Fine Arts in Centre of Cultural Policy***

However, in the field of art (for the artists and arts institutions), culture politics is represented in very different way – its goal is to find and support excellency. At the same time this is the most relevant definition of culture politics for my work.

Central concept in this question is legitimate art <sup>401</sup>. Legitimate art is separated phenomena from mass culture, and is therefore important also as distinction factor in the social field (in terms of positions there.) There are many theorists writing on modernism, realism and postmodernism, and in spite of their different ideas they all agree on “art vs. commercial – unique vs. mass media product – available for selected ones vs. available for mass”.

It is the modern legacy, as Roberts writes:

*“... understanding of the modern today; for example, the relative autonomy of art, question of political and aesthetic resistance (in the field of manipulative mass culture), the exigencies of art’s social utility, and the future democratic integration of art into living social relations.”* <sup>402</sup>

This seems also to be the description of the role of the state in preserving the art, in that sense state is creating the concept of “fine arts” by supporting only the established ones.

*“The quality of work of art can also be interpreted by a particular agent such as the critic...He shoulders a great responsibility because, in the best of circumstances, he guarantees consumers that they will get a quality product or service, and producers that they will get customers.”* <sup>403</sup>

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401 See chapters of Bourdieu’s distinction theory and Education earlier in this thesis

402 Roberts 1990, p. 18

403 Greffe 2002, p. 47-48

The quality of art is defined by the same agent, critic, also to arts councils, boards etc. that are considering rules for sharing funding. Uncertainty is always a risk both for producers as well as for to decision-makers.<sup>404</sup>

#### **6.4.3. Frey – Pommerehne ‘s Definition of Artist**

This discussion can be seen as the background of all definitions of an artist. This is how artist was defined by Frey and Pommerehne in 1989:

“ *Who is an artist?*

1. *the amount of time spent on artistic work;*
2. *the amount of income derived from artistic activities;*
3. *the reputation as an artist among the general public;*
4. *the recognition among other artists (\*references in unions etc.)*
5. *the quality of the artistic work produced (which means that artistic “quality“ must be defined somehow);*
6. *membership in a professional artists’ group or association*
7. *professional qualifications (graduating in arts school)*
8. *the subjective self-evaluation of being an artist.”*<sup>405</sup>

Most central factors concerning my work are 3, 4 and 5. It is obvious that music or art criticism is a crucial factor for board for considering who has right have public support. Definition is telling also the fact that inner circles are present strongly in procedures<sup>406</sup>.

The well-established basis for the work of local culture boards is “arms-length principle“<sup>407</sup>. It means that professionalism and expert position are working in the best way if responsibility and right to decide about grants etc. is at the local level. That means at the same time information flow (as I described in the end of the chapter Education) in inner

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404 Greffe 2002, p. 73-82

405 Frey – Pommerehne 1989, p. 146 –147

406 Peacock 1993 and all the earlier mentioned references

407 Hill-O’Sullivan-O’Sullivan 1998, p. 12, Peacock – Rizzo 1994, p. 8



circle. In other words, messages from music education institutes is heard in boards as well as in the ears of a local music critic. This is based on the personal contacts that mentioned people have based on their own time of studies in some in (possibly even local) institute. Word is spreading quickly around the country, if there is a question of sensational talents, or on the other hand, failures in exams or concerts.

Part of professional imago and reputation of arts council in field in music is that it has to be up-dated in terms of media, including critics. That means that if there is a very colourfully expressed review, good or bad, it is recognized in the arts council – without that a person applying support is sending it attached in application form. Professionalism means also covering net of contacts in the field, social capital <sup>408</sup>.

#### ***6.4.4. Mitchell-Karttunen's Concept of Artist***

A slightly different approach in definition of artist from Mitchell and Karttunen<sup>409</sup> opens another interesting perspective. According to them there are both external and internal factors in definition of an artist. There are several kinds of definers, all interested mainly in either of those factors. Support structures and art, administrators, educators, reviews, media at large and intermediaries are interested in external factors of being an artist, such as in earlier definition by Frey – Pommerehne. Artist organizations are intermediate in the field, main source of information. There is also an important part for internal definition; if person him- or herself does not have artist identity, its definition made external factors false. Also the other way around; only inner criteria is not good enough to be an recognized artist. Giorgio Brosio is using also definition of external features when he is pointing out the interests of funding part in some artist <sup>410</sup>.

More product – oriented point of view is following:

*“An artist is a person who carries out artistic activities and produces works of art. This definition usually assumes serious artistic activity.... They are also expected to*

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408 See chapter Capitals earlier in this thesis

409 Mitchell-Karttunen 1991, p. 1-4

410 Brosio in Peacock-Rizzo 1994

*have an audience...and they are often expected to be, at least to a certain extent, commercially successful.* “<sup>411</sup>

Definition of the artist is then made by society at large (grants, censorship etc. ) Most interesting fact is that culture politics seems to support already successful artists; the more money there already exists in the possession of an artist, the bigger chance there is to get a grant<sup>412</sup>. That seems to indicate that there is a certain willingness to status quo –situation also in the arts councils and music boards. Chances for newcomer are not as strong as for already established artist. Imago of quality seems to be firmer in the case of established artist. That is the reason for the fact that the younger artist there is , the more vulnerable he or she is in critics, following the same; also young, starting, or not-so-established event is more vulnerable, same with new piece of art.

#### ***6.4.5. Towse and Irjala :Taking Informal Training into Account***

Although formal education is dominating procedure in this work, and this particular field, it is still not out of question, that at least in audience there are people who are not educated in musical sense, but have music lover attitude. They are a part of music funding, so here a short consideration of the subject.

Towse<sup>413</sup> is following in her report the same guide and other externally defined artists.lines; according to Throsby and Mills(1989) in their survey of Australian artists, which covered performing and creative artists and craftspeople started by compiling lists that included self-defined artists as well as members of trade unions and professional associations.

Star artists are drawn for audiences and demand focuses on them<sup>414</sup>. Very typical story is the phenomenal appearance of some young, unknown person (usually substituting somebody else in a very short notice) who is suddenly well-known and asked everywhere. Story is interesting for general media, especially magazines for women etc., and this kind

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411 Mitchell - Karttunen 1991, p. 8

412 Mitchell – Karttunen 1991, p. 10, among many others

413 Towse 1996, p. 6

414 Towse 1996, p. 11

of heroic story is just like older versions, famous from history. Appreciation of audience can be surprisingly massive, and there is a good possibility to get easier and faster in a position of an established artist in the eyes of boards.

*“There are a great many possibilities of capturing consumer’s surplus..... Based on the effect of newness and the social event surrounding it, ticket prices for the opening evening night can be raised. ...Finally, prices can be raised when the production managers and/or the actors/singers are particularly prominent. In all these cases, it is assumed that the spectators preferring better seats, first nights, and particular types of performances and artists have a particular high willingness to pay and do not react much to price increases . “ 415*

Towse (1996) is already including informal training in definitions of an artist <sup>416</sup> . However, formal training is not self-evidently expected in applications, but it is still as a big majority in field of grants <sup>417</sup>. Auli Irjala<sup>418</sup> follows the same guidelines, and is using the concept “gatekeepers of the culture“ in critics <sup>419</sup>.

