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MUSIKKENS FÆLLESSKABER / MUSIC AND COMMUNITY

Editorial introduction	3
<i>Lars Brinck</i>	
Collective Creative Matters	
Jazz band participation as learning	7
<i>Dan Hvidtfeldt, Lene Tanggaard</i>	
Identity in creative communities	30
<i>Henrik Marstal</i>	
Alene sammen, sammen alene	
Medialiseret morgensang i coronakrisens første tid	44
<i>Hugo Jensen, Lars Ole Bonde</i>	
Hjerterum og plads til hvem du er	
Gruppemusikterapi for yngre mennesker med demens	68
<i>Maria Westvall</i>	
Participatory Music-making in Diasporic Contexts	
Bridging the Past, Present, and Future in Cultural Production	97
<i>Mikkel Snorre Wilms Boysen</i>	
The Rise of The RIA Collective	
A case study of after-school clubs' attempts to foster creative and inclusive music communities among young people	109
<i>Frederik Kjær Zeuthen</i>	
Musical microimprovisation	
Investigating pedagogues' spontaneous use of music in everyday situations as a driving force of community building in kindergarten	136
<i>Thomas Thorsen</i>	
Når musikalske fællesskaber sætter spor i den pædagogiske hverdag i dagtilbud	150
<i>Any Mathilde Poulsen</i>	
Kønsdiversitet og fællesskaber for handling	
Et aktuelt billede af debatten om og arbejdet for en mere lige kønsrepræsentation i dansk musik med HUN SOLO som case	165



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Editorial introduction

The nine articles that are part of this special issue of *Music and Community* are the result of two years of work that have included research activities, developmental music projects, knowledge festivals, presentations, roundtable discussions, and the invention of an entirely new festival, *GRASP*. It all began with the launching of Music City Roskilde and the formation of a network of research, art, and music institutions in and around the city of Roskilde, Denmark. This network consists of Roskilde University, Roskilde Festival, University College Absalon, Rock Museum Ragnarock, The Museum of Contemporary Art, Rhythmic Music Conservatory, and the Music Library in Roskilde.

In 2019, the network made arrangements with Danish Musicology Online (DMO) and we sent out invitations to researchers in Danish and international networks, asking them to contribute to a special issue of DMO about Music and Community (in Danish, "Musikkens Fællesskaber"). We were interested in the following questions:

- How can music nurture and promote communities?
- How do communities emerge around music?
- What links exist between community and music (psychologically, pedagogically, historically, culturally, politically...)?

In the call, we emphasized that the special issue was cross-disciplinary. Accordingly, the contributions could be grounded in multiple scholarly areas and disciplines, such as musicology, popular music studies, pedagogy, psychology, sociology, neurology, and history, among others. Furthermore, the special issue could accommodate both empirical and theoretical studies. Overall, we were interested in contributions that represented diverse understandings of the concept of musical communities from national, regional, and international perspectives. For instance:

- Music as a community-building force in pedagogy
- Communal singing
- The social experience of music
- Communities in rehearsal spaces and music societies
- The role of music in everyday social communities
- Exclusion and inclusion processes in music communities
- Collaborative creative processes
- The role of music in the political agendas of youth
- The interplay between technology and musical communities

The result of the call and subsequent review process are these nine articles, which will be presented in the following pages. Among these nine articles, eight are peer-reviewed research articles that include both empirical and theoretical studies of music and community. The last article is not a peer-reviewed research article, but rather a journalistic and personal account of contemporary attempts to strengthen music communities among women in the music business.

Overall, the nine articles encompass a number of topics that seem to be of predominant interest across different scholarly areas and disciplines. Thus, specific topics/perspectives are applied, discussed, and investigated to different degrees in most of the contributions. Firstly, *creativity* is addressed and investigated in various ways, especially with reference to collaborative creativity, participatory creativity, group flow, and theoretical perspectives on socio-materiality (e.g., articles 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, and 8). Secondly, *community building* through music is discussed with references to intersubjectivity, shared memories, participation, inclusion/exclusion, and descent/dissent/affinity, among other factors (e.g., articles 4, 5, 6, and 9). Thirdly, *identity* is addressed with reference to cultural production, performance, cultural heritage, communities of practice, and the emergence of collective experiences (e.g., articles 2, 4, 5, and 9). Fourthly, *music pedagogical* questions are discussed in different contexts and among different age groups, including children in kindergarten, young people in after-school clubs, adults in higher education, and younger persons with dementia (e.g., articles 1, 6, 7, and 8). Fifthly, *communal singing* is addressed in relation to various domains, such as festivals, kindergartens, television broadcasts, and music therapy (e.g., articles 2, 3, 4, 7, and 8). Finally, media and digital technology are discussed in relation to creativity, communication, participation, and community building (e.g., articles 1 and 3).

The nine articles have been placed in a specific order that indicates a certain affinity between them in terms of their objectives and content. Thus, although the nine articles incorporate the aforementioned topics to varying degrees, they are paired according to their main research focuses.

In the first two articles, collaborative creativity is investigated and discussed as a socio-material phenomenon in relation to different forms of music communities and ensembles. In the article *Collective Creative Matters*, Lars Brinck studies a modern jazz trio and how they record their concerts to constantly improve and develop their performance and the musical artifacts. Through ethnographic fieldwork, and with inspiration from situated learning theory (Etienne Wenger and Jean Lave), he demonstrates how the creative process is entangled with digital tools, surroundings, and audiences, among other factors. In the article, Brinck attempts to further develop the concepts of *(ex)changing knowledgeabilities*, *aboutness*, and *designating access* to capture the essence of participation, knowledge construction, and creativity.

Socio-materiality is also the focus of Dan Hvidtfeldt and Lene Tanggaards' study. In the article *Identity in creative communities*, they argue that creativity in the context of a concert is not defined and owned exclusively by the performers. Rather, creativity is something that emerges as a result of interactions between audiences and performers. In this respect, they introduce *identity* as an important aspect in the emer-

gence of a concert. Based on the work of Even Ruud, they show how different forms of relationships between identity and music can influence an audience's concert experience. Furthermore, they demonstrate how collectively formed experiences can emerge through identity-related and socio-material entanglements. The study is partly based on observations performed by Hvidtfeldt at Roskilde Festival.

In articles three and four, communal singing is studied in different contexts. Henrik Marstal investigates mediated communal singing as it appeared in Danish Television during the COVID-19 pandemic (2020–2021). In the article *Alene sammen, sammen alene: Medialiseret morgensang i coronakrisens første tid*, he compares the sudden popularity of communal singing with other national cases (e.g., communal singing in Denmark during the Second World War) and analyses the phenomenon through different theoretical concepts and optics, such as *inclusion/exclusion*, *representation*, *nostalgia*, *togetherness/aloneness*, and *profane creativity*. Marstal concludes that communal singing, as it emerged in its mediated form during the pandemic, enabled new forms of participation. Still, valuable aspects of analog communal singing (e.g., relationship building and personal commitment) were possibly lost.

Communal singing is one of several musical activities presented in the article written by Hugo Jensen and Lars Ole Bonde. In a pilot study of group music therapy, the authors investigate the effects of musicking among younger persons with dementia. Through observations and interviews, they demonstrate how listening to music, singing, improvisation, dance and songwriting can promote experiences of shared perception, symbolization and mentalization, while enabling the participants to express themselves. Thus, the authors conclude that musicking in sessions of group music therapy can help participants experience a sense of coherence, meaning and belonging.

In articles five and six, music is discussed as a vital aspect of community building. Based on the ethnographic study *Music, identity, and multiculturalism: A study of the role of music in ethnic-based associations*, Maria Westvall discusses different aspects of community building and points to participatory music-making and performances as significant features of the activities of the studied Swedish ethnic-based associations. In this regard, she investigates how individual collective and cultural identities can be confirmed, as well as developed and changed, through participatory music practices. In this study, she applies theoretical and analytical lenses such as *descent*, *dissent*, and *affinity* (Kay Kaufman Shelemay), *musicking* (Christopher Small), and *global citizenship* (James Tully).

Participatory music-making is also the focus of the article *The Rise of The RIA Collective*. From a pedagogical perspective, Mikkel Snorre Wilms Boysen investigates how the after-school clubs in Roskilde have managed to build creative music environments among young people. In the article, he compares the case study from Roskilde to historical pedagogical cases, artistic movements, as well as research within the field of community music and music pedagogics. He concludes that high professional standards, collaborative creativity, and explicit inclusive social norms seem to work productively in terms of promoting music communities in the pedagogical borderland between formal institutions and young people's private lives.

In articles seven and eight, music and community are investigated in kindergartens from a pedagogical perspective. In the article, *Musical microimprovisation: Investigating pedagogues' spontaneous use of music in everyday situations as a driving force of community building in kindergarten*, Fredrik Zeuthen attempts to develop a new concept that embraces and describes pedagogues' use of musical improvisation outside of formalized music settings. Based on observations of musical improvisations in everyday situations in kindergarten, he describes how this type of musical communication can work productively in terms of community building and communication between pedagogues and children. In his discussions, he refers to Steven Mitchen, Daniel Stern, and Johan Huizinga, among others.

In line with Zeuthen, the focus of Thomas Thorsen's study is music in kindergartens. In the article *Når musikalske fællesskaber sætter spor i den pædagogiske hverdag i dagtilbud*, Thorsen investigates how music activities can create a sense of community and promote a feeling of instant cohesion among children and pedagogues. The study is based on empirical material produced during the research project *Legkunst*, which is a Danish national program that combines play and art in kindergartens. In his analysis, Thorsen applies different theoretical lenses and perspectives, such as group flow (Keith Sawyer) and strategies of musical participation among children (Sven-Erik Holgersen).

The last article in the special issue is about women in the Danish and international music business and how communities of female musicians can promote women's empowerment and reinforce gender equality. In the article, Anya Mathilde Poulsen delivers a unique insight into contemporary history, which is portrayed through a journalistic and personal lens. Based on her many years as a DR journalist, author, and co-founder of HUN SOLO, Poulsen illustrates how women have struggled to be accepted as artists. Notably, she points to present initiatives in which women have joined forces to become stronger. In the article, Poulsen refers to different contemporary trends and movements such as do it yourself (DIY), do it together (DIT), and the me-too movement.

On behalf of the Roskilde-based research network and the editorial staff of DMO, I would like to thank the contributing authors. We all hope that readers across various disciplines will find the contributions interesting and useful.

Sincerely,

Mikkel Snorre Wilms Boysen (guest editor).

LARS BRINCK

Collective Creative Matters

Jazz band participation as learning

Introduction

For decades, living in Western post-industrial society has demanded that human beings develop high degrees of adaptability and creative skills. This is due to at least three salient factors: 1) replicable work routines are increasingly being supported and overtaken by programmable machinery, leaving performing and developing unpredictable and complex tasks to humans; 2) cooperative demands appear to be increasingly important; 3) the way we choose (or not) to apply digital and other technologies continues to play a more prominent role in human work processes.

Therefore, being both adaptable and skilled at working together is no longer sufficient to engage in and contribute to society's sustainable development and lifelong satisfactory, qualitative engagement as a citizen (UFM 2017; OECD 2008). Future Western society will require a workforce with a high degree of creative, courageous, and critical thinking and problem-solving (WEF 2016) that is highly skilled in empathetically developing new methods, models, standards, and practices in close cooperation with others, while simultaneously *critically engaging with* technological artifacts (Hansen 2017).

But how do we acquire and learn such cooperative, creative, and critical skills? How do we learn from each other when aiming to generate profoundly new ideas? How do our technological options play a part? In other words: How can we look at creative, collective work processes as processes of *learning*?

To investigate such questions, the present research takes a situated learning analytical perspective on two exemplary, highly cooperative, and highly creative practices, namely two jazz ensembles—a trio and a quintet. As this review will demonstrate, many scholars have investigated artists and their creative practices, often contributing interesting insights into other fields of practice and research. However, the novelty of this project's approach is its specific focus on the collective, improvisational practices of the jazz realm, where collectivity is a specific precondition for cooperative idea generation and production. And then carefully analyzing how musicians' ongoing changing participation in such practices can be perceived as learning. Furthermore, the study examines how musicians' changing participation and the changing music are continuously related.

State-of-the-art

Research on artists' creative practices and cultures has been a quite substantial field of study for many years, with many important contributions, especially from the fields of musicology, anthropology, psychology, and education.

From musicology, many scholars have contributed, especially on jazz cultures and musicians, musical and cultural characteristics, ways of living and working, etc. (Michaelsen 2013; Hargreaves 2012; Green 2002; 2008; Berliner 1994; Keil and Feld 1994; 2005; Keil 1995; Danielsen 2006; Turino 2009). These studies often include an interest in communication and relations between musicians or between musicians and their societal realities. Notably, a specific interest in personal development (i.e. learning) is rare. However, reading this literature from a (in my case: situated) learning perspective reveals bundles of interesting observations and reflections that point to how art practice is learned and developed.

From the field of anthropology, numerous scholars have taken a similar interest in artists lives and work routines, often unfolding a closer understanding of the processes of creating new material and how such processes must be understood as being closely related to societal, economic, and social matters (Schloss 2004; Folkestad 2006; Söderman 2001; 2007; Regis 1999; de Bruin 2016).

Also from psychology, a range of scholars has investigated the phenomena of creativity, improvisation, and idea generation (Tanggaard 2014; 2010; Chemi et al. 2015; Sawyer 2017; 2011; 2006; Simonton 2010; Langer 2005; Nielsen and Hartmann 2005). Specifically concerning musicians, a series of similar studies look into individual jazz musicians' idea development (Hargreaves 2012), inspiratory sources, and their impact on musical decisions (Michaelsen 2013). Also, a body of works apply discourse analytical perspectives on individual hip hop musicians' work strategies. Only a few psychology studies—and then mainly within design theory (Dorst et al. 2001)—have investigated the cooperative aspects of on-going creative endeavors.

Finally, within the educational realm, a body of scholars has been delving into how creativity should be taught in schools and workplaces (Sawyer 2017; Starko 2017; Tanggaard 2010; Kupferberg 2009; Green 2002; 2008; Westerlund 2006; Siedenburg and Nolte 2015).

In summary, the majority of research on how artists enact their profession and learn new skills appears to unfold the *phenomenon* of artistic creativity and how successful *individuals* explain their creative processes. Generally, research has developed important insights into the creative mindset, how inspiration may work, how new ideas may occur, and how cooperative exchange and experience can be a crucial resource for progress. In other words, empirical analyses of how outstanding *individual* artists, craftsmen, and business leaders *think* about their practice. Moreover, educational creativity research seems to be primarily occupied with reaching out for rather conventional "schoolish" conclusions regarding their didactic implications for teaching creative skills by setting off from cognitive and individual understandings of human activity.

We seem to lack research scrutinizing not only what artists learn from engaging in their creative and improvisational *cooperative* practices, but also research that offers analytical insights from a situated perspective, taking the many (historically constructed and constantly changing) relationships among humans and between humans and artifacts seriously. One might say that there is a lack of research that bridges anthropology's insightful unfolding of contextual, societal factors of importance with a learning perspective on what is actually going on, when bands work together. And hopefully, the situatedness of collective creative activity will find new ways into our educational institutions. Looking at collective band processes as learning, fully implicates the unfolding of the nuances of collaborative creative processes as messy, unpredictable, and diverse learning processes. Notably, there is a lack of scholarly knowledge about creative practices' dialectic, contextual, and cooperative processual nuances and potentials. Brinck and Tanggaard (2016) and Brinck (2014; 2017; 2018; In print) appear to be among the few such scholarly efforts. Norgaard (2011) agreed, on the need for more research on collective creativity, stating that "Further research should explore the effects of (...) interactivity on improvisational behavior and thinking" (123), while Sawyer (2017) argued for increased scientific scrutiny regarding the socio-cultural aspects of collective creative practices, such as the relations between "open-endedness and structure" in creative work processes to increase our scientific knowledge on how we "learn (...) in ways that prepare [us] to build [on existing knowledge] and create new knowledge—the key to a creative society in an age of innovation" (111).

A situated learning analytical perspective

To develop new insights into how participation in cooperative creative practices can be perceived as processes of learning and change, I have chosen situated learning theory as my analytical approach. Situated learning theory was developed by Lave and Wenger (1991) and has been furthered by Lave (1997; 2011; 2019) and a range of other scholars, including myself. In both Brinck (2014) Brinck and Tanggaard (2016) and Lave (2019), the authors—from their own perspectives—discussed how situated learning theory, and especially the concept of "communities of practice" over the years has been applied in ways, not entirely in line with its analytical intentions. Some research and most prominently literature within management and education has missed the theory's analytical potential and instead applied the concept as a de- or prescriptive emblem for people working together. Therefore, the theoretical foundation of situated learning in social practice theory has been elaborated since the theory's first appearance (Lave and Wenger 1991) to clarify not only the theory's analytical intentions but also fundamental ideas about the dialectics of changing relations and the inseparability of theory and/in practice and of knowing and/in doing.

Situated learning theory's explicit offset in social practice theory, with its social ontological and practice epistemological foundation, provides the analytical framework

with a set of preconditions that have proven helpful for unfolding situated learning theory's analytical potential. And more importantly, helps avoiding the pitfalls of phenomenological, descriptive, or prescriptive accounts of how such practices unfold or should ideally advance. In fact, a social practice theoretical take on situated learning theory (Lave 2011; 2019) offers a convincing theoretical and analytic perspective on human beings' ongoing relational practices and how different ways of participation contain aspects of conflicts, concurrences, changes, opportunities, and approaches. This enables a nuanced analytical glance in detecting the intricate dialectic aspects of changing participation as learning embedded in practice. In other words, situated learning theory offers a saturated web of analytic concepts to help explain the character and importance of changing relations among humans and between humans and artifacts, and how these changing relations constitute moments of learning.

The analytical concepts of situated learning theory included in this study are founded on the theory's main analytical perspective of learning as "changing participation in changing practice." This perspective encapsulates how we, as humans—through (often intricate) changes in our ways of engaging in practice—not only change our participation (and learn) but also change the course of practice (including other participants' changing participation and learning) in the process. Practice changes as participants and their participation change in dialectical and inseparably embedded ways and manners. The theory's mid-level analytical concepts—selected for this study—are introduced as part of the empirical analyses to follow.

Empirical methodology

My empirical work took an anthropological approach (Hastrup 2010), not as a metric and linearly describable method, but as an "*overarching qualitative method*" (58, italics in original) [or rather methodology, ed.], seeing every human being as a "total person" (ibid.). This empirical approach suggests an anthropological take to fully grasp the nuances of change and difference in the scrutinized practices (Cerwonka and Malkki 2007).

Through ongoing ethnographic accounts, "thick descriptions" (Geertz 1973) of practice were required to fully grasp and communicate the nuances of cultural meanings and connotations of the artistic practice at hand. As Gupta and Ferguson (1997) articulate, "ethnography's strength has always been its explicit and well-developed sense of location" (35), while Nielsen (2010) noted how "social and cultural phenomena (...) are always engulfed in larger historical contexts and their processual relations" (35).

To produce empirical material for analysis, I engaged in a series of participant observation sessions (Atkinson and Hammersley 1994; Hastrup 2010) of two different jazz ensembles' cooperative work. Field observations and participatory engagement supplemented by focused, semi-structured interviews (Hastrup 2010; Brinkmann and Kvale 2014) were documented by audio, video, diary notes, and elaborate ethnographic accounts (Lave 2011) for subsequent analyses and discussions.

I observed and interviewed two jazz ensembles during the course of the study: A “free jazz” trio and a more “conventional” jazz quintet. I observed the trio’s concerts over a period of 3 months in 2019–2020, attending four 2-hour concerts in Berlin, Copenhagen (2), and Skive (western Denmark). This was supplemented by a 3-hour collective interview with the three trio-members in early 2021. Moreover, I observed the quintet at a 3-hour rehearsal, followed by interviewing the band leader.

Through my empirical fieldwork and ongoing analyses, I aimed to “assert the inseparability of situated practices and their associated meanings” (...) and to “attend explicitly to ongoing *processes* of constitution” (Hart 2002, 296, italics in original) while attempting not to limit myself by prejudice or social, spatial or individual entities and matters.

Researcher position

My lifelong engagement in playing jazz served a salient role in maintaining such empirical, analytical approach. My personal experience as a jazz (and rock) musician impacted my preconditions for understanding and selecting interesting observations for the analyses. Artistically, I am an experienced rock and jazz musician in contact with and with knowledge about many different jazz ensembles. As such, I “*know* the language” (Hastrup 2010, 65, italics in orig., author’s transl.).

Hence, my research experience in general has developed into having quite a composite nature, enforcing the dialectics of research, artistry, pedagogy, and so on. My career as a musician, composer, music educator, research manager, and scholar has inspired me to engage in empirical research unfolding such dialectic relations in non-hierarchical perspectives, discussing relations between amateurs and professional, institutions and artists’ everyday lives in their bands or on the streets of New Orleans. And situated learning theory has been an apt approach for investigating these interests (Brinck 2014; 2016; 2017; 2018).

Observing and analyzing human behavior is always a matter of serious ethical concern. Anonymity was ensured for all participants and their informed consent was also obtained. Also, research outcomes hold an inherent risk of appearing omnipresent, whereas they merely represent strong, empirically supported examples of the kinds of practices under investigation. Thus, my analyses and conclusions are not presentations—but *representations* (Polkinghorne 1997; 2007) in the glance of the researcher—of the observed practices, the participating musicians and the music being played.

Two jazz ensembles working

The two ensembles—a trio and a quintet—had very different approaches to developing their music together. The trio only played free impro-concerts and never rehearsed, while the quintet played specific compositions and rehearsed before playing a concert.

The trio

The trio consists of pianist Joachim, drummer Andrea, and alto saxophonist Zana.¹ The artistic realm of their common interest may be coined “experimental, atonal, free jazz.” The performances hold no composed themes and no agreed musical forms. The music is invented and created on the spot. The members do not even agree on who initiates the single concert pieces, how they will advance, or how and when they will conclude. To radicalize this artistic approach, the trio works with performances *only*. Thus, they have no rehearsals, no predetermined compositions, and no agreed-upon arrangements or progress. The artistic aim of total spontaneity and on-the-spot inspiration, interaction, and response was the trio’s pivotal mutual artistic emblem. All concerts were recorded and subsequently analysed for potential publication. As analyses demonstrate, the concert recordings were also utilized for personal musical development and collective debates on musical quality, mutual artistic intentions, etc.

Consequently, the venues for concerts were of utmost significance. During my observation period, the four venues for the trio’s concerts were very different, yet also similar. They differed in terms of room size, ambiance (wall, floor, and ceiling surfaces), and the size of the “stage.” Each time, the trio preferred to be placed on the floor with the audience. The venues’ similarities included the presence of chairs (and even tables in some places) for the audience and also the number of people in the audience (approx. between 25 and 50). Two of the venues were former church rooms, which were high-ceilinged and spacious with a stage-like setting (at floor level) on one end, chairs with small café tables just in front of the empty floor, and seat rows loosely placed facing the stage floor. At the back of the room opposite the stage were counters and tables with coffee and wine for purchase. Both these venues also offered a balcony at the rear of the room. The other two venues were more mundane, multi-purpose rooms with chairs and tables that were arranged for the events. All four venues included a grand piano.

The quintet

The other jazz ensemble is a quintet (Jason on double bass, Jack on drums, Milton on saxophone, Eric on piano, and Uriah on electric guitar) formed around one of the musicians (the band leader) and (mainly) his compositions. The quintet’s repertoire being based on compositions results in a somewhat more “conventional” approach to jazz. Notably, the performance is founded in specific grooves or rhythmic significances, a melodic theme, a series of chords, and a preliminary outline of a form/arrangement, including options for soloing on top of a set chord structure.

As a consequence of the repertoire being based on compositions, the members meet for rehearsals before engaging in a scheduled performance. They use sheet music and sound files to communicate the themes, chords, and structures of each composition.

1 Musician and band names were anonymized. Instrument identification is kept public to provide for a somewhat authentic musical reference throughout the descriptions and analyses.

The musicians are all excellent sight readers and mastered the skills of “translating” annotated melodies and chords into coherent musical entities in collaboration with the rest of the band. Although the material is rehearsed before the concerts, the idea behind this approach is to be partly prepared and agree on some points while partly keeping the spontaneity of improvised music intact. Surprises *will* appear and unexpected improvisation *will* occur at their concerts, which is also an important part of playing jazz in this more “conventional” quintet.

Analyzing jazz ensemble participation as learning

Three analytical perspectives hoisted from situated learning analysis and my previous research enhance the analytical perspective on the musicians’ changing participation in changing practice as learning, including how participation is related to different uses of technological artifacts.

In a recent research project closely connected to the present study and reported in Brinck (In print), I analyse two rock bands writing songs together from a situated learning theoretical viewpoint and how—in a dialectical relation with iteratively changing music—such collective work processes constitute learning. Analytical findings suggest that rock musicians “designate their access” to diverse forms of participation through their collaborative work processes, “explore and (ex)change knowledgeabilities” in generous and often boundary-crossing ways, and “attend to the aboutness” of the collective task before them. Findings also suggest that when producing final (often recorded) songs, rock bands apply high degrees of ongoing documentation of partial products and sketches through the use of technology (laptops, etc.). The three aforementioned analytical concepts have proven helpful in understanding how rock musicians learn new skills and methods to produce new music through their engagement in the collective songwriting processes. Moreover, the analytical concepts have also demonstrated how changing music and musicians’ changing participation in changing practices (analysed as learning) are dialectically related.

In the analyses for the present study, I found it productive to examine the two jazz ensembles’ practices from the same three analytical perspectives.² My argument is that rock bands develop, record, and produce songs and arrangements for publication through extensive processes of refinement, correction, substitution, deletion, etc. toward a final, publishable artwork, while jazz bands work quite differently by allowing the spontaneity of the musical moment to play a significant role. Jazz is signified by high degrees of unpredictability, lack of control, and even a lack of option for correction, which fortifies the need for often long-term, collective processes of unplanned musical interaction.

2 As I argue in my funding application, analyzing rock musicians’ collective song development through the extensive use of editing right up to final publication is interesting to compare to analyses of jazz musicians working with only spontaneous, collective art production.

In other words, the research on jazz ensemble practices reported here furthers the three analytical findings from rock band research by adding perspectives of radical, spontaneous, and collective creative practices *without* the option of detailed editing and revision.

I now turn to the empirical analysis based on the three selected perspectives:

1. Designating access

How do musicians learn to establish the most adequate ways of engaging in collective work processes? The situated learning analytical perspective of “access” supports us in detecting (not only) “the epistemological role of artifacts in the context of the social organization of knowledge” (Lave and Wenger 1991, 102), but also how access to participation in practice can be enabled or obstructed. In Brinck (In print), I propose the conceptual analytical pair of “designating access” to further emblemize a perspective on how participants, as active agents, seem to purposely engage differently in these collective, creative practices to participate adequately in “spur-of-the-moment” meaningful ways and manners. I also demonstrate how the rock musicians change their participation (learn) in the process.

In the two jazz ensembles, designating one’s access to the most relevant ways of participation seems to appear on different levels: 1) on a micro-level by negotiating the on-site arrangement of instruments and recording technology; 2) on an intermediate level based on how recordings are integrated as developmental tools in different ways; 3) on a macro-level, where arguments for choosing to be a member of a trio/quintet in the first place may surface.

Arranging of instruments and technology

In the trio as well as in the quintet, carefully setting up instruments and recording devices may appear colloquial and mundane. However, this is not the case since the physical setup of such equipment is of the utmost importance for the musicians to be able to participate relevantly in the music-making.

I arrive at the trio’s venue at the same time as drummer Andrea. The other two band members have not yet arrived. I assist Andrea in carrying his drums inside and leave him to unpack and position the drums.

Saxophonist Zana arrives shortly after, approaches us, says hello, but quite soon leaves us and strolls around the concert room, seeming like he is inhaling the atmosphere, getting acquainted with the acoustics of today’s room.

During the time of arrival and setting up the instruments, I experience a very delicate, almost solemn atmosphere among the musicians. The musicians either talk in a very soft and gentle tone or not at all. Where do you want the grand piano to be in relation to your chair? It seems as if the soon-to-come concert has already started. Sensibility, concentration, nuanced communication.

(Author’s fieldnotes)

The trio's setup is very simple and (as I discover during the subsequent rehearsal and concert observations) standardized: Pianist Joachim sits to the left of the stage with his grand piano at a 45-degree angle. Joachim is facing the other ensemble members, turning his right side and part of his back to the audience. The grand piano has the lid in a fully open position, reflecting the piano sound toward the other musicians and the audience.³ Drummer Andrea places his drum set on the opposite side of the stage, almost facing the audience stage at a 45-degree angle with the grand piano to his right. In the center of the stage, between the grand piano and the drum set, alto saxophonist Zana places his chair right next to the wide-open grand piano lid.

The trio's work form involves recording all live concerts for potential publication. Four microphones are placed at strategically adequate positions: 1) two microphones recording the piano (for stereo); 2) an overhead microphone hovering over the drum set; 3) an integrated stereo microphone at the center of the stage (at the position of the audience in the front row)

Since the trio works solely with acoustic, un-amplified instruments, this aesthetic position holds some imminent acoustic consequences regarding the balance of volume between the instruments to—first of all—ensure a nice experience for the audience. Andrea stated:

"We first and foremost create a good sound for those who sit here, and *then* we can start thinking about where the microphones should stand (...) It's not a studio session with an audience. It's a concert being recorded. In that order, right?"⁴

After setting up the instruments, the musicians sometimes started playing either by themselves or together to refine their "place" and experience with the room; however, they sometimes did not. It all depends. Pianist Joachim had this to say: "It's a matter of getting to know the instrument (...) but it can also be charming if only touch it for the first time in front of the audience. If it's a bad instrument, it's nice to be prepared."⁵ For drummer Andrea, it's mostly about the relationship between the drum sounds and the room's ambiance: "It's mostly about getting used to how the dynamics between the drums are in that particular room. Different sounds can stick out."⁶

The musicians designate their access to participation in the soon-to-come concert in ways that enable them to hear and see what they need to perform with *these* fellow musicians, *this* music, before *this* audience, in *this* room. And by discussing different experiences and solutions, they become increasingly aware of various aspects and perspectives.⁷

3 At another venue, Joachim suggested a slightly different position of the grand piano (or actually the saxophonist), having sensed during previous concerts that the saxophonist's position gave him (the saxophonist) too strong a piano sound, which resulted in not displaying balance between the instruments for the audience.

4 Andrea, interview, p. 18, author's transl.

5 Joachim, interview, p. 21, author's transl.

6 Andrea, interview, p. 22, author's transl.

7 cf. also analyses of exploring and (ex)changing knowledgeabilities

In the quintet, the physical arrangement of persons and instruments was of equal significance. At the rehearsal, the musicians formed a circle, looking inward toward each other. Jason (bass) prefers to sit/stand next to the drum set, and with the piano on the other side. Jason explains his considerations:

"In jazz, I often find that the bass player can unintentionally end up turning his volume up too high if he's too close to the piano, with his head almost 'under the grand piano lid.' I try to take a playing position at the end of the grand piano."⁸

Moving from the rehearsal circle to the concert formation with an audience then simply involves the saxophone player turning around, facing the audience. The rest of the quintet more or less maintains the (now) semicircle. Rehearsing and performing become two slightly different practices in terms of how to position oneself physically. However, in both cases, the intricate balance of sound—acoustically or aided by an amplifier—is pivotal for being able to participate with the necessary richness of both details and overview.

Utilizing recordings

Designating one's access through listening to the recorded material—hence pursuing ideas of improving one's playing through studies of earlier concerts—naturally becomes a pivotal issue in the trio. During interviews, it became obvious, how differently the three musicians utilize the recorded material between the concerts as well as how often they listen to their own playing on recordings. The ensemble's youngest member often listens to concert recordings to analyze his playing. Being from a generation growing up with computers and highly accessible digital recording technology, this is a very common element in the creative development process. He stated how he "listens a lot to [him]self as part of the process. But [he] also grew up in a different time as a musician, when we can do that all the time."⁹

For another trio member, listening to his playing in retrospect was mostly unpleasant and definitely not *his* approach to artistic development. Zana explains: "I have a hard time listening to myself playing. Usually, it's torture."¹⁰ He then elaborated: "For me, when I listen to a recording [of the trio, ed.], it's always *before* I discovered that... I'm always on my way, in a process."¹¹ Joachim is more ambivalent on these matters:

"When I started listening [to the concert recordings after the tour, ed.], I found that there were many things I wish I had heard *during* the tour rather than after (...) but I don't know if it would have been better listening directly after the concert (...) When I now listen to the recordings of the consecutive concerts, I think that I may repeat some ideas that I would have *never* returned to had I listened

8 Jason, interview, p. 7

9 Andrea, interview, p. 6, author's transl.

10 Zana, interview, p. 6, author's transl.

11 Zana, interview, p. 6, author's transl.

to the recording in between [before the next concert, ed.]. But it might not have been as fun."¹²

Evidently, although options for listening to the recordings are there, the musicians have very differentiated ideas about how to *designate* the option of *access* to (improved) participation. The musicians' exchange of viewpoints and experiences becomes a salient part of the collective artistic practice. The musicians change their participation accordingly.

In the quintet, the rehearsals were recorded from start to finish for two reasons: 1) for the composer to evaluate and potentially revise his composition or the arrangement; 2) for all members to listen back to the repertoire when preparing for a performance. The latter function is especially very useful should a member be unable to attend a rehearsal. "I'll just bounce the whole recording to you all", ensemble leader Jason stated during rehearsal. As Jason explained during an interview, he spends a lot of time in the studio to listen back to the recorded material from the rehearsals, and—similar to the rock bands involved in my previous research (Brinck, In print)—applies advanced digital editing tools to experiment with alternative sequences of the different parts of the composition. The revised sequences are then bounced to all the members before the next rehearsal. One might say that the jazz quintet leader here *designates* the fellow musicians' *access* to relevant participation at the next rehearsal by using digital technology.

Why this jazz ensemble?

On a macro-level, designating access to participation implicates arguments for choosing to be a member of this particular ensemble. As for joining the trio, Joachim said:

"In some ways, it [the trio, ed.] just emerged by itself. Somehow, it just occurred. As you say, we just met a couple of times and just played, and nothing noteworthy happened. Then we met again and played some more. And then, we somehow felt something worth holding on to."¹³

Also, the fact that the trio never rehearses but specifically aims to improvise collectively in front of an audience as their "trademark" appears to be significant for the musicians. According to Zana, "this is only possible because we represent this constellation of different temperaments that complement each other"¹⁴ and Joachim added that he "find[s] it extremely nice, because I have played in many improvising ensembles over time, and I rarely get such strong a band feeling as I get here."¹⁵

All three musicians in the trio have clearly chosen to participate in this jazz ensemble for a reason, and they even seem to somewhat agree on why this is a nice way to produce music together.

12 Joachim, interview p. 1, author's transl.

13 Joachim, interview, p. 25, author's transl.

14 Zana, interview, p. 24, author's transl.

15 Joachim, interview, p. 25, author's transl.

These matters appear quite differently in the quintet. Here, the initiator (i.e., the ensemble leader) had specific musicians in mind for bringing particular compositions “to life” in a performance. Ensemble leader Jason explained how some of the current members have been among his favorite co-musicians for years, whereas pianist Eric is a rather new acquaintance. Jason also explained how he initially met his pianist at a brief studio session that he asked him to participate in, and how the relationship has developed over time:

“As it turned out, he played really well, so it was a chance to take [not knowing him that well, ed.]. And since then, we’ve had the opportunity to play together on different projects, where the take-off is quite different—free impro and such. He’s a pianist with a modern approach. He knows the conventional jazz approach, but his playing is not tied up in it the way that I hear other pianists are (...). But Eric is very liberated from this tradition and can easily play in a different direction. There’s no tradition holding on to him. That’s what I mean about modern.”¹⁶

Ensemble leader Jason reflected on the reasons why he chose Eric as a pianist on this particular occasion. In Jason’s view, Eric’s modern style suits Jason’s music well. By choosing Eric, Jason *designated* his *access* to relevant participation in the ensemble. By accepting the invitation, Eric similarly *designated* his *access* to participation in Jason’s ensemble, getting the opportunity to play Jason’s compositions.

Later in the interview, Jason argued for his choice of drummer:

Jack, a young drummer, only 22 (...) I think he plays really well. And he’s creative, and that’s a rare thing in our town, at least—finding a drummer with that rhythmical language. And then he’s tight, lively, and great to play with. I can just play as I please and he hears that and relates to it. I got to know him a couple of years ago.¹⁷

Again, as the ensemble leader, Jason has chosen his drummer for a number of reasons to optimize the potential for creating the kind of music that he likes. Through choices of specific musicians, Jason has designated his and his fellow musicians’ access to participating in creating this specific music together. And not as a set, cemented practice but as a practice to be evolved, modulated, explored, and learned from.

Commentary

At the micro level, *designating* one’s *access* to specific forms of participation through negotiating the positioning of instruments in a room is—for natural reasons—crucial to a band playing acoustically. The process is directly comparable to rock bands’ sound check and the imminent adjustment of monitor settings with larger bands and stages: Can I hear and sense what I *need* to hear and sense for me to act and react relevantly in the course of the musical endeavors? Is my place a pleasant, relevant “place”? In terms of digital tool decisions, the analytical perspective of *designating access*

¹⁶ Jason, interview, p. 2, author’s transl.

¹⁷ Jason, interview, p. 1, author’s transl.

surfaces a similar potential, when analyzing the significance of how microphones are placed and the arguments regarding their placement.

At the intermediate level, my analysis reveals how differently the musicians find the recorded material relevant and at what stages in the musical endeavor. Most imminently, the highly differentiated usage of this digital option by the three musicians in the trio illustrates how each musician can “find his own path” through these otherwise deeply collective and interdependent creative processes. The recordings become an individual space for exploration in due time (or not at all). Selecting recordings for publication appears to be a more collective matter (cf. *Attending to aboutness*).

At the macro-level, choosing a specific ensemble with specific musicians to be a “place” to devote time and attention to, is a complex matter involving both musical and personal considerations. The trio musicians seem to acknowledge different aspects of “temperaments” supplementing each other, and analyses also demonstrate how the mutual musical experiences grew and evolved over time. In the quintet, analysis shows how musical relationships arise and develop from the perspective of the ensemble leader, and how carefully considered the choice of fellow musicians was. Choosing fellow musicians appears to play a pivotal part in the collective art-making process, where the potentials of specific forms of participation are given high priority. The analytical perspective of *designating* one’s *access* to participating in this specific band illuminates this significance.

2. Exploring, (ex)changing knowledgeabilities

The situated learning analytical concept of knowledgeability takes the perspective that “Thinking or knowing or knowledge is always a part of praxis, captured through notions of identity, personal—of course, social-relational—and collective with respect to various social arrangements” (Lave 2011, 153). This concept underlines the fundamental perspective that knowledge *per se* is inseparable from actions, artifacts (in this case also meaning the music).

Skills and knowledge as well as actions and thoughts being deeply and inseparably entangled, surfaces particularly clearly in musical practices such as the ones from the study: Developing and playing improvised music represents ongoing verbal as well as musical exchanges of impressions and expressions, of ideas and emotions.¹⁸ The analyses to follow will reveal such examples.

A state of mind

What state of mind suits each musician when preparing for and engaging in concerts, and how is this explored and shared among musicians? These questions appeared to hold some interesting exchanges of experience and sensation, especially among the trio’s musicians.

18 Analyzing these musical outcomes in detail is beyond the scope of this study. However, listening to the concerts informed my understanding of the musicians’ dialogues on matters that closely relate to the musical processes of (ex)changing knowledgeabilities.

For Zana, the audience—whether at a concert venue or record-buying fans—are not the only ones listening:

“We don’t play for the spirits, right? Or... we don’t dare say out loud that we do. I must admit that for me, it’s not just the audience—the few people sitting there—there’s also a quite substantive audience that we can’t see. Out in the void, the nothingness. That’s also very important for me.”¹⁹

Zana elaborates, how “you identify—after having done it thousands of times—the state of mind you need to be in, for that to happen. (...) It’s something about: totally relaxed, not some argument going on. Simply emptying your head.”²⁰ Reaching this state of mind for playing a concert can sometimes be a challenging matter. Andrea recalled the following:

“This time [this tour, ed.], because we decided to record every concert, me having to set up the gear before we play, it disturbs me a little. I’ve had to get used to that. Especially one time in [venue], we were busy [setting up] because there was a [quick] change of bands on the scene.”²¹

The trio musicians’ reflections and generous sharing of experiences became a reservoir of mutual knowledgeabilities to not only be individually explored but generously exchanged. These explorations and exchanges seemed to change the musicians’ participation by furthering each musician’s development in a dialectic relational process as the ensemble’s artistic outcomes emerged.

When asked whether he found that the quintet seems to “hit” the musical atmosphere that he aims for, ensemble leader Jason responded as follows:

Yes, I do. I also like that there’s something left to the situation because we can’t make specific deals about every little detail and I can’t write everything down to ensure that everything is ‘bulletproof’. And I don’t want it that way, either. Basically, we’re all improvisers, so we know for sure that something good is gonna come out of any situation.”²²

During the quintet rehearsal, I observed, how this approach to balancing between the compositional proposition on the sheet and the actual “bringing the music to life” was continuously debated. How do you think this idea fits the song? What chord voicing do you like the best? Should I play an octave lower here? Mutual explorations and exchanges were a built-in part of the rehearsal, with the musicians collectively pursuing a specific musical expression. Such exchanges clearly constitute changes of knowledgeability (learning) on behalf of the musicians, inseparable from the musical developments and changes involved.

19 Zana, interview, p. 19, author’s transl.

20 Zana, interview, p. 21, author’s transl.

21 Andrea, interview, p. 18, author’s transl.

22 Jason, interview, p. 4, author’s transl.

Technology as choice

Technological artifacts play a salient role in how members of both ensembles explore and exchange insights and experiences, and how these practices of exploration and exchange change each musician's participation and the collective practice.

In the trio, addressing a particularly successful concert recording involves discussing options regarding adjusting the balance and placement of the instruments:

Zana: "But can you do something to bring the saxophone a little further back in the soundscape? Or ...?"

Andrea: "You can compress it all, which means that everything becomes closer to the same level [of volume, ed.]."

Zana: "OK."

Joachim: "Yeah, I think you can come a long way by doing that. Another thing you can do—instead of panning the whole thing [all the instruments] out [to the sides]—is pan the piano channel in [toward the center, ed.] and turn the drum channel down some."²³

Expert knowledge on the specific live recording and mixing process was shared and exchanged. Notably, not as individual areas of privileged expertise but rather as (historically construed) insights that need to be shared for the best possible music to become a potential subject for publication. And each exchange changes each musician's knowledgeability.

In the quintet, technological artifacts include not only the use of sheet music but also whether the sheet music is presented and utilized as paper copies on a music stand or through the use of digital technology (in this case, the iPad). Some of the musicians (including the ensemble leader) preferred using the iPad for presenting sheet music, while others preferred printed sheets. These different technological priorities were interesting to observe and analyze.

Two of the musicians had chosen the iPad as their "sheet music holder." They both highlighted the fact that choosing the iPad has the advantage that all compositions could be sent via e-mail before the rehearsal. The iPad represented a "briefcase," holding all the compositions from all the bands that they played with. Thus, it was a very manageable way to keep track of a large number of different materials for them. Specific software allowed for personal notes and comments. Also, musical recordings were easily accessible on that same platform, and sending new sheet versions and new songs was very easy. Challenges with the iPad included shifting pages while playing with both hands (as most musicians do all the time) and also the challenge of finding a music stand strong and stable enough to withstand the weight of the iPad.

On the other hand, the musicians preferring paper versions of the sheet music enjoyed the tangible nature of the paper, being able to use an old-fashioned pencil for

23 Dialogue from collective interview with the trio

notes and corrections. Challenges included how to fit four or five paper sheets on one stand and also, on one occasion, how to get hold of new songs quickly.

At the rehearsal, I observed how ensemble leader Jason had already considered the fact that some used iPads and others preferred paper versions: To rehearse a new composition that he just finished the night before, Jason had prepared paper copies for some of the musicians, while he “bounced” the digital versions to the fellow musicians using iPads.

The practice allowed for different forms of participation with regards to the preferred sheet music technology, while advantages and challenges with specific technological choices were openly explored and shared.

Commentary

My analyses illustrate how the musicians generously shared insights and detailed knowledge as an inherent part of their mutual artistic practice. This not only occurred through playing and exchanging their musical ideas and inspirations, but certainly also through detailed dialogues about preparing and practicing, arriving at venues, getting into a suitable state of mind, and even the technological options for publishing the strongest possible artistic statements from the trio. In the quintet, I noticed how musical choices were openly discussed during rehearsal and how different technological solutions existed side-by-side for different—and equally legitimate—reasons.

Knowledge and skills, sensations and experiences, history and the present. It all comes together as (ex)changeable matters, changing the musicians’ ongoing participation in this band, other bands, and even everyday lives. The analytical scope of *exploring and (ex)changing knowledgeabilities* enables us to see and appreciate the significance of these mutual border-crossing practices. It also reminds us of how professional generosity (not always a self-evident approach in a competitive world) appears to be an omnipresent condition for developing new and interesting art in these cases.