#### **6.4.6. On popularity and quality**

According to Bourdieu, the distinction theory is causing an inflation effect for the artistic value of classical music. What used to be “high arts” in 50’s (for example Albinoni’s Adagio”), is in the top ten of classical lists, having dozens of popular variations on the air. Also new forms of art try to penetrate in the field of art and its funding possibilities. This causes reconsideration and constant reformulation of the concept of the art. Only “art” is valid to get public funding, but “art” is getting mixed with “commercial” on some entities.

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415 Frey – Pommerehne 1989, p. 36

416 Towse 1996, p. 27

417 Towse 1996, p. 35

418 Irjala, 1993

419 Irjala 1993, p. 27

## 6.5. CORPORATE SPONSORSHIP

### *6.5.1. On Corporate Sponsorship and Finnish Music Export process in this century*

Corporate sponsorship has been one of the mostly growing parts of the music funding, especially after the depression in 1990's. Public funding was cut down in many parts of society, and in the 2000 the big economical growth emphasize extensively the imago and the lifestyle features of the consuming of music. That means the growing importance of the contexts of reputation and imago.

Since a corporate sponsor is urging to create new markets, it is seeking for partnership in the art field, to extend the imago by joining it with a counterpart in the art world, thereby trying to effect on the desired customer segmentation in the audience. Already statistics show that an art consumer has higher income than average, higher educated, in better positions in their work life. This audience is looking for prestige, status, exclusive imago, and thereby art is outstanding partner to extend the imago value of similar product. Also niche marketing, (such as Nightwish, combining heavy and opera genres) is forming interesting markets for business world, since it is joining various audiences.

On the other hand, nowadays in the European Union, the income from the culture is already twice as high as in the car industry. Finnish culture is gaining reputation already in places such as Japan, Latin America, not to forget some older areas as well. Finland has started a big multi-ministry organized project of cultural exchange. Support is focused to the local level, through entrepreneur aid network. The state provides very practical funding help, in the hope that many artists would get their income from abroad, when Finnish markets are already full.

In this project the art and classical music are just another part of the cultural field. The imago, reputation is the defining factor throughout the field. The reputation is thereby helped to be form by governmental support. All comes together in the gate keeping concept, and a critic has an important role in the field also in this new order.

### 6.5.2. Corporate Sponsorship

According to Jorma Tiainen <sup>420</sup>, the first ever known patronate of the arts has been Maecenas in the empire of Rome, and maecanacy has been named after him. Funding of artists has been on the other hand charity, but as Bourdieu points out, the ultimate motivation has been possession on divine power, as we can read from definition of a piece of art as an fetish item <sup>421</sup>. The union of power, money and art has been inseparable ever since those days –ultimately for same reasons as in the days of Renaissance <sup>422</sup>, that the businesses as patrons of at least 19<sup>th</sup> century is a expression used by Bourdieu

*”One needs to consider, for example, the highly ambivalent relations between artists and the patrons of art. Who, at least in the nineteenth century, are often also patrons of business .”* <sup>423</sup>

Corporate sponsorship is estimated to gradually grow in the future. Big launching effect of growing amount of private sector as a supporter of arts has been “thatcherism“. Because of privatization of public sector when Margaret Thatcher was as PM of Great Britain, and since then has increased in Europe <sup>424</sup>.

*“In summer1988 the Arts Council of Great Britain, with the aid of funds specially earmarked by the Minister for the Arts, launched an Incentive Funding Scheme designed to encourage arts organisations to become more self-reliant by increasing earned and private sector income, and to develop management and business skills .”* <sup>425</sup>

Also Finnish culture politics considers that now cultural services are increasingly being developed with private funding <sup>426</sup> – the same progress is taking place everywhere in Europe – increasingly also in Eastern Europe, like for example funding of world-famous

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420 Tiainen 2000 , see also chapter of Bourdieu

421 See chapter of Bourdieu

422 Tiainen 200, see also chapter of Bourdieu

423 Bourdieu 1984, p. 316

424 Mitchell 1989, p. 33 -34

425 Mitchell 1989, p. 27, 66

426 [www.minedu.fi/minedu/culture](http://www.minedu.fi/minedu/culture) 9.12.2004

Mariinskij-theatre of St. Petersburg, Russia, indicates. In United States whole “fine arts” is living by different kind of charity and fund-raising. For example in eastern state of Florida, USA there are some very high-profile philanthropists who keep giving fortunes to venues or festivals.

ABSA (the Association for Business Sponsorship of the Arts) has worked since 1976 to deal between private sector and the arts, and exists everywhere else in Europe, except in Finland and Denmark <sup>427</sup>. Both charity and corporate sponsorship have been legal reasons for tax reductions in many countries – except for example Finland.

### ***6.5.3. Definition of Corporate Sponsorship***

According to Daniel Tuori, sponsorship means renting and utilizing the imago of an individual, group, event or other function for defined tasks of marketing communications <sup>428</sup>. Sponsorship is reciprocal trade agreement between a corporate business and an artist, group, event or such <sup>429</sup>. Money is not the only benefit of this agreement, also improving imago desires – mutually both parties <sup>430</sup>. As Sirpa Ahonen, Noël André and Sirpa Honkama say,

*“Sponsorship is a mutually acceptable commercial relationship between two or more parties in which one party (called sponsor) acting in the course of business, trade profession or calling, seeks to promote on exchange an image, product or service in association with an individual, event, happening, property of object (called the sponsee).”* <sup>431</sup>

There seems to be a big gap between corporate sponsorship and charity <sup>432</sup>, although both of these forms of supporting art are tax-free areas in many countries, as I earlier mentioned. Pure charity is more able to support newcomers or unexceptional art productions as corporate sponsorship, because it does not expect final response as return as

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427 ABSA 1997

428 Tuori 1995, p. 1

429 Lipponen 1999, p. 8

430 ABSA 1997

431 Ahonen- André- Honkama 1998, p. 50

432 Tuori 1995

a corporate sponsor<sup>433</sup>.

The imago or reputation is a picture created together by experiences, knowledge, attitudes, beliefs. Imago can be also group of associations or values<sup>434</sup>. The imago of an enterprise is an extremely important part of its total value in markets<sup>435</sup>. According to Bourdieu, the patrons (meaning the sponsors) seem to follow the external hierarchizations, in other words external legitimation the critic can be<sup>436</sup> Firm is in other words one imago that is trying to find anchors in other images to be able to get a loyal group of customers<sup>437</sup>. Kotler has defined six levels of meaning as a basis for differentiation and specialization. They are attributes, benefits, values of product, existing consuming culture, user as a part of social system and his or her personality<sup>438</sup>. Product is getting expansion in its value by sponsorship that is considered to be imago fusion of sponsorship parties<sup>439</sup>. Means- end chains, laddering technique<sup>440</sup> reveals how “brand“ of a person is built on values, knowledge, motives, beliefs and attitudes etc. – in other words brand means imago. This network is linked in consumption creating a silent language<sup>441</sup>. According to Hill, O’Sullivan and O’Sullivan, sponsorship is a relation strategy in form of gifts in kind that gives access to participant of community<sup>442</sup>.

*“Sponsorship proper occurs when a company provides funds to support a particular activity, and in return wants to gain a number of publicity benefits .”*<sup>443</sup>

Appearance in form of hospitality, logos etc. in relation with artist or event that wanted customer admires, creates a high value for sponsor in eyes of customers<sup>444</sup>. Corporate sponsor is looking for a set imago (good, label of quality)<sup>445</sup>, in other words, legitimate art.

433 Peacock - Rizzo 1994, 17 and 36

434 Ahola 1995, p. 8

435 Vuokko 1993, p. 60-63

436 Bourdieu 1996, p. 218

437 Lipponen 1994, p. 49 –53 and Peacock – Rizzo 1994, p. 38

438 Kotler 1997, p. 443 -455

439 Kotler 1997p. 430-435, Tuori 1995

440 Solomon 1999, p. 122, see also chapter of Consumer behaviour earlier in this thesis

441 See chapter of Imago earlier in this thesis

442 Hill – O’Sullivan – O’Sullivan 1998, p. 169

443 Hill – O’ Sullivan – O’ Sullivan 1998, p. 171

444 Hill – O’ Sullivan – O’ Sullivan 1998, p. 172

445 Tuori 1995, Keskitalo 2002, p. 10

Sponsored features should be defined good and suitable in the minds of targeted group of potential customers. It is long-lasting agreement (minimum three years), and because of that imago of an artist, group, event or such has to be stable.

*“Sponsoring organisations tend to judge the success of each new book or record on the basis of its performance in the marketplace during the first six weeks of its release. Movies require a far more substantial investment but follow a similar pattern .”* <sup>446</sup>

Sponsors are only dealing with a selection of rather few partners <sup>447</sup>. Ability identify imago in few faces is essential, the audience is able to remember only a few names and features is linked with the imago of a sponsor as well as in the number of “stars“, as

*“ The preferences of art consumers are such that they are unwilling to substitute a lesser talent for a greater talent. ...One reason for this preference may be that the consumers find it impossible to remember a large number of artists in any one fields, and instead concentrate on the few most famous ones. This unwillingness to substitute easily among talents leads to a relative rise in demand for and income of the superstars, going beyond what may be attributed to pure talent .”* <sup>448</sup>

In the eyes of consumer, the sponsor is seen in the third level of experience – extended experience, in the figure of Hill, O’Sullivan and O’Sullivan <sup>449</sup>(figure 4. That gives an idea how audience recognizes sponsors in an event, and reflects in the same time interest of an corporate sponsor to support music and the arts .

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446 Frith 1990, p. 131

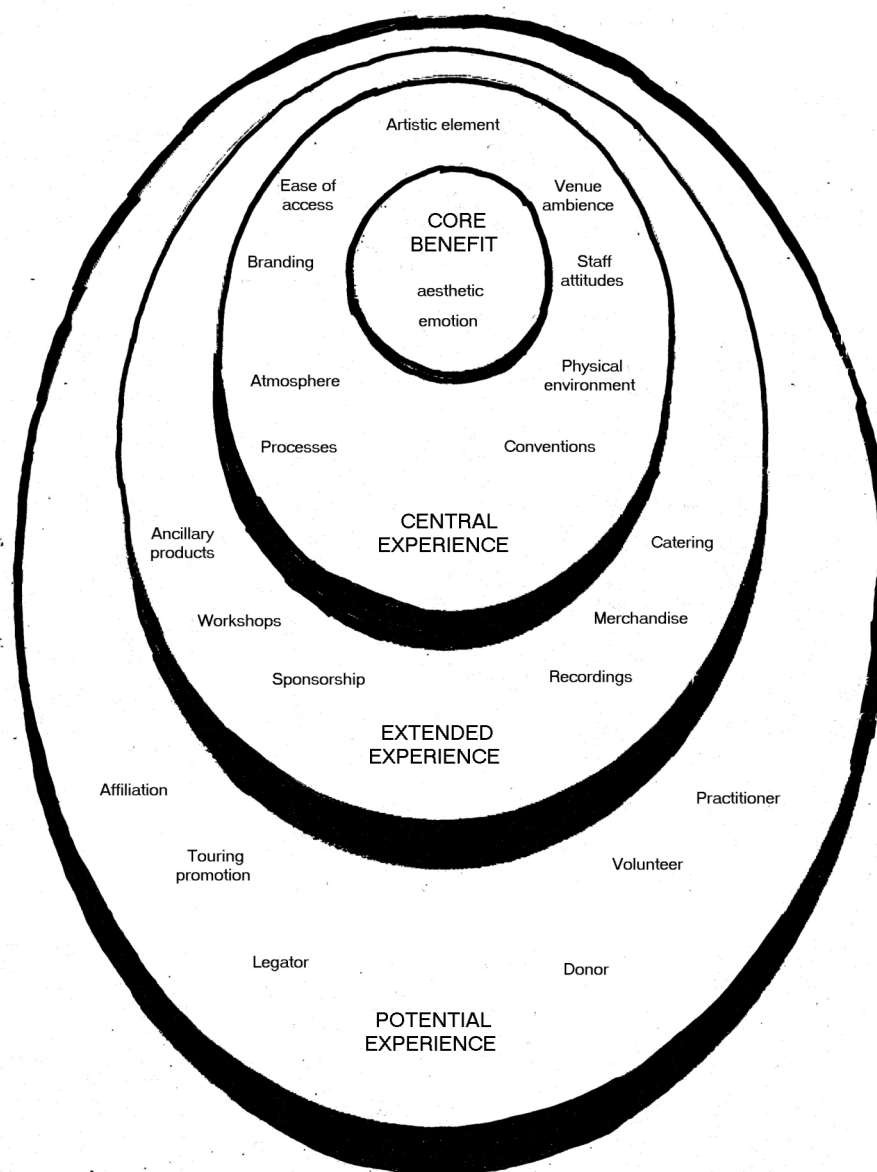
447 Keskitalo 2002, p. 10-11

448 Frey – Pommerehne 1989, p. 158

449 Hill – O’Sullivan – O’Sullivan 1995, p. 106



Figure 4



#### 6.5.4. Motives of Corporate Sponsorship

According to ideas of imago society and Bourdieu, art is considered to be individualistic form of experience, very distinctive and exclusive. As Hugoson and Uusitalo (also Warde) point out, we are moving towards imago society. Most successful target for sponsors, sports, is losing its importance for two reasons; imago of sports is more mass entertainment. Since the recent progress in values and attitudes, people are searching for something more individual. As a sign of that there have been new forms of sports, such as

snow boarding and curling, represented in the Winter Olympics of Salt Lake City 2002. That might be a sign that the field of sports is going to fragment as the field of rock, pop, jazz and classical music, increasing also in traditional music. Arts represent individualism in the field of leisure. Also the recent big doping scandals around sports have crushed the credibility of its imago.