Attending to aboutness

Through my research and musical practice within the areas of jamming and learning, I have often found myself needing an analytical handle to encapsulate how participants’ ongoing decisions when participating in such practices are continuously qualified and guided by collective overall perceptions of meaning and intentions as they are culturally and historically construed. I needed a concept that was “neither too individual, too linear and decisive nor too cognitive and introverted” (Brinck, In print). Lave and Wenger (1991) and later Lave (1996) suggested analyzing the “telos” of participation to emblemize how goals and directions for practice guide participation. In Brinck (2014), I argued that “telos” might signify a too definite, non-negotiable “goal” for practice, whereas my suggested concept of “aboutness” seems to indicate a broader, more negotiable—and also culturally contextualized—direction for participation in practice (228): For the interviewed New Orleans musicians, participation in New Orleans second-line parades and funk jams was guided by an overall aboutness. The

sensation of being “embodied in the sound and the feel of the music, in the groove being ‘dancy’ and strong. The sensation of the groove (i.e. the music) becomes inseparable from the changing participation, consequently of what is being learned (...)” (140).

In later publications (Brinck 2017, In print) I further developed the concept and its arguments by analyzing participants’ attention to the aboutness of practice “to grasp the overall notions directing person’s decisions, actions, ways of participation, degrees of peripherality, and so on” (Brinck, In print).

Live concerts and records

The musicians in both ensembles spent a lot of time attending to the aboutness of their mutual artistic endeavor. During observations and interviews with the trio, it was noteworthy how dialogues around the musical quality and artistic significance of the concerts and their potential for publishing became an important arena for attending to the musicians’ impressions and experiences as well as the entire project’s aboutness.

Andrea from the trio found that “some things are completely awesome to experience live that are not as... not only may it not record well (...) but you’re in another atmosphere at home. It’s something else to listen to the music coming from speakers at home than live.”²⁴ With reference to a specific concert, Joachim noted how “it was probably a good concert. I think I can sense that. To me, it’s also something about the choice of form, the duration of things, and that’s not as much of an issue live. Or, it can be difficult to sense in a recording, if it just felt right in the room.”²⁵

Of course, conflictual positions constantly appeared. Andrea reported the following about a concert: “When we recorded the album [mentioned earlier in the conversation, ed.], it was also a very molested piano. And you, Joachim, found that the piano at the venue was even more terrible and that they shouldn’t record this concert. But I set it up anyway, and after, you were like, ‘This you may definitely publish!’”²⁶ On the issue of playing on a beat up (upright, often) piano, pianist Joachim stated: “When I play on a really nice grand piano, I often miss the ‘resistance’ (...) I can get this feeling that the piano was *too* good for our band (...) I couldn’t figure out how to play *this* piano in *this* band (...) it has to do with some kind of ‘wellness’ (...) it becomes another expression.”²⁷

In the quintet, the rehearsal aimed at the musicians getting familiar with the repertoire before an upcoming concert. Thus, ideas about future publication were not imminent. However, ensemble leader Jason’s approach to living off being a professional jazz musician was partly built on composing, recording, and publishing material. As such, during the rehearsal as well as the interview, it became obvious that inviting specific musicians and playing specific compositions were firstly directed toward a series of live performances and eventually the recording and publishing of the material.

24 Andrea, interview p. 4, author’s transl.

25 Joachim, interview, p. 5, author’s transl.

26 Andrea, interview p. 26, author’s transl.

27 Joachim, interview p. 26, author’s transl.

Jason explained his ideas about the ideal relationship between the compositions and musicians' live performance approach, and how he

" (...) set up the building blocks, so there's a block called 'solo', a mark for 'cue'—so we know how to move on. There need to be free sections, places when we 'cut loose'. I like the tight melody (...) the goal must be that—let's say we have two or three concerts—so that by that third concert, you can start tearing the shapes apart a little again, crush it a little. When you know the material so well, you can rip it up. (...) It may be an unavoidable development that each musician starts relating more and more freely to this starting point."²⁸

From the rehearsal to the live performances and back to the recording studio, the music and the musicians' approaches to playing it changes. And through specific attention to the "aboutness" of the music produced, a mutual sensation about where "this is taking us" seems to evolve.

Our sound

Regarding the sound of the trio on records as part of their artistic profile or image, the musicians at one point talked about how to combine two concerts (that also seemed to work fine on the recording) on *one* album. One for each side to compare the two recordings from very different venues, Andrea found that "there's no doubt that the other concert will have a much more advanced hi-fi sound"²⁹. Joachim suggested that

"no matter which [concert], we need to make it sound good and the 'trash' it. I guess [the studio technician]'s approach will be to balance it as well as possible and then do something so that [it sounds like] it comes from the backseat of a car, coming out of a small speaker. Like the first record, it should sound like a cassette tape that you bought at a market... rather than something from [acknowledged national jazz label]."³⁰

Deciding on material for the next record involved balancing considerations related to the band's preferred "sound profile" on the one hand and the concert or "home listening" experiences (i.e., publishing) on the other:

Andrea: "I'm not sure [a specific concert] was *that* great of an experience for the audience. But I think it will be nice on record, although it's recorded with only two mikes and in a quite poor quality. The one from [venue] this summer"

Joachim: "Yeah, when we were all in perfect shape after [many consecutive concerts at a national festival]. You have to remember that. It was just at the end of the festival."

28 Jason, interview, p. 4, author's transl.

29 Andrea, interview, p. 33, author's transl.

30 Joachim, interview, p. 33, author's transl.

Andrea: "It sounds incredibly good! And I also think the sound on it... I like that sense of unity in the sound."³¹

Discussing the publication of material for a wider audience than that appearing at a specific concert provides room for negotiation, which involves *attending to the aboutness* of the trio's music.

In the quintet, discussions around sound and artistic expression surfaced repeatedly during rehearsal. Should it be more like this? This rhythmic pattern or this? Ensemble leader Jason remembered a dialogue with drummer Jack:

Jason: "There was this song going 1-2-3, 1-2-3, shifting to 4/4, when I wanted the drummer to... I didn't say anything at first, but he played something, and..."

Author: "What song was that?"

Jason: "It's called (...). With some extended melodic lines (...) And Jack took a very cautious approach at first. Then, after our first run-through, I told him: 'You *are* this song, you are the one to give it life. Be insisting and lively. Because, we have a slow and dragging melody and chord progression, and the lively part should come from the drums'. Then he really got it in our next run-through!"³²

After Jack had presented the revised drum part, Jason exclaimed with enthusiasm: "This was a 1000 times better; this I liked."

Author: "Yeah, but then Jack also said that he actually liked the quiet version better, and then you had this debate."

Jason: "I clearly liked the lively, insisting version better."

Here, this debate on the character of a specific musical part ends up with the composer more or less deciding on the version he prefers. Providing attention to the music's aboutness becomes a collective process at first, but ultimately ends with the composer (in this case also the leader of the ensemble) asking for a specific solution—the one closest to his personal musical preference or idea.

Commentary

The analytic emblem of *aboutness* helps us to discover aspects of more overall goals and aspirations connected to the decisions that musicians make during their work processes. Through dialogues on material that is worth or not worth publishing, as well as dialogues on specific instrumental or musical parts, the musicians explicitly and implicitly appear to engage in profound conversations about the musical qualities that they are working to produce together. This involves sharing differences in artistic perspectives, preferences, and opinions about the relationship between concerts and records, listening positions, and ultimately what the trio's or quintet's music is *about*.

31 Interview, p. 2.

32 Interview with Jason, p. 5

Summary and new questions

Analyzing the collective practices of the jazz trio and the jazz quintet through the lens of situated learning theory has highlighted a number of interesting aspects on how participating in such practices can be acknowledged as learning. And—equally significant—how relations between the musicians' changing participation and the changing music appear inseparable and dialectically entwined.

The musicians appear to carefully attend to the overall intentions, goals, and meanings of their mutual endeavors, the *aboutness*. In their quest to reach those goals, they investigate and generously share their insights and experiences as these change over time. They *explore and (ex)change knowledgeabilities*. The musicians demonstrate, how they carefully ensure that they participate in ways—and at times and places—that preeminently supported those aspirations. They *designate* their *access* to participation. Being a member of a trio or quintet seems to be an ongoing process of change, of learning.

This research has provided a potentially rich scientific palette of new knowledge about the circumstances under which creative actions and thinking are learned within different and deeply cooperative creative practices. Detailed knowledge about “the whats and hows” of collaborative creative work processes and the role of digital tools presented herein holds potential for future research in the design of workplaces and routines, the arrangement of school activities and curricula, and arguably also—in a longer scope—how future schools, homes, and offices might be perceived and built.

From a research educational perspective, this research contributes a set of novel analytical takes on creative human relations as not only unpredictable, unsolidified, and even “unmanageable,” but indeed creatively productive and visionary if the aforementioned analytic perspectives are taken seriously into consideration.

New questions arise: How do we design “schoolish” activities to facilitate and enable such intricate practices as the ones brought forward here? How do we facilitate the many different forms of participation—including the individual's option to choose and adjust such access to a preferred mode of participation—in our educational environments? Finally, how do we ensure that such “schoolish” environments become places for experts *and* novices to flourish and (ex)change in strong, saturated practices of presence and creativity?

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Identity in creative communities

Introduction

Creative processes sometimes result in a tangible thing or object, such as a new chair. Although people can see it, touch it, and it is relatively stable as a physical object, it will patinate over time and may eventually collapse beneath an unfortunate dinner guest. However, a creative process may also result in an ephemeral and intangible outcome (e.g., a live concert). A concert with a rock, rap, or pop artist at a major music festival is obviously very different in terms of its material qualities when compared to a chair. It comprises a broad variety of constituent parts that all contribute to the realization of the event. These parts include musicians on stage, active and engaged audiences, and technicians, but also non-human elements such as instruments, tents, lighting, and other tangible materials that contribute to the creative result (i.e., a musical event). A creative musical practice can be perceived as a socio-material effort because it makes “things” come together to form a “living whole” that cannot be reduced to the mere sum of—nor understood from the knowledge of—its individual constituent parts. A musical performance on stage is not projected from the stage and into the ears of the audience, but rather created “in concert”—collectively or in a type of community—with many constituent elements (see also e.g., Small 1998). Hence, in our previous work on processes of emergence and creativity seen as socio-material practices, we argued that when musical communities succeed, they attain intrinsic value in themselves—an organic, living phenomenon that is difficult to predict and hard to prepare for in reality. However, much can be practiced and pre-produced before the musicians come on stage.

In a previous analysis of musicians’ creative practices, we focused on analyzing creative processes perceived from the stage and thus how musicians contribute to the continuous development of creativity as an “emerging phenomenon” (Hvidtfeldt 2018; Hvidtfeldt and Tanggaard 2018). Moreover, we discussed how the Roskilde Festival in Denmark, Scandinavia—developed by 130,000 audience members in a concerted effort—can be understood as a creative product in which the event (seen as an emergent phenomenon) functions as a material reference in the creative processes at various lower levels of the organization (Hvidtfeldt and Tanggaard 2019).

The present article seeks to bring these ideas together using a new perspective on emergence in creative and musical communities. The article is a theoretical exploration of a new trajectory in our understanding of how emergent phenomena arise and how they function in creative processes when viewed as socio-material practices. In our initial work (presented above), we mainly view musical performances as primarily

evolving from creative engagements with the event by the *musicians* on stage or the festival audiences working together *musically* to create a major event. However, sometimes performance situations become relevant to audiences based on other qualities than those we usually ascribe to musicianship. Social situations sometimes “emerge” into a musical and meaningful phenomenon because we fundamentally perceive them as being saturated with meaning. This sense of meaning drives the performance toward a euphoric state, no matter how unmusically and poorly it is performed. The mere rendition or even mention of specific songs can bring people to tears since they can “mean” so much to them. In other words, what we seek to explore is how the emergence of a musical situation can be driven by musical *identity*. We ask how identity “plays into” processes of emergence in musical communities. Moreover, we seek to facilitate the theoretical development of a model describing the relationship between identity and musicality in emergence processes to contribute new knowledge about musical communities and how they become valuable and meaningful to us.

Creativity is often defined as “novel, valuable, and appropriate” (see e.g., Sternberg and Kaufman 2018; Amabile 2018). Notably, a simple and open definition is particularly relevant when analyzing tangible products. Based on the discussion presented above, we argue that a narrower definition can shed light on some of the particularities of working with and analyzing creative processes in musical communities. Social and complex material situations (e.g., music festivals) are inevitably “novel” in a sense because the world is “always in the making” (Jackson 1996, 4). As such, festivalgoers cannot immerse themselves in “*the same river twice*” (Hvidtfeldt 2020). Therefore, this article will primarily focus on the latter aspect of the definition of creativity, namely how ephemeral, live music events become “appropriate”—or perhaps more relevant—in the context of musical communities being meaningful, valuable, or simply *musical* (Hvidtfeldt 2020, 33).

Firstly, we further outline the socio-material perspective on creativity and how creative processes surrounding the development of musical communities can be seen as “emergent.” Secondly, we explore how the musical identities of audience members contribute to processes of emergence in creative musical situations.

Communities as creative processes of emergence

One aspect of music that is independent of genre and contributes to making it so intriguing to most people is the fact that it is impossible to pin down and describe music directly using written and spoken words that we can define and attribute specific meanings to. What makes music “music” is a (delightfully) unsolvable mystery—what elevates sonic qualities from absolute cacophonous tonal “chaos” into a harmonious meaningful “cosmos” cannot easily be described.

What we *do* know is that practice and apprenticeship teach aspiring musicians a lot. For example, we can spend hours behind the piano and, over time, learn how to read music, play harmonies, master scales, comprehend musical progressions, and keep time. Additionally, we can listen to and learn from the masters who created vari-

ous genres and shaped musical cultures (see e.g., Sloboda et al. 1996). When learning how to play, there will be specific starting points and routines, and—in that sense—everyone who so desires can become a better musician, while those who are talented can become excellent performers. However, there is an obvious and giant leap from one's first attempts to perform a song—perhaps in a group with some friends at a local music school—to a professional live performance. In an interview with a Danish online music magazine, the Danish professional musician Peter Bastian described how he saw this movement from chaos to cosmos in music:

When things are not working out, you have chaos. Chaos is not death, it is a potential death or a potential life. It can go either way. Chaos means that there is diversity, but disorder. The aspiration when creating music is a tremendously complex articulated unity, and that is the cosmos. Chaos is a great place to be. It is the border between the old and the uncreated. It can go either way—towards death or towards life. As a creative person, you do everything you can to go in the direction of life. Towards greater intimacy, towards a situation where things start to play together or emerge (...). (Lyhne 2011, translation by the authors)

Here, Bastian speaks of the type of improvised music that was close to his heart: when skilled musicians meet on stage, play, listen, and improvise. He often vividly described how they started out just playing, with no previous plans. Sometimes, the cacophony of sound gradually moved on to become meaningful, ultimately starting to make sense and thereby making the music come alive. Sometimes nothing made any sense at all. That was the risk they had to—and wanted to!—take since the energy they strived for with their music demanded that kind of courage and engagement. If everything had been planned out and produced beforehand, nothing would be at stake for musicians and their concerts would become tame (Hvidtfeldt and Tanggaard 2018).

The argument presented by Bastian can also be raised differently: music is not math. Though performing music is (obviously) a task requiring a mathematical understanding of time, pitch, harmony, etc., a live musical performance and genuine engagement with a specific social situation (which we address here with Bastian) cannot be described in cold causal calculations where one action necessarily leads to a specific result. Who would ever be moved by a good musical performance if it were simply the result of causalities and cold calculations? Furthermore, the result of a creative musical performance cannot be described as a “synergetic” process in which two plus two equals “more” than the sum of its parts—it is unpredictable in the sense that “musical strategies” can be prepared that will always work. Within the performance domain, nothing “always” works since the musicality of the situation demands a certain presence and improvisational capacity. The movement from chaos to cosmos, as described by Bastian, is unpredictable and complex, yet nonetheless a wonderfully fleeting goal for musical performance (Hvidtfeldt 2018). While we can express an understanding of music and its components and teach aspiring musicians certain “dos and don'ts,” the core of musical expression described by Bastian is not easily described. Sometimes it happens. Sometimes it does not.

If musical performances are neither math nor synergy, then what exactly are they? How can the results of musical creative processes be described and explored if we are only able to speak about the phenomenon in a roundabout way and not describe or define it accurately? Initially inspired by the previous quote from Bastian (*ibid.*) as well as by creativity scholar Keith Sawyer (1999) and musicologist Christopher Small (1998), we suggest that the notion of “emergence” can be useful for understanding the creative result of musical performances.

Emergent phenomena

A socio-material perspective on creativity has emerged in line with a more general “material turn” in social and human sciences (Hastrup 2011; Tanggaard 2011; 2013; Hvidtfeldt 2020) in reaction to the emphasis on intra-psychological factors, cognition, and psychometrics that previously dominated research on creativity. In the earliest studies within this field, much attention was paid to the creative individual and theories on factors such as personality traits, divergent thinking, and cognitive processes. In particular, Paul Guilford’s (1950) article introducing the separation between convergent and divergent thinking started a trajectory within the field and paved the way for new perspectives on intelligence, personality, and the general attributes of creative individuals (see e.g., Amabile 1996). From the 1980s onwards, more social and systemic psychological approaches emerged that paid more attention to the communities surrounding creative individuals. Csikszentmihalyi (1988; 1999) deserves a mention here as one of the leading scholars who emphasized that nothing is intrinsically creative since a new idea is always new in relation to an old one, just like no individual can work creatively in a vacuum. Based on this logic, we are all positioned somewhere, at a specific time in history. Thus, new and appropriate ideas are highly dependent on, and always developed in, context. In other words, “creativity” was already understood as a social phenomenon at this stage in the history of ideas. However, research on creativity is about more than what occurs in isolated processes within the brains of individuals.

The socio-material perspective on creativity adopted in this article specifically insists on “the knowledge” we find in the world outside our brain. As such, this perspective on creativity takes a fundamentally novel standpoint in adopting the theoretical ideas of scholars such as Latour (2005), Ingold and Hallam (2007), and Hastrup (2007) when arguing that research seeking to understand creative work processes must highlight the value of things, objects, artifacts, bodies, and nature while generally considering the material and social surroundings. This perspective emphasizes that creative processes are distributed in a responsive world that inspires people, tells them stories, motivates them, challenges opinions, and fundamentally shapes the way people view themselves and each other. Additionally, the physical materials we use to engage in creative work processes are not static objects but rather historical and cultural artifacts that—more or less consciously—impact how we work, what we think, and what we do. In this context, anthropologist Tim Ingold stated:

The properties of materials, regarded as constituents of an environment, cannot be identified as fixed, essential attributes of things, but are rather processual and relational. They are neither objectively determined nor subjectively imagined but practically experienced. (Ingold 2007, 14)

From his perspective on materiality, the world in which we live and work is not a reality consisting of fixed objects that exist in one objective form, but rather of social and cultural materials that evolve meaning over time. In the words of James Gibson, "*The affordances of the environment are what it offers the animal, what it provides or furnishes, either for good or ill*" (Gibson 1979, 127). In this understanding, our mental processes are not delimited by our skin (Ingold 2002, 3). In the words of Gibson, the material world *affords* specific action. Thus, materials do not directly dictate—but rather shape, alter, and inspire—creative action. As formulated by Tanggaard elsewhere:

This socio-material rethinking of creativity implies a research perspective that consists of following not only the individual thinking processes or the influence of context on the individual creative process but more precisely the movements of ideas and the continuous and productive re-associations found in relational spaces during a creative process. (Tanggaard 2015, 111)

For example, when musicians engage with the work leading up to a musical performance, they participate and react in a situated and materially complex creative process. They do not export brilliant ideas out of their brains and into an unresponsive and passive world. In reality, we argue that musical performances are always developed "in concert" by a community made up of the contributions of many different actors.

In our work to describe the creative processes of popular musicians, we realized that research on creativity required a more holistic language since music itself and musical performances are achieved by the concerted effort of so many creative contributors that it makes little sense to speak of the musician on stage as the sole creative person in the performance space. Furthermore, we questioned the transferability of conclusions made about socio-materiality that stemmed from empirical studies focused on the development of tangible products. In seeking to understand musical communities and performances, we required a language for the "intangible products" we understood musical events to be. The theory on emergence guided us in this direction with the work of Keith Sawyer as key inspiration over and above the earlier quote from the music practitioner Bastian.

Processes of emergence have been described by Sawyer and, in line with an overall understanding of cultural psychology, as a simultaneously top-down and bottom-up process (Sawyer 1999, 465)—the musical performer creates music, which subsequently influences the continuous creative process. In this sense, the "music created" functions as "material," albeit highly fleeting and organic (Hvidtfeldt 2018). Simply defined, an emergent quality can be seen as a "whole" that is *other* than the sum of "its parts." From our theoretical perspective, "musical performances" as a creative product have intrinsic value in themselves, arising out of musical and creative contributions

from a multitude of actors. As previously mentioned, live musical performances cannot be reduced to “math” or “synergy.” Emergence theory views the complex collections of sound, lighting, people, tents, etc., as elements that *collectively* contribute to the realization of a musical, communal, and creative product. Through these theoretical lenses, musicality is thus understood as the special ability to make music come alive, to make music or musical settings “emerge” (Hvidtfeldt 2018; 2020).

Based on our work to develop an understanding of how creative processes can be viewed as processes of emergence, the perspective on identity creative, musical performances presented in this present article was born out of one specific question: Is “cosmos” – as poetically described by Bastian—always the purpose of musical performances? The music industry is highly diverse, and people attend concerts for many different reasons. Perhaps the goal of some concerts at music festivals is the exact opposite of a “musical cosmos.” Within certain genres, such as punk, rock, or experimental jazz concerts, the exact goal of the creative efforts seems to be CHAOS! Bastian’s statement of “Chaos is a great place to be” would seem to indicate that the process toward cosmos is (perhaps) just as important to both performers and audiences as the fleeting and unspecific goals they pursue. This perspective gives rise to a number of questions that deserve greater analytical attention, with a central question being how concerts are “performed collectively” as musical fellowships based on the cultures and rituals associated with certain genres. This essentially asks how collective history and culture develop genres and shape participation in concerts and how ritualization shapes processes of emergence in social situations, which is a relevant analytical perspective developed from a communal rather than individual perspective.

Related to the discussion, yet more narrowly defined, another perspective appeared to us as key to understanding musical emergence. Within popular genres and performances, audience identification often seemed to be a highly relevant element in the creative process. For example, some euphoric moments at musical performances seem to be borne out of sheer identity issues—an emotional connection to a performed song that sometimes even outshines the relevance of how it is performed. This perspective led us to explore how musical identity and processes of emergence are connected in this article: Does identity support or overrule the emergence process? Are identification and creative musical engagement two elements or two different types of emergence processes? The following sections initially describe theories on variations in musical identity based on musicologist Even Ruud’s (1997) commonly used classification and then discuss their embeddedness in musical and creative processes of emergence.

Identity in music

As an everyday term, the notion of identity emerged in earnest around the Youth Rebellion in 1968, where the questions of who you were, where you belonged, which direction your life was taking, and why, became central—both as an individual project and as a collective social and political movement (see e.g., Brinkmann 2008). In today’s fluid, digital, and globalized world, the question of different versions

of identity plays a role in most peoples'—more or less deliberate—decisions in life. Within psychology and the social sciences, scholars such as Erikson (1968) and Sennett (1997) were key to the emergence of the term identity. Briefly, Erikson summarized and defined identity as a juxtaposition of “what a person *wants* to be” and “what the world *allows* him to be”; in this sense, identification is understood as a *relational* concept (Sennett 1997, 107). To highlight the diversity of positions on the subject, Erikson presented various positions and wrote about national identity, collective identity, historical identity, workplace identity, and many other identities. Thus, it is clear that the conception of “who we are” can be understood from a variety of perspectives.

At both an individual and collective level, music has been key to cultural development over time and serves as a resource for identity construction (Bonde and Koudal 2015; Ruud 2013). Depending on our definition of music, sounds, rhythms, singing, and musicality can be understood as parts of a primordial force that is part of human life since one's fetal existence in the womb close to a heart rhythm. From this early stage, the role of music becomes multifarious throughout people's lives, and psychology has been studying these varied engagements with music since Seashore's (1919) early studies on objective measurements of musical ability. We find comfort in remembering the songs we know from our childhood. We belong to certain groups based on our musical preferences. In particular, young people perceive music as an identity marker (Ruud 2013) since young boys and girls use music to illustrate who they are, which groups they do and do not belong to, and who they want to be (Bonde and Koudal 2015, 6). In this sense, music can rightfully be seen as a metaphor for identity (Ruud 1997).

In the late 1990s, Norwegian music psychologist Even Ruud collected written musical biographies from 60 music therapy students (Ruud 1997). They were all asked to reflect upon and note their most significant experiences with music in their lives. In total, Ruud collected approximately 1000 stories, which were analyzed and compiled into four narratives on “spaces” where musical identity is located and develops—almost as if the identities of the informants were topographically divided into different physical places.

The following theoretical discussion is based on Ruud's distinctions between (1) personal space, (2) social space, (3) space of time and place, and (4) transpersonal space. We use Ruud's categorization to initiate a broader discussion of how musical identities contribute to the emergence of creative processes around performed music.

Identifying with music based on personal background

Ruud's first “space” is concerned with personal memories of connections to—or often early experiences with—music. Sometimes, we identify with a specific song because it provides a direct link to our childhood or family. In the empirical data analyzed in Ruud's (2013) article, the informants often described memories of situations involving comfort, confidence, or strong family connections; for example, a situation where one informant's mother used to sing lullabies at bedtime. Such songs can stick

with you for the rest of your life. Here, music is not deliberately chosen as one would choose a pair of glasses, pants, or a T-shirt, which we may like for a specific reason. Here, identity construction is not “a project,” but rather something we “receive” from our parents, siblings, extended family, or those close to us, who shape the development of our identity at a personal level. The personal space represents experiences of trust, safety, and intimacy with music as the source.

The question is then how this narrative, which describes how our personal background shapes our identity, will influence which musical performances we attend later in life. The personal space represents a good example of how music contains individual emotions at a fundamental and personal level. For example, if audience members joining in the creative realization of a major music festival concert are emotionally connected to, and identify with, the songs performed on stage for personal reasons, then the emergence of the creative situation is less dependent on “traditional musicality.” Audience members will connect with the song spontaneously based on emotional memories and identification. Thus, a mere rendition of the lyrics of a certain song might be enough to create an emotional reaction. Hence, some audience members need no convincing that the musician on stage performs well, plays the song in tune, or acts convincingly in any other musical way since they are already engaged in the processes of emergence because the song “resonates” with their identity.

(2) Identification based on social bonds

In contrast to the aforementioned personal space, Ruud labeled the next type of identification as the “social space,” which specifically describes identification with music as a communal concept. Music often gathers people in schools, music schools, choirs, bands, and festivals. Notably, this analytical space is developed based on stories told by informants about how music makes people come together in social groups or cultures. While fellowships around music can build strong emotional bonds from early childhood, many people use music to socialize with friends and family throughout life. Moreover, Ruud argued that the music performed or listened to can have a strong impact on identity development.

In particular, young people often experiment with and try out different identities by adopting music idols to see how an artist or genre fits in with the social group they belong to or wish to belong to. Being part of a social group centered on music is a way to position oneself socially within society as a member of a specific class or subculture representing specific values, norms, or political ideologies. Being part of a group and listening to certain music genres can be seen as a communicative tool in establishing boundaries with other social groups. Who we are and where we belong can—especially in the case of adolescents, who no longer simply listen to the music their parents like and are taking their first steps into the musical landscape—be represented in the musical culture we identify with. Young people attending music festivals are good examples of young concertgoers that are closely bonded to their musical taste “like glue.” Imagine a group of young festivalgoers leaving their camp, tents, and beers behind to head toward a stage to take part in a concert with an artist they all agree is the

best. This is a good basis for a live euphoric or “emergent” performance since the audience members are already “halfway there,” which implies that the social bond based on their musical preference has brought them together and opened their engagement in the creative process of emergence.

(3) Identification based on time and space

One of the authors of this article, Dan Hvidtfeldt, once played a series of concerts in a Copenhagen music theater based on music written by the Danish folk singer Sebastian. Each night for six months, the orchestra performed a song called *Rose* on stage in a highly emotional manner. None of the musicians on stage were aware of the strong emotional impact the lyrics were to have on the audiences each night. However, they soon realized that this song is often played at funerals, not just in Denmark but throughout Scandinavia. As a musician and researcher, it was both an intensely emotional rollercoaster and an opportunity to conduct a small field study on the identification and processes of emergence in musical settings.

Musical identity is tightly connected to where we are in time and space. Notably, musical identity can provide concrete examples of important situations in life where individuals are connected to defining moments and where music plays a part in connecting people to geographical places or historical moments. Good examples include the music people listen to at important moments in their lives, such as when they fall in love or marry, or when people die. Also, places can be understood more broadly through musical identity. At international music festivals, all the Swedes go to concerts featuring Swedish artists because they like the music and because a natural part of being abroad is to go to concerts with music that they identify with from their home country. Sometimes attending a concert—and thereby contributing to the creative processes associated with realizing the concerted event—is shaped by how we identify with the music based on specific experiences that can be narrowed down to specific episodes in our lives. Moreover, the identification can be very strong (evident in people’s aforementioned reactions to *Rose* in the theater) since music connected to life-and-death situations can be definitive.

(4) Identifying with the emergent phenomenon

Ruud labeled the final variation as “transpersonal space.” This space in our identity is likely the closest connection to the type of musical identity Bastian wrote about. Here, identification with music points to the transcendent aspect when the music takes us to new places, makes us forget who and where we are and provides a universal feeling of the musical community. Here, the music speaks for “itself,” and is not based on memories of specific episodes of parents singing lullabies, social or cultural connections with music as a social phenomenon, or stories of life-changing moments connected to musical experiences. Instead, music has its own intrinsic value with energy and language that speaks to a fundamental human musicality.

To provide a specific example, Roskilde Festival can be viewed as both a culturally produced ritual representing a specific identity and audiences bringing all kinds of

connections to the musical performance. However, its value also lies in its quality as a “free space” where people forget who and where they are. A space where music is allowed to speak for itself. Often, people do not know the music they hear at the festival—they attend the concert because of the transcendent, surreal, “out-of-this-world” feeling they experience if the music is good, well-produced, and well-presented. This is an exceptional identification with music that is difficult to pin down since its roots are not based on any specific history with musical genres or songs. As such, it leaves no personal musical biographical trails and depends on sheer musicality. In this sense, it must be regarded as a central aspect of the emergence processes of musical performances that is directly linked to the fundamental argument of creativity as being dependent on elements of both novelty and musicality. Sometimes, what we identify with is exactly the concert at Roskilde Festival itself—not just the music or the specific song we listened to as teenagers, but the music and all of the other constituent elements of the emergent phenomenon. This represents the communal product of musical creative performances generated via concerted effort.

Identity in musical processes of emergence

Imagine a concert where the audience knows the music and musicians so well that they only have to play perhaps one note of a song to tell the whole story and hold the audience in the palms of their hands. It is a powerful moment. At this point in the “lifespan of the song,” the musical creative process of emergence is mainly driven by *the audience*: the artist puts out a song, the radio plays it, audiences grow, people listen to the song day in and day out, merge with the sound, and make it part of their lives and identities. Now, the audience waits impatiently for the artist to recreate that feeling in them. The artist only has to remind the fans of the song and they will do the rest. At this stage, the process of emergence is driven by the audience joining in rather than by the musicians on stage. In most situations, we presume that the singer on stage is the best singer in the room or tent, which is why the musical processes should perhaps be led by him or her. However, these types of arguments are no longer valid since what matters is identity and the feeling of being part of the musical community. While the emergent process is directed by the musicians on stage, it is realized by an engaged audience that ritually expresses its identification with the music, which was originally written and performed by the musicians on stage. Hence, the process of emergence is driven by individual and collective identification with the song rather than musical craftsmanship from the musicians on stage.

As described in the earlier introduction of Ruud’s four spaces, identification with music can originate from various personal experiences, social associations, landmark episodes in life, and from musical engagement that has been labeled as the transcendent qualities of music. No matter the origin, our identity with music influences our emotional state and expectations when entering a performance space, which—apart from the fourth category—is generated from personal experiences throughout our lives and then brought into the performance space. In this sense, the impact of

audience members' identification with certain music has nothing to do with what occurs in a specific performance situation—it is ready when we get there. It could even bypass audience expectations of musicianship and musicality since the process of emergence is driven by identification in this sense. Jam bands—i.e., cover artists who perform famous artists' catalogs of hit songs—base their business model on this idea: when audiences identify with the group over whose work the jam band is performing cover songs of, they enjoy the concert and sing along even though the original artist is not present, (almost) irrespective of how well the band performs the songs. What matters most to this creative process of emergence is how we identify with the song.

Now, imagine the opposite situation where audience members have no personal associations with the music performed. Perhaps they ended up attending a concert at a music festival because some friends brought them along, or because the band was essentially new, or new to the specific audience. Based on the fourth space, it can be argued that having no relationship with the specific song performed is not a barrier to letting identification drive the musical process of emergence. However, now the artist on stage, the members of the audience, and all the other constituent elements of the creative process need to bond in a far more musical manner. The emergent phenomenon, the transcendent living energy, depends on collaboration at a higher level, which brings the elements together into an irreducible and living "whole." The energy that musical human beings strive toward is described as collective and universal. Ruud (1997) suggested that we identify with "love" so that we seek the energy of emergent situations as a universal element of life, something most—if not all—people identify with.

Furthermore, artists do not typically present genuinely "new" music since music always draws on previous music and the complete catalog of music history since music is not created in a vacuum. However, what they present through a song might be performed for the first time both by the band on stage and to the audience listening, which is a new representation of music within a genre that may have been around for 50 years. Even the artists we agree to be revolutionary within music history drew on the work of earlier artists since processes of creativity—as viewed from a socio-material perspective—always come from "somewhere." We may directly identify with a specific song we know from earlier and indirectly identify with a genre that has been developing over several years. For example, a genre can indirectly "resonate" with audiences' "personal spaces" since their parents may have listened to a certain genre when they were young and the kids now listening to it are five years old. Therefore, we argue that identification with musical performances is infiltrated in a complex manner with audience members' direct connections to a specific song being performed, the genre it represents, and their identification with the emergent process as a transcendent musical phenomenon.

Conclusions

The overall aim of this article was to contribute to the developing understanding of creativity seen as a socio-material practice. We sought to explore creativity in musical communities and how "musical identity"—our relationship to the music performed

on stage—infiltrates the complex, creative, and emergent processes leading to meaningful and living events. From the perspective of cultural psychology, we have been developing a theoretical understanding of creative processes over the past three to four years in which musical practices (e.g., music productions in the studio, musical concerts, or musical social situations and events more generally) are understood to be embedded in, developing in, and dependent on a process of emergence. In other words, we have described the creative result of musical engagement as an ephemeral living and vibrant phenomenon arising from a concerted socio-material effort. Through these theoretical lenses, musical concerts are fundamentally social and developed in a musical community.

Based on Ruud's identification of the four spaces of musical identity, we conclude that audience members take part in musical performances and contribute to musical processes of emergence based on their personal background, social identification with music, and experiences with music, which can be directly linked to geographical and time-specific experiences (e.g., weddings, birthdays, funerals, etc.). Thus, audience members navigate in the socio-material chaos of musical processes of emergence and identify with emergent wholes based on emotions, previous knowledge, and musical experiences. We argue that the traditional understanding of the "musicality" of musicians performing on stage can even be "bypassed" if the emotional connection is strong since identification with the music being performed can drive processes of emergence. Finally, we argue that audience members can identify with and contribute to the emergence process by identifying with the emergent phenomenon itself as a transcendent emotional state that audience members strive toward.

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HENRIK MARSTAL

Alene sammen, sammen alene

Medialiseret morgensang i coronakrisens første tid

Hvor smiler Faber, når han med lyst
står og roterer med mellemgulvet
og strækker armene fra sit bryst
og suger luft ned til navlehullet
så er han klar til, med stemmens klang
at synge for til en morgensang.

Disse ord udgør det indledende vers (ud af tre) til en lejlighedssang kaldet 'Hyldest til Phillip Faber'. Den blev til i foråret 2020 på Oluf Rings kendte melodi til 'Hvor smiler fager den danske kyst', hvis titel da også er parafraseret i første linje.¹ Teksten hyldede en af coronakrisens mest omtalte mediepersoner, dirigenten og komponisten Phillip Faber, der som sangvært på tv-programmet *Morgensang* (undertiden kaldet *Morgensang med Phillip Faber*) opnåede enorm popularitet med sine daglige to afsyngninger af danske sange til eget klaverakkompagnement.² Som genre har lejlighedssange ikke mindst i Danmark haft udbredelse gennem generationer, så selvom 'Hyldest til Phillip Faber' aldrig kom til offentlighedens kendskab til trods for, at den blev indsendt som seerforslag til programmet, indskrev den sig derved i en danskhedsdiskurs, som også *Morgensang*-programmet skulle tage del i. Valget af melodi til lejlighedssangen var måske nok oplagt på grund af ordligheden mellem Fabers efternavn og ordet "fager" i Johannes V. Jensens tekst, men ikke desto mindre selvbekræftende i forhold til det repertoire fra den lidt ældre danske fællessangstradition, der indtog en markant plads i *Morgensang*-programmet – og i øvrigt med netop 'Hvor smiler fager den danske kyst' som en af de sange, der blev afsunget undervejs, nærmere bestemt i udsendelsen fra den 15. april 2020.³

- 1 Teksten er skrevet af Poul Kunkel Nielsen og er her gengivet med venlig tilladelse fra forfatteren. Jeg vil gerne takke Martin Pilgaard Grishauge, studerende på Rytmask Musikkonservatorium, for at gøre mig opmærksom på tekstens eksistens og for at formidle kontakten til forfatteren.
- 2 Phillip Faber (f. 1984) har siden 2013 været chefdirigent for DR PigeKoret og siden 2015 tv-vært især i en række musikprogrammer. Som komponist er han repræsenteret i flere sangbøger, og han har desuden skrevet korværker, symfoniske værker og filmmusik.
- 3 Det skal for gennemsigtighedens skyld pointeres, at arbejdet med denne artikel blev påbegyndt, netop som jeg var i færd med at afslutte det redaktionelle samarbejde med netop Phillip Faber foruden Inge Marstal om sangbogen *Morgensangbogen – til hele dagen*, der udkom på forlaget Dansk Sang i maj 2021 (Faber et al. 2021). Samarbejdet har dog ingen indflydelse haft på indholdet af denne artikel, som er blevet til med Fabers vidende, men uden at han er blevet inddraget.

I. Indledning

Regeringens nedlukning af landet den 11. marts 2020 (Ottosen og Ancher-Jensen 2021) som følge af den hastigt omsiggribende Covid 19-pandemi – i daglig tale snart omtalt som coronakrisen – skabte grobund for en markant fællessangsbølge, der til dels opstod så at sige nedefra: Hvor nogle arrangerede minifællessangsbegivenheder i deres egen baggård, fra altanen eller på gaden, lavede andre livestreamede fællessangs-events via Facebook. Bølgen var initieret af sanginteresserede borgere flere steder i landet, der efter især italiensk, men også spansk forbillede i form af såkaldt balkonsang genererede en del fællessangsorienteret aktivisme (Jensen 2020). Som sådan var fællessangsaktiviteterne i forbindelse med coronakrisens udbrud dermed i første omgang ikke et dansk fænomen, hvilket ikke er uvæsentligt at nævne, eftersom den herskende diskurs om fællessangskultur ofte har peget i retning af, at fællessang per se skulle være et særligt dansk fænomen.

Også DR tilbød hurtigt en platform at synge ud fra i kraft af *Morgensang* og også programmet *Fællessang hver for sig*, hvorved kanalen agerede både *playmaker* og katalysator i forhold til bevægelsens udbredelse. De to programmers eksistens medførte, at fællessang i en periode blev en del af hverdagen for usædvanligt mange danske borgere, vel at mærke i en medialiseret kontekst.⁴ Bevægelsen reproducerede dog samtidig nogle af de mekanismer, som bidrog til give fællessangskulturen et lige vel indforstået præg. *Morgensang* havde et format på omkring ti minutters varighed og kunne i perioden den 17. marts-23. juni 2020 tilgås dagligt klokken 9.00 eller 10.00 om formiddagen på DR1, P2 samt DR's hjemmeside (med det allerførste program sendt og streamet den 16. marts på DR PigeKorets Facebook-side). *Fællessang – hver for sig*, derimod, havde et format på en times varighed og benyttede som værter Mads Steffensen og Phillip Faber (der også her var syngende vært og pianist). Den første sæson af dette program kunne tilgås hver fredag aften klokken 20.00 på DR1 og DR's hjemmeside i perioden den 27. marts-26. juni 2020. De to programmer var tæt relaterede, idet DR var afsender på begge, idet *playmaker*-rollen var den samme, og idet Faber havde en værtsrolle i begge. At DR overhovedet kunne sætte dagsordenen så klart, skyldes formodentlig, at Danmark i lighed med de øvrige skandinaviske lande har en lang og stærk public service-tradition (Søndergaard 2014, 486) og vel også, at der er tale om en lille nation, hvor der skal mindre til for at 'samle' større dele af befolkningen om en fælles sag.

I denne artikel vil jeg benytte første sæson af *Morgensang*-programmet som case og kun sporadisk inddrage *Fællessang – hver for sig* undervejs.⁵ Casen afgrænser sig til at undersøge det, der kan betegnes som 'den nye fællessangsbevægelse' i relation til dette program, og dermed ikke til de private initiativer nævnt ovenfor. Desuden afgræn-

4 Samtlige programmer fra første sæson af *Morgensang* (med undtagelse af den første udsendelse på DR PigeKorets Facebook-side den 16. marts 2020) kan tilgås her: https://www.dr.dk/drtv/saeson/morgensang_176558.

5 Programmet *Morgensang med Phillip Faber* har allerede været genstand for akademisk interesse set i et medialiseret perspektiv i form af en artikel af Liselotte Bastholm Kristensen i tidsskriftet *SANG* (2021). På grund af tidspunktet for denne artikels redaktionelle deadline har det dog ikke været muligt for mig at forholde mig til indholdet af Kristensens artikel, som hermed er anbefalet læseren.

ser casen sig til at undersøge fællessangsinteressen i Danmark alene i lyset af coronakrisens opkomst, og den forholder sig dermed kun indirekte til den støt stigende interesse for fællessang, som har kunnet iagttages gennem de foregående år (Dohrmann 2019), og som udgør en vigtig forudsætning for, at den nye fællessangsbevægelse overhovedet kunne opstå.

Ved at se på coronakrisen som afsæt for kontinuerlige fællessangskulturelle begivenheder vil jeg ud fra casen undersøge den stærkt øgede interesse for at synge fællessang i krisens første tid, nærmere bestemt foråret og forsommeren 2020. Jeg begynder undersøgelsen med at sammenholde den nye fællessangsbevægelse med tre andre markante danske fællessangsbevægelser gennem de seneste 100 år for at sætte den i et nyttigt historisk perspektiv. Dernæst etablerer jeg en baggrundsviden ved gennem kvalitative interviews med to centrale aktører at afdække baggrunden for, dels hvordan *Morgensang* kom i stand, og dels hvilke overvejelser, aktørerne samt det øvrige DR gjorde sig. I den forbindelse ser jeg nærmere på programmet i relation til begrebsparret inklusion/eksklusion samt til begrebet repræsentation. Endvidere sætter jeg programets design i relation til begrebet nostalgi og undersøger den nye fællessangsbevægelses status af at være udtryk for en ny deltagerkultur i kraft af dens udpræget medierede karakter. I forlængelse heraf undersøger jeg endelig bevægelsens karakter af at praktisere *samhörighed/alenhed*-fællessang, i forkortet form kaldet S/A-fællessang, hvor det musikalsk forestillede fællesskab (Born 2011, 378) i den pågældende fællessangssituation forekommer at være radikaliseret i den forstand, at distancen mellem fællessang in situ og medieret fællessang er vokset markant. Coronakrisens fokus på fællessangsdiskursens forløsende potentiale gav nemlig seernes egen rolle som medskaber af selve fællessangssituationen en central placering i en grad, at det giver mening at betragte tv-programmerne som et udslag af en særlig *deltagerkultur* forstået som en meningsgivende, koordineret og tidsafgrænset aktivitet, der dagligt fandt sted foran tv- eller computerskærmen.

II. De fire markante fællessangsbevægelser ca. 1920-2020 – og relationen mellem alsangsbevægelsen og den nye fællessangsbevægelse

I menighedssammenhænge har fællessang været kendt lige siden reformationen. Men en egentlig diskurs om fællessang opstod ikke før for omkring 250 år siden i Danmark (Bak 2018, 18-19), vel at mærke forstået som både en praksis og et repertoire. Det skete, da fællessangen begyndte at blive et særkende i de københavnske klubber sidst i 1700-tallet, og da den få årtier senere begyndte at få fodfæste som del af en bredere nationalromantisk strømning. Bredt forstået har denne diskurs gennem årene – helt frem til vores egen tid – været karakteriseret ved at være musikalsk-æstetisk, social og undertiden 'nationsbyggende' (Adriansen 2016). I nyere tid har samværet om det at synge sammen på en uformel måde og i forbindelse med særlige lejligheder såsom en fødselsdag, et foredrag eller et fællesmøde m.v. (Borčák 2020, 82) stået centralt. Sanghandlingen kan her bidrage til at bekræfte en særlig intens oplevelse af at være del af et reelt fysisk fællesskab, som står i kontrast til de musikalsk forestillede fællesskaber, hvor del-

tagerne enten ikke bemærker hinanden som andet end en del af en større forsamling, eller hvor de i medierede fællessangssituationer er henvist til blot at antage hinandens eksistens. Men uanset hvor akavet en sangsituation kan føles, eksempelvis hvis for mange tilstedeværende er uvante med eller forlegne over det at synge (Thrane 2021, 48-49), vil sanghandlingen alligevel i sidste ende så godt som altid være forlenet med positive konnotationer. Det skyldes ikke blot, at N.F.S. Grundtvigs syn på sangen som udtryk for folkelig oplysning (Borčák 2020, 82) fortsat præger fællessangsdiskursen i det 21. århundrede i et overraskende stort omfang, men også fordi argumenterne for fællessang som noget sundt og kulturarvsfremmende (ibid., 84-87) ligeledes har domineret.