As Campbell adds, to be seen in the desired event, means also form of modern hedonism – increasing self confidence <sup>450</sup>. The use of goods is the satisfaction of human wants, and is typically the outcome of consciously motivated behaviour <sup>451</sup>. The Maslow's hierarchy of needs creates increasing needs at higher levels <sup>452</sup>, and in the same time manipulation is seen everywhere <sup>453</sup>. Images, symbolic meaning, symbolic consuming, a manipulation of truth <sup>454</sup>, identify in peoples general desires <sup>455</sup>– another reference to a imago society.

*“ In “new mixed economy“ has expanded even into the sectors of the arts and culture. The development of this “mixed economy“ is probably best reflected in the area Rosenlund and Soland identified, that is the expansion and higher profile of the private sponsorship of the arts and other type of cultural activities...The art world and culture sector as whole, however, not only must search for the new sources of economic support in the new mixed economy but it is induced to do that by the new orientation of the corporate (business) sector towards the arts and culture. In the corporate sector sponsorship of the arts and culture provide business enterprises with a new potent means of efficient advertising and image building and increasingly lucrative investment targeting. On the other hand the new expanding middle classes in the Western European post-industrial societies provide the arts and culture both with new audiences and clientele with purchasing power. Even the professional identity of artists and culture workers is chancing: many artists have started to regard themselves much more as entrepreneurs*

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450 Campbell 1987 p. 78

451 Campbell 1987 p. 38

452 Campbell 1987 p. 44 – 45, 59

453 Campbell 1987, p. 46

454 Campbell 1987, p. 48

455 Campbell 1987, p. 50

*and businessmen than as traditional independent artists .”*<sup>456</sup>

### **6.5.5. Problems in Communication**

Since it has been mentioned, the common and unifying feature in a specific field is language. On the other hand, it is isolating fields from each other<sup>457</sup>. People who have been in touch with music education, such as musicians, critics, culture board members, is a big part of audience, and has their own specified rhetoric and intonation (way)<sup>458</sup>. Although the decision for corporate sponsorship with arts might come from high level managers<sup>459</sup>, who might be amateurs in the field of arts (for represent their symbolical power), the actual work is done by marketing department of a firm<sup>460</sup>.

They are part of a different field, economical one. Rhetoric and intonation of the field of economics is very different from the field of the arts. One can not expect that the self-monitoring qualities should be very high in that case in the funding part side. They (sponsors) can not be aware of different kind of unwritten information that is included in received messages in artistic field. I mean by this, cases like if part of the audience, usually intelligence, knows critic by reputation and is doing its own judgement, also in the experiences and knowledge about critic as a personality. Good example of this is Seppo Heikinheimo, very contradictory critic personality in the field of Finnish music. People knew his reputation and acted sometimes in a totally opposite way as he suggested.

In other words – sponsors are almost fully dependent on the legitimation, label and the imago given by critics and via critics, culture politics. Since the corporate sponsorship is growing, even the single critic can have devastated consequences for the chances of an artist, event or such to get funding.

*“ One can perhaps accept that aesthetic judgements about the quality of artistic productions are best made by those who command the respect of*

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456 Mitchell 1989, p. 12

457 See chapter of Bourdieu earlier in this thesis

458 See chapter of Bourdieu earlier in this thesis

459 Tuori 1995

460 Hill – O’Sullivan – O’Sullivan 1998, p. 171

*their fellow professional artists, although, as an economist, one is bound to point out that even these informed judgements are matters of disagreement amongst those who claim to know what is “good art.”* <sup>461</sup>

## **6.6. CRITIC; THE VOICE OF THE FIELD**

A critic is a professional, a specialist, and a product of the same institution as those he is criticizing. The role of the critic is, to be that strong voice, a signal provider, that audience is listening in some extent. Thereby his position is firstly, imago definer, but secondly also through his own imago, hierarchically defined, reputation based. A critic's tool is language, so professional language is his appearance in the journalistic context. When language is considered, there is also an assumption of a discourse, and especially the power of the critic.

### ***6.6.1. The universal discourse of the critic***

The discourse as the concept means in this work a social language, that is attached in institution. It is inseparable from the concept of power, because it can be considered to be a tool in the symbolic battle. The discourse is on the other hand a description of the critic in the professional contexts, on the other hand the definition of the context is reproducing the context of a critic <sup>462</sup>.

The framework of the work of critic is the discourse of critic's professional side, his or her positions in different contexts. All of those are connected to music criticism. Since France and more specific, in history, French noblesse is regarded to be one of the role models of many other countries <sup>463</sup>, in this work the general discourse of the music criticism is constructed around the position of the French criticism.

Winton Dean in *The New Grove* defines a critic

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461 Peacock 1993, p. 40

462 Hurri 1993, p. 225

463 Hofstede 2001, p. 332

*“...as one who pronounces judgement...a consurer, fault-finder, caviller, ... one skilful in judging of the qualities and merits of literary and artistic works.”* <sup>464</sup>

However, as the following part shows, the universal quality of the critic is questionable, since the strong national characteristics of the context. A narrow, but illuminating discussion of the difference between French, so called pure Bourdieuan critic, and a Finnish criticism shows. Since the critics professional platform is journalism, also general features of that field in both countries will be discussed.

### **6.6.2. Historical aspects on music criticism**

Dean continues that the first reference to the institution of music criticism has been already in Ancient Greek myth, story of Marsyas that described the competition between the flute of Cybele and the lyre of Apollo. Criticism of music has been in the hands of either active amateurs interested in music, literature, aesthetics or social science, or musicians. First regular appearance of early music criticism was in the late 17<sup>th</sup> century, in the France of Louis XIV, great arts lover, when music was criticized by approaches through ethics in literature .

Although the 18<sup>th</sup> century is regarded as the great age of criticism, strong impact of aesthetic evaluation and analogies between music and speech in the spirit of Plato, Aristotle and the renaissance “humours”, the real music criticism was to come about hundred years later. In these critics the assumption of strong existence of literature turned music to another form of it. Later limitations of purely aesthetic approach was noticed and expressiveness became the critical idea of music criticism.

The modern music criticism arose partly from an urge to demolish the extravagance of Baroque art and society, turning to middle class rationalism, it underlined critical theories in artistic development during 18<sup>th</sup> century, especially in the counties where music-making

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464 Dean 1980, p. 36

was not dominated by courts and ecclesiastical establishments. The decay of patronage opened the way to journalism. Closing years of the 18<sup>th</sup> century were times of growing music criticism, especially in Germany. One of the earliest critics in journalism were Addison's reflections on Italian opera *The Spectator* in 1711. Influenced by these articles, the music theorist from Hamburg, Johann Matheson, has claimed to be the first modern music critic.

In the dawn of Romanticism, in early 19<sup>th</sup> century, the tone of a music critics as pedagogical instructor lowered, instead he considered listener as a colleague. Reactions against rationality of Enlightenment went in extremes, music critics were considering their task as "new religion", seeing links between politics and sociology. In the same conclusion have become also Simon Frith

*"Enter the critic. In high culture history, when at the beginning of the nineteenth century good music became autonomous, something conceived for its own sake, irrespective of audience response, the critic became necessary as an expert, as someone who could explain the music to the public, teach it how to listen ."* <sup>465</sup>

In year 1848 Napoléon Bonaparte, then the long period on desolation that was the second empire, bound political and social world together with the cult of "art for art's sake". The bourgeoisie art and arts for art's sake were flourishing side by side. The "former martyrs of art", "true artists", turned to the guardians of the artistic orthodoxy, in other words to people who defend art. Therefore, in France, the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century was times of the autonomous field of literacy and art. All those who wanted to assert themselves as fully fredged members of the art world, and mostly them who claimed to keep the dominant position, needed to manifest their independence. That respecting the external powers of politics or economics, though. If the power was recognized by specific institutions, their power was understood, respected, the value therefore rewarded, and in time and eventually those qualities imposed themselves as the practical features of

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465 Frith 1996, p. 64

legitimate conduct <sup>466</sup>.

Music criticism appeared in the use of daily press for concert notices and articles. This practice has begun by J. K.F. Relstab of Berlin Vossische Zeitung in the earliest years of century, in England and France later. These were the days of composer-critics. The middle of the century brought resistance against extravagancy expressions and returned music critics in the map of properly defined sphere of technique and aesthetics.

The early 20<sup>th</sup> century has been the times of the popular press that has had “a megaphone – effect” in the field. Music critics turned out to join as the part of music industries, as managers and impresarios were looking towards press for advertisement purposes and occasionally for something more. In those days arose argument about criticism that could even depreciate the market value of the peace of art. Hitler and Stalin have judged music in terms of their political reasons, and later “good music” has been seen at occasions such as official celebrations in honour of big political leaders, such as the president of USA <sup>467</sup>.

Institution on music critics in other genres originates form classical music critic institution

<sup>468</sup>.

### ***6.6.3. The Discourse of the critic according to Bourdieu***

This work is following the footsteps of Bourdieu. He has been very productive writer of the researches on the field of arts, and his work has been very established also in the further research of the art and music. Because Bourdieu is French, and is writing from French perspective, I will call in the further text the critic type that could be found from Bourdieu’s writings, a French critic discourse. At the same time one can call this discourse as the “generally known one”, because the principles of the distinction theory and other Bourdieu’s works are extensively used in the research of the art and music , especially in the sociology of the art and music France is also on of the old countries of Europe and its history has been reflecting in many other European countries, also the USA. Therefore

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466 Bourdieu 1996, p. 61

467 Dean 1980, p. 36-41

468 Frith 1996, p. 64

Bourdieu's model cannot be adapted exactly 1:1

At the same time it is very important to understand, that cultural and national features do change both critic institution, and audiences. This is only because of the complex connection this kind of historical field, and its institutions have in the society. In historical, cultural, national feature there is thereby an element that should remind of the adaptation level of any theory such as Bourdieu's. Bourdieu is primary source, since he really has an outstanding understanding of the artfield. Yet, he lived and analyzed French culture life. In the following, I try to illuminate this dilemma. Following writing is not anyhow a complete picture of this issue, more some illuminating points.

Without France's ruling political and mentally ruling cultural position in the Europe, and the power of the petit-bourgeoise, the art and music field would look very different now. As the history of the critic institution indicates, the "birth" of the criticism is synchronized with the power of the petit- bourgeoise. Without possibility for social distinction, the need for the public legitimator would not exist- and the power shift towards the ruling petit-bourgeoise, but still existing nobility and intellectuals are enabling the institution of the criticism.

#### ***6.6.4. On Aesthetic expertise as the part of the discourse of the critic***

The aesthetic knowledge can be called as the aesthetic disposition that are projected and reproduced in history . The aesthetic disposition is consisted of categories, concepts and taxonomies <sup>469</sup>. As discussed earlier in the beginning of this thesis, there are two parts in the entire law or rule concept- this would imply that there is the deterministic and the reflective side in the reading and understanding of the art or music. Thereby the aesthetic knowledge is the deterministic side of the law concept.

For Bourdieu, the aesthetic knowledge is the following:

469 Bourdieu 1996, p. 299



*“The conscious or unconscious implementation of explicit or implicit schemes of perception and appreciation which constitutes pictorial or musical culture is the hidden condition for recognizing the style characteristics.”*<sup>470</sup>

On the competency in the aesthetic matters, Bourdieu is listing the following discourses:

*We may include critics, art historians, publishers, gallery directors, dealers, museum curators, patrons, collectors, members of instances of consecration like academies, sales, juries etc. and the whole ensemble of political and administrative authorities competent in matters of art.”*<sup>471</sup>

This would imply that competency in matters of art means the knowledge of the aesthetic rules, and links to the deterministic concept of the law, also in the highly cultivated concept of the reflective law. At the same time, Bourdieu is defining the “broad concept” of the critics- all these named partners are, except parts in cultural production, also each as such a critic. In the more limited meaning the critic is the first profession on the list. These can be seen thereby as the institutions that create the legitimate production each of their own sector, and their taste is the disposition of their competence, The members , the institutions on the list can be called as the experts<sup>472</sup>. These consumers are close to the center of the avant-garde, and as the best-informed consumers they will experience the weariness that leads to the banalization and debanalization of the product, meaning the values the artistic produce was once able to exercise<sup>473</sup>, and the distinction is in ongoing process.

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470 Bourdieu 2002, p. 151

471 Bourdieu 1996, p. 229

472 Bourdieu 1996, p. 293

473 Bourdieu 1996, p. 253

### 6.6.5. *On the traditions*

The traditional peace of art is, according to Bourdieu, a shared doxa. The doxa forms the basis of the experience, because it is defining the “acceptable starting level”. It is the conceptual framework for the artistic representation, more generally, the world <sup>474</sup>. The doxas are binding different groups together, and the doxas are very distinctive in France because of the distinctive field of music and art.

The music education and its philosophy behind the curriculum is a doxa of the music and its essence <sup>475</sup>. The shared doxa can as well be the conventional fact <sup>476</sup>. The idea of the doxa is based on the “social assumption”, and its underlying the naive experience of the world and time, as Bourdieu is phrasing <sup>477</sup>.