Hvad angår fællessangsaktiviteten som et forestillet, musikalsk fællesskab betoner fællessangsforskeren Lea Wierød Borčák, at "singing triggers the construction of community in the sense of concrete collective identifications" (ibid., 88-89). Og sjældent har sådanne konkrete, kollektive erfaringer stået klarere i en fællessangssammenhæng end da coronakrisen pludseligt og voldsomt hensatte landet i en art undtagelsestilstand den 11. marts 2020. Nedlukningen betød, at der i de efterfølgende dage blev hjemsendt et meget stort antal mennesker, foreløbigt for to uger. Det gjaldt alle offentligt ansatte, som ikke varetog kritiske funktioner; det gjaldt elever og studerende ved alle landets uddannelsesinstitutioner; og det gjaldt små og store børn i alle skoler og dagtilbud, mens alle private arbejdsgivere blev opfordret til i så vidt muligt omfang at lade deres ansatte arbejde hjemmefra, afspadsere eller afholde opsparet ferie ([Statsministeriet] 2020). Fællesangsbevægelsens opståen var blot én blandt en række mere eller mindre spontane kollektive reaktioner på nedlukningen, men det var den, som skulle vise sig at blive særlig emblematiske for den civile håndtering af krisen i foråret og forsommeren 2020.

Over en periode på præcist 100 år har der været fire episoder i danmarkshistorien, hvor fællessangskulturen blev en markant katalysator for den kollektive nationalfølelse: a) tiden op til og omkring genforeningen i 1920, b) tiden umiddelbart efter besættelsen i 1940 og i lidt mindre omfang frem til den tyske besættelsesmagts indførelse af militær undtagelsestilstand i forbindelse med augustoprøret i 1943, c) tiden op til og omkring folkeafstemningen vedrørende medlemsskabet af EF (EU) i 1972 samt d) coronakrisen i 2020-21. Det er værd at bemærke, at både b), c) og d) var knyttet til nationale kriser – kun a) var knyttet til national eufori. Dog afviger c) fra de øvrige tre episoder derved, at opfattelsen af Danmark som en nation i krise som følge af medlemsskabets realitet primært blev delt på venstrefløjen, der frygtede for danskhedens og det danske sprogs udvanding ved dette medlemskab, mens man på højrefløjen ikke registrerede nogen krisetegn.

For at sætte den nye fællessangsbevægelses omfang i perspektiv vil jeg her sammenholde den kollektive, nationale erfaring af at blive ramt af en epidemi med den ligeledes kollektive, nationale erfaring af at blive besat, som b) var resultatet af. I begge tilfælde, b) og d), fandt erfaringen udtryk gennem fællessang med vekslende repertoarer relateret til den danske sangtradition, og i begge tilfælde tjente aktiviteten den funktion dels at mobilisere sammenholdet mellem landets borgere i en krisetid, og dels på et symbolsk plan at besværgе det onde, som var overgået landet. Alsangsbevægelsen

var således "en manifestation af det nationale fællesskab" (Nielsen 2011, 95), hvis formål var at give det forestillede fællesskab danskerne imellem krop, nærvær og varme – og det samme kunne siges om fællessangsbevægelsen i 2020.

Lighederne mellem b) og d) er evidente. *For det første*: Knap tre måneder efter besættelsen i april 1940 opstod de første ansatser til alsangsbevægelsen, hvor man mødtes i byer over hele landet for at synge primært fædrelandssange. En åndelig hovedfigur i bevægelsen var den i forvejen feterede tenor Aksel Schiøtz, der som forsanger ved en lang række alsangsarrangement blev bevægelsens samlende figur. Og mindre end en uge efter nedlukningen af landet i marts 2020 opstod altså den nye fællessangsbevægelse, som ligeledes fik en samlende figur i form af Phillip Faber som vært på *Morgensang*-programmet. Som syngende vært til eget klaverakkompagnement ledte Faber her seerne gennem to sange hver dag, hvor de – alene eller sammen med deres partner, den nærmeste familie, venner eller bekendte – sang med foran skærmen derhjemme.⁶

Og for det andet: Både b) og d) blev indledt med en eksplosiv og kort første fase efterfulgt af en noget længere, mindre eksponeret anden fase. Alsangsbevægelsen opstod i juli 1940 ved en række meget velbesøgte udendørs sangaftener i Aalborg, bredte sig i løbet af august til resten af landet (Nielsen 2011, 83) og kulminerede med en radiotransmitteret landsdækkende stævne den 1. september samme år, hvor der alene i Fælledparken i København dukkede 150.000 deltagere op, og hvor henimod trekvart million borgere deltog på landsplan (ibid., 85). Allerede året efter var interessen dog kølnet, samtidig med at myndighederne manede til forsigtighed over for besættelsesmagten (ibid., 87). Og med indførelsen af mødeforbuddet i kølvandet på strejkerne i august 1943 blev bevægelsen udfaset. Den nye fællessangsbevægelse opstod spontant i marts 2020 og blev gennem *Morgensang*-programmet næsten med det samme et populært fænomen med et gennemsnitligt seertal på 210.000 (Vase 2020), et tal der først hen mod slutningen af perioden, da skolerne var åbnet igen, begyndte at vige en smule (Heide 2021).⁷

Der er selvfølgelig også evidente forskelle på b) og d). Her skal blot omtales nogle få: Hvor man i 1940 primært mødtes for at synge om aftenen (med besættelsesmagts tilladelse (Nielsen 2011, 83)), sang man i 2020 morgensang, dog med aften-sang på ugentlig basis i *Fællessang – hver for sig*-programmet. Hvor man i 1940 mødtes i store, fysiske fællesskaber på torve og pladser samt i parker i landets større og mindre byer, mødtes man i 2020 få ad gangen i virtuelle fællesskaber foran tv-skærmen eller computerskærmen foruden i mindre omfang små fysiske fællesskaber på altaner og fortov. Og hvor man i 1940 benyttede et relativt homogent repertoire bestående af ældre og til dels nyere fædrelandssange, ikke sjældent med inddragelse af det tyske

6 Det er i øvrigt pudsigt, at flere biografiske omstændigheder mellem Schiøtz og Faber ligner hinanden: at de begge i forvejen arbejdede med den danske sangtradition som et centralt felt i deres virke, at de begge havde en betragtelig faglig tyngde inden for deres respektive fagområder, og desuden at de begge var mænd, og begge yngre, omtrent midt i trediverne på tidspunktet for deres indtræden i de to respektive bevægelser.

7 Da det blev Sankt Hans, og begge programmer stoppede, samtidig med at smitteraten i en periode gik ned, gik fællessangsbevægelsen så at sige på sommerferie, om end nye sæsoner af begge programmer – nu delvist med andre værter – blev søsat fra henholdsvis august og oktober 2020.

som et fjendebillede,⁸ benyttede man i 2020 et helt anderledes eklektisk repertoire bestående af nyere og ældre sange fra stort set alle dele af sangtraditionen: salmer, højskolesange, folkeviser, egnssange, børnesange, slagere, tonefilmssange, pop- og rock-sange samt nyere viser, der kun ind i mellem havde et eksplicit danskhedsrelateret tekstindhold, og kun sjældent – og da uden polemisk brod – rummede fjendebilleder.⁹

Endelig i forlængelse heraf: Hvor man i 1940 især sang sange med en ideologisk og politisk funktion, der spillede "en kolossal rolle for modstandsviljen og sammenholdet" (Gravesen 1977, 275), typisk i form af fædrelandssange, var et sådant budskab langt mere sekundært i 2020, hvor krisen skyldtes en pandemi, ikke tilstedeværelsen af en besættelsesmagt. Det nationale eller nationsbyggende aspekt, som traditionelt har spillet en stor rolle i dansk fællessangstradition (Adriansen 2016), var her påfaldende nedtonet og lod for en stund til helt at have mistet sin relevans. I den forstand var fællessang i 2020 en noget mere flertydig og synkretistisk størrelse end i 1940 forstået både som både en traditionsforvaltning, en praksis og et repertoire. Årsagen er ikke kun den indlysende, at fællessangsbegrebet siden især 1970'erne havde udvidet sig til at omfatte meget andet end højskolesange og salmer, mens arbejdersange omvendt havde været på retur (se hertil Marstal 2018). Årsagen er også den, at selvom det nationale aspekt af krisen samt DR's status som national kanal muligvis havde tilskyndet seerne til at vælge fædrelandssange, var dette aspekt samtidig mindre oplagt at forfølge i og med at coronakrisen havde et globalt omfang. Det betød, at antallet af fædrelandssange både blandt repertoire i *Morgensang*-programmet samt seernes forslag til sange var ganske lavt, om end repertoire havde en konservativ karakter.¹⁰

Den mest markante forskel på de to fællessangbevægelser lå helt indlysende i selve tilgangen til fællessangsbegrebet. Hvor man i 1940 – ganske vist i et ikke tidligere set omfang – holdt sig til fællessangens kendte formel: Et antal mennesker på fysisk samme sted afsynger et antal fællessange sammen i et fysisk forestillet fællesskab, blev formelen som følge af smitemæssige årsager delvist redefineret. Nu blev fællessangen nemlig afsunget af små grupper, der befandt sig på hvert sit fysiske sted i et virtuelt fællesskab – deraf programnavnet *Fællessang – hver for sig*, et navn der lige så vel kunne have været brugt om *Morgensang*-programmet.

8 For en oversigt over dette repertoire, se Nielsen 2011.

9 Tendensen i retning af den eklektiske tilgang i det 21. århundredes fællessangskultur bliver bekræftet af Borčak 2018, 223. Repertoire i *Morgensang*-programmerne vil blive diskuteret senere i artiklen.

10 I forbindelse med udarbejdelsen af denne artikel fik jeg af DR PigeKorets produktionsleder Trine Heide stillet en oversigt til rådighed med et uddrag af de forslag til sange, som seerne sendte ind – en oversigt, som jeg hermed gerne vil takke hende for at have fået adgang til. Forslagene blev primært sendt til mailadressen morgensang@dr.dk, der blev betragtet som en 'fællespostkasse' (Heide 2021), men listen rummede også forslag fra DR PigeKorets Facebook- og Messenger-sider foruden beskeder på Instagram osv. Selvom der blot var tale om et uddrag, løb listen alligevel op ikke færre end knap 4700 forslag, inklusive lejlighedssangen citeret i begyndelsen af artiklen. Heide vurderer, at der indkom i alt 6-8000 forslag (ibid.). En optælling af egentlige fædrelandssange foretaget blandt forslagene på listen viser i den forbindelse, at de androg mellem 6 og 7 procent af det samlede materiale hovedsageligt fordelt på mindre end ti forskellige titler, og med særligt mange forslag til fædrelandssange i dagene op til den årlige markering af befrielsen den 5. maj. Optællingen kan afgjort ses som en indikation af, at fædrelandssange ikke var en dominerende gruppe blandt sangønskerne. Fordelingen blandt repertoire i alle *Morgensang*-udsendelserne lå kun en smule højere, mellem 8 og 9 procent.

III. Morgensang: Baggrunden for programmets tilblivelse

Den medialiserede fællessangskultur, som *Morgensang* og *Fællessang* – hver for sig opstod i relation til, er usædvanlig. Derfor følger herunder en redegørelse for førstnævntes tilblivelse, baseret på kvalitative interviews med to af aktørerne bag førstnævnte program. Det drejer sig om Anne Karine Prip, kunstnerisk leder for DR PigeKoret, og Trine Heide, produktionsleder i DR Koncerthuset, Kor og Orkestre og primært tilknyttet DR PigeKoret. Sammen med Phillip Faber spillede de to en hovedrolle i DR's involvering i den nye fællessangsbølge og dermed også for institutionens rolle som katalysator for bølgen: Prip som producent af programmet (undertiden også redaktør), Heide som først produktionsleder og senere redaktionelt medlem. De to aktører er citeret ganske fyldigt, da deres beretninger ikke blot er unikke dokumentationer af et usædvanligt tilblivelsesforløb, men også bidrager til at sætte casens omstændigheder i perspektiv.

Heide fortæller:

Morgensangsbølgen var på ingen måde et udtænkt koncept. Det var ikke en planlagt satsning fra DR's side, udover at DR kort forinden havde lanceret den overordnede strategi 'Sammen om det vigtige' – og det viste sig at passe godt ind. DR PigeKorets traditionsrige forårskoncerter i Holmens Kirke var netop blevet aflyst, selvom vi dog nåede at lave en radio- og tv-optagelse af koncerten uden publikum tre dage inden landet lukkede ned. Vi reagerede på nedlukningen med en vis fandenivoldskhed – for vi er jo sat i verden for at lave musik til danskerne. Men så skrev Anne Karine dagen efter nedlukningen en Messenger-besked til Phillip og mig og spurgte, om ikke vi skulle lave noget morgensang sammen med danskerne hver morgen i den første 14 dage lange nedlukningsperiode? Det var vi begge helt med på. Weekenden gik med, at Anne Karine fik skabt en dialog med DR om overhovedet at få lov til det. Tilbage meldingen lød, at det var en god ide som et internt medarbejderarrangement. Det var vi ikke enige i, for vi havde en klar formodning om, at fællessang kunne nå længere ud end blot at være en firmaevent, især når vi vidste, at folk nu var begyndt at synge sammen på altaner og i baggårde. Og i tråd med pigekorets DNA og historie gennem mere end 80 år [dvs. siden dannelsen af koret i 1938] havde fællessangsaktiviteter desuden altid været en del af *brandet* (Heide 2021).

Heides betragtninger bakkes op af DR's egen officielle præsentation af DR PigeKoret, hvori det blandt andet hedder: "Den røde tråd i DR PigeKorets virke er den danske sang i alle dens afskyninger, og pigerne bevæger sig frit mellem Grundtvigs salmer, moderne værker, kendte popsange og fællessang" (Anon. u.å. a).

Heide fortsætter:

Til korets tilbagevendende fællessangskoncerter i nyere tid var der altid indgået en indledende opvarmning af publikum, og Phillip havde dermed stor erfaring med at varme ikke blot et kor, men også et publikum op. Derfor blev konceptet, at Phillip indledte med tre-fire minutters sangopvarmning, inden han fremførte

sangene. Konceptet var altså klart helt fra begyndelsen, bortset fra at vi efter den første gang ændrede det til, at han sang ikke én, men to sange – først en lidt mere alvorlig eller sang med tyngde, og derefter en lidt lettere, fx en børnesang, en popsang eller en nyskreven salme, alt sammen for at skabe balance i sangvalget. Men fordi pigekoret altid har sunget først og fremmest på dansk, var der enighed om, at Faber ikke skulle synge på andre sprog end det (ibid.).

Heide uddyber:

Som nær sparringspartner til Phillip i pigekorets arbejde, og som en kender af hans evner, kunne Anne Karine se for sig, at han ville kunne løfte opgaven ved at gå på skærmen og lave morgensang som sangpianist, nu hvor det ikke var muligt at have pigekoret med på grund af restriktionerne. Phillip selv var forbeholden over for ideen om at skulle synge. Det blev da også diskuteret, om han udelukkende skulle spille, men Anne Karine overtalte ham ved at sige, at det i krisens ånd ikke handlede om at være god til at synge, men om at gøre det på trods – og kan man tilføje, Phillip synger jo virkelig dejligt, selvom han ikke er sanger i en professionel forstand af ordet. Det var en del af det inviterende element i konceptet, at han skulle synge – at han blot stemte i ligesom alle andre. Så søndag aften den 15. marts lagde vi et opslag på pigekorets Facebook-side, hvor vi annoncerede begivenheden næste morgen klokken 9.00 på selv samme side. Vi var helt bevidste om, at det var noget, vi ville give til DR PigeKorets mere trofaste publikum og følgere. Og vi tænkte: Hvis blot der er 100 derude, der vil synge med, har vi da lavet en god morgen for *nogen*! Men folk så i den grad med og linkede til siden via deres egne Facebook-sider i ét væk. Så i løbet af udsendelsen havde vi omkring 70.000 seere, og 30.000 streamede den efterfølgende – og det på trods af, at vi havde en del lydproblemer, og at programmet derfor kun var delvist vellykket (ibid.).

Heide fortsætter:

Samme eftermiddag meddelte DR Medier, at *Morgensang* skulle sendes på DR1 fra den næste morgen! De havde forstået, at vi havde fat i noget, og de var friske på at gribe bolden i luften. Så fra tirsdag den 17. marts var programmet blevet til en regulær tv-produktion, kun få dage efter at konceptet overhovedet var blevet udtænkt. For mig at se blev det her public service i sin grundform: Det ramte bredt, det samlede rigtig mange, det skabte endda også debat, og DR lykkedes med at opfylde sin funktion af at være katalysator for, hvad der optager befolkningen.¹¹ På vores Facebook-side havde vi opfordret folk til selv at lave videoer, hvor de sang fællessang. Og det eksploderede ganske enkelt. Jeg tror, vi fik fyrre videoer alene den første dag, og det gav os mulighed for at lave et Zoom-agtigt format som teaser, hvor videoerne blev klippet sammen, og hvor Phillip selv-

11 Det er en pointe, som Michael Bojesen, tidligere dirigent for DR PigeKoret, har bekræftet, idet han mener, at programmet viste DR fra "sin bedste 'public service'- side" og demonstrerede, hvordan DR i krisetider undertiden kan formå at "samle danskerne" (Dohrmann 2020).

følgelig var gennemgående. Teaseren gik viralt, og henvendelsernes antal gjorde efterfølgende, at vi med det samme fik oprettet en mail, hvor man kunne sende sine sangønsker ind (ibid.).

Anne Karine Prip supplerer ved at fortælle, at hendes overvejelser i forbindelse med programmet også havde helt private årsager. Som mor til tre børn i skolealderen, der ifølge restriktionerne skulle holde sig hjemme fra og med mandag den 16. marts i foreløbigt to uger, ville hendes børn såvel som mange andre skolebørn måske have brug for at vide, hvornår skoledagen så at sige gik i gang, nu hvor de ikke skulle ud ad døren. Her var, tænkte hun, en oplagt anledning til at vise sine egne såvel som andre børn, at morgensang virkelig *kunne* noget, med den forvisning, at netop fællessang, som Heide præciserede ovenfor, altid har været en kernekompetence hos DR Pige-Koret – ikke blot ved den traditionelle udsendelse ved midnat nytårsaften, men også i mange andre sammenhænge (Prip 2021). Hun uddyber:

Der gik nok ikke mere 48 timer, fra ideen opstod, til vi havde et program klar. Men der var meget, der skulle afklares, også angående rettigheder: Vi vidste, at vi på DR ikke måtte bedrive programvirksomhed direkte på de sociale medier. Vi måtte godt bagefter sende uddrag, men altså ikke i direkte form. Men det gjorde vi så alligevel, for vi tænkte, at enten ville der gå noget tid med at få et svar, og hvis vi pressede for hårdt på, ville det blive et nej. Det var en slags civil ulydighed, der da også førte til en løftet pegefinger fra DR Jura. Det lykkedes os at finde en tekniker i DR's beredskab – huset var jo også lukket ned – som kunne stå for kamera og lyd. Og egentlig havde vi tænkt, at vi bare kunne gøre det helt håndholdt – filmet med en mobiltelefon af Phillips hustru Selma. Men vi opgraderede lidt, og vigtigst af alt fik vi fikset sangteksten på skærmen, sådan at seerne kunne synge med uden selv at skulle have fat i en sangbog eller hænge på, når Phillip sang. Vi havde egentlig planlagt, at han skulle filmes hjemme fra sin egen stue ved flyglet. Det fandt vi ville være det mest rigtige, for grundpræmissen i hele ideen var, at vi skulle være sammen med alle andre danskere om det her. Derfor var det vigtigt, at der ikke gik sådan rigtig tv-produktion i det, i hvert fald ikke på dette tidspunkt. Og hvis hans og Selmas søn August på tre år pludselig skulle finde på at vise sig i billedet, ville det være helt fint, for det var sådan de flestes liv var på det tidspunkt – at man var på arbejde derhjemme, samtidig med at man så efter børnene. Men netop den morgen, hvor vi skulle sende første gang, blev August syg. Så vi turde ikke tage den chance at lave programmet dér. Næste stop var DR Byen, og vi sendte derfra. Men det var en nødløsning, for det var ikke den optimale ramme. Vi skulle simpelthen hjem i stuen igen. Men der var stadig sygdom hjemme hos Phillip, så løsningen blev, at DR's orkesterchef Kim Bohr og hans hustru stillede deres stue til rådighed – og sådan blev det. Sidstnævnte sørgede for at have nye blomster stående fremme hver dag, som undertiden endda passede til de sange, der blev sunget. Konceptet tog også på den måde form – det var noget, vi først med tiden voksede ind i (ibid.)

Prip fortsætter:

Der lå en stor styrke og naturlighed i, at det hele blev lavet med afsæt i DR PigeKorets værdisæt og historie. Hele afsættet havde pigekoret med i sin fortælling. Der var en digital styrke i, at der var så klar en afsender, sammen med Phillip. Vi kommunikerede hver dag gennem korets Facebook-side, hvilket indlysende styrkede pigekorets *brand* – men omvendt var det også netop det *brand*, der i første omgang gjorde det hele muligt. Konceptet var formet efter, at det skulle køre to uger, altså indtil landet genåbnede. Det skete som bekendt ikke. Så vi tog tre uger mere. Dernæst en måned, og så fremdeles. Undervejs blev det til, at vi hver tirsdag havde en tonefilmssang med som fast programpunkt og hver onsdag en børnesang – og især sidstnævnte var vigtigt for os, for vi fandt det vigtigt altid at have de hjemsendte skolebørn med. Men på et tidspunkt blev det besluttet, at programmet skulle varieres. Så da vi rykkede det til DR Koncerthuset fra den 5. maj, blev konceptet en smule udvidet, sådan at Phillip begyndte at have gæster med i studiet, ganske enkelt fordi de lidt større rammer krævede lidt mere larm, og fordi det også reflekterede den genåbning af samfundet, der på det tidspunkt var i gang. Vi havde også selv brug for at kaste noget nyt ind i maskineriet. Ved samme lejlighed blev det også besluttet, at vi skulle køre frem til Sankt Hans. Det var lang tid, syntes vi, men sådan blev det – i alt 99 udsendelser plus Facebook-udsendelsen den allerførste dag. Derefter ville DR gerne fortsætte, men vi vidste, at det skulle være uden os. Vi fik egentlig ret frie rammer til at lave programmet, da det havde så tydeligt et tag i befolkningen. DR Medier bød dog ind med ønsker. Der var fx et ønske om, at vi skulle udvide de enkelte programmets længde – men her holdt Phillip og jeg fast i konceptet med opvarmningen og de to sange for at holde seerne sultne efter mere i længere tid. Der kom også særlige ønsker for to centrale datoer: Den 16. april, hvor dronning Margrethe fyldte 80 år, og befrielsesdagen den 5. maj. Dem godtog vi selvfølgelig, om end det ikke var os, der stod for hele fejringen af dronningen, hvor der var fællessang hele formiddagen på DR1 (ibid.).

Så vidt Trine Heide og Anne Karine Prips overvejelser vedrørende tilblivelsen af programmet.¹²

IV. Morgensang i relation til inklusion/eksklusion og repræsentation

At *Morgensang*-programmet ikke var et på forhånd udtænkt koncept, sådan som Heide bemærkede ovenfor, bidrog utvivlsomt til at give programmet en frisk energi i al dets tematiske usædvanlighed. Men det betød også, at de præmisser, som programmet hvilede på, tilsyneladende ikke nåede at blive tilstrækkelig overvejet fra tilrettelæggernes side. For eftersom programmet i sin tilgang var så tæt knyttet til DR PigeKorets værdier og *brand*, som det var tilfældet, opstod der derved en modsætning mellem intention og afkodning i forhold til programmets fællesskabsbestræbelser.

12 Jeg vil gerne takke Anne Karine Prip og Trine Heide for at have ladet sig interviewe til artiklen. Se i øvrigt også Phillip Fabers egen redegørelse for forløbet (2020, 182-184, 230-234, 246-247).

Hvor pigekorets fællessangskoncerter altid havde været for et betalende publikum, der ved at købe billet på forhånd tilsluttede sig præmissen om, at koret og dets producenter havde definitionsretten på, hvordan begrebet fællessang skulle udmøntes, var det ikke nødvendigvis tilfældet for *Morgensang*. Her kunne man ikke forlade sig på en sådan alliance mellem afsender og modtager, eftersom publikum nu var DR's licensbetalende seere, der frit kunne tilgå programmet. Men den fællessangsdiskurs, som koncerterne tog afsæt i, kunne ikke uden videre tages for givet af tv-programmets potentielle seere, når mange af disse seere ikke på forhånd havde noget forhold til pigekoret endsiges Phillip Faber, og når de af kulturelle eller sociale årsager slet ikke var lige så fortrolige med diskursen, som pigekorets koncertpublikum var.

Problemet angår først og fremmest de inklusions- og eksklusionsmekanismer, som fællesskaber altid producerer.¹³ Den tyske sociolog Niclas Luhmann har arbejdet med den binære distinktion inklusion/eksklusion og hævder, at de to fænomener lige netop betinger hinanden: Et system kan ikke være udelukkende inkluderende – der vil altid forhold til stede, som tillige gør det ekskluderende (Luhmann 2005, 226; citeret efter Schirmer og Michailakis 2013, 10-11). Dermed er det en normativ misforståelse, når man uden videre antager, at eksklusion i sig selv altid udgør et problem, mens inklusion tilsvarende altid udgør løsningen på problemet (Schirmer & Michailakis 2013, 2). Derfor kan inklusion ikke forveksles med lighed, ligesom inklusion under visse omstændigheder kan føre til mere ulighed (ibid., 12-13). Det ellers vigtige public service-relaterede spørgsmål om, hvem programmet egentlig var tiltænkt – og dermed, hvem det *ikke* var tiltænkt – lod til at forblive ubesvaret. Men dermed forblev 'det danske' i programmet også en underforstået præmis, der af samme årsag aldrig blev udfoldet eller ekspliciteret, men som netop derfor står tilbage som en problematik, der kan blive af betydning for eftertidens reception af det.

Endvidere kan eksklusion ikke være noget udelukkende negativt, eftersom alle mennesker ifølge Luhmann de facto i forvejen er ekskluderet fra langt de fleste organisationer (og virksomheder og fællesskaber) og kun inkluderet i ganske få (ibid., 13): En fagligt velanset øjenlæge ville intet have at gøre i et ph.d.-bedømmelsesudvalg på et humanistisk institut, og en stjernespiller i en europæisk storklub i håndbold ville falde igennem i professionelt tennisregi. Ikke desto mindre kan eksklusion angå de situationer, hvor man bliver vejret og fundet for let, eller, i relation til den etablerede fællessangsdiskurs i *Morgensang*, hvor man kan føle sig momentant eller komplet ekskluderet af den, fordi den ikke tager én alvorligt som den, man er, men tværtimod kommer til at tage én til indtægt for noget, man ikke kan stå inde for med sin person.

En anden problematik angår spørgsmålet om repræsentation. Den danske sangtradition har historisk set været præget af en bemærkelsesværdigt markant køns-

13 *Morgensang* er fra flere sider blevet anklaget for at være for indforstået eller for ekskluderende. Især kunstneren Niels Lyhne Løkkegaard har fremført denne kritik, dels i DR2- programmet *Arty Farty* i august 2020 (https://www.dr.dk/drtv/se/artyfarty_-naar-kultur-giver-kvalme_200745), og dels i P2- podcasten *Er den danske sang stadig en ung, blond pige?* i november 2020 (<https://www.dr.dk/radio/p2/den-nye-hoejskolesangbog/er-hun-stadig-en-ung-blond-pige-hoejskolesangbogen-2020-er-den-bog-ogsaa-til-mig>). Løkkegaards kritik er sammen med andre betragtninger om fællessangens ekskluderende mekanismer genstand for en nærmere analyse i Borčak og Marstal (under udgivelse).

ubalance blandt tekstforfattere og komponister: I *Den Danske Salmebog* og *Højskolesangbogen* – de to hovedkilder i programmets repertoirevalg – er der henholdsvis ca. 3,5 og ca. 4 procent kvindelige tekstforfattere, og ca. 2,5 og ca. 2 procent kvindelige komponister/sangskrivere, med henholdsvis 0 og ca. 1 procent sange/salmer skrevet udelukkende af kvinder (Marstal 2018, 44-45).¹⁴ I *Morgensang*-programmet blev denne omstændighed aldrig for alvor søgt udfordret, hvad angik langt størstedelen af repertoiret, og programmet reproducerede derved blot denne kønsfordeling. Dog spiller det ind, at de tre nyeste sange og salmer, som man valgte at spille i programmet – alle fra 2010'erne – primært var skrevet af kvinder.¹⁵ Derved fik redaktionen sendt et signal om, at i det 21. århundredes sangskrivning er en mere ligelig kønsfordeling ikke kun rimelig at forvente, men også nødvendig for fællessangstraditionens fortsatte legitimitet.

Hvad angik etniciteten blandt tekstforfattere og komponister reproducerede *Morgensang* ligeledes en gældende diskurs i dansk sangtradition, som tilsiger, at repertoiret er skrevet af etniske danskere – med ganske få undtagelser i form af enkelte svenske og norske sange samt enkelte melodier fra andre, vestlige lande, herunder – i første halvdel af 1800-tallet – melodier skrevet af indvandrede tyskere. At der især siden årtusindeskiftet har været markante sangskrivere herhjemme af både mellemøstlig, afrikansk og asiatisk oprindelse, som har lavet sange med fællessangskvaliteter, var ikke noget, der fremgik af programmets repertoirevalg. Som det vil fremgå af det næste afsnit, kan tilstedeværelsen af en delvist nostalgisk dagsorden dog have spillet ind i den forbindelse.

V. Nostalgiske aspekter af Morgensang set i lyset af repertoirevalget

Morgensang-programmets enkle, men stærke koncept appellerede til seerne først og fremmest i kraft af dets genkendelighed og i dets tilbud om at invitere til noget så uskyldigt, men velgørende, som fællessang. I programmets første lange og formative fase – dvs. frem til den 5. maj, hvor det som anført blev flyttet til DR's egne bygninger – var dets fysiske design eller ramme en stue domineret af et flygel, indfanget af en primært stationær kameraindstilling, der gav programmet optimal ro. En cello, en tuba og en akustisk guitar kunne anes i baggrunden på væggen og gulvet, og der var desuden stillet blomster frem på flyglet og i vindueskarmen. Flyglet havde desuden en særlig kulturhistorisk prægning ved at være af det ældre, danske fabrikat Hornung & Møller, udført i nydeligt nøddetræ. Dermed havde det en finkulturel appel, hvad det ikke helt i samme grad ville have haft, hvis det havde været fx et japansk flygel eller et klaver, eller hvis det havde været et moderne elektrisk klaver eller et keyboard. Dertil kom, at Fabers sangstemme var udpræget klassisk skolet hvad angik både klang

14 Der refereres her til den seneste udgave af *Den Danske Salmebog* (2003) samt 18. udgave af *Højskolesangbogen* (2006). Den nuværende 19. udgave af bogen, hvor der i et vist omfang er søgt rettet op på kønsbalancen for den nyeste del af repertoiret, udkom først i november 2020, altså efter at den første sæson af *Morgensang* – altså den sæson, hvor Faber var vært – var afsluttet.

15 Det gjaldt 'Lyset springer pludselig ud' (med musik Katrine Muff Enevoldsen og tekst af Suzanne Brøgger), 'Morgensolen over Øresund' (med tekst og musik af Anne Linnet) og 'Åbent hjerte' (med tekst og musik af Sys Bjerre og Christian Connie).

og diktion. Og eftersom den ulasteligt klædte og ditto udseende vært henvendte sig til seerne på et formfuldendt rigsdansk og på en ligefrem, men altid høflig måde – og gerne med et glimt i øjet – understøttede rammen et indtryk af programmet som et hjemsted for *tryghed* i en let altmodish og borgelig udgave. Så selv når der blev spillet pop- eller rocknumre af TV-2, Sys Bjerre og flere andre, signalerede programmets rammesætning først og fremmest et åndeligt tilhørsforhold til en borgerlig dannelseskulturs værdisæt, understreget af, at personen i centrum var en mand, ikke en kvinde, og dermed en person, der i overensstemmelse med en borgerlig dannelseskulturs delvist patriarkalske værdisæt hentede autoritet ud fra sit køn. Så rent bortset fra, at der var tale om en rigtig stue i et rigtigt hjem anno 2020 (dvs. parret Bohrs stue), tilførte rammen dermed programmet et skær af *nostalgi*.

Det er nærliggende at se netop denne nostalgiske omstændighed som en væsentlig årsag til, at konceptet for *Morgensang* kom til at fremstå så overbevisende. Nostalgi, et begreb oprindeligt anvendt i betydningen hjemve, forbindes typisk med længslen efter et svundet sted eller en svunden tid (se hertil Marstal 2013, 361). I løbet af 1900-tallet markerede det bl.a. en sværmerisk relation til førindustrielle livsformer (ibid., 362), og i senmoderniteten har det givet mening at forstå omgangen med nostalgiske effekter som et værn mod de særlige *diskontinuiteter* (Giddens 1990, 6-7), som senmoderniteten har bragt med sig i form af dens forandringshastighed samt omfanget af dem (ibid., 4-5). Hertil kommer den ligeledes senmoderne opfattelse af nostalgi som forestillingen om en tid eller et sted, man aldrig selv har oplevet, men netop derfor bilder sig ind at savne (Appadurai 1996, 78). I det hele taget spiller det desuden ind, at nostalgi længe har nydt udbredelse som marketingsstrategi (Routledge 2016, 6-7) og også i kunstens verden (Marstal 2013).

Nyere studier inden for psykologi har vist, at nostalgi særligt i det 21. århundrede i stadig højere grad er blevet associeret med noget positivt. Den kommercielle optagethed af nostalgi i hvert fald i den vestlige kulturkreds er dermed blevet suppleret med opfattelsen af nostalgi som en positiv ressource til at skabe meningsfylde i tilværelsen (Routledge 2016, 6). Og i en artikel om emnet inkluderer de to psykologer Taylor A. FioRito og Clay Routledge i deres tilhørende bibliografi en lang række studier fra kollegaer, der ikke blot dokumenterer de positive konsekvenser af at dyrke nostalgi, men også påviser, at nostalgi kan bidrage til at mildne følelsen af ensomhed (FioRito og Routledge 2020). Det kan derfor give mening at betragte det nostalgiske aspekt af *Morgensang*-programmerne som en både legitim og central instans i selve konceptet, uanset hvor uintenderet det end kan have været fra programtilrettelæggernes side. Med den tillidsvækkende Phillip Faber ved flyglet tilbød *Morgensang* dermed seerne at blive delagtiggjorte i en verden fyldt med en særlig tryghed, hvor gentagelsesaspektet spillede en stor rolle i og med, at programmet blev sendt hver eneste dag, og hvor de indledende opvarmningsøvelser bortset fra deres rent praktiske formål tjente den funktion at være et dagligt ritual eller en indvielsesmanøvre for enhver, der ønskede at deltage.

Det er i den forbindelse en vigtig pointe, at gentagelsen her fremstod som en garant for programmets æstetiske legitimitet. Den tyske sociolog Andreas Reckwitz diskuterer

i sin bog *Die Erfindung der Kreativität* (oversat til dansk som *Kreativitetens opfindelse*) gentagelsens æstetik som modbillede til senmodernitetens *overload* af æstetiske indtryk og noterer sig:

Det æstetiske nyhedsregime kan [...] stilles over for en gentagelsesæstetik, der søger at fremkalde identiske sansninger og følelser i den æstetiske praksis og koncentrerer sig om objekter og omgivelser på en måde, der ikke forstærker, men snarere bremser den strøm af mental aktivitet, der ledsager den målrationelle praksis (2020, 345).

Reckwitz pointerer nok så vigtigt: "I gentagelsens æstetik afhænger den æstetiske tilfredsstillelse ikke af pining, men af oplevelsen af det immobile og ikkedynamiske (ibid.)." Det er præcis det, som *Morgensang* formåede med epidemien som det skræmmende bagtæppe: at skabe kontinuitet og modvirke angsten gennem tryghed og ro.

I forhold til det nostalgiske aspekt spillede repertoirevalget indiskutabelt en rolle. Af en artikel på DR's hjemmeside fra den 30. marts 2020 (Anon. 2020) – altså to uger efter at *Morgensang* var gået i luften – fremgik det, at sangene blev valgt ud fra allerede eksisterende lister i DR-regi over, hvad seerne foretrak at synge, ligesom de blev valgt ud fra de lytterønsker, som i stor stil blev sendt ind til programredaktionen (ibid.). Her sagde Faber:

Vi vælger sange fra højskolesangbogen, salmebogen, gamle danske film og revyer og danske popsange. Det vigtigste er, at så mange som muligt kender dem og kan synge med. Langt de fleste af sangene er dem, som flest seere og lyttere har stemt på (ibid.).¹⁶

I artiklen om *Morgensang*-programmet på den danske udgave af *Wikipedia* kan samtlige sange (og salmer) fra de i alt 100 udsendelser ses oplistet (Anon. u.å. b), altså omkring 200 sange. Der tegner sig en tendens i repertoiret på tværs af genrer i forhold til den tid, de blev til i: Hvor godt og vel en fjerdedel af sangene i udsendelserne var skrevet i tiden op til 1900, var godt og vel en fjerdedel skrevet i perioden 1901-1950, mens godt og vel en fjerdedel var skrevet i perioden 1971-1990. De resterende sange fordelte sig med omkring en tiendedel skrevet i perioden 1951-1970 og omkring en tiendedel skrevet siden 1991, hvoraf blot tre var skrevet efter 2010.¹⁷

Det er dog spørgsmålet, hvorvidt denne disposition skulle skyldes nostalgiske tendenser, når mere end halvdelen af repertoiret er fra før 1950 – for det kunne lige så godt skyldes traditionskendskab og historisk bevidsthed hos såvel seerne som redaktionen. Og det taler imod den nostalgiske tendens, at godt og vel en tredjedel af repertoiret (dvs. godt og vel en fjerdedel plus omkring en tiendedel) var skrevet efter 1970. Og

16 Desuden valgte Faber i samråd med programredaktionen et vist omfang selv sange, herunder børnesange foruden sange og salmer fra *Kirkesangbogen* og *Sangbogen I-III* (Prip 2021).

17 I en mindre række tilfælde er tekst og melodi til sangene skrevet i vidt forskellige tidsaldrer (fx skrev B.S. Ingemann digtet 'Tit er jeg glad' i 1812, mens Carl Nielsens melodi, der så at sige skabte sangen, først kom til i 1917). I disse tilfælde er sangen indplaceret efter, hvornår den sidst tilkomne del – dvs. melodien – blev skrevet (og 'Tit er jeg glad' er dermed registreret som en sang fra perioden 1901-1950, til trods for at teksten er ældre).

at kun tre sange var skrevet efter 2010, siger noget om, at udbredelsen og den kollektive tilegnelse af sange ofte er forbundet med en ganske lang tidshorisont. Endelig er det indlysende, at formen har haft en indflydelse på repertoire: Der blev udelukkende inddraget sange, som var egnede til klaverledsagelse. Havde formen været anderledes, sådan at der fx havde været et band til at ledsage sangene, kunne flere pop-, rock- og måske endda hiphop-numre være kommet i spil. Og havde akkompagnementet havde været foretaget på akustisk guitar, kunne flere folk- og visesange have kommet det.

Alligevel kan der siges at ligge en nostalgisk tendens i repertoirevalget i kraft af den omstændighed, at programmerne næsten udelukkende koncentrerede sig om sange, som man 'altid havde kendt': Udover ældre danske sange gjaldt det fx tonefilmssange, børnesange, sange af Kim Larsen eller Anne Linnet samt for de yngre generationers vedkommende nyere efterskolesange. Trine Heide bemærker i den forbindelse, at det var påfaldende, hvordan de mange skoleklasser, som også sendte ønsker ind, typisk valgte sange fra før de selv kom til verden (Heide 2021). Repertoiremæssigt samlede programmet sig dermed kun i stærkt begrænset grad om tiden fra 2000 til 2020, selvom der immervæk er tale om en ganske lang periode på to årtier, og selvom perioden frembragte en kanoniserede og afholdte dansksprogede sange af så forskellige navne som Natasja, Peter Sommer, Katinka, Magtens Korridorer, Søren Huss, Marie Key, Rasmus Seebach, S!vas, Medina, Minds of 99 og andre, der alle har leveret kendte, fællessangsorienterede sange. Ingen af disse navne kom dog i spil i programmet af årsager, hvoraf den nostalgiske tilgang kunne være en af dem.¹⁸

VI. Fællessang som medieret deltagerkultur

Indtil videre har jeg som anført benyttet begrebet den nye fællessangsbevægelse til at betegne de nye måder, hvorpå fællessangen blev udfoldet på under coronakrisen i tv-regi. Men begrebet sætter samtidig fokus på den omstændighed, at en særlig medieret sanghandling vandt indpas, og at fællessangen i medieret form i langt højere grad end tidligere nu blev tilpasset eller måske endda formet af en særlig *medielogik* (Hjarvard 2013, 13) uden hvilken programmerne slet ikke havde kunnet finde sted: En logik, der først og fremmest satte mediet selv snarere end *sagen* i centrum, og som sikrede en omnipræsent tilstedeværelse i det offentlige medierum via streamingfunktionen på DR's hjemmeside, der muliggjorde, at programmet kunne tilgås døgnet rundt så ofte seerne havde lyst til at se programmerne. Mediehistorisk forstået var programmet dermed resultatet af en irreversibel dimension i de sociale udviklingsprocesser (Couldry 2012, 137), hvor dets kulturelle værdi og betydning ikke længere kunne adskilles fra dets karakter af at være, hvad man kunne kalde et *mediecentrisk* fænomen – i lighed med fx politiske valgprogrammer, realityprogrammer eller internationale sportsbegivenheder på tv, hvor medieringen som sådan spillede en helt afgørende rolle (Hjarvard 2013, 7).

Ifølge medieteoretikeren Detlef Krotz er *mediering* (på engelsk: *mediatization*) som fænomen brudt igennem i senmoderniteten på linje med globaliseringen og indi-

18 En undtagelse var dog TV-2's 'Fald min engel' fra 2001, som i forvejen var tilgængelig i repertoire fra *Kirkesangbogen* (se hertil note 16).

vidualiseringen forstået som en såkaldt metaproces (ibid., 12) til at karakterisere en særlig fase i samfundsudviklingen, i hvilken medierne udøver en særlig dominerende indflydelse på de øvrige sociale institutioner (ibid., 13). At også fællessang og dermed en central del af den danske, immaterielle kulturarv nu kunne siges at være underlagt medielogikkens irreversible udviklingsproces, var fællessangsprogrammerne under coronakrisen et klart udtryk for. De var også udtryk for, at fællessang ikke længere kunne forstås som en begivenhed, hvor den eneste tilstedeværende medieringsproces var betinget af de fysiske sangbøger, man anvendte til at synge med og dermed var, hvad Stig Hjarvard betegner som en indirekte eller svag mediering (ibid., 20). Nej, fællessang kunne nu også siges at være resultatet af en direkte eller stærk mediering, hvor tidligere ikke-medierede begivenheder blev konverteret til en medieret form (ibid.). Konsekvensen af dette kan fremover meget vel være, at fællessangskulturen som sådan én gang for alle vil få ændret sin kulturelle kontekst i en medieret retning, sådan at dens attraktionskraft for den del af befolkningen, der ikke har mødt fællessangskulturen på anden vis, står og falder med dens evne til at indgå i direkte medierede sammenhænge på bekostning af de indirekte. Medieringen af det musikalske, forestillede fællesskab, som undervejs opstod dels mellem tv-skærmens eget rum og de mange private hjem landet over, er dermed en nyskabelse i den nyere danske mediehistorie. Ganske vist havde der tidligere fandtes tv-programmer, hvor seerne blev inviteret til at synge fællessang foran skærmen (Borčak 2018, 226-227), men invitationen i *Morgensang* til selv at deltage foran skærmen forekom som tidligere nævnt at være radikaliseret.

Deltagerkultur er betegnelsen for enhver interaktion mellem det digitalt tilgængelige indhold på nettet og den deltagende person. Sammen med en række andre medieforskere har Henry Jenkins defineret begrebet blandt andet som en kultur, 1) hvor det er relativt let at udøve et civilt engagement; 2) hvor en uformel mentor om nødvendigt hjælper deltagerne på vej; 3) hvor deltagerne oplever, at deres bidrag er af betydning samt 4) hvor deltagerne oplever en vis grad af social forbindelse mellem hinanden (2007, 24). Dermed skal begrebet ikke forveksles med interaktive teknologier, idet interaktivitet er en egenskab ved teknologien, mens deltagelse er en egenskab ved kulturen (ibid., 25) – det vil sige: i en digitaliseret verden, hvor skellet mellem forbrugere og indholdsproducenter er blevet mindre klart (ibid., 31). Det er interessant, at tv-kigning som sådan ikke falder ind under disse definitioner, med undtagelse af punkt 4, idet det at se en stor event i tv kan styrke oplevelsen af at tage del i et forestillet fællesskab. Ikke desto mindre kunne de to fællessangsprogrammer på DR begge siges at falde ind under alle fire definitioner for deltagerkultur, hvilket understreger hvor *anderledes* programmerne kommunikerede med deres seere, og dermed også hvor nutidige de kunne siges at være.