There are pre - assumptions of for example about how the sonata of Mozart should sound like. These assumptions are generally accepted in the field of the music. They are the reference facts where the critic is comparing the performance to. The good musicians should have the tacit knowledge about “fitting stylistic features”, the part of expression that cannot be taught <sup>478</sup>. Presumably the aesthetic assumption, the doxa, is representing in this case the deterministic side of the perception and judgement, and the tacit knowledge the reflective side of the understanding in the judgement of the exams in the music schools. On the other hand, an unexperienced student should not brake the doxa too early, it would not be acceptable because of the short knowledge and experiences in the field <sup>479</sup>.

The similar framework and distinction one can see also in the professional music critic. The “different”, exclusive, sensational and unforgettable musicians have all broke the concept of doxa, some more some less. As an example of these musicians, I would like to

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474 Bourdieu 1996, p. 327

475 Mantere 1996

476 Lagerspetz 1989

477 Bourdieu 325

478 Mantere 1996

479 Mantere 1996

mention for example pianist Olli Mustonen in Finland and pianist Glenn Gould from Canada, among many others. Both of these pianists have performed in France, and got praising critic based on the “fresh approach and amazing technical skills”.

#### **6.6.6. The founders of the “pure art”**

The autonomy of the art is a connection to the “pure” art, and the intelligence are the ones whose responsibility is to increase the autonomy of the art by political effectiveness, as Bourdieu quotes,

*“ Far from there existing, as it is customarily believed, and antimony between the search for autonomy (which characterizes the art, science or literature we call “pure”) and the search for political efficiency, it is by increasing their autonomy (and thereby, among other things, their freedom to criticize the prevailing powers) that intellectuals can increase the effectiveness of a political action whose ends and means have their origin in the specific logic of the fields of cultural production. “ 480*

One and significant part of the intellectuals is critic, because his or her power is most public and thereby strongly legitimating. Other parts of intelligence are working in the field in positions that have to consider critic as an adequate reference for their further definitions of eligibility of a piece or art or music.

The critic is the creator and the discoverer of the creator<sup>481</sup>. This could be seen in the sense that a critic as such is considered to be art as such. In France, as well as in Finland, the critics are listed in the artist classifications in the arts councils’ reports. The critic as an artistic disposition is eligible to compete from the grants for artistic works, just as for example composition of music, among various other forms of art. On the other hand, a

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480 Bourdieu 1996, p. 340

481 Bourdieu 1996, p. 167-168

critic is also the one who makes the stars be born, and the selected artists to gain positive publicity. After other media has seen the critic of the most important media depending on the genre of music, others start to rise the musician or composer in publicity. “The dream of the critic” is to be the first one noticing the new, outstanding talent, and thereby be the “main responsible” or at least one of them, what comes to the progression of the career of that particular young artist.

#### ***6.6.7. Finally on the national discourses of the critic***

Some paragraphs seem only to refer in ideas. This is because all of those ideas are already discussed in the general part of the critic’s discourse earlier, and rewriting was thereby unnecessary. This is implying that the general concept of the critic is almost parallel to the concept of the French critic. The special features of the French critic are representing the general features of a critic in an old country. The establishment of the administration and independence of the old country, according to Hofstede <sup>482</sup>, is generated before the World War I. Therefore France can be classified as an old country, with old cultural features -such as class distinction.

Finland is a young republic, and although there is less class distinction than in France, in many ways very different country, history and culture. Still, classical music is considered to be “ a luxury item” <sup>483</sup>, and the tradition of the classical music is tied to the Central European tradition. Also, careers of many musicians are international.

Therefore I base the chapter of the critic on Bourdieu’s works.

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482 Hofstede 2001, p. 172  
483Puohiniemi 1995

## IMPLICATIONS OF THE THEORITICAL ANALYSIS

As analysis of the work the centre is in how the funding of the music is defined by critics. The description of this specific field is in the beginning of this analysis. Then follows a discussion of the fraction of the universal critic institution in national and cultural contexts. The essence of “the reputation” in the art field is included, also the reputation as the self image to an artist, inner circle effects, critic as the taste maker, criticism as an institution (not a personal statement) , and possibility of standardization of the criticism to avoid some further moral problems, and finally, further research guidelines.

### *7.1. On the funding of the music*

The main parts in the funding of the music are:

- education
- consumer behaviour
- imago
- culture politics
- corporate sponsorship and
- a critic

Bourdieu’s distinction theory (1984), Becker’s Institutionalizing theory (1984) and Mauss’ gift theory (1990), are creating an entire framework for the analysis- they form the field of the funding of the music, its dynamics, and thereby bind the parts of the field together. Education is an important starting point. For example Sanna Karttunen (1992), Kirsti Tulamo (1993), Leena Hyvönen (1995), Helmi Järviluoma (1997), Anne Seppänen (2000), Sara Sintonen (2001), and Erja Kosonen (2001) have been researching themes related to my work, emphasis educational perspective. They seem to indicate that the socialisation process starts already in the early stages of the education process. Education is considered to be the music school system in this thesis, but non-educational music is represented as well. It gives competence for critics, members of the board of Arts Councils etc. and is legitimised by the fact that it exists also for creating an audience for art. Also,

performing musicians, composers, and through the choice of artistic line (performers), artistic directors of a certain event have their background in music schools or non-formally educational systems. The main source for my work has been Kurkela's (1998) and A. E. Kemp's (1996) dialog about the set goals and their threats in the music education system. Kurkela is pointing out the same weakness in judgement of exams in music schools that I have noticed in contemporary music criticism.

Consumers are a source of income for art institutions and artists. As on many occasions it has been mentioned, they are assumed to attend an art event better if they are educated – both in a general and artistic sense. Bourdieu is giving us many concepts that also help us understand the motives of consumers. Briefly, consumers are creating an identity for themselves, imago for others by consuming established products as “good” art, The higher level of education, the higher income the person has, and as a consequence of that, the more distinctive imago he or she wants to create. Some consumers might know the critic (person) by reputation, and in that case the critic's own imago is crucial in the evaluation of his (her) competence. The most central idea of this part of my thesis is Puohiniemi's (1995) self-monitoring consumers, as well as Kotler's (1997) and Solomon's (1999) opinion-leaders, reference groups and decision-making processes. Hill-O'Sullivan-O'Sullivan (1998) are making an important point of art consumption by explaining the structure or arts audience.

Imago is selection of qualities, identity. It works in three levels;

1. “Label” given by critics or cultural boards for an artist, piece of music (art) or event
2. Symbolic capital for consumers
3. As an extension partner for corporate sponsor's imago.

The imago represents also musician in this system. Since imago is the “other side of the coin” for identity, musician's artistic value can be indicated as “imago” in this model. Important researchers in terms of my model have been McCracken (1990) and Badrillard (1988) by explaining how imago is born, and by Becker (1984) concept of reputation.

Bourdieu is working with this concept when he explains mechanisms of distinction theory – it is the attraction for intelligence and *petit-bourgeoise* in terms of consuming art.