For det første var der det civile engagement: Ved at tage sig tid til at se programmerne, deltage i Fabers obligatoriske opvarmningsøvelser, synge med på sangene og måske løbende uploade billeder eller videoer til DR's sociale platforme og dertil indrettede servere, udøvede disse seere et civilt engagement. Det skete ved at tage aktivt del i fællessangsbevægelsen og dermed bakke op om dens rolle som noget samlende

og opmuntrende under en national krise, og for nogles vedkommende også ved at lade sit eksempel komme andre til gode i form af billed- og videomaterialet.

For *det andet* var der tilstedeværelsen af den uformelle mentor: I begge programmer agerede Phillip Faber en sådan. Han introducerede ofte sangene og benyttede sin musikfaglighed til undertiden at pege på særligt vigtige, pudsige eller nyttige oplysninger ved dem foruden med sin klare stemme og diktation at lede seerne gennem sange, de ikke kendte på forhånd eller måske havde svært ved at huske.

Endelig var der for *det tredje* og *fjerde* oplevelsen af, at ens bidrag havde betydning, og at der blev etableret en social forbindelse til andre brugere: Udover at billed- og videomaterialet havde værdi for andre seere, oplevede mange også, at deres ønsker om at få bestemte sange med i *Morgensang*-programmet blev hørt. I programmerne blev det snart til et dagligt indslag, at en seer filmede sig selv med sin mobiltelefon og lavede en kort motivering af, hvorfor netop denne sang skulle synges. Indslagene bekræftede indtrykket af, at den nye fællessangsbevægelse ikke udelukkende var mediedrevet, men også hentede styrke og legitimitet ud fra det personlige engagement, som seerne udviste.

Grænsen mellem indholdsproducenter og forbrugere er blevet mindre klar i det 21. århundrede. Denne omstændighed er i tråd med en artikel af de to kreativitets- og innovationsforskere Vlad P. Glăveanu og Edward P. Clapp (2018). Her hævder de blandt andet, at kreativitetsaspektet i deltagerkulturen er blevet en slags "cultural empowerment" i sig selv, idet "new ways of 'thinking,' 'doing,' and 'participating' in creativity are at play" (ibid., 61). Det er i den forbindelse vigtigt at forstå begrebet fællessang som en noget mere fleksibel størrelse end når en fysisk forsamling afsynger en fællessang efter en sangbog. I sådanne tilfælde vil næsten alle tilstedeværende bryde ud i sang, og selvom man skulle vælge ikke at synge med, hvad enten det nu kan skyldes fx modvilje, mangel på tiltro til egne sangevner eller halsbetændelse, vil man alligevel være omsluttet af sangen i en grad, at man kun kan undgå den ved at forlade rummet. Men i fællessangens nye deltagerkultur er forpligtelsen på at synge med fra begyndelsen til slutningen ikke længere helt så evident: Selvom sangene altid var teksten på skærmen i de to tv-programmer, kunne sangen udspille sig på andre måder end som den gængse, dvs. at synge med fra begyndelsen til slutningen. Nogle ville nøjes med at synge med på omkvædet, måske fordi de ikke var fortrolige med andet end det; andre ville synge med på bestemte linjer, der i særlig grad befordrede deltagelse, mens andre først efterhånden ville blive bevæget til at synge med.

Derved bliver hver enkelt tv-seer potentielt set til både "sanger, omkvædsanger, medsanger og tilhører" (Hansen 2018, 53), sådan som projektforsker Lene Halskov Hansen karakteriserer begrebet *den mundtlige sangtradition*, der har kendetegnet "den brede befolknings sangkultur frem til midten af 1900-tallet" (ibid., 52). Hun gør opmærksom på, at i den mundtlige sangtradition "er der langt fra altid klare skel imellem solosang, fællessang og sange, hvor de tilstedeværende synger omkvæd og/eller gentagelser af verslinjer" (ibid., 57). Derfor kan også fællessangens nye deltagerkultur siges at være en praktisering af en sådan mundtlig sangtradition, men ikke udelukkende: Blandt seerne har nogle kendt programmernes repertoire godt; andre har kendt dele af det; og andre igen har først skulle genopfriske sangene, før de kunne synge

med. Desuden fremtræder mundtligheden i delvist medieret form, idet det som tidligere nævnt var kutyme i samtlige programmer af *Morgensang*-programmerne, at sangene var teksten på skærmen.

Uagtet disse forbehold giver det mening at hævde, at fællessangens nye deltagerkultur rummer elementer af mundtlig sangtradition i en grad, der bringer den tættere på den mere eller mindre fragmenterede fællessangskultur, som kendes fra visse værts-huse (dvs. når nogen sætter sig ved det stedlige klaver med det formål at få de tilstede-værende til at synge med på kendte popsange), end på den gængse fællessangspraksis, hvor en forsamling synger en sang sammen fra første til sidste vers efter en sangbog.

VII. S/A-fællessang som begreb

Under coronakrisen skulle fællessangskulturen overraskende vise sig at være så fleksibel, at den også i en tid med *social distancing* – som var en altafgørende forudsætning for at komme krisen til livs – formåede at spille en hovedrolle. Fællessangskulturen tilbød sig ganske enkelt som en fællesskabs- og identitetsskabende begivenhed af uformel art, men særligt tilpasset den nye situation, hvor alle blev forventet at opholde sig hjemme så meget som muligt, og hvor forsamlingsforbuddet nærmest umuliggjorde, at egentlige fysiske fællessangshandlinger overhovedet kunne finde sted. I en vis forstand kom begrebet fællessang under krisen derved til at sprænge sin egen definition i stumper og stykker: For den kollektive handling at synge den samme sang på samme tid havde nu vist sig at kunne foregå også i situationer, hvor de syngende befandt sig alene i stuen eller blot ganske få familiemedlemmer eller samlevende – men hvor oplevelsen af at befinde sig i et fællesskab med andre i andre hjem alligevel var intens og meningsgivende. Men den krævede nye måder at orientere sig på. Et eksempel: På minutter inde i en af udsendelserne af programmet *Fællessang – hver for sig* en fredag aften i foråret 2020 slog en bekendt et stort, hjertefyldt skilt op på sin Facebook-væg ledsaget af ordene: "Er der nogen af jer, der synger med på DR 1, så jeg ved, hvem jeg synger i kor med?" Kommentarsporet blev snart fyldt med tilkendegivelser fra andre, der sang med. Den bekendte oplevede på denne måde, at vedkommende ikke var alene om at sidde for sig selv og synge. Men trangen til at spørge opstod, fordi vedkommende i modsætning til enhver anden fællessangssituation selvsagt ikke kunne høre andre end sig selv synge med, bortset fra de syngende på skærmen.¹⁹

I det 21. århundrede har begrebet *togetherness* interesseret socialteoretikere og socialpsykologer. Begrebet betegner oplevelsen af at være 'sammen med andre' i de virtuelle fællesskaber, som internettet og computerteknologien stiller til rådighed, men på måder, der skaber ensomhed. Medieforskeren Neil M. Alperstein bemærker i den forbindelse, at verden i stadig højere grad et blevet et sted, hvor samvær bliver formidlet via teknologi snarere end egentlig social interaktion (2019, 4). Alperstein refererer til socialpsykologen Sherry Tuckle, som beskriver, hvordan hverdagens digitale ritualer rummer et paradoks, idet vi på én og samme tid er hooket op med et

19 Dette afsnit (fra "Under coronakrisen" til "på skærmen") er et let omskrevet uddrag fra Borčak og Marstal 2020.

stort netværk, men alligevel føler os alene (ibid., 20). Netop denne omstændighed lod til at være tilfældet for fællessangsprogrammerne: Oplevelsen af at være sammen med hundredtusindvis af andre danske borgere *netop nu* bidrog utvivlsomt til at skabe en helt usædvanlig samhørighed, i hvert fald i de situationer, hvor sangene så at sige løftede sig for den enkelte deltager.

Det giver på den baggrund mening at karakterisere den tv-medierede fællessangskultur under coronakrisen som en *togetherness/aloneness*-fællessang, et begreb der her vil blive oversat som *samhørighed/alenehed*-fællessang eller i forkortet form S/A-fællessang. For at en fællessangssituation skal kunne betegnes som S/A-fællessang skal den være medieret elektronisk, dvs. at der transmitteres fra en lokation, som brugeren så kan finde via internettet, tv eller radio. Desuden skal den være organiseret sådan, at deltagerne er fysisk begrænset til at være fra én person til en lille gruppe af personer.²⁰ Endelig skal den have karakter af at være en ritualiseret praksis i den forstand, at den eksplicit inviterer seerne til at deltage aktivt (en tv-transmitteret popkoncert, hvor seeren sidder derhjemme og nynner med, lever således kun i stærkt begrænset grad op til kriterierne for S/A-fællessang).

Der er ingen tvivl om, at S/A-fællessangen dermed radikaliserer tilstedeværelsen af det musikalsk forestillede fællesskab. For når man synger med på sangene præsenteret i tv-programmet, er man alene eller blot sammen med ganske få – men på den anden side er mængden af personer i nøjagtigt samme situation som én selv overvældende stor. Dermed rummer modsætningen mellem “togetherness” og “aloneness” en spændvidde, som kun kan udfyldes af programmets bestræbelse på at give det forestillede fællesskab krop og mæle – hvilket sker gennem de konstante forsikringer fra værterne om, at der er mange, som ser med, og gennem de mange løbende klip med syngende personer i udpræget fællesskabsorienterede situationer.

Det spiller ind, at den nye fællessangskultur udfolder sig som et eksempel på det, som Andreas Reckwitz kalder for “profan kreativitet” (2020, 341-344), og som han ser som et særligt kendetegn ved det senmoderne samfund. Begrebet betegner specifikt de kreativitetsprocesser, som har bredt sig fra den kreative kunstverden til det sociale felt. Begrebet har til dels relation til fællessangen, idet dens sange skabes af digtere, sangskrivere og komponister og formidles via kunstnerisk informerede medieagenter (fx radio- og tv-værter, kulturjournalister og sangbogsredaktører), hvorfra de bliver taget ind af aktører i den bredest mulige sociale forståelse af ordet i form af alle de, der deltager i sanghandling med fællessang som omdrejningspunkt.

Men det profane i denne kreative handling angår desuden også den særlige omstændighed, at sanghandlingen – modsat den handling at skabe sangene i første omgang – unddrager sig gængse musikalske kvalitetskrav: En egentligt kunstnerisk-æstetisk dimension kan ikke med rimelighed forventes af være et obligatorisk krav i

20 Det øvre antal var begrænset af det forsamlingsforbud, som ved Statsministeriets pressemøde den 17. marts – altså netop på den dag, hvor *Morgensang* første gang gik i luften i DR-regi – blev sat til ti personer med virkning fra den efterfølgende dag (Ottosen og Ancher-Jensen 2021). Forsamlingsforbuddet gjaldt i første omgang til den 30. marts 2020, men blev herefter forlænget og var gældende i hele perioden frem til den 23. juni, hvor programmet sluttede.

fællessangssammenhænge, eftersom alle synger med sit eget næb, og eftersom retten til kun at synge delvist med – eller at synge uden at gøre sig videre umage – som oftest accepteres som en helt rimelig omstændighed. Som Jens Henrik Koudal bemærker i en betragtning om højskolesangen, gælder det, at den ”unddrager sig vurdering som æstetisk fænomen og skal snarere bedømmes efter sin stemningsskabende og vækkende kraft” (Koudal 2005, 117). Glæden ved at synge sammen – eller alene sammen med andre som i S/A-fællessangen – har nemlig ofte forrang over de fordringer til kvalitet i udførelsen, som vi med rette forventer ellers er til stede i musikalske sammenhænge. For det er i udgangspunktet aldrig meningen, at man skal lytte passivt til fællessang – tanken er, at man selv skal synge med i fysisk forstand eller i det mindste synge indenad. Ideelt set er der derfor slet ingen passive lyttere under fællessang – modtager og afsender er sammenfaldende.

I denne særlige sammenhæng er Reckwitz’ tanker om profan kreativitet interessante, ikke mindst i denne betragtning:

Et kendetegn ved den profane kreativitets praksis er, at kreativitet i denne sammenhæng *hverken* er en social forventning *eller* et internaliseret ønske, og derfor er den sociale anerkendelse og følelsen af selvværd uafhængige af sådanne forventninger og ønsker. De kreative handlinger unddrager sig en evaluering udefra og fremstår dermed ikke som præstationer, der udføres for andre eller foran et publikum (2020, 344; kursiv i original).

Videre hævder Reckwitz, at den profane kreativitet udmærker sig ved at benytte gentagelsen som sit medium, jf. de 100 udsendelser med *Morgensang*, som det blev til i alt: ”I gentagelsens æstetik afhænger den æstetiske tilfredsstillelse ikke af pirring, men af oplevelsen af det immobile og ikkedynamiske” (ibid., 345). I den forstand var *Morgensang* et program til tiden, hvor en senmoderne befolkning som den danske kunne føle sig trygge i S/A-fællessangen uden at skulle stille krav til sig selv eller hinanden om at leve op til eller lade sig udfordre af det indiskutabelt markante fagligt-musikalske niveau i Phillip Fabers klaverspil og sang, men derimod blot lade sig lede, uden at følelsen af selvværd i selve situationen blev udfordret. Alligevel er det på sin plads at spørge, hvorvidt S/A-fællessangen trods sine kvaliteter samtidig har medvirket til at udvande begrebet fællessang. For fulgte seernes adfærdsmønster foran skærmen gængs adfærd for fysisk fællessang, eller fulgte den snarere gængs adfærd for tv-kigning, hvor man, i fald man er mere end én tilstedeværende, ofte taler hen over det, der bliver sagt i tv, eller ikke føler sig særlig forpligtet på at lytte efter, hvis man i det givne øjeblik fx føler behov for at gå ud og tage en ekstra trøje på eller lave sig en kop te?

Men i en fysisk fællessangssituation er selve fordringen om, at man sidder på sin plads for at synge, så stærk, at man kun i sjældne tilfælde vil finde på at forlade rummet. Selv hvis man ikke bryder sig om den sang, der bliver sunget, eller man ikke kender den, vil man blive siddende – og måske tage ved lære undervejs, måske endda ændre opfattelse af den. Den mulighed er mindre oplagt i ens egen stue, hvor man i modsætning til den fysiske fællessangssituation ikke er underlagt andet end sin egen samvittighed, og hvor impulsprægede reaktioner er mere tilbøjelige til at

råde. En afgørende forskel er lydstyrken: Hvor man kun sjældent vil have skruet så højt op for tv'et, at man ikke kan tale henover det og dermed kommunikere uhindret med de øvrige tilstedeværende i rummet, vil en fysisk fællessangsforsamling på fyrrer eller måske blot tyve personer synge temmelig kraftigt, i hvert fald så kraftigt, at man ikke ville finde på at tale henover sangen i andet end absolut korte sætninger, om overhovedet.

Endvidere er det en præmis i fysisk forestillede fællesskaber, hvor der bliver sunget fællessang, at denne kollektive aktivitet skaber indirekte relationer til de øvrige tilstedeværende – for de øvrige har jo sunget præcis de samme toner og ord på præcis samme tidspunkt som en selv. Men præmissen går på forhånd tabt i S/A-fællessangen, fordi sådanne relationer kun vanskeligt kan efterspores: Man ved ikke, om dem, man går forbi på gaden, har deltaget i samme fællessangsaktivitet som en selv, eller om de har gjort det på samme tidspunkt. Disse dilemmaer peger på en række udfordringer for S/A-fællessangen, som ikke er blevet italesat eller problematiseret under den nye fællessangsbevægelse, men som ikke desto mindre kan være af betydning for ikke blot tilegnelsen af fællessangskulturen fremover, men også anerkendelsen af den.

VIII. Afrunding

Artiklen har vist, hvordan den nye fællessangsbevægelse i foråret og forsommeren 2020 formåede at radikalisere fællessangsbegrebet ved at lade fællessang udspille sig som noget, der foregik foran tv-skærmen, hvorved det forestillede musikalske fællesskab, som seerne indgik i, ligeledes blev radikaleret. I kraft af redegørelsen for tilblivelsen af konceptet for *Morgensang* blev det klart, at et vist nostalgisk aspekt i repertoirevalget var til stede her, om end selve repertoiret generelt var balanceret mellem ældre og nyere sange, og selvom et populærmusikalsk repertoire blev tilgodeset undervejs. Denne årsag havde formodentlig betydning for programmets karakter af at reproducere snarere end at udfordre fællesskabsdiskursens potentielt ekskluderende mekanismer samt dens relation til repræsentation.

Artiklen har endvidere vist, hvordan den nye fællessangsbevægelse har skabt grund for en ny deltagerkultur, hvor seernes interaktioner med det givne elektroniske medie, programmerne blev set eller hørt på, spiller en central rolle. Af den årsag giver det mening at betegne den nye fællessangsbevægelse som en S/A-orienteret fællessangskultur, hvor spændvidden mellem det at sidde derhjemme alene eller ganske få og så det at være hundredtusindvis af seere er blevet udvidet. Endelig har artiklen diskuteret, hvorvidt fællessangsbegreber står i fare for at blive udvandet, når selve aktiviteten foregår på de elektroniske mediers snarere end på fællessangens præmisser.

Det står dog fast, at fællessangsdiskursen i Danmark blev delvist redefineret med coronakrisens opståen. I hvilken form denne nye erfaring kommer til at indgå som komponent i fællessangsdiskursen fremover, hvor spændet mellem virtuelle og fysiske fællesskaber kan vise sig at blive endnu mere radikaleret, forbliver indtil videre et åbent spørgsmål.

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Interviews

- Heide 2021: Telefonisk interview med Trine Heide, den 4. marts 2021.
- Prip 2021: Telefonisk interview med Anne Karine Prip, den 4. marts 2021.

Hjerterum og plads til hvem du er

Gruppemusikterapi for yngre mennesker med demens

Indledning

Omkvædet i Sebastians kendte sang fra 1978 begynder med: *'Du er ikke alene. Der er en, der følger dig. Og det er helt på det rene, han har det li'som dig'*. Sangen starter således: *'Når du ta'r afsted, vend dig ikke om. Der er ingen vej tilbage, hvorfra du kom'*. I denne artikel præsenteres en undersøgelse af det særlige musikalske fællesskab, som opstod i et pilotprojekt med gruppemusikterapi for yngre demensramte personer.

Undersøgelsen dokumenterede, at begge de citerede udsagn fra Sebastians sang er centrale for målgruppen: demensramte mennesker under 65 år. For den enkelte demensramte person er der ingen vej tilbage til den normalitet, der var før sygdommen. Alle demensramte personer deler den skæbne – og er med Sebastians ord ikke alene – om at være i en kontinuerlig forandringsproces med lidelse og tab.

Demens er en fællesbetegnelse for en række sygdomstilstande karakteriseret ved vedvarende svækkelse af mentale funktioner (Nationalt Videnscenter for Demens)¹. Ca. 3.000 personer under 65 år er i Danmark registreret med en demensdiagnose. At få en demensdiagnose i en tidlig alder medfører store forandringer i livssituationen, både for personen selv og for de pårørende (Nationalt Videnscenter for Demens)². Fremtiden må tages op til revision. Hvordan kan hverdagen indrettes efter arbejdslivet ophør? Både i sessionerne og efterfølgende fokusgruppeinterviews gav flere af deltagerne udtryk for at stå forvirrede og fortvivlede i en søgen efter en ny identitet, efter at have måttet forlade et arbejdsfællesskab.

Da pilotprojektet fandt sted i 2018, var alle deltagerne medlemmer i aktivitetscenteret, *Huset*, der er en gren af demensenheden 'Center for demens – Lindehusene' i København. Artiklens ene forfatter, Hugo Jensen, var musikterapeut i forløbet. Den anden forfatter, Lars Ole Bonde, observerede og interviewede deltagerne og to ansatte, der også deltog i hele forløbet. Halvdelen af deltagerne var hjemmeboende og kom i *Huset*. De øvrige, der var flyttet ind på landets første afdeling med lejligheder for yngre demensramte personer (afdeling 700), kom også stadig i *Huset* nogle dage om ugen.

I pilotprojektet, der blev finansieret af Vidensgruppen for Musikterapi, AAU, ønskede vi at undersøge, hvilket udbytte en gruppe yngre demensramte kunne have af et gruppemusikterapiforløb: dvs. af sammen at lytte til musik, synge, danse, arbejde med improvisation, krop, stemme og bevægelse, samt sangskrivning. Artiklens titel er

1 <https://videnscenterfordemens.dk/da/hvad-er-demens>

2 <https://videnscenterfordemens.dk/da/yngre-med-demens>

indledningen af sangen, der blev skrevet i de sidste tre sessioner (og synges på melodien til Anne Linnets *'Tusind stykker'*). Teksten beskriver tilhørsforholdet til *Huset* og værdien af at være og gøre noget i en gruppe med andre demensramte mennesker.

I Huset er der hjerterum

I Huset er der hjerterum
og plads til, hvem du er –
selv hvis du kommer til at såre andre.

At bære over, det er vigtigt,
også med sig selv.
Vi deler meget, sammen kan vi vandre.

Omkvæd:

*Jeg kan ikke mere alting,
efter jeg er blevet syg.
Indeni der er jeg dog den samme!
Og har du brug for plads og knus og kærlighed fra mig,
så tag min hånd – og sig, hvis vi skal kramme.*

*Alting kan gå itu,
men Huset, det er et sted, der samler.
Her er det dig og mig og os,
demensen vi byder trods!*

På dage, hvis det hele driller
og gør pokkers ondt,
så se dig om og ikke mer' tilbage.

At grine godt er vigtigt,
faktisk også af sig selv,
det løsner op, gi'r liv og glade dage.

Omkvæd

I Huset kan man føle,
at man faktisk er normal,
fordi man deler meget med hinanden

Vi træner, maler, synger,
danser – ting vi holder af,
vi går en tur – men ikke fra forstanden!

Omkvæd

I sangteksten formuleres den oplevelse, at deltagerne kunne støtte og spejle sig i hinanden i aktivitetscenteret. Siget med pilotprojektet var at undersøge deltagernes eget, personalets og vores perspektiv på samvær og samhandlinger i gruppemusikterapien. Kunne der skabes særlige rum og muligheder ved at mødes i og omkring musikken? Med en henvisning til Sebastians *Du er ikke alene* eksemplificerer en dialog fra 6. session, at deltagerne kunne spejle sig i musikken og bruge den metaforisk:

En deltager (Ha) fortæller, at hun har fået svært ved at tage tøj på. En i gruppen laver en joke med det. Der grines. Terapeut (herefter Tp): *'Må jeg spørge om noget? Når vi sidder i det her forum, er det så lettere at dele sådan nogle ting? Og grine af det (...).* Ha: *'Ja, det er det. For derhjemme bliver jeg hidsig og sveder og bliver helt rød'(...).* U: *'Det kommer an på hvordan situationen er (...)* når vi står, og man gækker'. Ha: *'I Huset er vi jo gode til det. Men det er lidt mere de gamle venner og dem, man har endnu'.* U: *'Så dækker man sig lidt ind (hun viser med kropssproget at skjule sig under noget), man vil helst ikke (...)* (hun viser at åbne en dør/vindue). Mo: *'Det gi'r ikke rigtig mening, det der'.* Tp: *'Hvad er der med de gamle venner?' (...).* Ha: *'Venner, som ikke er nære venner, de kommer ud og møder nogen, så begynder jeg ikke at sige 'nu skal du også høre om mine kvaler'. (...)* og så er der nogen (...) jeg har bare kundgjort: Jeg har fået en tidlig Alzheimer. Det har jeg sagt til alle. Det kan man lige så godt, synes jeg'. Mo: *'Det gør jeg også, men hvis det vender forkert (...)* Man snakker ikke om det mere, sådan er det bare. (...) Man skal selvfølgelig ikke trætte folk med det'. Ha: *'Nej, men bare sådan fast (...)* faktum er sådan og sådan. Det er derfor, jeg engang imellem glemmer, hvad jeg lige har sagt'. U kigger rundt i gruppen og synger første linje af Sebastians sang: *'Du er ikke alene'.* Der grines. U: *'Så må vi bare forblive sammen, så det ikke kommer ud'.* Latter. (...) Ha: *'Men det er også godt nogle gange lige at snakke om det og bande lidt. Det har vi jo gjort nogle gange, når vi har malet. Så bliver man lidt rasende på det hele, og så er det sagt, så er det hjulpet lidt (hun ryster hænderne og viser 'ude af kroppen').* Tp (spejler bevægelsen): *'Renser det lidt ud så?'* Ha nikker.

Dialogen ovenfor viser eksempler på symbolisering og mentalisering hos flere af deltagerne. Professor i musikterapi, Hanne Mette Ochsner Ridder, har skrevet om selvregulering og dyadisk regulering i musikterapi med demensramte. Evnen til selvregulering er tæt knyttet til velbefindende og interpersonelle kompetencer og formes af opmærksomheds- og stressregulering samt mentalisering. Væsentlige komponenter i vores 'sociale hjerne' er en bevidsthed om vores indre liv og handlinger (Ridder 2017, 199). Symbolisering og mentalisering er nogle af de kognitive færdigheder, som vi anser for at være af afgørende psykosocial betydning og ønskede at sætte fokus på i projektet.

Formål og problemformulering

Formålet med projektet var overordnet at undersøge, om og hvordan forskellige musikterapeutiske metoder (Bruscia 2014; Ruud 1997) kunne indgå i eller skabe et fællesskab, hvor den enkeltes identitet kunne blive bekræftet og styrket gennem menings-

fulde aktiviteter. Undersøgelsen sigtede også mod at afdække deltagernes perception og kognitive respons på forløbet, herunder om der kunne arbejdes med mentalisering og symbolisering.

Problemformulering

Gennem videoobservation af gruppemusikterapiforløb med yngre demensramte mennesker og efterfølgende interviews ønsker vi at undersøge, om og i givet fald hvordan (gruppe)musikterapeutiske metoder kan fungere som psykosocial støtte. Der fokuseres på, om og hvordan deltagernes perception, mentaliserings- og symboliseringsevne viser og evt udvikler sig i forløbet.

Teori og baggrund

Musik, musikterapi og relationer

Den empiriske undersøgelse af de samskabende, kreative processer tager afsæt i en musikterapeutisk praksis og forståelsesramme. Even Ruud beskriver musik som '*kommunikation og samhandling*', hvor musikkens betydning bliver til i komplekse kommunikationsprocesser, som er lokale og konkrete, og han har defineret musikterapi som '*brugen af musik til at give mennesker nye handle- og oplevelsesmuligheder*' (Ruud 1990, 2020). Denne definition er beslægtet med "Affirmative og korrektive kropslige, følelsesmæssige og relationelle oplevelser gennem musicering", som er målet for "helse-musicering" iflg Bonde (2014c), herunder skabelse og vedligeholdelse af identitet, samt fællesskab og værdier gennem musicering (ibid.).

Musikforskeren Christopher Small (1998) beskriver musik som et socialt fænomen og ikke blot et (æstetisk) objekt, en aktivitet, der udøves af mennesker på mange forskellige måder og i et utal af sammenhænge. Small foretager et radikalt grammatisk greb og bruger i stedet for subjektet 'musik' et verbum: *music(k)ing* (Bonde 2014a, 48). På dansk (og i denne artikel) anvendes oversættelsen *musicering* (Bonde 2009; eller *musikering*, Krog og Nielsen 2014) om musikalske samhandlinger.

Når mennesker musicerer sammen og evt. kan forholde sig til (og måske spejle sig i) hinanden og/eller i musikken, så er der flere tale om flere relationelle forhold. Ken Bruscia påpeger, at både musikken og relationer er integrerede og afhængige dele af den musikterapeutiske proces (2014, 158). Hvert menneske får en unik intramusikalsk oplevelse ved at lytte til eller udtrykke sig gennem musik (ibid., 159). Mellem to eller flere mennesker kan der på samme vis i den mellem menneskelige relation tales om et intermusikalsk plan, når musiklytning eller -udøvelse er fælles. I musikterapi lægges der vægt på processen i et forløb – frem for et eventuelt produkt, som det typisk er tilfældet i musikpædagogik (Krøier, Anderson-Ingstrup og Bonde 2019).

I artiklen skelnes mellem *musik som terapi*, hvor musikken selv eller den musikalske interaktion er katalysator for terapeutisk forandring, eller *musik i terapi*, hvor klienterne forholder sig til musik eller en oplevelse forbundet med det (Bonde 2014b).

Musik som redskab til regulering og containing

En folkesundhedsundersøgelse har vist, at de fleste voksne danskere bruger musik sundhedsfremmende, f.eks. for at regulere deres stemningsleje eller at udtrykke følelser. Blandt de 45-64-årige i denne danske undersøgelse brugte 62.2% musik til afslapning og 38.7% musik til at regulere følelser og stemninger (Ekholm, Juel og Bonde 2016; Ekholm og Bonde 2018). Et menneskes perception af musik påvirker og påvirkes af både krop og følelser (Lindvang og Beck 2017). Oplevelsen af følelser fremkaldt af musik er individuel. Den opstår i et samspil mellem den musikalske struktur, opførelsens karakter, den individuelle lytter og lytningens kontekst. Musik påvirker os dermed forskelligt, og musikkens regulerende effekt i forhold til arousal-niveau og stemningsleje er individuel (Christensen 2017, 98-99). Musik kan vælges mhp. at kontrastere en persons tilstand og evt. skabe en 'omstemning' (kompensations-princippet) eller at matche en persons tilstand (iso-princippet) (Bonde 2014d, 174). Demensramte personer svækkes gradvist i sygdomsforløbet i deres evne til selvregulering, både emotionelt og i forhold til arousal-niveau (Ridder 2017).

Musikterapi tager udgangspunkt i et bio-psyko-socialt menneskesyn med en eksistentiel-åndelig dimension (Bonde 2014a, 49). Den holistiske tilgang sigter mod hjælpe mennesker med også at være i (og evt. forholde sig til) svære følelser, fx sorg eller vrede. Demensforsker Tom Kitwood, der omtales i næste afsnit, bruger begrebet holding om evnen (hos omsorgsgiveren) til at rumme eller "containere" negative og konfliktfyldte følelser (Ridder 2014, 317). Musik anvendt til holding kan være en måde at dække psykosociale behov hos demensramte personer (Ridder 2016, 143). I næste afsnit følger en kort beskrivelse af, hvad psykosociale behov er.

Demensomsorg og – handlingsplan

Tom Kitwood udviklede en teori om personcentreret demensomsorg, hvor en række psykosociale behov illustreres som blade og centrum på en blomst: *Tilknytning, Trøst, Identitet, Beskæftigelse* og *Inklusion*, som alle fem samles i et grundlæggende behov for *Kærlighed* (Kitwood 1999). Kitwood påpegede at mennesker ramt af demens skal have hjælp fra andre til at dække disse grundlæggende og almenmenneskelige behov, bl.a. for at kunne indgå i fællesskaber og undgå isolation (Ridder 2014, 315-316).

Tilknytning – at have tillid og knytte bånd

Trøst – skaber tryghed og dæmper angst

Identitet – at mærke hvem man er

Meningsfuld beskæftigelse – er et dybt menneskeligt behov

Inklusion – at være en del af et socialt fællesskab

Kærlighed – at blive holdt af og blive accepteret ubetinget

Tabel 1. Psykosociale behov beskrevet af Kitwood. Nationalt Videnscenter for Demens³.

I 2016 kom oplægget til den nationale demenshandlingsplan 2025, med disse værdier som grundlag: *Værdighed, Tryghed, Indflydelse på eget liv, Respekt for forskellighed og det levede liv, En individuel, helhedsorienteret tilgang i behandling, pleje og omsorg med ud-*

3 <https://videnscenterfordemens.dk/da/personcentreret-omsorg>

*gangspunkt i mennesket bag sygdommen, Meningsfulde aktiviteter og gode oplevelser i hverdagen*⁴. Et vigtigt sigte med dette pilotprojekt var at forsøge at bringe disse værdier i spil og at tage afsæt i personcentret demensomsorg.

Der eksisterer endnu ikke megen forskning i musik(terapi) med fokus på demensramte under 65 år (Raglio et al. 2012; Spreadbury og Kipps 2019ab). Først de seneste år forskes der i betydningen af at tage udgangspunkt i den demensramtes personlige musiksmag (Garrido et al. 2018). Kitwood beskriver identitet som det at vide, hvem man er, både kognitivt og følelsesmæssigt. Dvs. at have en opfattelse af sammenhæng og kontinuitet i forhold til oplevelser, man tidligere har haft – en 'fortælling' eller 'historie' om, hvem man er (Ridder 2011, 70). I en demenskontekst er en grundig indsamling af borgerens musikpræferencer en vigtig forudsætning for at der kan ydes en personcentreret omsorg⁵ (Ottesen 2020) med henblik på at bruge netop den musik til at fastholde og bekræfte den demensramtes identitet (Ridder 2011, 72).

Musik og identitet

Even Ruud har gennem sin forskning identificeret, hvad han kalder identitetsdannelsens „4 rum“ – konstruktivistiske begreber om konkrete såvel som metaforiske rum, hvor musik kan spille en vigtig rolle for en persons selvopfattelse og livsfortælling (Ruud 2013; Bonde 2015, 18). Det sociale rum indbefatter eller er knyttet til fællesskabsoplevelser i og med musik (jf. temaet 'musikkens fællesskaber' for denne DMO-udgivelse).

1. *Det personlige rum*

Oplevelser af tillid, tryghed, intense følelser med musik som kilde eller ramme. Meget ofte barndomsoplevelser, men også vigtige oplevelser i ungdom og voksenalder.

2. *Det sociale rum*

Fællesskabsoplevelser i/med musik. Ofte barndomsoplevelser, men især ungdomsoplevelser knyttet til intenst samvær i bands, kor, ensembler, på skoler, efterskoler, højskoler, musikfestivaler o.l.

3. *Tidens og stedets rum*

Oplevelse af intense øjeblikke, som kan tid- og stedfæstes. Disse oplevelser er ofte multimodale (involverer mange sanser) og fortætter musikkens betydning i tilknytning til steder, begivenheder og mennesker.

4. *Det transpersonlige rum*

Oplevelse af 'Det som er helt anderledes'. Musikken bringer personen i kontakt med kræfter eller sammenhænge, som transcenderer den personlige historie og fører mod noget kollektivt og universelt.

Tabel 2. Even Ruuds teori om 'De fire rum' i *Musikk og identitet* (1997, 2013).

4 <https://www.sst.dk/da/viden/demens/den-nationale-demenshandlingsplan-2025>

5 https://www.manual.musikogdemensrehabilitering.aau.dk/digitalAssets/688/688518_musikbiografi_intro.pdf

Bonde har også forsket i og skrevet om musik og identitet set gennem musikforskningens briller (2015). Han bygger videre på, hvordan Ruud (2013) i 2. udgaven af bogen *Musikk og identitet* inddrager socialpsykologen Gibsons begreber om **"affordance"** (tjenlighed, muliggørelse) og **"appropriation"** (tilegnelse, udnyttelse, anvendelse).

I kraft af sin principielle flertydighed kan musikken tilbyde en lang række funktioner: (1) Musik kan spejle indre selvforfølelser, (2) Musik kan bruges i konstruktionen af identiteten, fordi (3) Musik muliggør meningskonstruktion på mange niveauer/i forhold til mange oplevelses- eller betydningslag. Det er den konkrete kontekst der afgør, hvordan mulighederne for mening udnyttes eller tilegnes (Bonde 2015, 11)

DeNora (2000; 2007) har påpeget, at musikkens tjenlighed ikke er determineret af objektets egenskaber, men derimod af interaktionen mellem mennesker, fortolkninger og beslutninger om anvendelsen af materialet. Tjenlighed udvikles via tilegnelse, og dette sker gennem en social læreproces. Hun har empirisk studeret 'hverdagslivets musikbrug' og dermed flyttet fokus fra (produktionen, kompositionen af) selve musikken til brugen af (konsumet af) den i forskellige, individuelle og sociale kontekster. Musik konsumeres ikke passivt, men bruges tværtimod aktivt som "en ressource til at konstruere selv-identitet og til at skabe og opretholde en mangfoldighed af følelser" (Bonde 2009, 324).

Ruud (2001; 2013) har beskrevet, hvordan musik og musicering kan have en positiv indflydelse på menneskets sundhed, balance og velvære i krop og sind. Han mener sammenfattende, at musicering kan:

- forstærke vitalitetsfølelsen og følelsesbevidstheden
- skabe en ramme for øget udadrettet handling
- stimulere oplevelsen af at høre til i et fællesskab
- skabe en fornemmelse af mening og sammenhæng i livet

Ovenstående er fra sammenfatningen af 2. del af bogen 'Musik og menneske' (Bonde 2009), hvor en model af Ruud (1990; 1998; 2001) om musikkens menings- og funktionsniveauer udfoldes. Her bruges modellen til perspektivering og analyse af forløbets musikaktiviteter og disses funktion for deltagerne.

Musikkens fire menings- og funktionsniveauer

Niveau	Musikforståelse	Fokus	Musikkens mulige virkning – identitetsperspektivet
1. fysiologisk	Musik som lyd	Lydens og musik- kens fysiske og psyko-fysiologiske egenskaber	Lydens/musikkens virkning på krop- pen: 'Denne musik føles helt rigtig'. 'Jeg får lyst til at danse' Vitalitetsformer: Dynamiske oplevel- ser af 'at føle sig levende'
2. syntaktisk	Musik som sprog med betydning	Musikalsk syntaks og betydnings- dannelse	Musikken 'taler til mig' i sin særlige syntaks. 'Jeg (gen)kender og forstår musikken'. Æstetiske oplevelser af sammenhæng, balance, kontrast, struktur og stil.
3. semantisk	Musik som sprog med mening	Musikalsk seman- tik og menings- skabelse	Musikken 'taler til mig' på et eksi- stentielt og evt. åndeligt plan: 'Det er musik, som (stadig) betyder noget for mig'. Oplevelsen af relevans, formål, budskab.
4. pragmatisk	Musik som inter- aktion	Musicering	Musikken bliver til i en social proces: 'Vi deler musikken og vores oplevel- ser med hinanden'. Leg, samvær, ritu- aler, performance, frirum, fællesskab, "kommunikativ musikalitet"

Tabel 3. Musikkens menings- og funktionsniveauer. Bearbejdet udgave af model i *Musik og menneske* (Bonde, 2009)

I analysen og diskussionen vil der blive refereret til modellens forskellige niveauer for bl.a. at undersøge identitetsperspektivet.

Musikterapi som psykosocial indsats i demensomsorgen

I oktober 2020 udkom den danske sundhedsstyrelses anbefalinger for tværsektorielle forløb for mennesker med demens. Her fremhæves musikterapi, aktivitets- og samværstilbud samt kognitiv stimulationsterapi som tre relevante psykosociale indsatser for mennesker i et demensforløb (s. 29). Psykosociale indsatser er en paraplybetegnelse for indsatser, som har til formål at understøtte, udvikle og bevare psykologiske, kognitive, funktionsmæssige og sociale ressourcer hos borgere/patienter (s. 6). Deltagerne i pilotprojektet var tilknyttet et aktivitets- og samværstilbud i København kommune for yngre demensramte personer. Således er der tale om en undersøgelse af en gruppe mennesker fra et i forvejen defineret fællesskab, som i forløbet dannede et nyt mødested i og omkring musikken. Denne specifikke kontekst betød dermed et overlap mellem de to typer af psykosociale indsatser.

I Sundhedsstyrelsens nationale kliniske retningslinje om forebyggelse og behandling af adfærdsmæssige og psykiske symptomer hos personer med demens (Sundheds-

styrelsen 2019) anbefales musikterapi i behandling af BPSD (Behavioral and Psychological Symptoms of Dementia (s. 41-42). Arbejdsgruppen bag anbefalingen ønsker at få belyst effekten af musikterapi som psykosocial og ofte nonverbal intervention nærmere.

Musik kan siges at være et "sprog", der ofte i højere grad end det verbale sprog kan være bevaret hos personer med demens. Interventioner, der involverer musik, kan således være særligt velegnet til denne gruppe, som en måde at tilbyde kontakt, kommunikation og relation og derigennem imødekomme vigtige psykosociale behov (National klinisk retningslinje 2019, 42).

Som forebyggende indsats ved BPSD anbefaler sundhedsstyrelsen bl.a. reminiscens-terapi og psykoedukation, men (endnu) ikke musikterapi. Det kalder på undersøgelser og beskrivelser af forskelle og overlap mellem de respektive behandlingsmetoder til mennesker på forskellige stadier i deres demenssygdom.

I takt med sygdomsudviklingen og afviklingen af det verbale sprog, kommer den førsproglige måde at være i dialog på gennem lyde og gestik til at spille en større og mere afgørende rolle i interaktioner med demensramte⁶. Nonverbal kommunikation og måden, der tales eller synges på, bliver af stor betydning (Nors og Weberskov 2009; Ottesen 2020). Når vi kommunikerer, er ikke bare ord og kropssprog afgørende, men også det vi udtrykker med toneleje, tempo og timing, hvilket aktualiserer begreberne *vitalitetsformer* (Hannibal 2014) og *kommunikativ musikalitet* (Holck 2014). Begge begreber indgår i modellen af Ruud/Bonde tabel 3. Kommunikativ musikalitet er udviklet gennem forskning i kommunikationen mellem spædbørn og omsorgspersoner (Malloch og Trevarthen 2009). Oplevelsen af vitalitet er grundlæggende kropslig og nonverbal – den handler ikke om, *hvad* der kommunikeres, men om *hvordan* det/der kommunikeres (Bonde 2014e, 162). Stern har beskrevet, hvordan *vitalitetsformer har samme funktion for samspil med præverbale spædbørn eller sprogløse voksne, som metaforer har i den verbale og symbolske verden* (Stern 2010, 90).

Verbale interventionsmuligheder over for demensramte indskrænkes med tiden pga. den tiltagende kognitive og sproglige svækkelse (Nors og Weberskov 2009). Fokus har i undersøgelsen primært været på den verbale interaktion med og mellem deltagerne. Teorien i dette afsnit er alligevel relevant, fordi *vitalitetsformer* og *kommunikativ musikalitet* indgår i modellen af Ruud/Bonde. Det ville også have været muligt via observation at analysere den musikalske og den kropslige interaktion i sessionerne.

6 På Aalborg universitet forskes i personafstemt (musikalsk) interaktion i PAMI-projektet: <https://www.musictherapy.aau.dk/pami/>

Design, case og metode

Projektet var designet som en eksplorativ pilotundersøgelse af gruppemusikterapiens muligheder i forhold til yngre demensramte personer.

Deltagerne i 11 sessioner var 6 let-moderat demensramte personer, 3 mænd og 3 kvinder, i alderen 52-64 år. En mandlig deltager valgte at stoppe efter 3. session, hvorefter en anden kvinde kom med. Desuden deltog to ansatte⁷, Sara Mølgaard og Kasper Juul (herefter omtalt som S og K), i alle sessioner. Hugo Jensen var musikterapeut (og er som nævnt omtalt som Tp i citaterne). Sessionerne varede ca. 90 min.

Den enkelte deltagers musikpræferencer blev kortlagt forud for og senere anvendt målrettet i terapiforløbet. I forløbet blev alle fire af de af Bruscia definerede musikterapeutiske metoder afprøvet: musiklytning, brugen af komponeret materiale (fælles-sange), improvisation og komposition i form af sangskrivning. Der skelnes mellem receptive og aktive metoder, hvor klienten er enten modtagende (lyttende) eller aktivt deltagende (Bruscia 2014). Desuden var der hver gang øvelser med krop, stemme og bevægelse, samt fri dans til et velkendt musiknummer fra 60-70-80'erne – deltagernes ungdom.

Empirien blev indsamlet ved videooptagelser af sessionerne med Hugo Jensen som musikterapeut. Lars Ole Bonde deltog i 8. session og så videooptagelserne af de øvrige sessioner. Efter 8. session gennemførte han interviews med deltagerne, inklusiv den mand der havde fravalgt forløbet⁸. Stimulated recall – altså forespilning af udvalgte videoklip fra tidligere sessioner – blev anvendt for at opfriske deltagernes hukommelse (Dempsey 2010). De sidste tre sessioner var udelukkende sangskrivning. De to ansatte blev interviewet efter det samlede forløb. Interviewmaterialet, samt en del af sessionerne blev på baggrund af videooptagelserne transskriberet af Hugo Jensen.

En kvalitativ metode – tematisk analyse (Braun og Clark 2006) – er grundlag for analysen af de syv deltagerinterviews. Personalets opfattelse af musikterapien og vores musikterapeutiske perspektiv indgår også i den samlede analyse og resultatfremlæggelse på baggrund af episoder og citater fra sessionerne og interviewmaterialet, udvalgt ved *purposive sampling* (Robson 2011)⁹.

Alle havde frivilligt meldt sig til at deltage i forløbet og givet samtykke til videooptagelser og brug af den indsamlede empiri. Alle deltog på frivillig basis og kunne trække sig ud. Projektet krævede ikke videnskabsetisk godkendelse.

7 Kasper Juul, sosu-assistent, og Sara Mølgaard, sosu-hjælper med to AMU-kurser (Omsorg for personer med demens fra 2009, samt Faglig fordybelse i demens fra 2011) og en demenskoordinatoruddannelse på diplomniveau fra 2012.