Culture politics define what is an artist, based on the critic among other external and internal criteria. It is a main source of funding in countries like Finland, and despite an increasing amount of corporate sponsorship, it is legitimated in order to preserve “excellency” in arts’ field as well as national culture that is connected with national identity. In other words, it is also legitimating art by supporting financially selected groups of artists. The essential definition of an artist is given by Frey-Pommerehne (1989), but Mitchell-Karttunen (1991) are opening the crucial concept of external and internal qualities of an artist.

The sponsor is a financial supporter who is expecting financial capital as a result of co-operation, *imago-extension* with an artist or an event. The main goal for corporate sponsor is to get itself known among wanted, targeted audience. A combination of high education and high incomes, as well as the label of individualism, are highly attractive properties, and found from a classical music concert audience. The sponsor is mostly working with already established *imagos* of artists or events, and is getting information about legitimate art from critics and cultural policies’ experts – the other big source income for arts. Bourdieu (1984) has seen the rising corporate sponsorship in funding of music and arts, as well as Mitchell (1988). Tuori’s (1995) perspective in the organisation of sponsoring (firm) gives me the explanation for the communication gap between the fields of music (art) and economics.

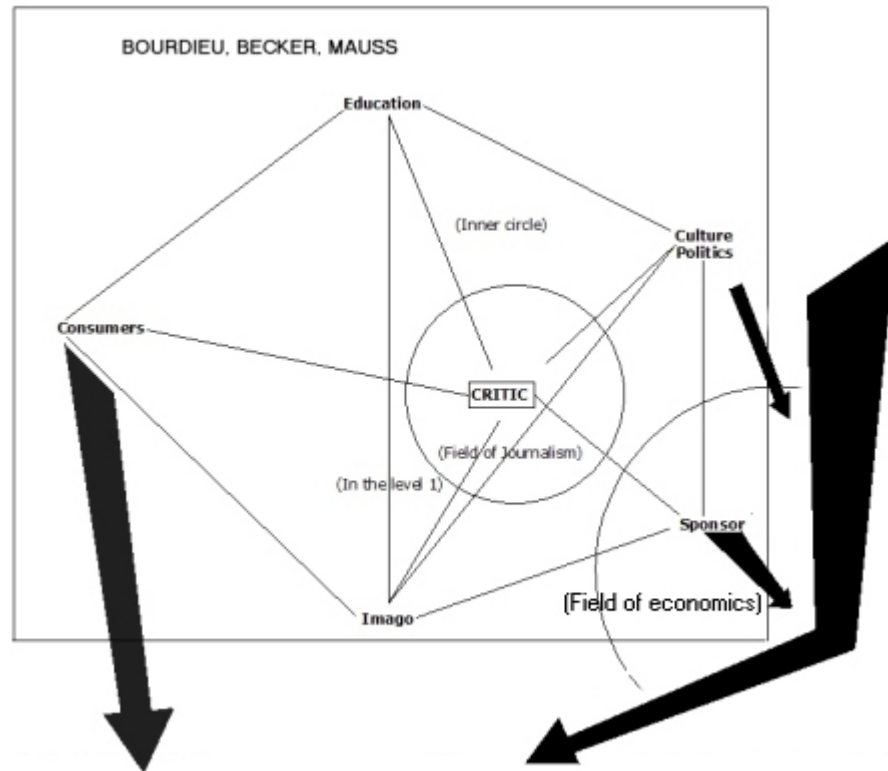
The critic is the central figure of the whole model. It is an institution that gets its legitimated position from education, culture politics and audience, because it has the power to legitimate art. It is giving also an *imago* for artist, event or piece of music, and is strongly effecting through that firstly on audience, and secondly, via that, on corporate sponsorship. Most important sources are a historical perspective on critics (Dean 1980), not to forget the concepts (of Bourdieu) of deterministic and reflective laws, represented by Hugoson (2000).

Another part, which does not have its own subtitle, is the inner circle. It is a very important factor in this mechanism, because it represents personal contacts that have been born during the time of education. Circles of professional musicians are very small. This means constant information flow between professional parts of the system. The inner circle has a common language, shared meaning in verbal expressions of language. The only part from outside, looking at this field, is corporate sponsorship. That makes the importance of rhetorical expression extremely crucial feature in the selection of partner in order to get sponsorship established between a corporation and an artist. Communication gap in terms of perception of messages (like response in art critic in arts' field) in different fields can cause unexpected consequences in funding negotiations.

As one can see in the figure, the critic is controlling, directly or indirectly, the parts of the field that provide the funding of the music and musicians. Thereby the ethics, in terms of inner circle power abusing, has to be emphasized in the additional training or additional courses of the critic's associations.



*7.2. Model of mechanics in the field of funding of music*



***SOURCE OF MONEY; FUNDING***

As one can see, relations between parts of model are somewhat, more or less clearly, seen. Although elements seem to be very different from each other, have they anyway capacity to fulfil each other in explaining the funding of music. Education is the beginning – musicians, critics and members of boards have got their legitimate position by having strong professional position in the field. That is the reason also for the unlimited flow of inner circle information. Audience is consisting from two parts. One of the justifications of music education system has been audience education. One has to keep in mind also the fact that parts of professionals are always in audience. That is forming opinion-leader system, and an excellent basis for word-of-mouth information. Audience is trying to get more symbolical power by consuming legitimate (publicly approved) art, and is forming by that its own imago. On the other hand, musician, group, composition or event is getting in the same time verbal, public label of qualification – in other words imago. Culture politics is in the position to do final decision about quality of art or artist by letting critic effect on funding. Tendency seems to be that more respected and recognized artist will have more financial support than yet unestablished, fresh artist. Corporate sponsor is eager to get the attention of audience – desired goal for its own marketing processes – and is thereby attracted by the imago of an artist (etc.) – the motivation of audience. Whole explanation is following the footsteps of distinction theory. There is a clear vision about how the mechanics of funding (both public support and corporate sponsorship, on the other hand ticket sales) are strongly effected by critic.

When looking specifically at Nattiez's model, the fundamental dependency between interpretation of music and its funding from each other. As Nattiez is writing, the last interpretation of piece of art or music is forming through critics. One can clearly see how artistic judgement and financing decisions of the field of music – in all parts of decision making mechanics – are dependent from each other. There is no good reason to see these areas as separate issues. Therefore the critic has also a double role- as the quality definer, thereby also as the reference for the funding decisions.

My conclusion is that no idea is able to grow into a production or stay in repertoire without

funding.

### **7.3. Other results**

Because of the ultimately important role of the imago or reputation maker as a part of the critic's discourse, even one single critics, or lack of that, can be crucial in the case of:

- a) there is a question of an young, fresh musician / group,
- b) there is a question of some unknown or experimental piece of music and/or
- c) there is a question of a rather not established, new event (, or long distance for main part of audience, as it is in the case of Savonlinna Opera Festivals / audience mainly from capital area, and other factors as such .)

More established musicians, pieces of music and events are more resistant in the effects of bad reviews and the ignorance of presence of critics. However, the young artists can be effected by the first professional critic that will define their future. That usually takes place only in the one national context, so the nationally distinctive critic discourse might have some effect.

Thirdly, even though funding of music is relying in the hands of professionals such as arts councils and cultural boards, there is a straight indication in the definition of an artist that critic is effecting on external criteria of an artist. Definition that comes as a verbally formulation of a critic, is effecting on musician's identity – picture of oneself, in other words in the internal criteria of an artist. The same dicotomy is seen in the combination of my model and Nattiez's theory<sup>484</sup>. That is the explanation for the expression “double role” in the core concept in one of researches, here represented as an abstract in the appendix. Tendency that already well-established artists will get more public support, is obvious.

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484 See chapter Preface earlier in this thesis

Fourthly, inner circle is very powerful factor behind critic. It can make promising talents to rise in an amazing speed straight to the top, but on the other hand, can pull down somebody. All the significance depends on social relations based on the studying times, and also on social relations; positive or negative competition between individuals that have crucial position in institutions. A critic seems to keep one of the key roles in the inner circle field. Music institutions should pay attention in this side of education. When social capital is significant, it should be also somehow noticed in the education on instrument teachers and other kinds of music professionals. (There has been recently a tendency to favour more extrovert candidates in admission tests of music institutes; this as a notion from field.) Eventually the combination of habitus and hexis together, education and appearance, will decide the final positions in the field of music. As far as one can say based on experiences from the field, this system has worked always in the “inner circle of music / science” .

Music education institutes should improve the rights of students in cases of exams. The contemporary situation in getting a second opinion is unbearable. An extensive amount of extra work prevents students to use that right. I suggest that music education institutes should establish a system of filing or copying the exams by using the technical abilities of their studios etc. In the case of a suspicion that the judgement should not been fair (negative inner circle effects), there could be second round of judgement, in the hands of some other institution or different members of board. The procedure already exists for example at the universities, and the fact of the real actions in re-evaluation is not as significant that the only the existence of this particular procedure. It would prevent negative inner circle effect.

There are some evidence that a critic has even accepted a bribe, although the limits of the bribes are considerably low in Finnish society. According to Kimanen, some musicians in Russia is still amused of how easily they were evaluated by Finnish critics. One of the critics of Helsingin Sanomat, Vesa Sirén wrote in his column about the questionable, praising critic that was made about Lahti Symphony Orchestra and their concerts entitled to be the “Sibelius-series” in 1998. That is, because some Finnish part has paid for the

transportation, and thereby, according to Sirén, confirmed the positive evaluation <sup>485</sup>. Although Helsingin Sanomat tries to clear the name of the Finnish criticism in the same column (“we do not accept paid trips”), on the other hand critics do accept tickets to their companions (“avec”), expect the best seats, dinners, specially organized artist interviews, and occasionally even accommodation. Therefore the concept of incorruptible critic even in countries, such as Finland”, is somewhat wavering.

Fifthly, the critic possesses the taste maker, and therefore the strong label-maker role; by defining reputations, imagoes needed for gaining establishment in the professional musician field. As the significant discourse carrier, the critic represents one of the cores of the field of music or art. At the same time, the critic is attached to another field- the journalism. Since 1960’s, critics have took more the role of the journalist than a colleague musician, as the critic profession before that tended to be. The discourse of the critic is effected by the progress of the journalistic field.

Sixthly, music critics, a critic is an institution, not a person. In other words, it can not express personal opinions, but official statements. In many occasions, the critics admit their existence as institutions, for instance Hannu-Ilari Lapila, the head critic of Helsingin Sanomat <sup>486</sup>. On the other hand, in the Finnish Opera Seminar 2001, the same critic was defending himself by “the freedom of speech” and right to say out loud his personal opinion. These roles are contradictory. However, the public position is referring more towards institution, although the personal taste is one of the strongest features in the critic-writing and evaluating. There is again some distinction between particular critics- and should they write in authoritative approach, or more form the point of view of for instance the education and alternative defining models.

Seventhly, in the same article as in the beginning of this thesis, contemporary composers are discussing about critics. They (Kalevi Aho, Tapio Tuomela, Lasse Jalava and Harri Wessman) are speaking about education and “tastemaking”, marketing effects, critics – culture politics – connection, lack of competence of a critic, consequences of absence of a critic and eventually also critic as a “painful”, but fair, professional judgement that has

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485 Kimanen 1998, p. 51

486 Kuusisaari 1992, p.12-14

improved their level of quality <sup>487</sup>. There seems to be a strong sense in standardizing criteria; the beginning of ideal critic has born for example in the minds of these composer / critics. Idea could be processed further, towards recommendations on procedures of judgement, inner criteria for qualification of a person; i. e. reflective laws that create some sense in the quite random, unorganized situation in the field <sup>488</sup>. The constant fragmentation of the field of art sets also demands on competence in judging especially in the crucial critic positions.

The Finnish critic's union, SARV (Suomen Arvostelijoiden Liitto) has said in some researches, as a comment of its membership, that the further education of some kind, undefined in the reports, though, should be organized by their union. This education should not unify the basis of the critic's work, but still create at some level some background for their work <sup>489</sup>. My suggestion for one project in that field is, to get together to discuss about ethical problems of the inner circles, the strong but at the same time contradictory discourse of an critic, and the relations to the external and internal interest groups – such as the field of economics, the field of journalism.

Although especially Finnish art critics (music critics among those) claim that the music field (meaning the audience and professional subjects) do not seem to appreciate their work <sup>490</sup>, this work is revealing something contradictory. However, the position of dominant media, such as Helsingin Sanomat is extensively higher compared to for example provincial media in Finland. Still, the provincial events will not be covered in any other media except in their provincial newspapers, and thereby also provincial projects can also be acknowledged in for example European funding applying projects.

For closure in implications, Bourdieu has described to have been in the school of integrating art with the society <sup>491</sup>, and the critic's discourse, the journalistic field's impact on it, the field of the funding of the music, seems to sprout in the society and its deterministic and reflective laws.

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487 Pietilä 2002, p. 36 -37

488 Gino Stefani in Kangas-Kangas 1992

489 For example Rensujeff 2003

490 Jokinen 1988, p. 31 and 37

491 Mitchell-Karttunen 1991, p. 2

#### ***7.4. Further Research***

The further research can take place in several areas;

Firstly, to make a comparative analysis of some other countries and the critic discourse, the journalistic field, and or for example the arts or music educational field. Secondly, to develop further the open questions this work has left, such as the empirical effects of criticism, and find some more distinctive background assumptions. Thirdly, the field of the funding of the music , as one of the sub-questions of the critic's discourse, can be empirically researched. Fourthly, the further research could continue as a career analysis of (an) artist(s), considering the national differences in critics' discourses. I will continue my doctoral thesis in one of the listed areas.

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