8 En deltager skulle på en rejse, hvorfor tidspunktet for interview blev placeret før afslutningen af det samlede forløb.

9 Purposive sampling: *The principle of selection in purposive sampling is the researcher's judgement as to typically or interest. A sample is built up which enables the researcher to satisfy their specific needs in a project* (Robson 2011, 275).

Resultat-prolog: Formål og rammesætning

Et behandlingsoplæg med målsætning blev udarbejdet på baggrund af observationer og assessment i de første sessioner. En målsætning var: *At sætte en ramme for samværet, hvor deltagelse og positive interaktioner understøtter den individuelle og styrker relationerne i gruppen. Dvs. dels fokusere på individet i gruppen, og dels arbejde på at udvikle en positiv gruppedynamik. Der fokuseres på udviklingspotentialer mht. at introducere/invitere til nye måder at møde/opleve hinanden på i gruppens matrix.*

For at give et indblik i rammen for projektet og den tid, som deltagerne voksede op i, bringes her tre uddrag fra den første session.

En deltager (D) fortalte:

'Vi er jo opvokset i 60'erne og 70'erne. Og der var musikken jo noget anderledes... købt i USA. (...) man aner ikke, hvad de står og synger (...) Jeg husker for mange år siden, jeg havde købt en med Beatles og gik ind og satte den på. Min far han blev skrubbysterisk. Han så på coveret, at de var langhårede.'

Terapeuten italesatte derefter aspekter af både *Det personlige rum* og *Tidens og stedets rum*:

'I den tid, hvor I voksede op, kom LPerne, og man kunne få sin egen musik. Indtil da kunne man kun høre radio. Jeres forældre havde ikke hørt så forskellig musik. Der skete noget i 60'erne med den musik der kom frem, som de ikke kendte til'.

I forlængelse deraf blev der af terapeuten knyttet an til *Det sociale rum* med mulighed for at kunne spejle sig i andre mennesker, der er ramt af en demenssygdom:

'Når vi taler om forældrene, så forstår man måske også bedst dem, der er, som man selv er – og vokset op de samme steder. Nu har vi lavet denne gruppe for jer. Det er fordi, at nogle af jer går i Huset og nogle af jer bor på afdeling 700. Og den (gruppen) er lavet, fordi vi tror på, at mennesker som deler noget, nogle livsvilkår – I har alle en demensdiagnose – vi tror på, at I forstår hinanden på en særlig måde. Og at I kan snakke om ting, der gør en forskel for jer, når det er jer, der snakker om det indbyrdes, fremfor, at det er nogle, der står udenfor og gør sig kloge på, hvordan jeres liv er. For det ved kun I. Derfor handler denne gruppe om musik, men det skal også handle om, hvordan livet er for jer og musik i den forbindelse. Så det skal også sætte fokus på, hvad musik kan gøre af gode ting for jer. Samtidigt med det handler om, at I kan snakke om ting på en særlig måde'.

Senere i første session fulgte denne dialog om musikkens evne til stimulering og regulering, både i arousal og emotionelt:

J: 'Musik er bare så godt'. M: 'Det ville være svært at undvære'. Tp: 'Hvordan bruger I det, hvorfor er det godt?'. J: 'Hvis man er ked af det eller er træt, så kan man også bruge

musik på den måde'. Tp: 'Til at blive glad igen?'. J: 'Ja'. Tp: 'Og få energi?' J: 'Det er begge veje'. Hun forklarer, at en sang kan få tårerne til at trille, fordi den er god.

Deltagerne var altså bevidste om musikkens potentiale. En deltager (Ha) fortalte i interviewet, at hun ikke fik lyttet til musik i hverdagen: *'Radioen kører og fjernsynet kører. Det ligesom har taget over. Det er smadder synd. Men det kan være, at det hjælper nu, hvor man er mere opmærksom – efter denne snak.'*

Analyse og resultater

Det er tid til at præsentere analyse og resultater i fem overordnede afsnit. I afsnit A præsenteres først de anvendte musikterapeutiske metoder med eksempler. Der indgår for overskuelighedens skyld allerede her fortolkninger, hvilket er en (foregribende) del af det musikterapeutiske perspektiv og diskussion. I afsnit B følger den tematiske analyse af de syv deltagerinterviews. Deltagernes egne udsagn og den tematiske analyse placeres som det centrale for den efterfølgende analyse og diskussion. I afsnit C indrages medarbejderperspektivet til uddybning af den tematiske analyse. Også her suppleres med en musikterapeutisk perspektivering til en række begreber og emner, der blev præsenteret i teoriafsnittet. I afsnit D udfoldes to temaer (*Musik er mere end lyd* og *Arousal/regulering*) med en musikterapeutisk fortolkning. Til sidst perspektiveres i afsnit E til demenshandleplanens formulerede værdier.

Resultater: A. Musikterapeutiske metoder

Alle de af Bruscia definerede musikterapeutiske metoder viste sig brugbare og meningsfulde. Her følger en kort beskrivelse og eksemplificering af: 1) Musiklytning, 2) Fællessang, 3) Improvisation og 4) Sangskrivning.

1. Musiklytning med udgangspunkt i deltagernes præferencer: Et vigtigt element var på skift fra gang til gang at lytte til et stykke musik eller en kunstner, som hver enkelt deltager havde nævnt i den forudgående assessment om musikpræferencer (typiske navne: Eric Clapton, Creedence Clearwater Revival, John Mayer, The Rolling Stones, The Beatles, Cliff Richard, Smokie, Deep Purple, Jack Johnson, Norah Jones, Nick Cave, Kate Bush, Phil Collins, Tom Waits, Sort Sol, David Bowie, Amy Winehouse).

Her er et eksempel på lytning til instrumentalmusik i 2. session. Gruppen havde efter en kort guidet afspænding lyttet til *Gymnopédie no. 1* af Erik Satie.

Tp: 'Prøv at holde fast i, om der kom et billede eller en følelse. Og så kan du stille begynde at åbne øjnene og bevæge kroppen lidt. Var der nogen, der fik et billede eller tanker om det? Eller... hvordan var musikken?'. Mo: 'Det er smukt stykke. Det dækker faktisk over det hele'. Tp: 'Ok'. Mo: 'Og ukompliceret, synes jeg også'. Ha: 'Ro'. J: 'Ja. Der er sådan en ro over det, synes jeg'. Tp: 'Var det fordi, det var langsomt?'. J: 'Det tror jeg'. Ha: 'Der er en lethed' (Hun laver en håndbevægelse). Tp (spejler håndbevægelsen): 'Noget bestemt, eller...?' Ha: 'Det er svært at sætte ord på. Det var afslappet'. J: 'Ja, meget'. F: 'Der var en ro over det'. Tp gentager det. Mo: 'Hvem

var det, vi lyttede på?’ Tp: ‘Satie hed komponisten. D, hvad med dig? Du sagde sidste gang, at du er ikke så meget til klassisk’. D: ‘Nej. Jeg kan ikke...Jeg kan godt føle, at jeg sidder afslappende. Men jeg kan ikke få nogle billeder eller noget som helst ud af det. Det kan jeg ikke. Det siger mig ikke noget den musik. Jeg sidder bare og lytter. Jeg kan ikke få nok ud af det’. Mo: ‘Jeg tænkte sådan på balletmusik’. Tp: ‘Jeg fik også nogle billeder af at danse. Hvad med dig, Ma?’. Ma: ‘Jamen det ved du jo næsten. Jeg elskede bare at spille det’. Tp: ‘Du fortalte, at du skulle have spillet det til jeres bryllup’. Ma: ‘Ja. Jeg havde faktisk øvet rigtig meget. Men så pludselig var der bare snak og drinks og alt muligt. Jeg nåede ikke at få spillet det’. Der grines og en siger: ‘Nej, hvor tarveligt’. Ma fortæller, at det var manden, der ønskede, at hun skulle have spillet det. J: ‘Det var da synd’.

Det var åbenhed og tillid i gruppen tidligt i forløbet, hvor mange beskrev aspekter deres perception med ord som *smuk, ro, lethed, ballet og afslappet*. En deltager, D, havde i første session givet udtryk for ikke at forstå eller få noget ud af klassisk musik. Hans oplevelse gentog sig nu, og konteksten gav mulighed for at bekræfte selvbilledet i gruppens matrix. Episoden kan betragtes som en identitets-vedligeholdelse. Det samme gælder kvinden, der havde spillet stykket, og for hvem klaverstykket havde en særlig værdi. Musikkens betydning i tilknytning til brylluppet og hendes mand kan relateres til *‘Tidens og stedets rum’* og *‘Det personlige rum’* (jf. tabel 2). Musiklytningen i fællesskabet, hendes efterfølgende fortælling om musikkens værdi *dengang*, efterfulgt af gruppens positive respons *nu*, skabte en kontekst med mulighed for en særlig meningskonstruktion og sammenhæng mellem fortid og nutid i hendes liv. Episoden berørte således skabelse og vedligeholdelse af identitet, fællesskab og værdier gennem musicering, – aspekter som vil blive udfoldet i analysen og efterfølgende.

Ofte blev musiklytning udgangspunkt for en efterfølgende samtale om teksten. Et eksempel, som kan dokumentere den bevarede evne til symbolisering og mentalisering, var en deltagers oplevelse af John Mayers *Stop this train*, som blev sat i forhold til hendes livssituation som demensramt person. Omkvædet lyder:

Stop this train
I want to get off and go home again
I can’t take the speed it’s moving in
I know I can’t
But, honestly, won’t someone stop this train?

Efter sangen fulgte denne dialog:

Ha: *‘Jeg begynder at græde af det’*. (Hun har tårer i øjnene.) Tp: *‘Du begynder at græde af det... Er det musikken eller teksten?’*. Ha: *‘Det er teksten, ikke?’* (De andre tager deres tekst frem og ser på arket.) Tp: *‘Hvad gør den?’*. Ha: *‘Det er sådan (...) Jeg ved ikke, (...) at man har Alzheimer, ikke. Det er ligesom også et tog, der bare kører, ikke’ (...)* Tp: *‘Jeg kan godt forstå, at du tænker, at det også kan være et billede på*

sygdommen'. Ha: 'Der i starten tænkte jeg ikke over det. Det var først til sidst (...). Og det liv, der rasler afsted og kører fordi én, i almindelighed, i en travl verden' (Hun viser med sine hænder hjul i bevægelse). (...) D: 'Jeg opdagede det faktisk først, da du siger det og man læser teksten. (Han peger på Ha). Jeg lagde ikke mærke til noget, da vi hørte musikken'. Ha: 'Den siger 'stop this train' (...) så havde jeg Alzheimer meget, ikke'. (Hun viser igen hjul i bevægelse). D: 'Det er først, når du siger, at teksten, at den også kan forstås på den måde'. S (ansat): 'At man gerne vil tilbage til der, hvor alt var godt?' D: 'Ja'. Mo: 'Ja, den er egentlig meget sigende ift. dette her'. Ha: 'Enig!'.

Denne episode kan siges at berøre såvel 'Det sociale rum' som "Det transpersonlige rum' (jf. tabel 2). Musikken spejlede en indre selvforfølelse hos Ha, der både symboliserede og mentaliserede. Konteksten muliggjorde en særlig meningskonstruktion.

Der opstod mange indre forestillingsbilleder (visuelle, kropslige, følelser) til sange og instrumentalmusik, der også af og til var valgt af musikterapeuten, og deltagerne kunne fortælle om disse og dele dem med hinanden. Forholdet mellem musik og tekst kunne også diskuteres, hvilket bl.a. skete efter lytning til *Bad moon rising* med Creedence Clearwater Revival. En deltager blev meget optaget af at opleve, at musik og tekst i virkeligheden slet ikke matchede for ham.

Musiklytning til afspænding: En deltager (Ha) fortalte efter en guidede afspænding og musiklytning (*Song from a secret garden*), at hun burde bruge dette hver dag. Hun beskrev musikkens regulerende effekt og et indre billede. Det var *fredfyldt* og skabte *en stemning af ro*. Hun oplevede græs. Derefter mentaliserede hun og delte sine tanker om selvregulering ift. at overskue en morgen og nå frem til *Huset* kl. 10:

Ha: 'Men altså også ift. vores sygdom. Selvom man siger, at man lige er kommet, så er der sket 14 millioner ting. For mit vedkommende i hvert fald. Bare at pakke en taske og få det hele med. Det arbejde er lidt hårdt'. Tp: 'Det kræver mange kræfter, ikke?'. H: 'Når man ikke kan strukturere så godt mere. Så er det en god måde at starte dagen på. Det kunne være, at man skulle gøre det.'

Hun ønskede dermed selv at bruge musik som et redskab. Den forudgående guidede afspænding blev drøftet i gruppen:

Tp: Det gør jo også noget, at man sætter sig ned, lige kommer i ro og bliver inviteret til at lukke øjnene, hvis man vil det. Og så også at jeg siger: Prøv at lade musikken komme med det, der kommer nu (...) og ikke skulle noget bestemt. Det skaber nok en anden måde at lytte til musik på, tænker jeg'. Ha: 'For mig gør det i hvert fald'. Tp: 'Det gør en forskel?'. Ha: 'Jeg har også dyrket det lidt selv derhjemme...ikke ligefrem musikterapi...yoga-agtigt...Nidra, hvor man lægger sig på gulvet'. U rækker hånden op. Tp: 'Det har du også gjort, U?'. Hun fortæller, at hun var ung og boede i England, da hun begyndte på det. Tp: 'Hvad med dig, F, det er jo ikke ligefrem Creedence Clearwater, kan du lide sådan noget her?'. F: 'Ja. Alene bare indledningen...Det danner en stemning'. Tp: 'Det, at jeg sagde noget inden, det danner en stemning?' F: 'Ja'.

Eksemplet viser, at rammen og konteksten – at blive bragt i en ændret bevidsthedstilstand (ÆBT) i forbindelse med den receptive musikterapi – havde betydning for lytteoplevelsen.

2. Fællessang: En bred vifte af fællessange blev brugt. Sange som *Ole sad på en knold* og *sang* vakte minder om skoletiden, forældre/bedsteforældre og livshistorien (Det personlige rum). Nyere sange som *Yesterday* og *Hvad gør vi nu, lille du?* åbnede op for samtaler om tab af arbejdsliv og identitet (Det sociale rum).

Der blev fra starten arbejdet med ramme og cueing (ud fra modellen *Ramme, Regulering og Relation*; Ridder 2016, 143), nemlig ved at starte med en goddagsang med deltagernes navne og slutte med *I skovens dybe, stille ro*. På *When the saints go marching in* blev der f.eks. sunget: *Vi si'r goddag, vi si'r goddag, vi si'r goddag til Sara nu. For vi er samlet her i gruppen, vi si'r goddag til Sara nu*. I 4. session tog en deltager mod til sig og sagde, at indledningssangen virkede barnlig. Straks fulgte flere trop og udtrykte forbehold mod at synge en navnesang. Efter en drøftelse om intentionen med en samlende sang, blev det besluttet at droppe den.

Deltagerne havde ikke alle let ved at (nå at) læse en sangtekst, og da denne generation ikke har lært mange sange udenad i skoletiden, var musikterapeutens og personalets støttende forsang et vigtigt element.

3. Improvisation: Hver session havde som noget af det første en fri improvisation på forskellige mindre instrumenter, der var placeret i midten af den cirkel, deltagerne sad i. Spillereglen var at hilse på hinanden i gruppen med lyd og gerne øjenkontakt.

Ofte var der også en fri improvisation med mulighed for at vælge mellem flere (og større) instrumenter, hvor temaer som '*havet*' blev afprøvet. Eller alle spillede på trommer og improviserede over '*Her er jeg. Jeg er den, jeg er*'. En del udtrykte, at improvisationerne var larm eller støj ('kakafoni', sagde en). En af gruppedeltagerne var tidligere professionel musiker. Han savnede, at der var en leder af og en (større grad af) struktur omkring improvisationerne.

Hver gang blev kroppen og stemmen varmet op. En fast del af det var at tage en runde, hvor deltagerne på skift fandt på en lyd og bevægelse, som de øvrige derefter spejlede. Selvom det var uvant for de fleste, gav deltagerne udtryk for, at det var fint at give sin krop opmærksomhed og sjovt at finde på lyde og bevægelser.

Her beskriver en deltager (Ha) til Lars Ole Bonde (herefter L), hvordan musikterapien skabte en ramme for øget udadrettet handling og vitalitetsfølelse:

L: '*Krop og stemme?*'. Ha: '*Det føles underligt*'. L: '*Og morsomt?*'. Ha: '*Jo. Men man kan godt blive lidt genert ved at bruge sin stemme sådan. Det er grænseoverskridende*'. L: '*På en negativ måde?*'. Ha: '*Det kunne det være for nogen. Jeg tror, at man skal være i en absolut tryk gruppe, hvor man kender hinanden*'. L: '*Var den tryghed der fra starten?*'. Ha: '*Alligevel så er det en uvant ting at gøre. Så på den måde kan man godt blive lidt hæmmet (...)* Og værre er det jo heller ikke'. L: '*Men der er også det med det barnlige (...)* at sige lyde'. Ha: '*Men jeg kan jo samtidigt mærke, at det giver mig*'

noget at få lov at råbe højt (...) for jeg er så stille normalt, så jeg tror det er godt (...) også det der danse-agtige, at flippe ud. Det tror jeg, alle har brug for'.

Især kvinderne var glade for at danse. Mændene fulgte med, i deres eget bevægelsesmønster. For alle var det vitaliserende, og mange sang med på de kendte numre. Et nummer som *Den jeg elsker, elsker jeg* fungerede godt med den enkle, gentagende tekst

4. Sangskrivning: Sidst i forløbet blev arbejdet med sangskrivning. En brainstorm med tanker om, hvad der fyldte i deltageres liv, blev lavet først. Hvad gav livskvalitet? Og hvad var svært og udfordrende? Derefter talte vi om, hvad de fik ud af at komme i *Huset*. I gruppen blev derefter diskuteret, om og hvordan *Huset* som tilbud kunne dække en række af de psykosociale behov fra Tom Kitwoods blomstermodel om personcentreret demensomsorg. Der var ikke tid nok til at lave en egen melodi, da sommerferien stod for døren. Den sidste gang i forløbet blev sangen sunget i gruppen. Efterfølgende blev drøftet, hvorvidt og hvordan deltagerne kunne genkende sig selv i den endelige tekst. Ved uropførelsen begyndte en deltager at græde og forlod lokalet for en stund.

Resultater: B. Tematisk analyse af interviews

Tematisk analyse (Braun og Clarke 2006) er blevet anvendt til at undersøge og afdække mønstre og mening i de syv deltagerinterviews. Følgende ti temaer blev identificeret via farvekodning af centrale udsagn: Musik og identitet, Musikpræferencer, Musik er mere end lyd, Arousal/regulering, Musik og musikterapi som frirum, Tryghed, Fællesskab, Værdighed, Selvværd, Selvudtryk (venstre kolonne i Figur 1):

Ti temaer	Kondensering
Musik og identitet	Musikalsk livshistorie. Fortid
Musikpræferencer	
Musik er mere end lyd	Kvaliteter ved de anvendte metoder
Arousal/regulering	
Musik og musikterapi som frirum	Forudsætninger for interventionen
Tryghed	var tryghed, fællesskab og værdighed
Fællesskab	
Værdighed	
Selvværd	Der kan skabes nye selvbilleder og
Selvudtryk	selvfornemmelser. Nutid

Figur 1. Oversigt over proces og resultatet af den tematiske analyse.

Næste skridt var at samle de ti temaer i overordnede kategorier, hvorved der opstod fire kondenserede temaer, illustreret med de fire farver i Figur 1 til venstre. Begrundelsen beskrives her:

Musik og identitet var tæt forbundet med *musikpræferencer*. De to temaer blev i kondenseringen samlet til *musikalsk livshistorie*, baseret på tidligere tiders erfaringer og oplevelser.

Med en deltagerne eget udtryk, at *musik er mere end lyd*, peges på oplevelsen af musikkens forskellige menings- og funktionsniveauer. Som bekræftet med eksempler i forrige (og følgende) afsnit, fremhævede deltagerne forskellige kvaliteter ved en række aspekter af musikken og metoderne. Mange omtalte musikkens regulerende effekt, både ift. arousal og følelser. *Musik er mere end lyd* og *Arousal/regulering* blev kondenseret til *Kvaliteter ved de anvendte metoder*.

Gruppemusikterapien blev overordnet oplevet som et særligt *frirum* i og omkring musikken (jf. *Det sociale rum*, der konstitueres af fællesskabsoplevelser i/med musik, tabel 2). *Fællesskabsfølelsen*, *tryghed* og *værdighed* blev fremhævet som *forudsætninger for interventionen*.

To temaer – *selvværd* og *selvudtryk* – blev kondenseret til, hvad der betragtes som *musicering* (i nuet) med potentiale for at skabe *nye selvbilleder* og *selvfornemmelser*.

I den videre bearbejdning og kondensering blev de fire overordnede kategorier formuleret som:

- A Musikalsk livshistorie. Fortid.
- B Kvaliteter ved de anvendte metoder.
- C Forudsætninger for interventionen var tryghed, fællesskab og værdighed.
- D Der kan skabes nye selvbilleder og selvfornemmelser. Nutid.

Farverne, der går igen i kolonnerne i Figur 1, viser processen.

Tema A peger på fortiden. Tema D handler om nutiden. Et eksempel på en sammenhæng, en rød tråd, mellem fortid og nutid blev eksempelvis skabt, da gruppen dansede roligt til *Let Your Fingers Do The Walking* (Sort Sols hit fra 1993), og en deltager efterfølgende fortalte: *Det var dejligt. Jeg blev taget tilbage til studietiden.*

Resultater: C. Medarbejdernes perspektiv

I dette afsnit inddrages citater fra de to medarbejder-interviews for at belyse og uddybe aspekter fra den ovenstående tematiske analyse. Den efterfølgende sammenfatning er gjort af forfatterne og således en del af det musikterapeutiske perspektiv.

Tema A: Musikalsk livshistorie

S (ansat): *'Nogle har måske en speciel musiksmag som gør, at de andre ikke lige kan holde ud at høre det.'* L (forsker): *'Det skal ikke lige være i fællesrummet så.'* S: *'Så hører vi heavy rock, når de andre ikke lige er der, ikke.'* L: *'Det er jo virkelig personafstemt, må man sige.'* S: *'Men det er også der, du får den bedste kontakt. Det er altid en sikker vinder. Når du sætter noget på, som de kan lide, så (...) Det er de færreste, der ikke har en playliste til deres liv på en eller anden måde.'*

At tage udgangspunkt i personens musikpræferencer skaber en god (eller den bedste) kontakt og relation. Begrebet *livets playliste* peger på at kunne arbejde med identitet ved at bruge den individuelle, musikalske livshistorie.

Tema B: Kvaliteter ved de anvendte metoder

L (forsker): *'Hvad var den vigtigste erfaring?'*. K (ansat): *'Jeg kunne se, når vi sad og gennemgik teksterne og lyttede til sangene, var de gode til at komme med. Og fortælle om de oplevelser, de har haft, og hvad lige præcis det nummer gjorde ved dem osv. Det synes jeg var givende.'*

Musikoplevelser kunne relateres til begivenheder i fortiden, og evt. forbindes til nutiden ved at dele minder, stemninger, følelser, indre billeder eller kropsfornemmelser (jf. temaet *Musik er mere end lyd*). Musik i terapi. Der kunne knyttes an til *Det personlige rum*, *Det sociale rum* eller *Tidens og stedets rum* (jf. tabel 2). Musikken kunne skabe sammenhæng i livet.

L (forsker): *'Hvad tænker du om musikterapi som kognitiv stimulering?'* S: *'Hvis man rammer det rigtige sted, så er det jo nøglen til alt. Det er en god nøgle'*. L: *'Kan du sige mere om det?'*. S: *'Det er så tydeligt at se, hvor meget mimikken ændrer sig (...) eller hele deres tilstand. Humør eller (...). Der er et stemningsskift meget hurtigt, når man rammer en guldåre. Det skaber nogle midlertidige forbindelser i hjernen, som kvikker dem op. Det synes jeg er vildt fascinerende.'*

Citatet beskriver musikkens regulerende effekt både ift. stemningsleje og arousal. Musik som terapi.

K (ansat): *'Det der overraskede mig ved F var, at han reflekterede så meget, og nogle af de ord han brugte. Jeg tænkte 'okay, den kører stadig hurtigt deroppe, ikke'. Det er altså musikken, der har fået ham til det, for det sprog bruger han slet ikke i hverdagen. Ikke her. Det vækkede noget i ham. Med få, men meget store ord. Plus, jeg synes, at han smilede meget. Han var meget glad, når vi havde været der. Han var ikke den jernmand. Han slappede mere af, og der var mere mimik i ansigtet også.'*

Citatet beskriver, at musikken stimulerede og regulerede både kognitivt, sprogligt, i stemningsleje og kropsligt. Musikken forstærkede vitalitetsfølelsen og følelsesbevidstheden og skabte en ramme for øget udadrettet handling (jf. Ruud). Musik som terapi.

K (ansat): *'....man kan bruge musikken også til at få løsnet op. Så er det, at de måske bliver lidt triste, eller siger nogle ting, hvor følelserne åbner mere op. Så kan man stille nogle spørgsmål der også. Så kan vi bruge musikken til at få dem lidt op igen. Tale det færdigt, få det håndteret.'*

Tema C: Forudsætninger for interventionen var tryghed, fællesskab og værdighed

L (forsker): *'Hvad er det så musikken kan gøre specielt ift. denne her gruppe?'*
 S (ansat): *'Det kan give nogle forbindelser til det levede liv, som de måske har glemt lidt, eller ikke har været i kontakt med et stykke tid, fordi deres demens gradvis har isoleret dem og gjort dem mere passiv. Så de har glemt at leve, hvis man kan sige det på den måde'. L: 'Ja, ja. Glemte at huske man kan sætte musik på, som en af dem sagde'. S: 'Lige præcis. Det er ikke fordi de ikke vil. Men det er teknisk for svært, eller så er det initiativ eller lysten eller drivkraften forsvundet. Det der så sker, når de træder ind i en social sammenhæng, så løfter de hinanden, og så kan de lige pludselig godt finde glæden tilbage'.*

I en social sammenhæng kunne deltagerne løfte hinanden og finde (livs)glæde. Men forudsætningen var, at musikken blev faciliteret.

Begge ansatte påpegede, at værdighed var vigtigt, og at det var forkert at introducere en navnesang til en gruppe på dette stadie i deres demenssygdom:

K (ansat): *'Det (goddag-sangen) talte vi også meget med dem om derovre. Jeg ved ikke, om jeg vil kalde det barnligt, måske fjollet. Men den løsenede også op. Jeg tror igen, at det handler om, hvor du er i dit forløb. Der, hvor denne gruppe er nu, da handler det om at bevare sin værdighed rigtig meget. Så der skal man ikke føle, at man er i fritidsordning eller et barn. Jeg kunne se ændringen, da vi droppede det, og H bare gik rundt og sagde hej. Så bevarede de deres selvværd'.*

Dialogen om ændringen af goddag-sangen var en forhandling, hvor deltagerne blev tydelige omkring, hvordan de ikke ønskede at blive mødt. Det berører temaerne *Værdighed* og *Selvværd*.

Tema D: Nye selvbilleder og selvforfølelser

K (ansat): *'Men jeg synes nu, at det (sangskrivningen) er blevet godt, for man kunne se, hvordan folk blev påvirket, da vi sang den derinde'. L (forsker): 'Prøv at sætte ord på det'. K: 'U begyndte at græde og måtte forlade rummet'. L: 'Var det noget specielt?'. K: 'Jeg har ikke spurgt ind til det. Jeg ved, at det har været en svær proces for hende at give slip på sit arbejdsliv og flytte på institution'. L: 'Ja'. K: 'Så jeg tror da nok, at der har været nogle ting, som har ligget lidt der. Nogle ord som hun har sagt (bidraget med til sangen). Jeg synes, det er nogle stærke ord, de har med. Det fortæller også om mennesker, der er i nogle forandringsprocesser, som kan være hårde. Hvor de også fortæller om deres frirum i Huset'.*

Episoden beskriver musik som et spejl af indre selvforfølelse(r) og konstruktion af en (ny) identitet som demensramt(e) menneske(r). Fællesskabet omkring samskabelse og samhandling – at skrive og senere synge sangen – satte en kontekst med et særligt rum for meningskonstruktion gennem selvudtryk. Musik i og som terapi.

Resultater D: Musikterapeutisk perspektiv

I dette afsnit belyses især aspekter af temaerne *Musik er mere end lyd* og *Arousal/regulering*. Musikkens/musikterapiforløbets evne til at formidle *Containing* og *Følelsesbevidsthed* anser vi for at være særlige *kvaliteter ved de anvendte metoder* (tema C). Følgende dialog mellem Lars Ole Bonde og en deltager belyser disse to aspekter:

Lars Ole Bonde (der havde deltaget i 8. session tidligere samme dag): 'Det var meget interessant med Fauré, det første stykke, hvor du sagde, at der var en stor ro, men også en vemod i den. Og så sagde du, at det var vigtigt også at kunne være i den stemning... som om musikken skabte et rum, man kunne være i. Er det en god beskrivelse af, hvad det er?'. Ha: 'Ja, det synes jeg. Det beskriver jo også her, at ind imellem er der en, der bryder sammen. Og så får vi trøst af personalet. Det er vigtigt'. L: 'Kan man sige det sådan, at det er vigtigt at få lov til at bryde sammen af og til? Hvorfor er det vigtigt?'. Ha: 'Jeg ved ikke om det gør, at man er nærmere hinanden, men (...) jo, man åbner sig op for hinanden, hvis man bryder sammen'. L: 'Og man får lov til at være med nogle følelser, der er vanskelige?'. Ha: 'Og det er sørme godt'.

Ha beskriver i følgende citat, hvordan musikken kan være vitaliserende og forstærke følelsesbevidstheden. Hun betoner glæden ved at dele musikken og oplevelserne.

L (forsker): 'Det er ikke bare det med at lytte til musikken, men også at snakke om den, som I har gjort?'. Ha: 'Det er sjovt at analysere det lidt (...). Det har også været sjovt at tromme og gi' den gas, at gække ud. Det er også fordi, jeg er tryk ved de mennesker. At vi kan lave meget fis og ballade'. L: 'I kan både være stille sammen og I kan larme sammen, og I kan tale om nogle følsomme ting sammen. Ville man kunne gøre det med andre medier, eller er det specielt for musikken? Ha: 'Jeg tror, at musik i sig selv har en egenskab, at det kan få følelserne frem. Det trykker på nogle knapper'.

I dette citat beskrives først musik i terapi; at tale om og analysere musikken. Derefter beskrives musik som terapi; det frisættende ved at slå sig løs i musicering (at tromme og give den gas). Citatet underbygger også tema C: *Tryghed* fremhæves som en forudsætning for at kunne træde ind et *fællesskab*, et *frirum*, hvor nye selvudtryk kunne finde sted (at 'gække ud') på en givende og acceptabel måde ift. *værdighed*.

Containment og arbejdet med følelsesbevidsthed indgik – som beskrevet med flere eksempler – på flere måder og niveauer i det samlede forløb.

Musikken eller gruppen kunne give containment. Følelser og billeder på det intrapersonelle plan kunne deles med andre interpersonelt gennem sproget og brugen af metaforer. I følgende skema (tabel 4) er de intrapersonelle og interpersonelle aspekter af containment og følelsesbevidsthed sammenholdt:

	Oplevelse af containment	Arbejde med følelsesbevidsthed
Indre plan, intrapersonel relation	Afspænding og ro	Billeddannelse
Ydre plan, interpersonelle relationer	Gruppesammenhold og gruppedynamik	Brug af metaforer

Tabel 4. Oversigt over intrapersonelle og interpersonelle aspekter af containment og følelsesbevidsthed.

Resultater E: Perspektivering til demenshandleplanens værdier

Som sidste del af analysen følger i dette afsnit en perspektivering til demenshandleplanens værdier. De understregede ord indgår enten også i den tematiske analyse eller som et af Kitwoods definerede psykosociale behov. I diskussionsafsnittet vil vi sammenholde dette med de øvrige resultater.

Meningsfulde aktiviteter (beskæftigelse): Alle fire grundlæggende musikterapeutiske arbejdsformer viste sig brugbare i forløbet, og aktiviteterne kunne justeres, hvis de ikke gav mening eller førte til gode oplevelser.

Værdighed: Disse yngre mennesker med demens havde en stærk følsomhed i forhold til, hvordan de blev mødt. En klar rammesætning var nødvendig i musikterapien, men en god dagsang viste sig at være for barnlig og måtte erstattes af en mere voksen velkomst.

Tryghed: Deltagerne kunne inkluderes i et trygt fællesskab, dele følelser og spejle sig i hinanden og musikken. Musikterapeutens klare rammesætning (fx strukturering og forsang) var en forudsætning for at trygheden kunne etableres allerede tidligt i forløbet.

Respekt for forskellighed og det levede liv: Den personrettede brug af musik styrkede den enkeltes identitet. Deltagernes personlige musikpræferencer blev respekteret og bragt i spil, og musik kunne opleves som en rød tråd gennem livet.

Indflydelse på eget liv: Gennem gruppemusikterapien var det muligt at facilitere den musik, som den demensramte havde oplevet at nyde godt af tidligere, altså tage udgangspunkt i den musikalske livshistorie fra fortiden.

Den sidste formulerede værdi fra handleplanen peger ind i diskussionsafsnittet og videre mod besvarelsen af problemformuleringen. Fungerede gruppemusikterapien som psykosocial støtte for denne gruppe af yngre demensramte personer, og hvordan i givet fald? Var der tale om *En individuel, helhedsorienteret tilgang i behandling, pleje og omsorg med udgangspunkt i mennesket bag sygdommen*? Det vi vil tage op i diskussionsafsnittet, der følger efter denne opsummering af analysen.

Undersøgelsens resultater kan kort sammenfattes således:

Den tematiske analyse af interviewene viste,

- at der gennem aktiviteterne kunne skabes sammenhæng mellem fortid og nutid, samt arbejdes med selvbilleder og selvudtryk.
- at etableringen af tryghed og fællesskab var centrale forudsætninger for interventionen, hvor også uvante og udfordrende musikaktiviteter kunne finde sted.
- at deltagerne på dette stadie i demenssygdommen på forskellig vis beskrev en række kvaliteter ved de musikterapeutiske metoder og (for de flestes vedkommende) kunne anvende/forstå metaforer og symbolisering.

Observationerne viste, at deltagerne kunne:

- tale om deres oplevelser ved nu (igen) at danse til musik fra deres ungdom og lytte til deres foretrukne musik. De kunne beskrive sig selv og den nutidige kontekst og perception ift. *dengang*.
- samtale og skrive en sang om livet før, efter og med en demensdiagnose.
- tale om mening og værdier i deres liv (på semantisk niveau).
- dele, hvordan de forholdt sig, både intra- og interpersonelt, til at leve med sygdommen.

Diskussion

I Sundhedsstyrelsens nationale kliniske retningslinje (2019) skelnes der mellem forebyggelse og behandling af adfærdsmæssige og psykiske symptomer hos personer med demens, *Behavioral and Psychological Symptoms of Dementia*. BPSD er ikke kun, hvad der synligt træder frem på det interpersonelle plan, hvis en demensramt person fx bliver udadreagerende. I dette forløb havde mange af deltagerne behov for og lyst til at tale om psykiske og eksistentielle udfordringer ved at have fået og leve med deres demenssygdom. Ift BPSD kan det ses som symptomer på psykologiske, intrapersonelle behov, der i gruppen kunne mødes/bearbejdes gennem de interpersonelle og intermusikalske relationer. Musikterapiforløbet som psykosocial indsats var på den baggrund såvel forebyggende – ved at bruge musicering til træning og stimulation både fysisk og kognitiv -, som behandling af eksisterende psykologiske og eksistentielle behov¹⁰.

For at samle trådene – og anskue musikterapiforløbet som en psykosocial indsats – har vi i nedenstående tabel 5 relateret de konkrete terapeutiske mål til den bio-psykosocio-spirituelle rammeforståelse, de konkrete behandlingsmål, de teoretiske musikterapeutiske niveauer og deltagerne psykosociale behov. Efterfølgende begrundes konstruktionen af tabellen.

10 Den 5-årige kandidatuddannelse i musikterapi på Aalborg universitet giver kompetence til psykologisk behandling: <https://www.musikterapi.aau.dk/musikterapiuddannelsen/>

Bio-psyko-socio-spirituelt niveau	Behandlingsmål	Niveauer i modellen af Ruud/ Bonde	Deltagernes psyko-sociale behov
Biologisk	Regulering af arousal Dans og bevægelse Afspænding Krop, stemme og bevægelse	Fysiologisk niveau	Behov for at bevæge sig, mærke sig selv og blive bevæget
Psykologisk	Regulering af stemningsleje Vække og containe følelser Styrke den enkeltes identitet	Syntaktisk og semantisk niveau	Blive mødt følelsesmæssigt (Gen)opleve/bekræfte identitet Trøst og spejling
Socialt	Individet i gruppen Gruppen for individet	Alt i gruppen foregik på det pragmatiske niveau	Inklusion Beskæftigelse Tilknytning Interaktion
Eksistentielt/åndeligt	Spejling i hinanden og musikken ift. at leve et liv med en demenssygdom	Semantisk/ pragmatisk niveau	Kærlighed Accept Mening

Tabel 5. Terapeutiske mål relateret til den bio-psyko-socio-spirituelle rammeforståelse, de konkrete behandlingsmål, de teoretiske musikterapeutiske niveauer og deltagernes psykosociale behov.

1. kolonne. Bio-psyko-socio-spirituelt niveau:

Musikterapiens helhedsorienterede tilgang er omtalt i begyndelsen af dette afsnit.

2. kolonne. Behandlingsmål:

Her træder flere elementer frem fra (og bag) tema B i den tematiske analyse, *Kvaliteter ved de anvendte metoder*. Det vil vi udfolde nærmere her, da det peger direkte mod problemformuleringen. Deltagerne beskrev, at musik i sig selv – musik *som* terapi – kunne have positiv effekt ift. regulering af arousal og stemningsleje. Tilsvarende ift. at vække og containe følelser, hvilket også fremgår i tabel 5. Medarbejderne beskrev ligeledes musikkens stimulerende og regulerende effekt på deltagerne (kognitivt, sprogligt, i stemningsleje og kropsligt). I det musikterapeutiske perspektiv er det eksempler på, at musik/musicing kunne *forstærke vitalitetsfølelsen og følelsesbevidstheden* (jf. Ruud/Bonde). Arbejdet med dans eller krop og stemme, samt improvisation gav eksempler på, at musik/musicing kunne *øge udadrettet handling* (jf. Ruud/Bonde). Afspænding og musiklytning, receptive metoder, kan ses som en indadrettet handling, der også understøttede at arbejde med følelsesbevidsthed og oplevelsen af containment. Fællesskabets matrix kunne være et tjenligt rum, fx hvis en perception på det intrapersonelle plan kunne deles på det interpersonelle plan (jf. tabel 4). Konteksten, at deltagerne kunne spejle sig i hinanden og/eller i musikken, gav en særlig *affordance* ved forløbet og musikterapien.

3. kolonne. Niveauer i modellen af Ruud/Bonde (tabel 3):

I samtaler om musik eller et emne (fx at leve med en demenssygdom som ved episoden med 'Stop this train') foregik meningskonstruktionen ofte på det semantiske niveau, og der var tale om musik i terapi. I tabel 5 ses det semantiske niveau, hvor der var tale om psykologisk og eksistentiel støtte. Analysen af interviews med deltagerne viste, at musicering gav oplevelsen af delt perception og interaktion på det pragmatiske niveau, og at symbolisering og mentalisering på det semantiske niveau kunne trænes og vedligeholdelse via deling af musikoplevelser.

4. kolonne. Deltagernes psykosociale behov:

Forudsætningen for musikterapien var *tryghed*, fællesskab og værdighed (tema C). De øvrige psykosociale behov defineret af Kitwood fremgår også i sidste kolonne (og er fremhævet). Tre af dem – *Inklusion*, *Beskæftigelse* og *Tilknytning* – er på linje horisontalt med det sociale og på det pragmatiske niveau, der handler om musicering, altså musik som interaktion (tabel 3). At lytte til musik og diskutere dens æstetisk og mening (2. og 3 niveau i modellen, tabel 3) skabte rum for meningskonstruktion, hvor den enkeltes *Identitet* kunne forhandles og dermed styrkes. Det kunne bekræfte individets plads i gruppen og *stimulere oplevelsen af at høre til i et fællesskab* (jf. Ruud/Bonde).

Som opsamling på diskussionen inddrages de resterende teoretiske aspekter. Med begrundelserne for tabel 5 kan der argumenteres for, at fællesskabet, gruppedynamikken og -sammenholdet gav særlige muligheder for *affordance*. I gruppen – som et nyetablet, socialt rum – blev der taget afsæt i deltageres musikalske livshistorie (jf. tema A) og tidligere erfaringer relateret til *Det personlige rum*, *Det sociale rum* og *Tidens og stedets rum* (tabel 2). Gennem musicering og meningskonstruktion i nuet (jf. tema D) kunne der skabes nye oplevelser og erfaringer relateret til disse rum. Når der igen blev danset/lyttet til og talt om deres ungdoms musik, kunne der skabes *en fornemmelse af mening og sammenhæng i livet* (jf. Ruud/Bonde). Deltageres *appropriation* var overordnet set båret af, hvordan den enkelte i gruppen kunne profitere af at indgå i et værdiskabende og -vedligeholdende fællesskab med identitets-vedligeholdelse og -skabelse gennem musicering.

Konklusion

Den samlede analyse har vist, at det var muligt at arbejde med receptive og aktive metoder – musiklytning, fællessang, improvisation (herunder krop, stemme og dans/bevægelse) og sangskrivning – med denne særlige, udfordrede målgruppe, og at disse aktiviteter kunne støtte og inspirere yngre mennesker med demens til fortsat at mentalisere og symbolisere.

Analysen af deltagerinterviews og inddragelsen af perspektivet fra medarbejderne og musikterapeuterne har belyst, at gruppemusikterapien kunne understøtte og stimulere psykologiske, kognitive, funktionsmæssige og sociale ressourcer hos deltagerne. Med henvisning til oversigten i tabel 5, hvor de terapeutiske mål blev relateret til den bio-psyko-socio-spirituelle rammeforståelse, de konkrete behandlingsmål, de teoreti-

ske musikterapeutiske niveauer og deltagernes psykosociale behov, kan vi svare ja til den første del af problemformuleringen. Musikterapien – og de respektive metoder – kunne give/være psykosocial støtte til denne gruppe af yngre demensramte personer.

Hvordan kunne musikterapien fungere som psykosocial støtte? Gruppemusikterapien gav mulighed for at arbejde med det hele menneske og den enkeltes forskellige behov, fx behov for at udtrykke lidelse og få trøst. Som psykosocial indsats havde musikterapien *en individuel, helhedsorienteret tilgang i behandling, pleje og omsorg med udgangspunkt i mennesket bag sygdommen*. Musikterapien fungerede også ved at kunne bringe alle de øvrige værdier fra demenshandleplanen i spil. Og analysen viste potentiale for at kunne arbejde med alle de af Kitwood definerede psykosociale behov.

Musik som og i terapi kunne facilitere en oplevelse af delt perception og bevægelse på det pragmatiske niveau (musicering som interaktion), og delt symbolisering og mentalisering på det semantiske niveau (musicering som meningsskabelse). Musiceringen kunne forstærke vitalitetsfølelsen og følelsesbevidstheden, skabe en ramme for øget udadrettet handling, stimulere oplevelsen af at høre til i et fællesskab, samt skabe en fornemmelse af mening og sammenhæng i livet.

Perspektivering og relevans

Undersøgelsen indikerer, at gruppemusikterapi kunne støtte den enkelte og stimulere deltagerne til at udtrykke sig i gruppen på forskellige interaktions- og meningsniveauer. Projektet kan lægge op til yderligere udforskning af gruppemusikterapi med mennesker i det tidlige stadie af en demenssygdom, f.eks. effektundersøgelser i forhold til udvalgte aktiviteter/metoder, specifikke behandlingsmål eller værdier, ligesom et komparativt studie af de respektive metoder anvendt med hhv. let og svært demensramte anbefales.

Erfaringen fra projektet og generelt er, at egen brug af musik grundet den kognitive svækkelse tidligt glider tidligt ud af langt de fleste demensramte personers liv. Uden hjælp fra andre bliver musikken for mange demensramte således ikke ved med at være en rød tråd og ledsager i deres liv, fordi de ofte ikke længere på egen hånd kan mestre det tekniske i at afspille musik via et anlæg eller en musik tjeneste. Det kalder på udvikling af funktionelle og demensvenlige teknologier, hvor de personlige musikpræferencer målrettet kan bringes i spil, enten af den sygdomsramte eller senere omsorgsgivere. For at sikre et sammenhængende forløb for den demensramte person bør indsamlingen af musikbiografi ske tidligt i sygdomsforløbet – i et samarbejde mellem den sygdomsramte, de pårørende og en musikterapeut, der kan vejlede i brugen af musik i hverdagen. Hvis musiceringen (også) skal foregå udenfor musikterapi, kræver det før eller siden i sygdomsforløbet en facilitering af et fællesskab (eller en relation), hvor der gives mulighed for samhandling i og omkring musikken. Løbende må brugen af musik tilpasses demenssygdommens udvikling og stadie. Over tid vil perceptionen og graden af stimuli, som den demensramte person kan rumme, ændre sig.

Pilotprojektet viste, at de yngre demensramte i fællesskabet kunne have glæde af musik og musicering på både kendte og nye måder.

Forfatterne har ingen interessekonflikter i forhold til de involverede personer eller institutioner.

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MARIA WESTVALL

Participatory Music-making in Diasporic Contexts

Bridging the Past, Present, and Future in Cultural Production

Introduction

Between 2014 and 2017, as one of a group of six researchers spanning the fields of musicology, music education, sociology, and ethnology, I conducted the ethnographic study *Music, identity, and multiculturalism: A study of the role of music in ethnic-based associations* in Sweden's three largest cities: Stockholm, Gothenburg, and Malmö. We investigated the connection between participation in musical practices in ethnic-based communities in Sweden and how such participation relates to self-understanding, meaning-making, identity formation, and social relationships between individuals and groups in society (Westvall, Lidskog, and Pripp 2018). Many countries are characterized by a diversity of languages, religions, ethnic groups, and cultural practices, with music often playing a central role in these contexts. Lundberg, Malm, and Ronström (2000) highlighted the importance of exploring the relationship between music as an expression of societal transformation processes and music as the impetus of such changes. Consequently, a key purpose of our study was to investigate what music "means" in these contexts; that is, how it serves as a manifestation and marker of individual cultural identity to foster a sense of belonging on a collective level and connect to wider society as a whole. The central questions for this investigation were: 1) What significance does music have for participants in ethnic-based associations in Sweden, and 2) What impact does musical involvement within such associations have on the participants' sense of social belonging in other contexts?

We conducted fieldwork among musicians, dancers, and other members in a number of associations with varying ethnic and national affiliations. Our research team carried out participatory observations, semi-structured interviews (in which we paid particular attention to the life stories of individual musicians and dancers), and focus group interviews in Finnish and Chilean associations in Malmö; in Gambian, Bosnian, Croatian, and Romani associations in Gothenburg; and both Kurdish and Swedish folk music and dance associations in Stockholm.

Our research led us to a wide range of musical activities. Some were committed to maintaining a collective narrative in the present by emphasizing certain cultural expressions or accentuating elements of descent and cultural heritage that the members wanted to cherish. However, we also identified at least seven forms of cultural produc-

tion in our study wherein various kinds of musical activities held particular importance for the participants in the associations since they represented not only aspects of bonding, but also social, cultural, and creative bridging (Putnam 2000) to various local and global communities. A particular interest in relation to ethnic identification in this study was how the members in ethnic-based associations expressed themselves through processes of *musicking* and cultural production. Were they feasibly re-negotiating various “manuals” for their ethnic affiliation through something that could be defined as the dynamics between *being* (keeping to the “manual”) and *becoming* (what one can “make” oneself into) (Hall 1990)?

This article has three interconnected purposes: 1) To present findings from this project that specifically relate to different forms of cultural production in ethnic-based associations; 2) To consider how diasporic experiences can be investigated and explored through cultural production and the explicit processes of *musicking*; 3) To discuss how citizenship can be understood and expressed through such participatory forms of cultural practices.

Music as a prominent trait in ethnic-based associations in Sweden

Sweden has a long tradition of civic engagement in social movements and associations—a fact that has strongly contributed to the development of the welfare state. There has long been a strong political goal related to the social inclusion of immigrants through popular education and cultural activities, wherein parallels between association membership and democratic principles have been evident (Pripp and Westvall 2020; Söderman and Westvall 2017). Membership in associations demonstrates an intention to work together on equal terms to search for common ground solutions, which requires a sense of mutual trust and shared responsibilities (Demokratiutredningen 2000).

The large influx of foreign-born laborers to Sweden in the 60s and 70s led the state to encourage immigrants to organize themselves into ethnic-based associations. The objective was to create an opportunity for immigrant communities to preserve “their culture.” The hope was that these associations would help to underscore their status as ethnic minorities, thereby enabling them to gain a collective voice in Swedish society. This political intention, as well as subsequent financial support from the state, stemmed from the belief that participation in associations—as part of the popular movement tradition—would support individuals’ experiences of democratic processes (as previously mentioned), which would subsequently sustain social integration and political involvement in society on a wider scale (Khayati and Dahlstedt 2014; Westvall et al. 2018; Pripp and Westvall 2020).

The ethnic-based associations undertook the organization of activities for and with immigrants, wherein music and dance would become central features. Cultural activities in the associations were supported by a top-down political structure and were considered a “tool for integration.” Music was understood to be a cultural symbol with a *catalytic* function, meaning that it strengthens a group’s internal collective identity. It was also thought to have an *emblematic* function (Lundberg and Ternhag 1996), in

which music would represent what the group wanted to convey externally. Based on popular educational ideas of “self-learning,” volunteering, and participation, the aim of musical activities within the framework of social movements was to promote intercultural acceptance and understanding (Veblen and Olsson 2002, 731). As such, musical engagement in associations could be regarded as a way of exercising citizenship (Söderman and Westvall 2017).

Various forms of cultural production in connection with the associations

The overall results from our study revealed that the original political emphasis on the catalytic and emblematic functions of such musical activities evolved into an emphasis on *producing culture* (Lidskog, Pripp, and Westvall 2018b). Thus, the music-making that took place in the ethnic-based associations was often shaped by a repertoire based on specific musical traditions. However, that same repertoire was simultaneously influenced by the internal and external processes within and beyond the associations, whether from the surrounding contacts in society, the country of origin, or by the more diasporic contexts to which the members of the associations related. Consequently, the musical practices were not merely about focusing on replicating a specific repertoire and tradition, but more often involved a more contemporary form of cultural *production* wherein certain cultural artifacts were altered and renegotiated.

In addition to their activities within the associations, our findings indicate that many of the members were simultaneously engaging in musical and social dialogues with other individuals and groups in the surrounding society. For example, many interviewees were involved in musical performances and productions in their associations and unrelated genres/styles outside of them. This demonstrates that the *musicking* processes did not “lock” the participants into a certain tradition. Instead, the production of culture was also a chief concern. What follows is a description of seven forms of such cultural production observed in our study.

The first form was *to be in the music*, which refers to how members of the ethnic-based associations practiced music with the primary purpose of *musical immersion*. This immersion consisted of listening, playing, dancing, and creating music, as well as experiencing “flow,” contemplation, and bodily sensations through music and interactions with others. For some association members, the musical activities were perceived as “being in a musical act,” which they described as pleasurable and meaningful. Music-making was generally perceived as a significant activity that was important to participate in. However, a correlation between music-making in the associations and the ethnic or national connections that these associations represented was not typically evident.

The second form, *engaging in cultural production*, describes how the members organized, marketed, and carried out musical events, which include various forms of musical performances, choreography, and technology. Through organizing and facilitating rehearsals and recordings, the associations’ members developed their skills in marketing and networking. The Gambian club in central Gothenburg, the Kurdish associa-

tion's activities in Stockholm, the Swedish folk dance association's events on a local, national, and international level, and the Finnish association's events in local nursing homes are examples of events organized, performed, and facilitated by the associations' members (Pripp 2018a; Pripp 2018b; Sernhede 2018; Söderman 2018). A significant feature of this form of cultural production was the intergenerational apprenticeship processes observed in Croatian, Bosnian, Swedish, and Kurdish associations, which involved different age groups to ensure the regrowth of dance and music competencies within the associations (Sernhede and Westvall 2018; Pripp 2018a; 2018b).

A third form was *diasporic cultural production*, which refers to how new forms of music are influenced by and developed within the diaspora, particularly through communication between musicians of a shared ethnic background living in different parts of the world. For instance, when conflicts and wars impact Kurds in other parts of the world, this is reflected in the Kurdish association in Stockholm. In the Bosnian and Romani settings, the contacts and influences across the respective diasporas were also significant. For example, recordings and music videos are co-created by musicians over large distances, thereby circulating forms of cultural and musical expression throughout the larger communities. In this sense, *diasporic cultural production* refers to "new" settings and interactions, where the music-making is influenced by past and present factors affecting the larger diaspora.

The fourth form focuses on contributions to and participation in the *city's cultural production and cultural life*, where the associations—and the individual musicians within them—are active and visible in the local music scene. While association activities have become increasingly common in the suburbs over recent decades, they remain present and thrive in the central parts of the cities, especially during city festivals or similar events that aim to highlight the (cultural) diversity of the city. It is evident that the associations—such as the Gambian, Croatian, Bosnian, and Romani associations in Gothenburg—are integral parts of the city's cultural life and often serve as hubs that attract musicians from different backgrounds. It is there that contacts and networks are negotiated and new constellations of transnational musical interactions and performances are sought.

The fifth form of cultural production is *representative and alternative images that challenge stigmas and derogatory stereotypes*, which highlights the participants' self-definition and how they communicate them externally through what could be considered an emblematic approach (Lundberg and Ternhag 1996). For example, one can present oneself as a Kurd, Chilean, Finn, or Swede by using certain props and specific forms of performances, which can be considered a narrative about what it means to have a certain cultural identity in the context of Sweden. It is also a subtle way to express dissent (Shelemay 2011) in relation to the majority of the population's preconceptions of an ethnic group. These narratives can be intended to counteract some generalizations and disparaging perceptions of a particular ethnic group in the Swedish context. In doing so, these narratives reflect the participants' own experiences of Sweden as a locale and thus say something about not only the past but particularly about the present and future aspirations for these communities. In some associations, cross-genre and hybrid

forms are created, such as inter-ethnic hip-hop groups that aim to counteract ethnification, culturalization, and racialization from the majority of society.

The sixth form of cultural production addresses the endorsement of *citizenship* through music-making, which encapsulates the ethnic-based associations' goals of perceiving and involving their members as equal citizens in Sweden, regardless of their ethnic affiliation. This approach includes "Swedish" ethnicity as one ethnicity, but without the special status one might assume.

The seventh form of cultural production focuses on *minority-crossing cultural production and multi-ethnic coexistence*, which emphasizes how the associations are active in inter-minority contexts—once again reflecting concerns for both the present and future of the communities involved. Both traditional forms of music performance and more hybrid music and dance styles are included, depending on the context and purpose. Thus, musical interaction becomes a site for socially-, culturally-, and ethnically-informed connections between minority groups and features complex and sometimes contradictory aspects of coexistence. Musicians and artists with diverse ethnic and national backgrounds collaborate in solidarity associations, cultural centers, club scenes, etc. In this way, organically inclusive and equitable diversity is generated, which comprises *both* minority musicians *and* those who identify as part of the Swedish ethnic majority. In the context of the ethnic-based associations, the seven aforementioned forms of cultural production foreground cultural expression in the process of taking on the ever-widening societal responsibilities associated with citizenship (Lidskog et al. 2018b; Pripp and Westvall 2020).

Which attributes connect a musical community?

Music and dance are often examples of expressive forms of culture that can create heightened moods and experiences (Ronström 1992). Music is an art form that many people draw on to convey their identity and regulate their emotional life (Green 2011; Ruud 1997). Hence, musical engagement can be a means of self-expression, interacting with others, and demonstrating community involvement. The concept of *community music* captures how collaborative, participatory musical practices—whether it concerns audience participation in performances or peer learning in informal workshops—have the potential to empower individuals and groups in various ways. In such musical communities, the attention to musical and social interaction *between* individuals is often more central than individual music-making (Higgins 2007; Schippers and Bartleet 2013; Turino 2016). Community music practices are generally characterized by being grass-root initiatives. However, in the Swedish context, the national and local authorities have traditionally endorsed funding for cultural activities such as choirs, orchestras, and bands, as well as 'ethnic-based' cultural groups (Söderman and Westvall 2017).

A musical community is a social group in which the participants are connected by and through music; however, the reasons for this connection can differ. Shelemay (2011) proposed a framework involving three major aspects: *descent*, *dissent*, and *af-*

finité. These three aspects do not constitute separate units; instead, they can occur in different constellations where *descent*, *dissent*, and *affinity* are combined in various ways. Musical communities can thus be joined by *descent* through what is understood from within to be shared identities, whether they are grounded in historical fact, newly invented, or emerging from a combination of historical circumstance and creative transformation (Shelemay 2011, 367).

A community can also be connected through an interest in opposing (*dissent*) something (often political), where music becomes an expressive form of resistance. Shelemay (2011) stated that many dissent communities emerge through music-making in part because music can give voice to dissent, while partially masking its critical edge and reducing the risk of retribution from more powerful forces (370).

Affinity is the aspect of uniting a music community first and foremost through individual preferences, followed quickly by a desire for social proximity or association with others who share those preferences. Music has proven to be a particularly powerful mechanism for catalyzing affinity in communities, in which straightforward aesthetic and personal preferences may—but do not necessarily—intersect with other powerful diacritics such as ethnic identity, age cohort, or gender identity (373).

Thus, *descent*, *dissent*, and *affinity* can be seen as robust modes of interaction that foster community connections and unite them around varied forms of musical participation.

Different dimensions of music-making and musicking

Participatory aspects of music-making can be a means of identity formation and creating a sense of community and affiliation. It is a socialization process that includes experiences of diversity, collaboration, and interaction since the actual musical activities can create a sense of belonging for individuals. Turino (2016) claimed that participatory music practices can provide alternative models for citizenship, expanding on O'Flynn's (2005) suggestion that "musical activities and ways of thinking about music relate to the wider beliefs and values of the society concerned" (195).

Aspects of solidarity and sensitivity in a musical act can highlight "the different needs and likes of others" (Turino 2016, 309), which can cause habit changes within individuals and groups. Such changes impact society in a wider sense by affecting the ways people practice citizenship (*ibid.*).

Since participatory music-making focuses on performances *with* others, Turino (2016) emphasizes the importance of including participants with an eclectic range of abilities in the same performance to create the basis for inspiring and motivating participation for all. This means that participatory performances need to include musical roles that vary in complexity and the degree of required knowledge. A concept related to Turino's definition of participatory performances is *musicking*, or "to music," which was introduced by Small (1998) as a way to describe the varied practices and various forms of actual immersion in a musical act:

To music is to take part, in any capacity, in a musical performance, whether by performing, by listening, by rehearsing or practicing, by providing material for performance (what is called composing), or by dancing (Small 1998, 9).

The process of *musicking* involves dialogical relationships based on encounters and mutuality (Westvall 2018) where people can discover, shape, and explore identities and express who they are. Froehlich (2007) emphasizes *musicking* as a purposeful social act of music-making in which both the performers and listeners are involved. *Musicking* can also work as an “investigative tool” and can be described as a social and cultural act that highlights relationships between people, sounds, body movements, and space (Small 1998; Odendaal, Kankkunen, Nikkanen, and Väkevä 2014). Hess (2019) emphasizes that the connective aspects of *musicking* represent ways of creating community and building relationships (42), while Camlin (2014) highlights that while there is a musical purpose in participatory performances at all times, there are generally extra-musical purposes as well. Therefore, Camlin stresses the importance of considering a dialogical approach while discussing aspects of musical quality in participatory music settings. He notes that “the quality of any given instance of musicking—including participatory music—needs to be measured by reference to an integrated and dialogic measure of quality across aesthetic, praxial and social dimensions” (115). Following Camlin’s reasoning, Gaunt et al. (2021) suggested that:

“[m]usicking” deconstructs dialectical opposition between the values of social interaction and the values of abstract art. Rather it creates shared ground between musicians’ artistry and social interaction, and opens up for widening perspectives on the potential of musical practices [6].

Citizenship and cultural practices

How does the concept of citizenship relate to the arts and cultural production more specifically? Within the framework of ethnic-based associations, citizenship seemed to be a vital part of the agenda, even while retaining possibilities for diverse and unique cultural expressions in a diasporic context. The musical activities in the ethnic-based associations were based on the fact that they held some common significance for the association’s members. Some members sang or played, while others DJed or danced. Some listened to music or learned how to play instruments, while others arranged performance-related activities.

As a key activity in these associations, music can thus be understood as a way of exercising citizenship through musical and social interactions in a broader sense (Lidskog, Pripp, and Westvall 2018a), which unites the processes of *musicking* (Small 1998) and participatory performances (Turino 2016). Turino argued that participatory musical practices can provide complementary models for citizenship, and he discussed the impact that music-making can have on “fundamental habit change” within

individuals and social cohorts, which can subsequently shape alternative forms of practicing citizenship. He suggested that:

(a) they operate according to values and practices diametrically opposed to a capital ethos; (b) they are voluntarily open to anyone who is interested and, by nature, engender a kind of egalitarian consensus building; (c) they are pleasurable and, for some people, downright addictive, leading to a continuity of involvement, and thus the redundancy of practice necessary for habit change; and (d) they become the basis of special social *cohorts* (voluntary social groups drawn together by enthusiasm for the activity and by shared, preexisting tendencies toward the broader values that underline the activity) (Turino 2016, 298).

Elliot, Silverman, and Bowman (2016) stated that the concept of *artistic citizenship* captures how artistry (in an inclusive sense, involving amateur as well as professional practitioners) comprises “civic–social–humanistic–emancipatory responsibilities, obligations to engage in art making that advances social ‘goods’” (7). Elliot (2012) discussed an expanded notion of citizenship that encompasses local, regional, national, and international aspects, to mention a few. He noted that citizenship is a fluid concept that incorporates social and emotional aspects that “ebb and flow as a person’s and a nation’s circumstances change” (23), and Elliot et al. (2016) highlighted how the emotionality and sociality of music-making specifically endorse social bonding and group cohesion on many levels.

Furthermore, Alvaro Nader (2019) investigated political activism and cultural production in a sector of the marginalized communities in Rio de Janeiro and their efforts “against stigmatization and for citizenship and acknowledgement of its contributions to culture” (209). In this sense, the production of culture is a way of taking political action *through* the arts, and the communities are often united by aspects of dissent and affinity (Shelemay 2011). Simultaneously, the artistic activity itself emotionally, artistically, and socially empowers the people involved.

Additionally, Bradley (2018) unpacked the complexity of the term citizenship, particularly with reference to negative connotations of the concept that may result in forms of symbolic violence, particularly against those who are not counted as citizens in relation to the nation. She discussed the link between artistry and social responsibility and problematized how metaphorical descriptions of citizenship can clash with the legal meanings of the concept:

What might artistic citizenship as concept mean for those vulnerable to machinations of the state: persons without citizenship status, such as immigrants to a new homeland, or refugees who have fled dangerous conditions only to meet rejection at the doors on which they knock? (Bradley 2018, 73)

On the other hand, Tully (2014) presented the concept of “diverse citizenship,” which emphasizes the importance of horizontal relationships between people in a society. Tully claimed:

Rather than looking at citizenship as a status within an institutional framework backed up by world-historical processes and universal norms, the diverse tradition looks on citizenship as *negotiated practices*, as praxis—as actors and activities in contexts (Tully 2014, 35).

The notion of diverse citizenship is signified by the active engagement and agency of citizens rather than top-down governed subordinates who are dependent on formalized membership to a nation-state.

Ethnic-based associations that integrate musical activities can be regarded as cohorts that target the inner life of the association (i.e., its members), where musical activities such as playing, singing, dancing, and listening occur “internally.” However, according to the findings of our earlier study (Westvall et al. 2018), music-making also considers external contexts through open concerts, dance performances, courses, festivals, etc. This push-pull of internal/external musical performances can thus be understood as a process of citizen engagement through the arts, echoing Tully’s definition of diverse citizenship.

Being and becoming through cultural practices

Participatory music-making and performances were significant features of the activities in ethnic-based associations. In addition to various aspects of citizenship relating to cultural practices, these circumstances were connected to a range of cultural production within the frameworks of the aforementioned associations.

Hall (1990) reminded us that “[c]ultural identities come from somewhere, have histories. But, like everything historical, they undergo constant transformation.” (225) In a diasporic context, there is a strong likelihood that expressive forms of culture also transform; hence, new forms will be created, impacting musical genres as well as cultural identities. It “is a matter of ‘becoming’ as well as of ‘being’” (ibid).

Our study found that individual musicians sometimes felt restricted to specific “ethnic contexts,” while others drew on their involvement in the associations as a means of finding valuable pathways to an array of meaningful musical networks in new local and global settings through shared affinity. This indicates a transition from a (past) notion of ethnic-based association as separate communities performing “their culture”—with descent as a common purpose—to a (present) platform upon which individuals can perform music in various inter-ethnic and cross-minority contexts that display the cultural diversity of their cities. As a principal motive for engagement in musical communities, Shelemay’s framework of *descent*, *dissent*, and *affinity* underlines the transformation processes at play through *musicking* in diasporic contexts. The definitions of the three aspects of *descent*, *dissent*, and *affinity* can be a way of understanding how diasporic aspects of the past, present, and future can merge and thus have an impact on the participants’ sense of coherence in a given musical context. Also of particular relevance are the identity formation processes among a large group of second-generation immigrants in Sweden. Various diasporic experiences are continu-

ously present in their lives through narratives, transnational networks, and expressive forms of culture, such as music and dance. In this sense, they have a relationship to a "home country" that they might never have visited, but which nevertheless affects their perception of ethnic identification and sense of belonging. In this manner, the notion of ethnic and/or national identification in this generation could be connected to Stuart Hall's definition of "new ethnicities" (1996).

Turino (2016) underscores how participatory music practices can provide complementary models for citizenship, which also highlights the power of music as both an expression of, and impetus for, societal transformation processes (Lundberg et al. 2000). This indicates that it is not only the associations and their members that are affected by these participatory processes. It also suggests the potential for present and future interactions between individuals and groups in society at large. In light of this, they also suggest a new framing of "citizenship," one that underscores the importance of understanding the horizontal relationships between people with diverse experiences and knowledge as negotiated practices, just as Tully proposes: "as praxis—as actors and activities in contexts" (2014, 35). Therefore, by systematically continuing to draw on the potential of *musicking* and cultural production as investigative tools, we could gain further understanding of how citizenship can be exercised and conveyed through cultural practices for both individuals and society at large.

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The Rise of The RIA Collective

A case study of after-school clubs' attempts to foster creative and inclusive music communities among young people

Introduction

Many valuable music communities have grown out of informal learning environments rather than formal ones. For instance, the hip hop and rap community in the Bronx was formed outside of formal music institutions (Toop 1984). The same applies to punk (Hebdige 1979) and electronic music communities (Okkels 2017). On a small scale, music collectives and songwriting communities can equally be described as examples of communities fostered outside of formal music institutions.

In general, music communities are considered valuable for at least two reasons. First, such communities can promote artistic innovation, creativity, development, and quality. Thus, a number of studies have indicated that collaboration and networks can promote creativity in a unique way (Clapp 2017; Sawyer 2008). Second, the communities can be valuable for social and individual reasons. Thus, studies have indicated that music communities can promote inclusion, a sense of belonging, democratic competence, individual and collective identity, social mobilization, independence, motivation, well-being, and personal development (Bamford 2006; Higgins and Willingham 2017; Steenis 2020).

In light of the presumed positive implications of music communities, it seems desirable to support their emergence. This is especially relevant in the pedagogical context in which teachers and youth workers are obliged to support children and young people's personal and social development and well-being. There are many historical cases of successful music communities that have been facilitated by teachers and youth workers. However, systematic research investigating which specific factors characterize and promote music communities from a pedagogical perspective remains limited. Accordingly, the contribution of this study is a further exploration of this question to provide new knowledge about how music communities can be promoted in a pedagogical context.

The question was investigated through a case study of the pedagogical methods, approaches, and effects in after-school clubs in Roskilde, Denmark. The clubs were chosen as cases for several reasons. First, a seemingly successful music youth community, called "The RIA Collective" (RIA), was formed as a direct result of a planned pedagogical effort and organizational strategy. Thus, the case of RIA can be viewed as a so-called "extreme case" (Flyvbjerg 2006, 230) that can provide knowledge about which

methods and strategies are productive in terms of promoting the emergence of music communities. Second, children and young people visit the clubs in Roskilde during their leisure time. Yet, the clubs are defined by pedagogical guidelines and ministerial decrees. Accordingly, the clubs represent a balance between a formal and an informal environment in the sense that the young people involved are influenced by pedagogical/institutional frames but are still free to follow their own interests. Third, the clubs in Roskilde have worked with a specific strategy for a number of years, according to which they mix youth workers that have a pedagogical background with youth workers that have a musical background. Accordingly, they attempt to create an environment that is formed by musical capacities as well as pedagogical insights and resources. In this respect, the primary main goal has been to “establish social communities and inclusion through music” for many years, as the head of the clubs in Roskilde East stated. Fourth, the after-school clubs in Roskilde play a vital role as part of Roskilde Municipality’s ambitious music strategy, in which they attempt to apply music in all aspects of society (Roskilde Municipality 2017). In this respect, the clubs have received resources to promote music environments across different institutional and private locations in Roskilde. Overall, the clubs in Roskilde and RIA represent an interesting case when it comes to pedagogical and municipal attempts to promote the formation of music communities. Thus, the main question of this study was:

What characterizes the social and artistic norms of the RIA Collective and how is the music community promoted, supported, and influenced by pedagogical and organizational strategies and approaches?

The article is structured in the following manner. Initially, the study’s theoretical and empirical backdrop are outlined through a discussion of music communities and presentations of former pedagogical attempts to promote and form youth music communities. Next, the case of RIA is briefly presented and the methodological approach and empirical production strategies are outlined. Subsequently, the case of RIA is analyzed according to selected and emerging categories. Finally, the results are discussed and the conclusions are shared.

Music communities

Briefly, RIA can be described as a flexible network of 50–100 young people in the 13–19 age group who participate in RIA’s events, create music together, and arrange performances/workshops at different locations in Roskilde with some degree of pedagogical assistance. Thus, it is necessary to delineate the collective as a kind of music community. However, the term music community can be defined in various ways and has been applied to denote everything from communities on the internet (Lysloff 2003) to communities related to ensemble performance activities (Marcus 2004).

According to different theoretical positions, music communities can be constituted and maintained through imagination and symbols as well as face-to-face human interactions (Straw 1991). Furthermore, music communities can involve specific locali-

ties as well as global subcultures (Cheyne and Binder 2010). In the article “Musical Communities: Rethinking the Collective in Music” (2011), Shelemay attempts to include the many different aspects and constitutive factors of a music community in this encompassing definition:

A musical community is, whatever its location in time or space, a collectivity constructed through and sustained by musical processes and/or performances. A musical community can be socially and/or symbolically constituted; music making may give rise to real-time social relationships or may exist most fully in the realm of a virtual setting or in the imagination... [A] musical community is a social entity, an outcome of a combination of social and musical processes, rendering those who participate in making or listening to music aware of a connection among themselves (Shelemay 2011, 374–365).

With this definition, it was Shelemay’s ambition to capture the complex aspects of music communities while rethinking the term in a way that opens opportunities “to explore musical transmission and performance not just as expressions or symbols of a given social grouping, but as an integral part of processes that can [...] help generate, shape, and sustain new collectivities” (Shelemay 2011, 349–350). Accordingly, music is seen as a vital part of the very formation of a community and not just as something that is applied to represent, symbolize, or gather social groups. Still, a music community is related to social formations (e.g., ethnicity, gender, taste, and ideology). Shelemay sought to unite such social aspects with musical domains via three different constituting categories: descent, dissent, and affinity. Descent communities refer to people that share a collective identity through (imagined or non-imagined) notions of ethnicity, national heritage, religion, socio-economical groupings, etc. Conversely, dissent communities refer to minority groups that oppose societal norms and politics. Finally, affinity communities refer to groups of people that share identity through individual preferences (e.g., fans of The Rolling Stones).¹

In Shelemay’s analysis, references were primarily made to communities that involve groups of listeners/fans or communities that involve people that perform. Notably, the implications of music-making and creativity were not separately addressed. Nevertheless, creativity and music-making seem to serve a unique role in terms of community building (e.g., Lapidaki, Groot, and Stagkos 2012). Furthermore, collaborative creativity seems to be of key importance in RIA. Thus, a closer look at the role of creativity is necessary.

The role of creativity

Today, creativity is primarily conceptualized as a social phenomenon rather than an individual one (Glăveanu 2010; Warhuus, Tanggard, Robinson, and Ernø 2017). As described in Boysen (2017) and Boysen and Thers (2019), the social aspect of creativity is

1 See Maria Westvall’s article in this special issue of DMO for further discussions of descent, dissent, and affinity in music communities.

theoretically elaborated with different motives and implications. First, the social aspect of creativity can be viewed as an epistemological turn that offers new ways to interpret creative processes. Accordingly, the theoretical perspectives provided by actor-network theory (Latour 2005), sociocultural approach (Glăveanu 2010), participatory creativity (Clapp 2017), distributed cognition (Hutchins 1995), and distributed creativity (Boysen 2017) can be applied to conceptualize how creativity is based on complex interactions between individuals, materials, traditions, and social dynamics. Second, the social aspect can be applied from a normative perspective in the sense that some theorists will argue that collaborative creative processes generally lead to better results than individual processes (Bickerstaff 2009; Sawyer 2006; 2008). Third, the social aspect can be applied from a pedagogical perspective in the sense that collaborative creative processes might promote inclusion and democracy (Austring and Boysen 2020; Sawyer 2008). The argument is that people who engage in a collaborative creative process must contribute with ideas, inputs, and support while simultaneously compromising and responding to others' ideas (Austring and Boysen 2020). Accordingly, in the ideal form, a micro-democracy is built in which people feel included and acknowledged.

The connection between collaborative creativity and community building can be further developed through a reference to constructivism and matters of identity. From a psychological perspective, individual forms of creativity have been linked to the construction of identity (Drotner 2011). In this view, people partly create their own identity through the creation of something external (Hammershøj 2017). The same fundamental approach is reflected in the theory of psychological ownership (Boysen and Thers 2019; Rouse 2013). According to this perspective, a creation can be viewed as a materialized extension of the individual. The individual person feels psychological ownership with regard to the product. In other words, the product is part of themselves or represents themselves (Rouse 2013). In this manner, individual as well as collective identity can be built through collaborative creative processes. Within the field of music, a similar point was made by Christopher Small in his famous book "Musicking" (1998). Despite the benefits associated with collaboration (Sawyer 2008), studies have also indicated that collaborative processes involve certain challenges, such as collaboration leading to a lack of psychological ownership if an individual does not feel that their contributions matter or are acknowledged (Boysen, Jansen, and Knage 2018). Thus, balances between the individual and the collective in collaborative processes are a key issue within pedagogics and creativity research.

Between the formal and informal

In a pedagogical context, the question of how to form inspiring musical environments among children and young people has been systematically investigated in both formal and informal contexts. Since the after-school context represents something between the formal and informal, both perspectives are relevant to this discussion.

In a formal context, a number of research projects have investigated collaboration between artists/musicians and teachers in schools (e.g., Austring and Boysen 2020;

Holst and Chemi 2016; Rolle, Weidner, Weber, and Schlothfeldt 2018). Such studies suggest that children become inspired and motivated through interactions with professional musicians (Bamford and Qvortrup 2006; Holst 2017; Partti and Väkevä 2018). Yet, collaborations between musicians and teachers in a school context also entail problems. Most importantly, this is seen in the dichotomy between teacher and musician, according to which the teacher often ends up as a helper, mediator, and/or organizer rather than an equal collaboration partner (Christophersen 2013; Kinsella, Fautley and Evans 2018). Furthermore, such studies suggest that teachers focus on educational issues that do not necessarily fit with the focus and intentions of musicians. Additionally, musicians are not always able to build strong relationships with children and young people due to time constraints. This can be a problem in the sense that such relationships are important for building a safe environment (Holst and Chemi 2016).

In terms of the more informal out-of-school context, “community music” is a concept that is often applied (Higgins 2012; Higgins and Willingham 2017; Schippers and Bartleet 2013; Veblen 2007). Although community music encompasses many different initiatives, the basic idea is that music can “empower people to develop their cultures, artistry, creativity, identity, health, and ‘community’” (Veblen 2007, 13), and that this development can be led by some form of music worker who facilitates this process outside of formal educational institutions. According to Veblen, an essential element of community music is an interplay “between informal and formal contexts” in which the music workers and young people (referred to as students) engage in multiple roles.

[S]tudents elect to take part in, often to the point of assuming complete responsibility, their own learning and direction. Thus, multiple learner/teacher relationships and processes are possible. Accordingly, a reoccurring theme in musical communities concerns the fluidity of knowledge, expertise, and roles (Veblen 2007, 7).

The different informal positions and roles can promote symmetric relationships between music workers and young people. In line with this, music workers can play the role of an instructor, “prompter, mentor, facilitator, catalyst, coach, director.” (Veblen 2007, 7). The importance of music workers being engaged in flexible and informal ways was also described in the extensive Australian research project “Sound Link” (Schippers and Bartleet 2013). In that study, the researchers attempted to describe promoting and inhibiting factors related to community music. The investigation indicated that the main promoting factors for successful community music are flexible access to facilities, inspiring individuals and music workers, PR and visibility, social agendas and engagement, creative music-making, and relationships with local councils. The social agenda was further described by Higgins and Willingham’s (2017) study, which indicated that community music environments are often characterized by a “spirit of empathy and inclusivity” (54). As such, the aforementioned investigations outlined a number of key factors that can inform and reflect the RIA case as well as the historical examples and case studies discussed in the following section.

Pedagogically framed music communities

This section presents cases of pedagogically framed music communities in a context comparable to the after-school clubs in Roskilde. The main question explored is: What characterizes such communities and how are they facilitated?

In an ethnographic study, Van Steenis (2020) analyzed and described the creative collaborations around the production of hip hop music in the after-school program "Horizon Youth Service," located in San Francisco. In this program, young people aged 14–24 create hip hop music together while being supported by youth workers. Steenis described the place and applied pedagogic approach as unique in the sense that they enable young people to participate in professional activities within an informal and friendly environment:

On the surface, Horizon Youth Service [...] resembled many afterschool programs. On a typical day, participants arrived a little before 4:00 pm, greeted youth workers by first name, and caught up on the day [...] What was special about this space, however, was the kind of creative work young people did: professional-level hip-hop music production using high-end equipment in an in-house recording studio. Daily, participants wrote songs, tinkered on the sound board, constructed beats, collaborated on songwriting, led recording sessions, and sequenced songs for album release (91).

According to Steenis' study, this mix of artistic professionalism and an informal environment seems to be one of the main pedagogical reasons for fostering a motivational and creative atmosphere. Throughout the article, the presented interviews showed how young people sometimes travel great distances because of the artistic possibilities that the professional studio equipment and environment offer. Simultaneously, the strong and friendly relationships between young people and youth workers were emphasized. For example, the head of the club is described as a musical mentor as well as a kind of family member. Equally, Steenis quoted a young person who said: "Anyone's welcome. Everyone is kind of like family. That's what they told me here when I first came: We're a family" (54).

Because the study of Horizon Youth Service is relatively new, we do not know whether the young people have pursued musical careers afterward or what long-term impacts the center has had on young people's lives. In contrast, the Danish youth club known as "Club 47" is a historic phenomenon that can be traced back to the musical upbringing of a number of Danish professional artists, such as D.A.D. and Rockers by Choice. The club was founded as a youth club in 1969 and eventually became a place with opportunities for music-playing, cooking, boxing, etc. In a field study conducted in 1991–1992, Jensen (1992) explored how young people in six hip hop constellations created music in the club. The participants consisted of young people (typically 15–19 years old) from the local neighborhood or other parts of Copenhagen. In Jensen's study, he described the young people and their activities from a subcultural perspective with inspiration from Hebdige (1979) and Willis (1974), among others.

Accordingly, he also focused on how, or if, the young people framed themselves as a minority in opposition to mainstream norms. In this respect, the study indicated that young people—in various ways—saw themselves as belonging to a hip hop community that was characterized by norms such as anti-materialism and anti-capitalism. Moreover, they felt supported by the other members of the hip hop community. This feeling of belonging seemed to motivate the young people. Accordingly, using the terminology proposed by Shelemay (2011), the community is partly characterized by “dissent”—even though Jensen emphasized that the young people were primarily motivated by the creative process and the fact that the music in the club was taken seriously.

From the perspective of the young people in Club 47, the hip hop genre represents specific opportunities in the sense that the genre has no firm tradition. For example, they described that while they would normally reject singing in a band, the rap genre allowed them to express themselves vocally without being scared of singing out of pitch. Accordingly, the young people were the experts and were not being taught how to make hip hop music by youth workers. However, the young people were also supported. One of the most important youth workers in the club was Turbo-Niels, who established rooms for hip hop rehearsals, arranged concerts, and encouraged people to play (Nielsen 2011). Natasja and Karan Mukupa, who later became famous female rappers, emphasized in several retrospective interviews that he was an extraordinary kind of youth worker who took young people and music seriously and embraced everyone (Schneider 2017).

In the two described cases, the hip hop genre seemingly represents specific opportunities in terms of making it possible for musical novices to engage in the creative process (see also Söderman and Sernhede 2016). Naturally, there are also examples of pedagogically supported youth collectives based on other musical genres. In the Danish context, two interconnected cases must be noted. While the cases were not systematically investigated in the research literature, several interviews and other empirical materials are available from various sources (Møller 2001; Okholm 1999; Rewers 2010; Thygesen 2018). The first case encompasses the music environment in the after-school club Vesterbro Ungdomsgård in Copenhagen. The leading figure was the music worker Bo Schiøler, who built up, developed, and sustained a creative music environment in the club for forty years, starting in 1966. In 1974, Vesterbro Ungdomsgård released their first studio album with songs written by Schiøler in collaboration with young people. From Schiøler’s perspective, the music activities aimed to create a constructive and inclusive community in which children of different ages and from different environments made something that they were proud of together. In line with this, the community was built on norms that emphasized equality.

There is no hierarchy among the members, regardless of whether you are 9 or 25 years old. When we play concerts, everybody helps carry the instruments. The group culture is passed on from the old to the young ones. The reputation of the group is strong, so the kids know how it is to be part of the group even before they enter the group. Many of them know people from the group in advance (Schiøler quoted in Møller 2001).

The focus on inclusion and equality was also mentioned in retrospective interviews with members of Vesterbro Ungdomsgård (Okholm 1999). For example, Brian Svane Høiberg (BH)—a former member of Vesterbro Ungdomsgård who later became the head of Club Roskilde South and one of the main figures behind the music strategy in the clubs—described how they “always asked the fans for autographs in return” if fans of Vesterbro Ungdomsgård asked them to give autographs after concerts (interview with BH, 2020). It was important for the members of the community to reduce hierarchical differences between performers and the audience.

The success of Vesterbro Ungdomsgård inspired other children to record and release albums professionally. In 1979, the band “Parkering Forbudt” released their first album. Whereas Vesterbro Ungdomsgård was guided and led by adults, Parkering Forbudt was more self-sufficient. The band made their own songs and also arranged concerts. However, adults played a role in different ways, such as through equipment and professional support: “The producer gave me this sustain pedal and I just played with it for hours in the studio and it sounded remarkable” (the author’s interview with Don Martin, 1996). The band members were around 15 years old when they had their big breakthrough in 1979 and played concerts all across Denmark, including a concert at Orange Stage at Roskilde Festival. Parkering Forbudt grew out of the environment surrounding the Children’s Power Movement, which was a political and actionist-inspired movement primarily located in Christiania, Copenhagen (Thygesen 2018). Children in this movement fought for children’s right to have political influence and they criticized materialism, capitalism, and many of the norms of society and adult authority in general. Some of the children lived together in collectives without adult influence and economic support. While the band had many followers, the role of “stars” did not correspond with the band members’ ideals about a society characterized by equality. Furthermore, such differences in status did not fit the ideals of the Children’s Power Movement. Accordingly, the band used their position to form and support a children’s movement. For example, they arranged rock concerts with other child rock bands, made compilation albums with other bands, etc.

From a pedagogical, social, and artistic perspective, Parkering Forbudt and the Children’s Power Movement seem to be unique cases of creativity, collaboration, and children’s ability to take responsibility, act independently, take initiative, and build inclusive environments. Yet, interviews with members of the Children’s Power Movement also revealed that the lack of adult support had negative implications for some of the young people in the movement, in terms of poverty, drug addiction, and abuse (Thygesen 2018).

According to the different cases described, a number of elements characterize a successful music community. First, the art is taken seriously and young people are provided with professional equipment, musicians, and artists. Second, young people have opportunities to record, release music, perform concerts, etc. Third, the club is led by people that invest all of their time toward making art and supporting young people as entrepreneurs, musicians, and pedagogues. Fourth, young people are treated as family/friends by the adults. Fifth, the adults and young people promote and en-

force specific socially inclusive norms and rules. Sixth, social marginalization or political agendas seem to work productively in terms of strengthening a collective identity within the music community. Seventh, the musical communities include young people of different ages that collaborate and connect in different ways. Eighth, creativity plays a key role in the activities of the community.

In the case of RIA, some of these similar aspects will be explored. Specifically, the present study aims to present a more detailed account of what characterizes the pedagogical strategies and how a music community can be fostered in a present context. Thus, the ambition is to obtain a better and more detailed understanding of what it takes to generate, form, and promote youth communities.

RIA as a case study

The research question was explored through a singular case study design (Flyvbjerg 2006; Simons 2009) in which RIA and the pedagogical work supporting the formation of this music community are the focus. The focus of the case study design can be categorized as an “extreme case” in the sense that it is “meant to obtain information on unusual cases, which can be especially problematic or especially good in a more closely defined sense.” (Flyvbjerg 2006, 230). In this study, RIA was chosen as an especially good case. In general, the advantages of a case study design are that it allows an “in-depth exploration from multiple perspectives of the complexity and uniqueness of a particular project, policy, institution, program or system in ‘real life’” (Simons 2009, 21). Thus, the aim was to explore and describe essential factors in the case of RIA with regard to pedagogical, material, and institutional issues, among others. Naturally, the case depends on a specific local context and cannot be uncritically translated to other contexts. Yet, as discussed by Flyvbjerg (2006), the findings of a case study can “enter into the collective process of knowledge accumulation in a given field or in a society” (227), thus bringing forward insights that can be applied different ways, put into perspective, or used as inspiration in other contexts.

The story behind the formation of RIA will be discussed in detail via empirical extracts throughout the article. However, to establish an overview for the reader, the predominant phases will be outlined. The phases might turn out differently depending on whether the narrative is told and constructed from the perspective of the head of the pedagogical institutions, the staff, the representatives of the municipality, the young people, or other key actors. Nevertheless, it seems possible to construct a timeline that embraces essential actors’ stories on a macro scale. According to this, the process can be divided into three phases.

In the first phase (2010–2016), we saw important pedagogical actors build up experience at different locations in Denmark, with music as the key pedagogical tool to support personal development, inclusion, and well-being among young people. Søren Gravgård (SG) hired the composer Pelle Leth Poulsen (PP) to construct a music environment in an after-school club in Copenhagen. Mike Wind (MW), also a composer/producer, worked with music in Club Roskilde East and participated with young people

in the annual youth music festival in Aalborg. Brian Svane Høiberg (BH) worked with music in after-school clubs in Copenhagen and was hired as the head of Club Roskilde South in 2005. The concept “Musicstarter” was launched by the band Nephew, Ungdomsringen (a Danish national youth organization), and Roskilde Festival. Musicstarter is an annual event in which young people play music for a week together with others they do not necessarily know, similar to football camp (Axelsen 2020).

In the second phase (2016–2019), the focus on music in Roskilde was strengthened. In 2016, SG was hired by Club Roskilde East. His vision was to apply music as a tool to promote social communities and inclusion. Shortly thereafter, he hired PP to build up a music community in the after-school club. In 2017, Roskilde Municipality introduced a music strategy with a vision to apply music and support beneficial music communities in all corners of society. In the same year, the after-school clubs decided to organize an annual Musicstarter camp in Roskilde in collaboration with the music schools in Roskilde and the local venue Gimle.

In phase three (2019–2021), the after-school clubs launched a new strategy, according to which they hoped to build a strong music community among young people. Essentially, the strategy involved forming an independent network of young people that could be in charge of different music initiatives and be responsible for the activities. Thus, in 2019, RIA was formed with organizational help from the after-school clubs and financial support from the municipality. During 2020, RIA arranged different music activities and events, and they built up an organization with a board and a website.

Phases	Description	Important events
Phase one 2010–2016	Important pedagogical actors build up experience at different locations in Denmark with music as the key pedagogical tool to support personal development, inclusion, and well-being among young people.	– SG hires PP for an after-school club in Copenhagen. – MW works with music in Club Roskilde East. – Brian Svane Høiberg (BH) works with music in after-school clubs in Copenhagen and is hired as the head of Club Roskilde South in 2005. – Roskilde after-school clubs participate in the annual music festival in Aalborg. – Musicstarter is introduced in 2013.
Phase two 2016–2019	Roskilde Municipality and Roskilde after-school clubs form a music strategy, according to which music is applied as a tool to promote social communities and inclusion.	– SG is hired in Roskilde as the head of Club Roskilde East (2016). – SG hires PP to Club Roskilde East (2016). – Roskilde Municipality introduces a music strategy for all citizens in Roskilde (2017). – The after-school clubs organize a Musicstarter camp in Roskilde (2017).

Phase three 2019–2021	The after-school clubs introduce the concept “Musicstarter all year.” RIA is formed with help from the after-school clubs and financial support from the municipality.	– The RIA board is established (2019). – RIA organizes different events with support from the after-school clubs (e.g., composition camps and concerts) (2020).
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The case study was based on empirical material that was collected and produced from early 2019 to early 2021. As such, the empirical material was collected during phase three. The study was conducted by means of interviews and observations that were primarily made by the author of this article. Most of the interviews were planned in advance and the interviewer engaged in the role of an external guest (Kvale 1996). However, because the case study also included observations over several days and the researcher met the same people many times during the process, the methods applied were also inspired by ethnographic approaches (Berry 2011).² Finally, the study was supplemented by interviews with children that were conducted by students from Social Education (University College Absalon) and Rhythmic Music Conservatory (RMC) as part of a collaborative educational project.³ In the table below, observations, interviews, and the corresponding context and location are listed.

Interviews		Observations
After-school clubs	10 group interviews with children 3 interviews with members of RIA 1 group interview with members of RIA 2 interviews with manager one 2 interviews with manager two 2 interviews with music employees	3 observations of children making music
MusicStarter Camp – the School of Østervang	3 group interviews with young people 2 interviews with members of RIA 4 interviews with pedagogues 4 interviews with music employees	4 observations of 4 different band sessions 2 observations of collective activities during camp
Concert at the venue Gimle	2 interviews with youngsters 2 interviews with music employees	Observations of 10 band performances Observation of the interactions between youngsters and adults
Stage debate and concerts, SOUND Festival	2 interviews with members of the RIA board Dialog between managers, RIA members, and music employees	Observations of three band performances

- 2 The conducted research followed the ethical guidelines of responsible research practice at University College Absalon, defined by the “Danish code of integrity in Research” and monitored by “The Committee on Responsible Research Practices.” See the following link: <https://phabsalon.dk/english/research-and-development-rd/responsible-research-practice/>.
- 3 This collaborative project was led by teachers from Absalon, RMC, and the author of this article.

Vocal workshop		Observations of rehearsals and dialogs between young people and music employees
University College Absalon	1 group interview with managers 1 interview with a manager 1 presentation by a manager	Observations of collaboration between after-school teachers and music employees
Roskilde Municipality	Interview with the music supervisor	

Most interviews were recorded, and the observations were retained through ongoing fieldnotes (Emerson, Fretz, and Shaw 2011). During observations, situated interviews were also conducted to obtain a better understanding of the young people and the music workers' actions and thoughts in context (Miller and Glassner 2011). The data were analyzed through qualitative research methodologies inspired by grounded theory (Glaser and Stauss 1967). Thus, the data were continuously coded and categorized and new empirical data were produced until some sort of "theoretical saturation" was reached (Morse 2007; Stern 2007, 117). As a characteristic of qualitative research, the process contained inductive as well as deductive procedures (Holton 2010). Thus, the categories described in the following sections emerged through inductive analyses of data as well as theoretical and empirical perspectives described in the article's initial sections. The analysis includes five categories that were chosen as the most important for characterizing RIA and the pedagogical strategies involved in its formation.

Category one: Expertise and artistic professionalism

In phases two and three, managers Søren Gravgaard (SG) and Brian Svane Høiberg (BH) hired a number of youth workers educated at RMC. From the perspective of the music workers and managers, musical expertise is important for several reasons. BH emphasized that "we need people with the necessary competence to develop the children and to make it inspiring and attractive for the children." Furthermore, SG argued that young people are attracted to environments in which they can learn and develop:

When it comes to competencies and ambitions, it's often the adults that represent a problem rather than the children and young people. Children like to be skilled and to practice. It's the adults that don't have the ambition, the competencies, or the motivation to support the children. (SG)

As SG indicated, there might be different approaches to children and young people in the context of after-school clubs. On the one hand, an after-school club is a place where young people do not have to learn like they do in school. This might promote a pedagogical approach that is less preoccupied with skills, learning, and practice and more concerned with promoting a relaxing informal atmosphere. However, from SG's

perspective, it is a misunderstanding to assume that children and young people will not learn and practice in their leisure time. Contrary to this, they need to feel that what they do is important, valuable, and being taken seriously. MW also seemed to adopt this distinction between a pedagogical approach based on serious work with music-making and a more relaxed and cozy pedagogical approach:

Before SG was hired as manager, it was more like a relaxed project. It wasn't really noticed. Every year, we participated in the Alborg music festival for young people. But it wasn't serious like today. After SG, it became more serious and on a larger scale. Every second week, new ideas are launched that must be executed. New festivals and events all the time. The municipality is very interested, and they notice what we do. Other after-school clubs are watching, and they keep an eye on us. The young people that we develop are extremely skilled. At the Alborg Festival, they impress everyone because they are extremely competent compared to the others. Because we do so much for them. Because it's not just a cozy pedagogical project. (MW)

Young people from RIA also emphasized that it is essential to have the chance to learn from someone with comprehensive musical competence. Even so, they still indicated that it is also important to have other types of youth workers in the club, partly because the music workers are focused on music.

If you don't want to play music, don't go to MW and PP. They are so skilled, and they want to make music and help you to make music. It's great that we have both educated youth workers and musicians. The musicians really know something about music. You can learn a lot. (RIA member)

In general, the young people seemed inspired by a pedagogical environment that includes musical competence and musical professionalism. This is because the music workers can help and guide them. Moreover, the music workers are role models themselves (e.g., due to their respective musical and artistic careers). Additionally, the music workers have a network of (semi-) professional artists and musicians that they frequently invite to do workshops and other activities. The importance of expertise and artistic professionalism correspond with the studies of youth communities and community music referred to in the initial discussions of this article (e.g., Bamford and Qvortrup 2006; Schippers and Bartleetm 2013; Steenis 2020). However, the question is how this type of expertise unfolds and is integrated into the specific context of an after-school club.

Category two: Music teachers and music workers

As previously described, musical competence is considered necessary to motivate and challenge young people. Still, managers, staff, and young people all stressed that the music workers must apply a very different approach than traditional music teachers to succeed in their work. As managers, both SG and BH described how educated

musicians sometimes overlook the fact that they are part of an institution that is entirely different from a music school. According to the managers, the unique after-school context implies that the pedagogical mission must be in focus. Although the music must be taken seriously, it is still only applied as a tool. Furthermore, they must recognize that the children and young people are participating out of their own free will. If it is not meaningful for them, they will walk away. Finally, the music workers must reach out to everyone and invite children and young people to participate:

You need to be out there among the children. You have to invite the children in. If bands don't show up as scheduled, you have to go out there and find out why. If you are not proactive, it will become a closed community with only a few members. In an after-school club, you have to be humble. You are arrogant if you believe children will gather around you just because you are a skilled musician. You have to go out there and invite them in. (SG)

When SG discussed the creation of an open musical space, he was referring to many of his previous experiences as the head of different after-school clubs. Specifically, he referred to the work he did in collaboration with PP in an after-school club in Copenhagen. In this regard, he described how they experimented and ultimately reached a concept that seemingly worked. Most importantly, the music worker must consider themselves a pedagogical employee first and a music instructor second. They have to start out doing traditional pedagogical work. Then, they can eventually build up a musical environment. PP described the same basic principles:

You have to go out there among the children. Bring your guitar. Build up relations. Invite them to come and play. That's how you get them interested. (PP)

In line with the above, music workers need to have a pedagogical focus that is not exclusively aimed at the elite. Thus, they must apply music as a tool to reach children and young people that require different forms of pedagogical support. From manager BH's point of view, professional and semi-professional musical environments are characterized by competition and—to a certain degree and under some circumstances—egocentrism. When the other manager, SG, spoke about how music workers need to be humble and not arrogant, he was seemingly making the same point. Thus, it is important to emphasize that even though the artistic level can be high in an after-school club, the main goal remains pedagogical:

This is a pedagogical institution. We must make a space in which everyone can feel included and accepted. It is not about the elite. Children that are shy, clumsy, unsure of themselves, feel excluded, etc. They must be supported. Often, we put children together in bands in order to build up their self-confidence. It's so amazing to see them develop. (BH)

From music worker MW's perspective, the pedagogical work with children and young people that need support does not seem to be the most important thing. Instead, he described his work from an artistic perspective, according to which the main mis-

sion is to support young people in their artistic missions and unique artistic abilities. Nevertheless, this mission is closely related to overarching pedagogical objectives.

There must be room for everyone. That's the ground rule. Including the people who have no competencies at first sight. You have to find their superhero power and pair them in different ways. Then we can build a strong community. For instance, Lotte. She has just lost her band. We have to find a new constellation for her. So, what is her superhero power? (MW)

The focus on potential "superhero powers" evidently makes room for a flexible way to include young people in the creative process. Young people do not have to be able to play a specific instrument or sing in a particular way. As such, the music environment is less dependent on musical traditions and more open toward people's unique personalities and preferences. Art and creativity are often associated with the novel and the unique (e.g., Boysen 2015). MW's focus on artistic quality essentially allowed him to focus on young people's unique qualities instead of forcing them to play in specific ways. As such, the case study can be related to the study of Club 47, where young people were also motivated by a musical environment that was less dependent on firm musical traditions. Among the RIA members, a focus on art was equally mentioned as an important factor when it comes to the differences between traditional music teachers and music workers:

PP and MW are very different from normal music teachers. MW is not using any specific techniques or programs in order to teach you stuff. It's not his focus. That's cool. You are equal. You are just friends playing together. He is focusing on the artist and the art. He is not focused on how to teach you specific stuff. It's the same with PP. He is not trying to teach you something that you don't want to learn. It's who you are that matters. And what your competencies and your visions are. It's not like we are signed up for music lessons here. It's more like, "Today I'm going to play with Charly" [another music worker]. The music workers are your friends. MW is making fun and he also makes mistakes. Music teachers are way too preoccupied with perfection. At this place, we make music together. (RIA member)

Many music teachers would probably consider the young people's notions regarding traditional music teachers as a bit simplistic and unfair. However, the pedagogical approaches applied by the music workers seem to be valuable from the perspectives of young people. Furthermore, such approaches seem related to the unique after-school contextual framing in which formal and informal aspects are mixed. First, the young people consider the music workers as their friends. Second, they do not consider the music sessions to be isolated, scheduled, or well-defined in time and space, but rather something that blends with their personal/private life. Third, they feel that the music workers are not trying to teach them specific techniques according to a more or less predefined curriculum. Instead, they are trying to support the young people's unique artistic and personal identities. These three aspects seem internally related in the sense that they all indicate that the young people are motivated by an informal, personal,

and non-hierarchical space. Whereas the first and third pedagogical approaches might be possible to apply in a traditional music school, the second one seems to be especially connected to the informal context that the after-school club represents. Thus, the environment reflects pedagogical choices but is equally connected to the after-school club as a context with distinctive characteristics.

The role of the music worker corresponds to the aforementioned studies in which the music worker is described as family (Steenis 2020) and studies that indicate that the music worker can occupy many different roles as an expert, friend, co-creator, learner, etc. (Veblen 2007). In some studies, the informal role of the music worker is even associated with a non-pedagogical approach (Nielsen 2011; Schneider 2017). The non-pedagogical aspect is also reinforced by music workers and young people in the present case study.

Category three: A non-pedagogical music worker

When BH described his childhood mentor Bo Schiøler, he said, "I think Bo Schiøler is the most non-pedagogical pedagogue that you can find." When asked what that means, he emphasized how Schiøler used his intuition, which enabled him to achieve good results. The same term was applied when MW described his own approach to young people. When asked about his professional role in the after-school clubs, he said:

I don't have to behave as a pedagogue. I can be a rebel. I can say "Fuck, the beat you have made sucks." And then it's much more valuable when I say "Fuck, it's good." It often seems like pedagogues are not allowed to say anything bad at all. This is not the way I do it. I want to be honest. But this is also a pedagogical approach, somehow. (MW)

From MW's perspective, it seems important to represent some form of authenticity. The young people must be able to trust him. He is not lying. He takes the music and the young people seriously. Still, he also stresses that his approach has a specific pedagogical effect, according to which the young people in the club must work hard to gain approval. According to the young people, MW's approach has many positive effects. Most importantly, young people they associate a "non-pedagogical" approach with authenticity. Furthermore, MW's focus on artistic and musical value encourages them to make an effort:

MW is not able to say anything dishonest about music. But that's nice. He says, "This is like shit." But it's good. If we don't work 100 percent, he says "You can do this better." When I tell my mom about it, she seems a bit skeptical. But it's exactly what is so perfect about it. Because he makes us improve so much [...] We don't want the music workers to be pedagogical. We want them to be honest. (RIA member)

Even though the young people have only positive things to say about MW, they are evidently aware that his "non-pedagogical" approach is not necessarily approved as

an accepted norm in an institutional context. Thus, one of the young people had to convince his mother that MW's strategies are motivational and supportive instead of the opposite. Different notions about legitimate pedagogical approaches and positions seem to be at stake. From a critical perspective, MW's focus on artistic quality might be associated with an unsafe competitive environment in which young people feel examined. However, this does not seem to be the case. Rather, the focus on artistic quality is connected to the promotion of social values and the support of personal identity. As described in previous sections, MW attempts to coach young people in a way that fosters their uniqueness and thus connects them with others in valuable ways (an approach also described in Higgins and Willingham's study of community music from 2017). From a creativity theory standpoint, this strategy is interesting because the social and individual aspects of creativity are nurtured. Thus, the chance of losing feelings of individual ownership in the collaborative creative process might be reduced (see section "The role of creativity"). In any case, the interviews with young people indicate that the music community is based on collaborative procedures that promote—rather than inhibit—individual originality and difference. These interrelations between individual and collective aspects of the music community appear to be of key importance and will be discussed further in relation to the final two categories.

Category four: Collaboration and collectivity

The pedagogical approach and established music community are based on a number of explicit and implicit norms. Most importantly, the collective and the collaborations in this collective represent major focuses. When the children begin playing music in the after-school clubs, they play together with others right from the start. Thus, music-playing is approached and organized as a group activity instead of an individual activity. BH puts it like this:

In music schools, people often believe that you need to be able to play something on your own before you can play together with others. But our approach is different. We make music together from the beginning regardless of the fact that they yet don't know how to play. (BH)

The preferred approach depends on specific pedagogical competencies in the sense that the music workers have to orchestrate the music sessions in a way that enables novices to participate in music-playing. For instance, PP described how he uses his background as a producer to arrange the music in a way that makes it possible for the children "to feel that the music they make together sounds good, even if it's only for a couple of minutes." Furthermore, the focus on the collective entails enhanced attention to the relations and interactions between young people, which also requires strong pedagogical competencies on the part of the music worker: "In the process of music-making, you have to be able to learn how to give feedback, make yourself vulnerable, support collaborative processes, solve conflicts" (SG).

The focus on community and collaboration is evident on a micro scale among the bands, as well as on a macro scale in the institution. For instance, the managers developed a concept they call “spaces and places,” according to which “space” is where the young people work together within the bands and “place” is where the bands perform music for others. Thus, the ambition is to build a community in which people can participate in different roles and positions, such as performers, musicians, producers, audience, hang-arounds, event-makers, organizers, etc. According to SG, music was specifically chosen as a pedagogical tool since it is a medium that people can generally relate to and because the music community can offer different positions—making it suitable for promoting a sense of collective spirit.

As a result, managers, music workers, and young people refer to community norms that seem related to the focus on the collective and collaboration. Most importantly, collaborative creativity is mentioned as the focal point when it comes to activities in the community. Seemingly, this collaboration results in a sense of group identity. For instance, a newcomer to one of RIA’s events described the collaborative process in the following terms:

I was new in the group. The rest of the group were friends. So, I was kind of a stranger. But we created some music together. So even though we were strangers we became a group. (RIA member)

In line with the above, the interviews revealed a focus on equality regardless of competencies and former experience. For example, people with different levels of skills are often mixed in different band constellations. This also means that the children are encouraged to help each other.

The old-timers need to take care of the newcomers. Otherwise, we won’t have a community in the long run. We need to water the flowers. The young people are very preoccupied with this agenda and they help the newcomers a lot. (SG)

The intention of promoting equality also includes a focus on democracy and democratic procedures (e.g., decision-making in bands often involves all members of the group). Furthermore, the focus on collaboration is visible in the way the music workers and RIA members attempt to build a comprehensive network. Thus, people are invited to participate in different groups and constellations to expand their relationships and strengthen the internal/external connections of the community. One of the RIA members explained:

We have built up a strong community in which we can mix with people in many ways. You meet people that you wouldn’t have met otherwise. You get new perspectives. It’s a huge community. You can find someone that is a skilled growler. Or you can write “I need a bass player” and there will always be someone out there that will help you. It’s good with a network. You help one another. It’s easy to make friends and we are very good when it comes to helping the newcomers. (RIA member)

The outlined norms and values seem strongly connected to trends in society and the creativity research described in previous sections (e.g., Clapp 2017; Sawyer 2006; 2008). Thus, collaborative creativity occupies a predominant role when it comes to building a collective identity and promoting democratic norms as well as artistic quality.

In Shelemay's (2011) terms, community norms indicate that "affinity" between members and their individual preferences is an essential aspect of the net that holds a community together. However, a strong focus on social norms and collaborative creativity might also be challenged by other aspects of the community, such as competition and implicit hierarchies.

Category five: Hierarchies and equality

RIA members highlighted Musicstarter as an event in which the youth workers and music workers explicitly promote social values and norms in the community. This is interesting because Musicstarter is also characterized by high professional standards and musical ambitions. Therefore, it also includes elements that can make the different levels of competence and implicit hierarchies visible. Furthermore, the specific social norms in the community might problematize the intended inclusion of newcomers:

We have learned a lot through Musicstarter. You need to be open to others. At this place, we only judge people if they are not open. If they don't listen. In Musicstarter, you learn how to be open. If you are too dominating, people will respectfully ask you to make room for others. We need to include everyone; otherwise, it's not fun. Everyone has to be part of it. But as a newcomer, you also need to invest yourself in the community. And you must accept that you will not necessarily have a say in all decisions. And if you don't have a say, it's because you don't wish to have a say. Because you can have influence even though you don't have any skills. (RIA member)

The quoted perspective indicates that an inclusive community will still rely on specific codes of behavior that might exclude someone.⁴ On the one hand, everyone is welcome. On the other hand, a certain type of behavior is expected. From a critical perspective, this might also be the essence of the statement "If you don't have a say, it's because you don't wish to have a say." In other words, you are expected to be able to speak up, and if you do not have the courage or confidence to do so, you might not fully feel like a member. In that respect, many of the RIA members explicitly describe how they encourage each other to be proud of who they are, believe in themselves, and show themselves to the world. This norm is also evident in the conducted observations in which newcomers are often encouraged to play solos, perform, and engage in creative work. Likewise, during band sessions, young people often provide positive feedback when someone comes up with an idea. Still, even though the members of the community encourage and support each other to express themselves and believe

4 See Henrik Marstal's article in this special issue of DMO for further discussions about inclusion/exclusion in music communities.

in themselves, newcomers must somehow be able to adapt to these norms to be part of the community.

In line with the outlined ambivalence, there also seems to be a dilemma in terms of hierarchy and competition. As previously indicated, BH wishes to create an environment that is protected from competition because he believes that competition has negative implications and is often an unavoidable part of professional music environments. Yet, an important aspect of the applied pedagogy is to build a community characterized by professional approaches to music-making and performance. Notably, the simultaneous promotion of professionalism and minimal hierarchy might represent a problem. In this regard, RIA members refer to a specific type of "mindset" in the community that comprises evident hierarchies while also comprising equality.

Some are better than others, of course. But you can learn from each other. For instance, the band Keido [the members of Keido are also members of RIA]. They are so good. But yet, you are not jealous of them. You just want to learn from them. It's a mindset where you don't become jealous. The focus is to become better. I just want to make music. I ended up in a group with Fredrik from Keido. He helped me a lot. And we made music together. (RIA member)

From an optimistic standpoint, the RIA member's description of the community seems ideal. First of all, she explained that she became inspired by Keido, who have achieved public recognition and attention. Second, she is related to members of Keido through creative collaborations in RIA. In this regard, she is treated as an equal. Accordingly, it seems like the promotion of social norms and the organization of network activities have resulted in a community that can embrace both professionalism and equality.

However, the empirical material also indicates that newcomers without comprehensive musical competencies might appear less dominant. In all four observed band sessions during Musicstarter, the group contained newcomers as well as experienced people. In two of the bands, this seemed to entail an evident difference in terms of positions in the groups. During rehearsals and concerts, they were less dominant and more reserved. Regarding both groups, the music workers explicitly described this as a challenge during interviews. In an interview, it was mentioned that one specific newcomer was younger and had less musical experience. In another interview, the mix of people with different skills was problematized.

In many ways, it's a good thing to combine people with different levels of skills to reduce hierarchy. However, sometimes it has the opposite effect. One of the newcomers in my group is sometimes exposed because he is not able to follow the others. (Music worker)

In both cases, interviews were undertaken with all group members, including the inexperienced newcomers. According to the newcomers, they felt included and part of the community. Furthermore, one of them eventually became a member of the RIA board, while another continued to play with others from an established band and per-

formed a public concert a few months after the Musicstarter event. Thus, the indication of such cases is twofold. On the one hand, the cases demonstrate that people in this community are placed in different positions that indicate hierarchical structures. On the other hand, they demonstrate that the community can include people and make room for them despite differences in skills.

Discussion and conclusion

This study of the RIA collective indicates a number of factors that promote community building, inclusive social norms, and artistic value. Some of these factors seem to support and supplement results from the studies introduced in the first sections of this article. Other factors seemingly offer new answers to the challenges found in previous studies. Finally, some factors need to be developed and studied further since they represent conflicting or unresolved material.

First, the present study indicates that professional artistic opportunities are important. The professional aspect includes flexible access to equipment, venue facilities, recording opportunities, social workers with strong artistic and musical competence, and professional artists, among other factors. From the perspective of distributed creativity and other socio-material approaches, the importance of the environment is evident because young people's actions are entangled with material aspects. Second, the study indicates that creative music-making is productive in terms of building individual and collective identity. The focus on creativity enables the music worker to guide, construct, and support young people's talents and identity, match young people in different ways, and strengthen the network among the group of young people. Furthermore, a focus on art rather than traditional music skills allows music workers to support all young people's individual and unique talents and identities. Third, social norms—according to which everyone is welcome and helps each other regardless of age and musical competence—seem important. In this respect, the music workers, heads of the clubs, and experienced members of the community are vital actors when it comes to fostering and reinforcing these norms. Fourth, personal relations with the music workers seem vital. The music worker is considered a friend, which allows young people to interact with them in informal, flexible, and non-hierarchical ways. Fifth, the study indicates that support from the municipality and other key actors (e.g., Roskilde Festival and the venue Gimle) is important. Such support can help in terms of economic resources, endorsements, contacts, visibility, and other factors. Finally, a balance between youth workers' leadership/organization and young people's autonomy also seems vital. In the clubs in Roskilde, young people are supported financially and pedagogically until they increasingly take over.

The aforementioned factors represent approaches that can be found in different variations in other studies (see the first sections of this article). Additionally, some factors seem to represent more experimental methods. Notably, the most important factor is the systematic and organizational strategy of hiring youth workers with artistic and musical backgrounds. This strategy seems to solve some of the aforementioned

problems found in musician-teacher collaborations in school projects. First of all, the music workers are not just guests and can thus build strong relationships with the young people. Second, unproductive hierarchies between artists and youth workers are avoided in the sense that music workers engage in a dual role as both musician/artist and youth worker. In this respect, it seems vital that music workers can convey the overarching pedagogical social agenda, as formulated by the heads of the clubs and the other youth workers. Still, the present study indicates that efforts must be made to avoid possible hierarchies between the music workers and other youth workers because the visibility of music (e.g., via visible musical competencies, performances, etc.) can outshine pedagogical competencies that are less visible (Ahrenkiel, Warring, Nielsen, Schmidt, and Sommer 2013).

The present study highlights several issues that seem vital and worthy of further investigation. The first is the interconnection between social inclusion and artistic professionalism. Among young people, strong artistic ambitions go hand in hand with explicated social norms, according to which no hierarchy exists. This might be surprising since the professional world of artists and musicians is often characterized by competition and hierarchy (see for instance Nielsen 1999). The reason for this might be that the music workers and heads of the clubs strongly and explicitly insist on a pedagogical approach in which artistic quality is combined with inclusive social norms. Or perhaps the hierarchy and competitive social dynamic still exist among the young people but are not discussed openly because they do not fit with the expressed social norms. However, the reason for the noteworthy combination of social inclusion, collaboration, and artistic ambition might also be related to general trends in society, such as a focus on collaboration (as described in the first sections of the article) or ideological agendas (O'Brien, Selboe, and Hayward 2018). It is reasonable to assume that the norms of young people are intimately related to trends in society in complex and dialectic ways. However, it seems too simplistic to define the members of RIA as representatives of new norms associated with a specific generation since the described youth music communities of the seventies, eighties, and nineties correspond to the RIA collective in terms of their social and collaborative agenda in many ways.

The second point of attention is related to the young people's perception of the music worker. Some of the music workers are associated with a specific kind of authenticity that seems to support relationships and creative collaborations within the club. Notably, the concept of authenticity has been investigated in the context of teachers in schools (Laursen 2005). Furthermore, reports of teacher-artist collaboration in schools indicate that the teacher's role as an educator can be counterproductive in terms of expressing authenticity, whereas the artist role supports notions of authenticity (e.g., Rolle, Weidner, Weber, and Schlothfeldt 2018). Nevertheless, this question calls for further study in the sense that we must acquire more knowledge about how youth workers can support young people's creative endeavors in a way that is experienced as authentic.

The third point of attention concerns the social identity in the RIA Collective. According to Shelemay's categorization, a community can be characterized by descent, dissent, and/or affinity. In RIA, young people do not seem to explicitly associate them-

selves with a specific historical heritage or socio-economic grouping. Neither do they see themselves as belonging to a minority group opposing a predominant majority. Instead, RIA members are connected through creative music-making and an affinity in the group with respect to specific social norms and beliefs. Thus, in Shelemay's (2011) words, the music activities play a key role in the sense that they help "generate, shape, and sustain" the community (349–350). The social beliefs and norms found in RIA are hardly in opposition to a societal majority since they are reinforced by youth workers and represent the general values of our society. This seems to differ from other cases described in this article, such as the Children's Power Movement. Accordingly, the study indicates that a youth music community can be related to prevailing social and pedagogical values rather than oppositional ideologies. This is of key importance in the sense that it allows the after-school clubs to build inclusive communities that embrace young people regardless of their political beliefs, ethnicity, heritage, religion, socio-economic background, etc. From a pedagogical perspective, this is crucial because the role of an after-school club is to support all children rather than promote exclusionary group formation. Yet, RIA is still young and under the influence of pedagogical assistance and guidance. Thus, it might develop in other directions as it gradually becomes a fully autonomous community.

Strategies for the future

In 2021, RIA is still a relatively new organization. Therefore, we do not know what will become of this music community in the future. In what way will the after-school clubs further develop strategies to mix musical, artistic, and pedagogical competencies in the clubs? What will be the artistic and social implications of RIA? Will RIA become an autonomous community without support from after-school clubs and the municipality? As the author of this article, I encourage everyone with a pedagogical, artistic, usicological, or sociological interest in community building to undertake future studies of RIA and the after-school clubs in Roskilde to answer such important questions.

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Book Reviews

304 Journal of Popular Music Education
 ENGAGING IN COMMUNITY MUSIC: AN INTRODUCTION,
 LEE HIGGINS AND LEE WILLINGHAM (2017)

Musical microimprovisation

Investigating pedagogues' spontaneous use of music in everyday situations as a driving force of community building in kindergarten

Spontaneity and singing in Danish kindergartens

Music can play a strong role in giving humans a sense of belonging to a group (Mithen 2005). Although this applies to people of any age, Amanda Niland (2015) pointed out that this is by no means less important when working with children within a professional pedagogical context: "...singing ... has potential to support the formation of relationships in childcare settings... singing contributes to well-being and thus potentially to a sense of belonging." In Danish kindergartens, music is often a very organized matter. This can take the form of a kind of *music class* consisting of 30–45 minutes in a circle being led by the (music) pedagogue¹ in a well-known frame: starting with a *hello* song, then a mixture of songs with gestures, movement, and instruments, before a final *goodbye* song (Boysen, Zeuthen, and Thorsen 2021; Holgersen 1997). Alternatively, singing can occur as part of rituals such as a gathering (in Danish: *samling*) or before lunch.

However, this article will explore the effect of the conscious use of music and musical elements outside of these organized settings (i.e., outside "the circle"). "The circle" is to be understood both metaphorically and as an actual circle. While playing music and singing in kindergarten mostly takes place in a physical circle of participants, I am also inspired by Huizinga's (1993) idea of the magic circle where play can exist, where certain rules apply, and where participants play games together. In a study from a Norwegian kindergarten (Bilalovic Kulset, and Halle 2020, 308), music activity was even named after the circle: "In the typical set-up for singing and music-making in Norwegian kindergartens, one of the staff members conducts circle time (of which singing is a natural part)."

The magic circle is a sort of community, and it can be initiated through a ritual that might well encompass or involve music. Notably, these communities are necessary prerequisites for music in the circle but are outside the scope of this article. What children and pedagogues can achieve through planned music activities in kindergarten and how to perform these activities has been the subject of much research. Searching

1 The term pedagogue is used throughout this article to designate any adult working in kindergarten or daycare, regardless of whether they have a bachelor's degree in social education or not, or if they are students of said degree. In some countries, the proper term would be preschool teacher, but pedagogue resembles the Danish "pædagog", which indicates a *bildung*-oriented, Fröbel-inspired way more than a formal, educational preschool mindset.

the phrase “music AND kindergarten” on Google Scholar returns more than 200,000 hits, ranging from the whys from a *bildung* perspective (Holmberg 2012; 2014) to the hows (Liao and Campbell 2014).

What is much less studied is pedagogues’ spontaneous use of music in the transitional times and spaces of everyday kindergarten life. Thus, the *purpose of this study was to* explore how this approach to music outside the circle can lead to community building and a sense of belonging to a group. Communities can be of varying size and shape, in this case ranging from a single social interaction between two people up to a kindergarten group of approximately 20 children and 3 adults.

As Daniel Stern (2000) pointed out, communication between adults and children contains many musical elements, and most adults make use of these elements in their communication with children without being aware of them. This article aims to look at pedagogues (with or without special musical training) who are consciously drawing on this in their work with children’s sense of belonging to a community.

What is musical microimprovisation?

The main goal of this article is to develop the concept of musical microimprovisation (MMI) as a pedagogic tool and explore whether it can be useful as a theoretical perspective on interactions between children and adults in kindergarten. Accordingly, the following definition of MMI should not be seen as final, but as a first attempt to conceptualize this as a musical, pedagogical theory. Modes of MMI and their particular building blocks have long been used by adults engaged in child care. However, the phrase has never been associated with anything but music. In fact, neither scientific databases such as the Education Resource Information Center (ERIC) and the Nordic Base of Early Childhood Education and Care nor Google searches for either “musical microimprovisation” or “musical micro improvisation” return exact hits.

One important clarification to be made when speaking about the spontaneous use of music in kindergarten is that this study is about pedagogues and their use of music from an adult perspective, which is completely different from children’s spontaneous singing as described by Jon-Roar Bjørkvold (1992).

As a term developed and tentatively defined in this article, MMIs can be tiny drop-lets of music and musical elements in spontaneous, non-musical situations that can range from improvised lyrics, to well-known tunes, to imitating movement with sound (e.g., the sound of a child sliding down a slide is a glissando from a high pitched note to a lower one), and much more. Examples include changing the timbre, pitch, volume, and melody of one’s voice according to the words spoken (e.g., try to say “this is easy” and “this is hard” in the same way).

Known songs (or parts thereof) can also be considered MMI. The key principle is that social interaction is paramount and thus defines the situation’s needs—only *then* is the song picked out as one possible way of dealing with those needs.

MMI is to be understood as music outside of a musical context. “Musical elements” can be anything that makes music and is more than mere noise; however, this is a

topic for another discussion. For operational purposes, this article will rely on a common-sense definition of music: sound deliberately organized with the intention of making music. As French musicologist Nattiez put it, "...there is no *single* and *intercultural* universal concept defining what music might be" (Nattiez 1990, 55). However, most of us usually know music when we hear it.

In this definition of MMI, *anything goes* as long as it is a deliberate change or use of pitch, tempo, volume, melody, rhyme, rhythm, and repetition in a non-musical, everyday communicational situation.

One approach to MMI is the spontaneous singing of well-known songs in non-musical situations, sometimes with improvised lyrics. This approach is often centered around action and the pedagogue's intention rather than the children's emotions, as we shall see in the analysis of a particular situation in which a pedagogue sang about thumbs to help children put on their mittens.

Another approach explored in this article is the spontaneous use of improvised beatboxing to achieve a social, but non-musical goal. As we shall see, this will provide inspiration for pedagogues to create musical sessions with children, which leads to children sharing their own beatboxing.

The third way of looking at MMI can be found in spoken language when pedagogues add a musical layer to everyday communication with children. As Daniel Stern (2000) noted, we all draw on this when we attune with children. However, a musically proficient and skilled pedagogue can go beyond this to enhance musical communication through methods such as speaking in seufzers (*oh no – you spilled – the milk*) or musically mirroring the movement or action of a child, e.g. with a legato downwards melodic line saying *you are going down the slide!*

This leads to the following definition, which this study of MMI is conducted on the basis of:

MMI is any kind of social interaction or communication that is deliberately based on the conscious use of music or musical elements and effects as a means of purveying and amplifying the intention, message, or feelings of the agent. It is not prepared in advance but invented as necessary in any given situation. MMI is primarily—but not exclusively—seen as a pedagogical response to children's actions.

Notably, the three aforementioned examples are not the only ways of looking at MMI. The definition aims to be very open and inclusive of any interaction where music adds to the experience. Thus, the central points of this definition are a pedagogue's knowledge of music, how different musical elements can affect people, and that MMIs are made up on the spot. While further studies may narrow this definition or look into the different paths MMI can take, the present paper uses the wide definition with a focus on kindergarten communities of varying size.

First, what is meant by non-music activities should be clarified. Roughly speaking, what occurs on any ordinary day in kindergarten can be divided into three main categories: 1) daily routines such as nap time, getting dressed, having lunch, and so on; 2) the so-called "free play", where children get to choose who and what to play with; 3) the adult-led (or adult-initiated) activities with an intended social or learning out-

come. These can be anything from painting and storytelling to science projects, musical circle time, or an excursion to a local museum. Ultimately, this can be anything where the pedagogue leads the children toward a goal. Since these categories sometimes overlap (e.g., the social learning in sharing a meal), one can imagine activities that are difficult to pin down. However, that is not an issue for this article. This article considers non-musical activities to be any of the above if the pedagogue has *not* decided that music should be a part of it in advance.

Methodology

The primary questions of this study are concerned with the mere existence of MMI. Does it make any sense at all to consider MMI as a pedagogic tool? How can we distinguish MMI from *just talking* or *just singing*? Does *any* use of musical elements count as MMI, or—if not—can we determine a minimum requirement of musical skill, training, and proficiency? How is it possible to observe or measure the use of MMI?

While the secondary questions presuppose that MMI exists and can be observed, these questions are more concerned with the outcome. This study is interested in the social benefits to be gained from MMI, with community building as the desired goal. However, other studies with a focus on the influence of MMI on learning language, developing motor skills, or supporting children's understanding of abstract concepts could support the initial ideas of this study. Ultimately, this boils down to the following question: What is MMI and what is it good for?

Methodologically, the present study was inspired by action research (AR) (McNiff and Whitehead 2002; McNiff 2016), with one major deviation: the students serve as co-researchers or an extension of the researcher instead of the researcher themselves performing the actions. In AR, the researcher and practice to be studied are ideally in closer collaboration than this study allows for. However, another point from AR still stands in this study: that the researcher takes deliberate action to observe and learn. "Therefore, AR combines the ideas of taking purposeful action with educational intent and testing the validity of any claims we make about the process" (McNiff and Whitehead 2002, 18). By presupposing the existence of MMI, the students/co-researchers act to see to what extent the hypothesis holds true. Another way to see it is a Dewey-inspired constructionist approach like the one found in Mitchel Resnick's "learning spiral" (Resnick 2017). Resnick showed that having an idea or hypothesis and then trying it out to see if it works can be a good way to learn something new about both the idea and the world. Thus, with MMI, the study has the hypothesis that it exists (and has some useful qualities) and, by acting as such, researchers may or may not find results. In both cases, there are lessons to be learned.

To collect the empirical evidence for this study, approximately 40 students from the Bachelor's Degree Program in Social Education (in Danish: pædagoguddannelsen) were asked to participate. They were encouraged to work with MMI during one of their six-month practical education periods (i.e., six months working in a kindergarten

with educational learning goals and one day back in the school every fortnight) and incorporate the use of MMI into one of their personal learning goals.

This approach would empower the students to take control of MMI and use it in situations to their liking and comfort. They were not expected to do it in a certain way at certain times, but rather—in the spirit of improvisation—do it whenever they felt it could be useful and/or necessary and in ways they were comfortable with. Of course, repeating the MMI in similar situations would cease to be improvisation and slowly transform into a routine or *modus operandi*. If this occurred, children might or might not internalize and make use of the same musical elements in their communication and social interactions with each other or the pedagogues. The Bachelor's students would then write down stories about particular situations (in Danish: praksisfortællinger) where the MMI seemed to be relevant. This is a spotlight way of looking at things since it is context-sensitive and acknowledges the fact that pedagogical practice is complex and what works in one case cannot necessarily be transferred to another (Ritchie 2013).

Two such stories, as well as how the MMI relates to community building, will be discussed and analyzed in the following paragraphs. There is also a third story about the planned use of music that falls outside the scope of this study. However, since it is more or less in the same setting as the other stories—and because music is a means to an end—this story will also be mentioned. These three stories were all the students returned with, which might indicate that working with MMI requires more thorough scaffolding and proficiency in music performance and theory to be truly useful. This came as a surprise since several students claimed to already use MMI with their own children when introduced to the concept. Extended observations may reveal that MMI—not necessarily the pure form as presented here, but lesser modes of music use—is already an established practice in some kindergartens. Despite this, MMI is apparently difficult to grasp as a theoretical concept. As a result, it is not easy to contain in the form of stories. A small indicator of this is the fact that all three stories are wardrobe-area² stories. Three pedagogues all chose the transition from inside to outside (or outside to inside) as the object of their MMI story, even though one was planned and the other two have quite different narratives.

The third story

As previously stated, although the third story is not about improvisation, it shall be briefly mentioned here since it shares some goals and modes of musical action with the two MMI stories.

In this story, the children are 4 or 5 years old. Since the story takes place in October, it means that some of the children need help getting dressed in outerwear. From

2 The Danish word "garderobe" literally translates to wardrobe. However, in Danish kindergartens, "garderobe" means the room where the children keep their outdoor clothes in their personal space, and it is also used for getting dressed. Other words to describe it could be entryway or mudroom. However, I use the more literal translation "wardrobe area" to stress the characteristics and connotations of the "garderobe", which are well-known to any Danish parent: that it is a transitional space, a room for goodbye that is potentially noisy and messy.

the pedagogue's point of view, the children are too loud when getting ready to go to the playground. They are excited, in transition, and have been involved in a pedagogue-led activity or tidying up toys. Thus, the wardrobe area becomes a small space of potential freedom. Nobody is concerned with the group. The pedagogue prepared a song about different pieces of clothing (new words, old melody) to sing whenever the children are in the wardrobe area. This went on for several weeks with the children sometimes singing, sometimes not—choosing to do so individually each time the song was sung.

The characteristics that this case shares with the other cases are as follows: the setting – transitional time and space; the deliberate use of music as a tool to achieve the dual goal of taking care of practicalities – getting dressed, and community building through a shared focus – *sing with me, we're doing this together*. The following examples of MMI share these characteristics, even if they are quite different in practice. The first one is the most similar, with children going out to play.

The thumb and the mitten

In this story, it is winter and 19 children (aged 2–4.5 years old) need to get properly dressed for outdoor play. This happens several times a day, which can be quite a time-consuming task. In particular, the youngest ones in the group cannot get dressed on their own. The mittens are a particularly tricky part of this process, which means there are 38 thumbs that cannot find their way into a mitt. The pedagogue begins singing the first verse of a traditional Danish song about the fingers (*thumb, thumb, where are you?*), which involves hand gestures with one finger being introduced at a time. In the thumb verse, you stick out your thumb, which makes it much easier for the pedagogue to help the child's thumb find the right spot in their mitten. By doing this, helping the children becomes much easier and the dressing process becomes several minutes faster. This singing has now become part of getting dressed every time. Improvisation has become routine. The singing helps establish a shared focus and the gestures for this particular well-known song are showing one finger at a time. In other words, singing the verse about the thumb helps each child do precisely what is necessary to put on their mittens.

The practical benefits of this case are obvious, and the role that the song plays in community building will be dealt with after the next case is introduced.

The beatbox train

The story of the beatbox train has three chapters. The first is the beatbox train itself, the second is a spinoff in the form of a pedagogue-planned animal beatbox activity, and the third chapter tells of a child-initiated social interaction between a child and a pedagogue. This story is an example of how a pedagogue's use of MMI affects children's mode of approaching other people.

Once again, the stage is set in the wardrobe area and we will see how the pedagogue is using MMI (in this case improvised beatboxing) as a tool for gathering the

children and getting their attention. The children have been on the playground and now need to wash their hands before lunch. Although there is nothing special in this situation, the transition from an unstructured setting with 18 energetic 4-year-olds in high arousal—high and low arousal are concepts commonly used in pedagogy to describe children's level of energy (Wiegaard 2016, 536)—getting out of their outerwear in a small space (with some needing help, some getting it, and everyone chatting, yelling, and so on) to the much more structured case of “wait in line and wash your hands” can be rather chaotic. In other words, the children are in transition from a “free play” situation to something organized; in this case, going from the wardrobe area to the bathroom.

At this stage, the pedagogue has two objectives: to get the children into low (or at least lower than high) arousal and establish common ground and shared focus on the task at hand. Washing hands before lunch is a *must-do*, there is no way around that. Since the pedagogue describes himself as *an old freestyle rapper*, beatboxing is in his personal toolbox and ready to use. He starts to beatbox to get the children's attention. Once he gets their attention, he gestures to them to form a line and the beatbox train is ready to march to the bathroom. The shouting and shoving instantly stopped, and the handwashing occurs in a much happier and calmer mood. That train—like the thumb in the mitten case—became routine and part of this transition to handwashing every day.

Chapter two of this story is merely a stepping stone toward the real MMI point of community building in chapter three. Nonetheless, it is necessary to explain this chapter superficially at least. Seeing the children's interest in beatboxing and the impact it apparently has, the pedagogue decides to elaborate on it. He sets up beatboxing sessions with the children. As a student, one of his learning goals is based on “planning, executing and evaluating pedagogical activities” using animal sounds, as stated in the curriculum (Professionshøjskolen Absalon, 2020, author's translation). This involves a kind of music lesson centered around rhythmic figures, such as a dog, a snake, and a cat playing the drums: [kick hat snare] *woof hiss meow – woof hiss meow*. This is the pedagogue's attempt to strengthen the sense of belonging in a community by using the highlights from his use of MMI to maintain the children's interest in making the same kind of music together.

The third chapter of this story is about one particular child who is more interested in this than the other children. While the children generally liked the activity and had fun performing the animal beatbox, one girl would create her own animal beatbox rhythms and present them to the pedagogue—but only when she could do so without other children noticing. This is a good example of a child-initiated musical and certainly a social interaction. However, the interaction only occurs in the small community of two people and is explicitly not part of the larger community of the entire kindergarten class.

Discussion

These examples have two things in common that are important in the context of MMI: 1) they were not planned, but invented *in a particular situation and place*; 2) they were both based on a pedagogue's internalized knowledge and understanding of music and social interaction. Here, improvising is viewed as a way to add music as an art form to the necessary practicalities of everyday life in kindergarten (e.g., getting dressed and washing hands). Keith Sawyer (2008) spoke of constraints and the emergent in a given act. In the aforementioned cases, the emergent is constrained by necessary practicalities. According to Sawyer, this given act occurs as a performance in a genre (most notably jazz and improvisational theater). However, MMI allows the pedagogue to add art and creativity to the mundane. The pedagogues have what Sawyer (2008, 52) calls a "range of possible actions" to choose from, and they both chose music. In one case, a well-known song served as a *modus* to build on pre-existing communities. In the other case, an improvised beat became something instantly recognizable as music but with which the children have no prior experience. The "possible actions" were not of a musical nature *per se*; instead, music was chosen as a means to support the non-musical goals in both cases and allowed the children to engage in the task at hand as a community action and not merely a practical action. Through the use of MMI, pedagogues invite children to participate in shared activities. Practical tasks in kindergarten are much different from the improvisational music and theater performances discussed by Sawyer. However, this is exactly the point of MMI. By using MMI, pedagogues do not only invite children to participate but also to elaborate on whatever is occurring. One rule for improvisation is to "listen to the group mind" (Sawyer 2001). With that in mind, it can be stated that MMI for practical tasks is not only about what the pedagogue thinks the children need, but also about what the children want. Those things should not be viewed through the same lens since the *need* is—at least in these cases—what the pedagogues deem necessary, while the *want* solely stems from the children's perspective. For example, the children want to go play on the playground and think of nothing but play and friends, while the pedagogue knows how to keep the children comfortable enough by putting on mittens for that to be possible. MMI makes *want* appear as the most important of the two in light of community building since it must be based on the pedagogue's understanding of the children's emotions and opinions. MMI is not singing *just anything*, but responding to the children with music. To respond properly, the pedagogue must listen carefully. *Listening to the group mind* is about what *we* want, not what *I* want.

The animal beatboxing activity is similar. When planning such lessons in Danish schools and kindergartens, pedagogues will often use an educational planning model to ensure that everything has been accounted for: who are the learners, what is the subject, where will it happen, and so forth. Jank and Meyer (2006, 19–30) presented nine *wh-questions* (including *how*) that must be answered when planning learning activities. In this Germanic tradition, the focus is on *bildung* rather than the curriculum. Several different models are used in Denmark, all of which present a holistic view of

what needs to be learned in this particular case. A recent model developed by Stig Broström (2019) includes—among other considerations—*bildung* (i.e., why is it even important to learn music and engage in social activities?) and *situational analysis* (i.e., the children in this kindergarten enjoy the beatboxing; they will enjoy doing more of it, but not necessarily any child in any kindergarten will).

This context raises the following question: What does careful consideration when planning an educational activity have in common with improvised music in all kinds of situations? The answer is “the why and the who.” The *bildung* perspective relates to how we generally believe people can grow and express themselves *in the community to which they belong* (Klafki 1983; Hammershøj 2003). Once the pedagogue has an explicit way of thinking about the children’s *bildung*, it becomes a foundation on which actions can be performed—deliberately choosing the optimal action without having to consider what *is* optimal. In this case, “optimal” does not apply to a curricular context, but a social one: What is the optimal way of being ourselves when we are together? Frede V. Nielsen (2008) identified four different reasons for having music as a subject in Danish schools and also applied these to the kindergarten setting. The first reason is behavioral, where music serves as a tool to achieve non-musical goals (e.g., enhanced motor skills and collaboration). If we look through this lens at the two different MMI situations, it becomes clear that music is used as a tool in both the thumb/mitten case and the beatbox train. Music in itself is less important than the practical goals the pedagogues are trying to achieve. There is an essential distinction to make here: Nielsen discussed music as it presents itself in the curriculum, and the MMI examples mentioned here are almost entirely outside of any curricular thinking. Not completely, as the children need to learn to get dressed and wash their hands, but there is no curricular music in the situations. Music serves only as a tool, and the pedagogues could have chosen any other method (or even no method) to try and achieve their goals. All day, every day, any pedagogue is improvising pedagogically (Kristensen and Leegaard 2017) when acting and reacting spontaneously in both known and unknown situations. In these two examples, it is obvious how proficiency in music adds to the possible actions the pedagogues have to choose from. In other words, while the situation and MMI are occurring, it has nothing to do with Nielsen’s curricular discussion of music. However, as soon as it has passed and the pedagogue has a few moments to reflect, they might see a behavioral reason for music (e.g., *I sing with the children in the wardrobe area because it helps them get dressed so we can get to the playground a little bit quicker*).

Situational analysis (Broström 2019) is about knowing the children. What are their interests? What are their backgrounds? How are they as a group? Once these questions are answered, the pedagogue can use that knowledge—sometimes even unconsciously—when acting. In the beatbox example, this means that the pedagogue has an expressed knowledge of *why* and *who*. Music has had the power to unite us since prehistoric times (Mithen 2005). This makes music important in kindergarten, where children are supposed to both discover their own needs and wants while balancing those with being part of a group. How music does this and why it is important are two lessons for pedagogues to learn when discussing MMI and *bildung*. However, once it

has been learned (or at least investigated) during the planning of an educational activity, it becomes basic knowledge that is ready to use. Seeing how children act together in musical activities is another very important point. Using the beatbox as an example, there are two things to learn about music and social interactions with the children in this particular case that can serve as useful knowledge for pedagogues in future MMI situations. First, the pedagogue could get the attention of all of the children as the musical leader and the children would join in the beatboxing over time when marching with the train to the bathroom. Sven-Erik Holgersen (2002) found that children can apply several different strategies when participating in musical activities. In this case, the children may see themselves as taking part in the train, even if they are not making any sounds, since they have the feeling of participating in the musical group activity. The second point is that only one child could transfer the beatboxing from a pedagogue-initiated activity into being creative herself through a participation strategy called “elaboration” (Holgersen 2002). Moreover, she did not see her beatboxing as something to share with the entire group of children. She seemed embarrassed to present her own rhythms to the pedagogue, hoping no other child would hear her. It is unclear whether this is because she believed her music was not *good enough* or because she believed that the group would see her efforts as a silly waste of time (or something to that extent). Whatever the reason, it is clear that beatboxing had not become a standard mode of communication in this group.

MMI and community building

One outcome that music is capable of is exactly the one demanded in the above examples: establishing a shared focus. A shared focus is quintessential when it comes to singing together, whether in the context of improvisational jazz (Sawyer 2008), kindergarten circle time (Boysen, Zeuthen, and Thorsen 2021), or simply being human (Mithen 2005). In the discussion of MMI and community building, it is necessary to pause here for a moment. A necessary prerequisite for a shared focus is a group of at least two people. One person alone cannot share anything, but two people can. Whenever the shared focus is on a group activity (e.g., *we* are together in the wardrobe area because *we* are going to the playground), it can potentially strengthen children’s sense of belonging, of being a part of a group. A necessary prerequisite for performing music in a social context is shared focus. As soon as MMI is applied to a situation, it becomes clear that communication and community building are exactly as important as the music. Since MMI is relational in its very nature, it always deals with some form of social interaction. Thus, MMI can form and strengthen the bonds between the agents involved—both children and pedagogues.

As used in the above examples, MMI has the ability to shape the situational community and create a sensation among children of *now we are doing this*, with an emphasis on both *we* and *do*.

Music also has the power to affect our feelings and how these feelings are perceived and expressed through our bodies. This is also an essential part of MMI, even though it

holds little to no significance in the cases examined in this article. Since these cases are centered around the pedagogues' actions in the larger community, further studies should explore the music of emotions in spoken language *re*-actions (i.e., a musical elaboration of affective attunement) (Stern 2000). Knowing exactly how emotions are presented and perceived in music and which musical characteristics mirror which feelings (Mualem and Lavidor 2015) gives pedagogues the ability to properly—and on a musically high level—respond to the children when they express emotions and intentions.

To use MMI properly, pedagogues are required to have a certain level of understanding of music and how it ties into community building. This requires both knowledge and capabilities. To date, there is no definite list of necessary musical skills. However, an initial attempt at such a list would contain knowledge of pitch, tempo, dynamics, articulation, and interval, as well as the ability to distinguish higher from lower, faster from slower, and perform answers deliberately faster or slower. It would also contain knowledge of the musical expressions of emotions (as previously mentioned) and the ability to perform those (e.g., speaking slowly and legato when mirroring sadness). Whether extended knowledge of harmonics function should be considered a mandatory requirement for high-level MMI is an open question. Despite this, there can be no doubt that it can add to the musical quality of call and response when MMI is applied to spoken conversation. Other candidates that may or may not be included in this list are conventions such as the aforementioned *seufzer* or building blocks like the sequence to express “the same but not the same.” Finally, a knowledge of which songs children already know can also be very useful, as well as knowing additional songs to always have something to choose from.

Conclusion

The concept of MMI remains a work in progress. While its ambition is quite broad, the study on which this article is based has a more narrow view of MMI that only considers two aspects (as described in the stories of the beatbox train and the well-known song). The beatbox train is the most salient example of MMI since it is based on improvisation: both the musically skilled pedagogue's use of improvisational music and its spontaneous use as a pedagogical tool in an everyday interaction between the children and the pedagogue. It certainly meets the demands of the tentative definition of MMI since it is deliberately based on the conscious use of music, purveys the intention of the pedagogue (i.e., makes the children do as the pedagogue wants), and is not prepared in advance but improvised based on the pedagogue's musical skills and competencies.

It is less obvious whether the song about the thumb in the mitten is MMI. On the one hand, it does seem to meet the definition; on the other hand, it seems *too easy*.

One of the main purposes of developing the concept of MMI is to investigate at the significance of the musical phrasing of spoken language regarding social and emotional learning among children as well as the learning and understanding of words and ideas. While these factors were not part of the present study, future studies may look

into this idea or assess whether children can benefit from MMI in other ways. Notably, the focused musical training of pedagogues is another matter that lies beyond the scope of this study but should likely be addressed in a broader study of MMI.

The purpose of MMI in kindergarten is to provide pedagogues with a helpful tool while simultaneously strengthening the community and achieving practical, non-musical goals. The reasons why music can be used as such are twofold: 1) knowledge of musical effects can support intentions and emotions in spoken conversation; 2) music is a shared activity in itself. When using MMI, pedagogues invite children into the “magic circle” (Huizinga 1993) in which people (among other things) share the feeling of being in the circle. This sense of belonging can linger, resulting in children still feeling that they are part of the community even when they are no longer in the circle. When it comes to the practicalities of everyday life in kindergarten, MMI can transform these from—as the beatbox train example shows—19 children doing something individually to one group doing something together. Therein lies the true power of music in non-musical situations. By its very nature, it becomes a social activity where participants are mutually dependent on each other.

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Når musikalske fællesskaber sætter spor i den pædagogiske hverdag i dagtilbud

Indledning

Denne artikel undersøger, hvordan sang og musikaktiviteter kan være en fællesskabsfremmende kraft i dagtilbudsbørns hverdag. Artiklens empiri stammer fra det nationale forsknings- og udviklingsprojekt LegeKunst, der udforsker, hvordan kunst, kultur og æstetiske processer kan sætte aftryk hos børn og voksne i institutionerne. I LegeKunst er musik ét af flere kunstneriske formsprog, som bliver sat i spil i den institutionelle hverdag, og i denne artikel belyses sang og musiks rolle, når der i pædagogisk praksis arbejdes tværestetisk.

Indledningsvis præsenteres artiklens forskningsfokus i forhold til et konkret LegeKunst-forløb, der blev afviklet i efteråret 2020 i Holbæk. Herefter opridses overordnede forskningstilgange og metoder, som omfatter hele LegeKunst-projektet. Dernæst gives en beskrivelse af begreber og visioner i LegeKunst, inden der stilles skarpt på musikaktiviteterne i det konkrete tværestetiske LegeKunst-forløb.

Deltagelse i musikalske fællesskaber i dagtilbud – forskningsfokus

Kan musik- og sangaktiviteter noget særligt i forhold til fællesskabsdannelse og fællesskabsfølelse i en dagtilbudskontekst? Og i så fald hvad? Hvordan indgår og deltager dagtilbudsbørn i musikalske fællesskaber? De spørgsmål meldte sig, mens jeg fulgte et tværestetisk LegeKunst-forløb, hvor mit og den øvrige forskergruppes overordnede fokus var, hvilken betydning børns møde med kunst og kultur kan have i relation til dagtilbudsloven og den styrkede pædagogiske læreplan¹. Et af læreplanstemaerne hedder Kultur, æstetik og fællesskab (Børne- og Socialministeriet 2018), og i vores undersøgelse af dette tema blev vi opmærksomme på, hvordan pædagogiske aktiviteter med sang og musik i særlig grad syntes at kunne samle børnenes fokus og give anledning til en samtidighed og et fælles flow i børnegruppen. Denne artikel undersøger og analyserer denne opmærksomhed og de affødte spørgsmål.

Analysen tager sit teoretiske afsæt i Daniel Sterns udlægning af begreberne intersubjektivitet og affektiv afstemning (Stern 2004), i Sven-Erik Holgersens fire deltager-

1 Den (ny) styrkede pædagogiske læreplan trådte i kraft i 2018, og med den kom der et fælles pædagogisk værdigrundlag og en opdatering af de seks læreplanstemaer fra 2004

strategier i musikaktiviteter (Holgersen 2002) i Lori Custudero tilgang til gruppeflow i musikpædagogisk sammenhæng (Custodero 2002) samt Michael Huséns term 'det fælles tredje' (Husen 1996). Med udgangspunkt i disse begreber analyseres sang og musiks fællesskabs- og flowskabende potentialer i et konkret tværæstetisk forløb. Men først lidt om det overordnede LegeKunst-projekt.

LegeKunst – forskningstilgang og metoder

LegeKunst er et landsdækkende forsknings- og udviklingsprojekt, der i perioden 2019-2023 afvikles i 18 kommuner rundt om i landet. I alt 20.000 børn og 1000 voksne skal i perioden deltage i og være medskabere i et eller flere af de hundredevis af LegeKunst-forløb, der afvikles i perioden.

Forskningsdelen i LegeKunst foregår under ledelse af DPU (Aarhus universitet), der sammen med fem af landets seks professionshøjskoler varetager forskningen i projektet. Hver professionshøjskole har sit eget forskningsfokus, som undersøger forskellige vinkler på projektets grundidéer og kernebegreber. På professionshøjskolen Absalon er vi fire i forskergruppen, og vores fokusområde er kunst og kultur i relation til den styrkede pædagogiske læreplan. Musik og musikalske fællesskaber er ikke et særskilt fokus i Absalons forskning, men indgår som en del af vores blik på LegeKunsts potentialer i forhold til læreplanen og læreplanstemaerne, hvilket jeg har beskæftiget mig særligt med.

I LegeKunst arbejder vi med aktionsforskning, og forskningen i de enkelte LegeKunst-forløb tager udgangspunkt i lokale deltageres (pædagogisk personale, kunstnere, kulturinstitutioner m.v.) undringer, ønsker og visioner. Grundtonen i aktionsforskning er, at der gennem handling skabes forandring i konkrete organisationer eller sammenhænge, og der udvikles viden i forhold til det udvalgte problemfelt (Greenwood og Levin 2007; Stegeager & Willert 2014). Hilary Bradburys overordnede definition af aktionsforskning indrammer projektets forståelse af begrebet meget fint:

Aktionsforskning er en demokratisk og deltagelsesbaseret tilgang til at skabe viden. Den kobler handling og refleksion, teori og praksis med et mål om at finde praktiske løsninger på folks presserende problemer og mere generelt at få individer og fællesskaber til at blomstre. (Bradbury 2015, 2).

I Professionshøjskolen Absalons forskningsgruppe arbejder vi desuden med metoden Appreciative Inquiry (Mejlvig 2012; Sørensen 2019), hvor vi som forskere fokuserer på de eksempler, hvor aktørerne lykkes med deres aktioner og intentioner. Det betyder ikke, at mindre vellykkede tiltag ikke indgår i bearbejdning og refleksioner, men for at sammen med praksisfeltet at udvikle frugtbare fællesskaber og praksisser understøttes og italesættes de positive eksempler (Bradbury 2015)

For at undersøge og dokumentere disse praksisser, anvender vi dels (deltagende) observationer og dels semistrukturerede interviews med henholdsvis kunstnere, pædagoger og børn. Det deltagende element af vores observationer blev i hovedparten af det konkrete forløb meget begrænset, da vi grundet covid19-situation ikke måtte interagere med børnene. Vores observationer foregik derfor på afstand, og de blev fastholdt

i fotos, feltnoter og efterfølgende nedskrevet i narrative praksisfortællinger (Sørensen 2019). Uddrag af mine narrative praksisfortællinger indgår løbende i artiklen.

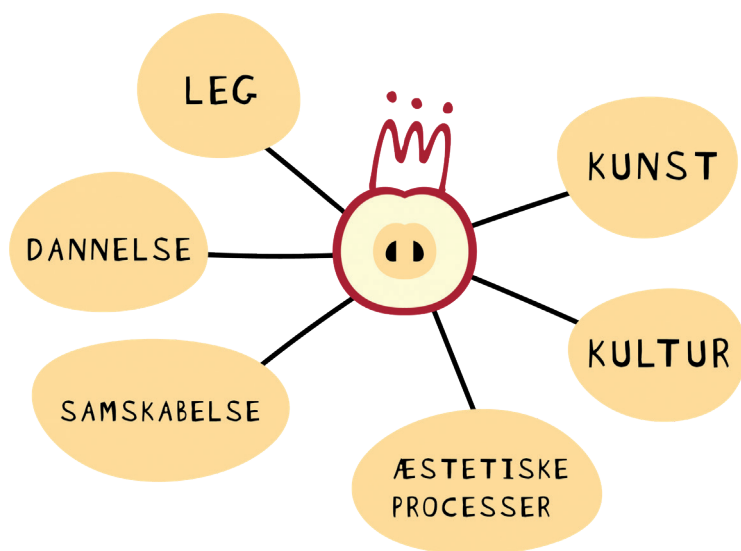
For at indfange børnenes perspektiver har vi anvendt foto- og tegnestøttede interviews, hvor vi samtaler med børnene med udgangspunkt i fotos eller børnenes tegninger fra forløbet (Knudsen, Lindberg, og Kampmann 2009).

LegeKunst – kernebegreber og visioner

LegeKunst er rettet mod dagtilbudsområdet, 0-6 årige børn, og de fleste forløb foregår i børnehaver, men der er også forløb i vuggestuer og dagpleje. De voksne er henholdsvis pædagogisk personale, studerende, kunstnere, kulturformidlere og forskere. Et enkelt LegeKunst-forløb kan vare fra få uger til flere måneder, og det foregår og udvikles ude i den enkelte institution, hvor kunstnere/kulturformidlere og pædagogisk personale med udgangspunkt i kunstoplevelser og æstetiske processer sammen udvikler forløbet.

Fælles for de mange LegeKunst-forløb rundt om i landet er, at det enkelte barn og børnegruppens legende tilgang og deres perspektiver skal være en drivkraft i processerne. Projektets grundtanke er, at leg er en naturlig kilde til kreativitet, fordi børn i en umiddelbar stemning af flow er åbne over for nye idéer og på den måde er parate til at skabe og håndtere forandringer. Kunst er på samme måde som leg eksperimenterende og undersøgende, og i leg indgår æstetiske og kunstneriske processer helt naturligt (Hammershøj 2012; 2017; LegeKunst 2020)

Koblingen mellem begreberne leg og kunst er præciseret i projektets navn, LegeKunst, men projektet arbejder med i alt seks kernebegreber: Leg, kunst, kultur, æstetiske processer, samskabelse og dannelse.



Figur 1. Seks kernebegreber i LegeKunst (LegeKunst 2020)

I LegeKunst præsenteres børnene for nye og ukendte 'verdener' og oplevelser i form af kulturelle og kunstneriske indtryk og udtryk fra autentiske kunstnere og/eller kulturformidlere. I spændingsfeltet mellem at vise og inddrage børnene i etablerede kunstformer, teknikker og discipliner, og samtidig søge at slippe legen og eksperimentet løs, åbnes potentielle dannelsesprocesser. Grundtanken er her, at dannelse sker, når børnene er parate til at åbne sig for verden, og verden åbner sig for dem og bliver større og mere mangfoldig (Hammershøj 2017; LegeKunst 2020)

I LegeKunst-forløbene lægges der derfor op til at børn, kunstnere og pædagoger sammen skaber og går på opdagelse i legende æstetiske processer, der giver mening for børn og voksne i det enkelte dagtilbud. Institutionerne kan arbejde med mange forskellige kunstneriske formsprog som fx musik, fortælling, billedkunst, drama, dans, animation. I nogle forløb indgår kun ét formsprog, mens andre arbejder tværástetiske med flere kunstarter i spil samtidigt eller parallelt.

I det følgende vil jeg zoome ind på et konkret LegeKunst-forløb i Holbæk, der i efteråret 2020 foregik i et samarbejde mellem Børnehuset Villa Kulla, Holbæk Kulturskole og Teater Fair Play.

STORT Og småt. Et tværástetisk LegeKunst-forløb i Holbæk

"Stop, hold op, hvis du bli'r ved, så bli'r jeg vred..." sådan lyder første linje i én af sangene fra forløbet *STORT Og småt* i børnehuset Villa Kulla. Sangen er skrevet af Mie Rank Brunberg, der er musiker og én af de kunstnere, som sammen med børn og pædagoger fra Villa Kullas arbejdede med historier, sange, billeder og teater.

Forløbet startede i september 2020, hvor børn og voksne sammen så en forestilling på det lokale teater, Fair Play, i Holbæk. Forløbet sluttede ligeledes på Fair Play i november 2020, hvor børnene fra Villa Kulla opførte deres eget teaterstykke for forældre og andre børnehavebørn.

I *STORT Og småt* var drama/teater den dominerende kunstform, da man i to børnegrupper (16-18 børn pr. gruppe/'stue') arbejdede med at udvikle en historie og dramatisere den. Musik og sang spillede også en betydelig rolle, da musikeren Mie skrev to sange til forløbet, og børnene selv lavede små remser og melodier, der ligeledes indgik i den fælles historie. Mie stod i starten af forløbet for sang- og musikaktiviteter og øvede bl.a. sangene med børn og pædagoger, og halvejs inde i forløbet overtog pædagogerne disse aktiviteter. Pædagogerne lavede sammen med Mie fagter til sangene.

I den tredje og sidste børnehavegruppe i Villa Kulla arbejdede børn og pædagoger sammen med en billedkunstner om blandt andet at lave store billeder ude i naturen. Disse billeder blev senere brugt som scenografi i teaterstykket. 'Billedkunstbørnene', som denne gruppe blev kaldt, var således ikke med til at arbejde med dramaaktiviteterne, men sangene indgik i hele institutionens hverdag, da de bl.a. blev sunget til fællessamlinger.

Efter forestilling på Teater Fair Play lavede vi fire gruppeinterviews (4-5 børn ad gangen) med børn fra Villa Kulla – både med børn fra drama/musikgrupperne og børn fra billedkunstgruppen. Vi oplevede her, at børnene fra alle grupper spontant

begyndte at synge sange og remser fra teaterstykket flere gange i løbet af interviewene. Da vi fx spurgte ind til, hvilke roller, der var med i deres teater, var det syngende svar: *"Pablo, Pablo pebernød han er blød og han er sød"* (Pablo var historiens hovedperson). Og når vi spurgte, om der var nogle dyr med i teaterstykket, begyndte tre grupper at synge *"kvak, kvak vi er frøer, vi kan hoppe, vi er ikke til at stoppe, kvak"*, som var én af frørollens små sange i teaterstykket. Vi spurgte også ind til, om der var nogle sange med i stykket, og her begyndte børnene at synge *"Stop, hold op..."* eller *"Jeg er mig, og du er dig..."*, som var de to sange, Mie havde skrevet. I flere tilfælde sang børnene sangene fra ende til anden, og deres syngende svar blev ikke efterfulgt af nogen forklaring eller uddybning i talt sprog.

Børnene gav med sangen et musikalsk svar, som samtidig gav dem mulighed for at udtrykke sig sammen – samtidigt og synkront – og på en måde, hvor de i deres smil og gestik syntes at genfinde følelser og stemninger, som de sammen havde oplevet i forløbet og forestillingen.

Affektiv afstemning

Daniel Sterns udlægning af begreberne intersubjektivitet og affektiv afstemning indfanger noget af det, der er på spil her. Stern beskriver intersubjektivitet som: *"En gensidig mental indtrængen, der tillader os at sige: 'jeg ved, at du ved, at jeg ved' eller 'jeg føler, at du føler, at jeg føler'".* (2004, 91). Stern beskriver, hvordan mennesker kan være i en tilstand, hvor de langt hen ad vejen oplever, ser og føler de samme mentale landskaber. Affektiv afstemning forklarer Stern som en form for intersubjektiv relatering, hvor deltagere i en social situation kan dele affektive aspekter af den enkeltes oplevelse (2004).

"Børnene sidder rundt om bordet, hvor de sammen med pædagoger og billedkunstneren er i fuld gang med at male med rød farve på et stort stofstykke – rød er nemlig dagens tema. Børnene er meget fokuserede og optagede af processen. Ind i mellem spørger de billedkunstneren til råds, og på andre tidspunkter snakkes der lidt om løst og fast, mens penslerne arbejder. På et tidspunkt, hvor der længe har været helt stille, begynder en af drengene pludselig at synge en sang fra teaterstykket. I løbet af sangens første frase stemmer de andre børn i og alle – inklusive pædagoger, billedkunstner og jeg selv – synger sammen hele sangen. Nogle børn kigger op, smiler og har øjenkontakt med hinanden, mens andre maler videre, mens de synger. Da sangen er slut, er der igen helt stille et stykke tid, indtil to af børnene begynder at snakke om spøgelser." (uddrag af egen praksisfortælling)

I ovenstående situation mødes børn og voksne i sangen, der bærer en fælles reference og erindring, som de sammen kan udtrykke, mens de synger. Sangen opstår spontant i rummet, og da den slutter, fortsætter børn og voksne, hvor de slap. Men mens gruppen synger sammen, opstår der en forbindelse og et bånd mellem alle rundt om bordet, der mødes i et fælles udtryk. Børn og voksne konstituerer i sangen det **fællesskab** og det 'noget', de her har sammen. I dette intersubjektive musikalske møde opstår også



Billedkunstaktivitet i et LegeKunst-forløb i Holbæk

en affektiv afstemning, da børnene har fælles oplevelser og stemninger knyttet til sangen og hele forløbet – oplevelser og følelser, som de i sangen kan udtrykke. Nogle børn har tydelig visuel kontakt og kommunikation, mens de synger, og de tilkendegiver med deres smil, at de i sangen er forbundne. Andre børn forbliver i deres eget fokus omkring at male, mens de synger, men både børn og voksne er nærværende i sangen, og der opstår en fælles nerve og følelse i rummet. Denne affektive afstemning kan ses som led i en gensidige kommunikation og synkronisering, der formidler kropslig forankret empati gennem sang eller en afstemt rytme (Fredens 2018; Pedersen 2020).

Sven-Erik Holgersen, der med afsæt i Sterns begreber har beskæftiget sig med dagtilbudsbørns deltagermuligheder i musikaktiviteter, peger på, at børn for at kunne afstemme følelser i musik og sang, skal kunne mere end blot at kopiere og imitere ydre strukturer i fx musik. Grundlaget for det intersubjektive **møde** er en grad af indlevelse, resonans og følelsesmæssig overensstemmelse (Holgersen 2002; 2007). Den affektive afstemning fordrer med andre ord, at den enkelte har et ejerskab til en sang, hvis det skal være muligt at møde andre i sangen og være sammen i og om en fælles følelse.

Da børnene i forbindelse med vores interviews spontant begyndte at synge sange fra forløbet, oplevede vi det nærmest som om, der blev trykket på en PLAY-knap, og sangene automatisk blev afsunget. Samtidig var det tydeligt på blikket i deres fokuserede øjne og i kropssproget, at sangene betød noget for børnene. Det enkelte barn havde med andre ord noget at byde ind med i det intersubjektive møde og den affektive afstemning, som foregik i de nuværende øjeblikke (Stern 2004) – både i interviews og i øjeblikke som det, der fandt sted rundt om billedkunstbordet.

Deltagerstrategier

Sven-Erik Holgersen beskriver fire deltagerstrategierne (2002), der er meget brugbare i analysen af børns deltagelse i musikaktiviteter og deres adgang til musikalske fællesskaber. Deltagerstrategierne kan kort beskrives på følgende måde: **Reception** handler om at være åbent modtagende, men uden at deltage artikulere eller give udtryk for mulige musikalske færdighed. **Imitation** handler om at efterligne strukturelle elementer og kopiere dele af ydre elementer i musikaktiviteten. **Identifikation** handler om at inkarnere musikalske strukturer og elementer. At kunne opleve sig selv som nærværende i musikken, og forstå sammenhæng mellem musik og situation. **Elaboration** handler om at videreudvikle og være med til skabe ny idéer og elementer i musikken (Holgersen 2002)

I Villa Kulla oplevede vi børnenes glæde ved at synge sangene fra forløbet, og vi kunne i interviews og observationer se og høre, at de identificerede sig med sangene og det musikalske udtryk. Musikken kom så at sige ind under huden på dem, og sangene blev en måde, hvorpå de sammen kunne dele og udtrykke oplevelsen af hele *STORT Og småt*-forløbet. Det var dog ikke alle børn, der deltog lige aktivt og åbent med det samme. For nogle børn tog det tid og overvindelse at blive en del af aktiviteterne og fællesskabet.

"En af pigerne bliver siddende på en lille bæk lidt væk fra børnegruppen. Hun vil ikke være med, men hendes blik forlader sjældent drama- og musikaktiviteterne. Pædagogerne henvender sig jævnligt til hende og inviterer til aktiv deltagelse sammen med de andre, og i nogle sekvenser er hun lidt med i aktiviteterne, hvor hun forsigtigt efterligner elementer af det, der sker i historien, som de sammen dramatiserer. Ved denne workshops afslutning har pigen bevæget sig til en tæppeflise i udkanten af kredsen. Da børnegruppen mødes næste gang, har pædagogerne og kunstneren fået den idé, at pigen skal spille tromme. Det har hun på forhånd sagt ja til, men hun vil stadig ikke spille teater. Pigen får nu en tromme, som hun skal spille på nogle steder i historien. Pigen venter tålmodigt på signalet til hendes første trommeindsats, og da hun får besked på at spille, spiller hun præcist og tydeligt. I løbet af formiddagen videreudvikler pigen betragteligt på den forholdsvis simple rytme, som hun har fået instrueret. Da workshoppen slutter får hun ros af pædagoger og kunstner, og hun smiler og fortæller livligt på vej ud af salen." (Uddrag af egen praksisfortælling)

Pigen i eksemplet havde inden forløbets start fortalt pædagogerne, at hun ikke ville deltage, og i de første faser er hun kropsligt meget passiv og placerer sig fysisk væk fra gruppen. Det er dog ikke et udtryk for en ikke-deltagelse. Pigens opmærksomhed er rettet mod gruppen og aktiviteterne, og hun er tydeligt interesseret, selvom hun i første omgang ikke selv artikulere noget udtryk, kropsligt eller verbalt. Pigens måde at agere og være i rummet på kan tolkes som Holgersens deltagerstrategi **reception** (Holgersen 2002), da hun uden selv at sætte udtryk på sin deltagelse alli-

gevel er indfanget og optaget af det, der foregår i aktiviteten. Hun er på den måde en del af fællesskabet, og hun deltager meget forsigtigt som en legitim perifer deltager (Lave og Wenger 2004).

I løbet af workshoppen bliver pigen tiltagende fysisk aktiv og artikulerende – dog stadig i udkanten af gruppen – hvor hun forsigtigt efterligner elementer af det, der sker i rummet. Pigen kan i Holgersen begrebsramme siges at anvende deltagerstrategien *imitation* (Holgersen 2002), da hun i sine små, men tydelige imitationer, spejler kunstner, pædagoger og de andre børn. I denne proces bevæger pigen sig fysisk nærmere gruppen, da hun fra en bæk ved væggen flytter sig til udkanten af gruppen.

Da pigen i næste workshop bliver tilbudt og accepterer tromme-rolle, åbner der sig en deltagelsesmulighed, som hun tilsyneladende kan overskue. Hun siger i hvert fald ja til at være trommespiller, og med den definerede rolle og funktion, hun derfra får i fællesskabet, bliver hendes aktive deltagelse og kropslige engagement tydelig. I Holgersens terminologi er der en tale om *identifikation* (Holgersen 2002), da hun er nærværende og tager ejerskab i sit udtryk og i den fælles aktivitet.

Fra at spille tromme ét sted i historien, udvides pigens rolle, så trommen flere steder bruges som effekt og underlægning i forskellige scener. Hun finder selv på, hvad hun skal spille, og får efterfølgende feedback fra kunstneren. Pigens deltagerstrategi kan her fortolkes som *elaboration* (Holgersen 2002), da hun er med til at videreudvikle historien og det musikalske udtryk.

Pigen i eksemplet blev på intet tidspunkt i forløbet højtråbende eller dominerende, men fra det øjeblik hun fik trommen i hånden, tog hun med sit trommespil og sin tiltagende medindflydelse på historien et stigende ejerskab i forløbet. Andre børn havde en hurtigere kadence i forhold til at identificere sig med og medudvikle på musikalske elementer, men fælles for børnegruppen var, at de i de første workshops, havde brug for guidning og støtte fra musikeren og pædagogerne. Som børnene blev trygge ved sange og rytmer, blev deres glæde tydeligere at observere, da de i deres kropssprog og mimik udstrålede et tiltagende overskud til at kommunikere og interagere med de øvrige deltagere. Denne fælles oplevelse og indlevelse gjorde projektet til et 'fælles tredje', som muliggjorde intersubjektive møder og affektiv afstemning i gruppen (Holgersen 2002; 2007)

Det fælles tredje

Michael Husén er den danske ophavsmand til begrebet 'det fælles tredje' (1996). Begrebet er ofte brugt i den pædagogiske verden, og det handler om, hvordan fx pædagoger og børn er fælles om noget, der optager begge parter og ligger uden for dem selv. Det vil typisk være en aktivitet, en fællesoplevelse eller en arbejdsproces, hvor de involverede i fællesskab udretter et eller andet sammen (Husen 1996).

Husén betoner ordet FÆLLES i det fælles tredje, da dette 'tredje' må være noget, der giver mening for alle involverede. Hvis pædagoger eller børn ikke engagerer sig i aktiviteten eller processen, bliver det ikke til et fælles tredje. I en pædagogisk kontekst ligger der en indbygget udfordring i, at pædagogen har definitionsmagten og i sidste

ende beslutter, hvad det er der skal ske. Pædagogen eller læreren, kunstneren etc. må ifølge Husén derfor med kropssprog, tonefald, mimik kunne formidle sin entusiasme i forhold til aktiviteten.

Når det fælles tredje er vigtigt og vedkommende for alle deltagere, afhænger værdien ikke af den enkelte (fx musikeren Mie i *STORT Og småt*), men i stedet overtager fællesskabet ejerskabet og ansvaret for flowet i processen. Husén taler om, at kunstneriske aktiviteter på grund af deres æstetiske kvaliteter og direkte sanselighed har særlig gode muligheder for at give mening. Og med musikken som et fælles tredje, ser han særdeleshed store muligheder for samarbejde og fællesskab (Husen 1996).

"Vi sidder klar i Fair Plays intime teatersal, hvor forældrene er inviteret til at se Villa Kullas egen forestilling. Musikken starter, scenelyset tændes, og børnene kommer ind på scenen med den flotte scenografi, som billedkunstbørnene har lavet. De går målrettede på række, men der er også plads til smil. Det hele starter med en fællessang. Børnene står side om side og synger i et fælles kor, hvor også pædagogerne er med, imens musikeren akkompagnerer fra scenekanten. Børnene synger 'af karsken bælg', mens de forventningsfulde og stolte spejder ud mod forældrene i salens mørke." (Uddrag af egen praksisfortælling)

Teaterforestillingen var kulminationen på *STORT Og småt*-forløbet, og ovenstående fortælling søger at illustrere, hvordan den intense stemning og det fælles fokus fra børn, pædagoger og kunstnere var en stor oplevelse og et stærkt 'fælles tredje' for børn og voksne. De steder i forestillingen, hvor det fælles udtryk og fællesskabet fremstod tydeligst i forskergruppens optik, var i de to fællessange. Her deltog alle aktivt på scenen i et fælles musikalsk udtryk. Det gjaldt både i startsangen og i slutsangen, der rundede forestilling af med både børn og pædagoger på scenen i et energifyldt og samlet udtryk. I begge sange var det i børnenes kropslige fremtræden og i deres fælles indlevelse i sangen tydeligt at se og høre både stolthed og samhørighed.

Efter teaterforestillingen kom pigen med trommen hen til pædagoger og kunstnere og sagde: "Jeg turde slet ikke, og så gjorde jeg det alligevel".

Regler og frihed – At mødes i musikkens faste strukturer

"Musik taler direkte til følelserne, når den går i resonans med kroppens indre rytmer. Alligevel er den samtidig præget af form, af konvention og kultur. Musikken er stramhed og improvisation, regler og frihed. Musik er eminent egnet til fællesskab og samarbejde. Der opstår fælles svingninger og fælles værdi, når man spiller sammen. Musikken skaber en form for kommunikation, der går direkte fra kroppen og følelserne til andre kroppe og deres følelser." (Husen 1996, 227)

I ovenstående citat, belyser Husén den dobbelthed, der er indlejret i musik og musikalske aktiviteter. *Musikken er stramhed og improvisation, regler og frihed*. Sange, rytmer og remser tilbyder en skemalagt struktur og et fastlagt forløb i tid, hvor børnene inden for klart definerede rammer kan udtrykke sig i et fælles udtryk (Hansen og Thorsen

2020). For at kunne synge teaterstykkets fællessange, måtte børnene først lære melodi og tekst udenad. Det samme gjaldt for "frø-verset", der var opstået i en elaborationsproces, og som efterfølgende blev 'fastfrosset' og sat på en fast form, så det kunne imiteres og udtrykkes synkront.

Musikaktiviteter i grupper bygger i vid udstrækning på, at deltagerne har en fælles puls, fælles opmærksom og kan synkronisere sig, hvilket også i bredere forstand har stor betydning for dannelse af fællesskaber og af sociale relationer (Tarr, Launey og Dunbar 2014). Det skyldes i høj grad den affektive afstemning og kommunikation, der opstår, når deltagere sammen resonerer og synkroniserer deres udtryk i en fælles puls eller rytme (Fredens 2018; Pedersen 2020). At 'synkronisere sig' beskriver Susan Hart med afsæt i Daniel Stern og Colwyn Trevarthan forskning af kommunikation mellem forældre og barn, "*som evnen til at gøre ting samtidig eller at få flere hændelser til at ske i et tidsmæssigt afhængigt forhold*" (Hart 2020, 221).

Sang og musik har den egenskab, at et i princippet ubegrænset antal mennesker kan udtrykke sig synkront i et tidsmæssigt forløb. Det er så at sige muligt at 'tale i munden på hinanden' uden at sløre udtrykket – tværtimod er der potentiale for i fællesskab at forstærke og nuancere det musikalske udtryk. Hvis det sidste skal lykkes, betinger det dog både en form for musikalsk styring og ikke så lidt disciplin fra alle involveredes side (Hansen og Thorsen 2020).

Musikeren i STORT Og småt-forløbet, Mie Rank Brunberg, er i sit musikpædagogiske arbejde meget bevidst om denne balance *mellem stramhed og improvisation, regler og frihed*. Om den disciplinære del af arbejdet med musikaktiviteter med børn, siger hun:

"Musik kræver disciplin for at fungere. Det er meget synligt og hørbart, når disciplinen mangler. Så bliver det kaos. Fordi musik næsten altid er noget børnene har lyst til, så giver det mening for dem at følge regler og beskeder. Nu lytter vi, nu synger vi sammen, nu er vi på, nu giver plads til andre. Så fungerer det." (uddrag af interview med musiker Mie Rank Brunberg)

De fælles rammer og 'spilleregler' er i Mies optik en forudsætningen for, at musikaktiviteter kan fungere i en børnegruppe. Når rammen og reglerne er på plads, giver det børnegruppen tryghed og mulighed for nærvær, fællesskab og improvisation i musikken. Om fællesskabet i musik- og sangaktiviteter, siger Mie: "*Vi synkroniserer vores puls og resonerer sammen. Jeg kan med sådan en børnegruppe her mærke, at når vi synger sangene, så er alles fokus lige pludselig samlet det samme sted.*"

Det fælles fokus og den fælles rettedhed, som Mie peger på, observerede vi, som tidligere beskrevet i praksisfortællinger, i flere sammenhænge. I teaterforestillingens fællessange, hvor alle var intenst koncentrerede og bare ventede på musikerens tegn og anslaget fra klaveret. Og i episoden rundt om billedkunstbordet, hvor en sang spontant og uden forvarsel greb børnene og samlede deres fokus for en stund. I begge eksempler gav sangen børnene en fælles stemme og et medie, hvori de kunne mødes og finde en fælles nerve.

"Musikken er ligesom kittet, der binder det hele sammen", siger en pædagog fra Villa Kulla, da vi i et interview efter forløbets afslutning spørger ind til hendes oplevelse

af musik og sangs betydning for forløbet. Hun fortæller, at sangene er en måde, hvor børn og pædagoger i hverdagssituationer på tværs af børnegrupper sammen kan udtrykke stemninger fra *STORT* Og *småt-forløbet*, hvilket hun har oplevet både i pædagogstyrede aktiviteter og i spontane børneinitierede øjeblikke på legepladsen. *Pædagogen siger afslutningsvis om dette: "Jeg synes, musikken har bundet det her sammen for mig. Den har været den røde tråd, som har skabt et fælles flow i hele huset."*

Flow og gruppeflow

Flowteorien handler kort fortalt om, at et individ eller en gruppe i en aktivitet har klare mål, erfarer en balance mellem udfordringer og evner, får umiddelbar feedback på foretagne handlinger, og er så intenst koncentreret at individ/gruppe glemmer både sig selv og tiden (Csikszentmihalyi 1991).

Når børnene i Villa Kulla arbejdede med både billedkunst, drama og musikaktiviteter, var det i mange situationer tydeligt at se flow hos det enkelte barn og i børnegrupperne. De forskellige kunstneriske formsprog er i deres natur forskellige, hvad angår materialitet, synkronicitet, osv. Derfor kan flowoplevelserne også være forskelligartede (Sæbø 2018).

I vores observationer fremstod det, at børnegruppen, der arbejdede med billedkunst, var den gruppe, hvor det enkelte barn i længst tid var opslugt og fokuseret i sin aktivitet. Her kunne gruppen og det enkelte barn i lang tid være fordybet i sin egen kreative og æstetiske proces med at male, tegne, folde m.m. Børnene interagerede også med hinanden og med de voksne meget af tiden, men flowoplevelserne fremstod tydeligt i forhold til det enkelte barns egen skabende proces.

I drama- og musikaktiviteterne var præmissen for aktiviteterne i høj grad, at børn og voksne interagerede, spejlede hinanden og sammen udviklede små scener og vers til historien. Børnenes flow-tilstand var på den måde meget afhængig af gruppen og dynamikken mellem deltagerne. Flowtilstandene opstod derfor i højere grad som gruppeflow, når idéen, energien og interaktionen opstod mellem deltagerne. Det var i sådanne sekvenser, hvor grupperne af både børn og voksne sammen 'swingede', at de i mimik og gestik udstrålede, at processen greb dem, og de forglemte sig selv.

Gruppeflow i sang og musik

Blandt andre har Keith Sawyer videreudviklet flowbegrebet netop med et særligt blik for det kollektive og sociale element i flow. Om dette gruppeflow siger Sawyer:

Basing my research on Csikszentmihalyi's seminal work, I discovered that, sure enough, improvising groups attain a collective state of mind that I call Group flow. Group flow is a peak experience state, a group performing at its top level of ability (Sawyer 2007, 43)

I denne sammenhæng er det interessant at kaste et blik på, hvordan gruppeflow kan opstå i musikaktiviteter med dagtilbudsbørn, og hvordan børn, pædagoger og kunstne-

re sammen kan skabe *a group performing at its top level of ability*. Den amerikanske forsker og musikunderviser Lori Custodero har lavet forskellige studier i forbindelse med klasse- og gruppeundervisning i musik, og hun giver nogle bud på, hvordan musikundervisning og musikaktiviteter kan iscenesættes, så børn oplever at være i flowzonen sammen (Custodero 2002).

Custodero peger på en stor læringsværdi, når børn inspirerer hinanden og lærer af hinanden, ligesom børnenes mulighed for selv at komme med bidrag til indhold er vigtige for børnenes engagement og muligheder for flow. Omkring musikformidlernes rolle siger Custodero, at det kræver fingerspidsfornemmelse, da musikaktiviteter kræver styring og vejledning, men også rum for børnenes selvudfoldelse. Guidning og indblanding kan derfor både være styrkende og ødelæggende for flowet (Custodero 2002). Custodero hæfter sig ved, at de aktiviteter, børnene skal beskæftige sig med, må have musikalsk autenticitet, være nærværende for børnene og give mulighed for kropslig udfoldelse. Hvad det indebærer, uddyber hun i fire punkter:

- muligheder for børnenes eget bidrag til indhold og aktivitet
- tid til at gå i dybden med materiale og idéer
- valgt form og indhold, der passer til gruppens faglige og sociale ståsted
- fysisk aktivitet og deltagelse. (Custodero 2002).

I musikaktiviteterne i Villa Kulla var de forskellige 'flow-forudsætninger', som Custoderos beskriver, til stede i mange sekvenser. Her et eksempel:

"Den lille gruppe børn, der skal spille 'frøer' kommer hoppende ind i lokalet, hvor kunstner og pædagog tager imod dem. Først snakker de løst om frøer og andre dyr, og børnene har meget at fortælle, mens de hopper og fjoller rundt på gulvet. Så siger kunstneren, at de fjollede frøer skal arbejde videre med frø-sangen, som de startede på sidst: "*kvak, kvak vi er frøer, vi kan hoppe, vi er ikke til at stoppe, kvak*", Nu udvikler de i fællesskab et nyt vers og synger: "*Kvak, kvak, vi er de fjollede frøer*", hvilket hurtigt suppleres af "*Kvak, kvak, kvak, vi leder efter søer*", da de finder ud af, at frøer og søer rimer. Også pædagogen er 'på' og i rolle sammen med børnene. Sammen laver de masser af bevægelser og mimik og efterligner på skift hinanden, mens sangen gentages." (uddrag af egen praksisfortælling)

Børn og voksne arbejdede som en gennemgående del af musikaktiviteterne med kropslig deltagelse i form af dans, bevægelse og fagter. I eksemplet ovenfor er børnenes bevægelser en drivkraft i forhold til den puls og tekst, der opstår i situation. Der tages med afsæt i den indledende snak og børnenes bevægelser udgangspunkt i børnenes perspektiv på, hvad en frø er for en størrelse, og hvordan den agerer. Børnene har teten og finder i samspil med pædagog og kunstner på versets indhold, melodi og koreografi, og der er i denne sekvens masser af tid til at eksperimentere, udvikle og nuancere frøernes sang og rolle. Det lille sangvers medførte i øvrigt, at der måtte etableres en sø i teaterstykkets scenografi.

Vi observerede undervejs i forløbet også sekvenser med mindre tid til eksperimenter og fordybelse, ligesom der var momenter, hvor hele børnegruppen var samlet, og de fleste passivt så på, mens én mindre gruppe var i fokus. Disse sekvenser med manglende tid eller manglende aktiv deltagelse gav hurtigt anledning til svigtende koncentration og uro blandt børnene, ligesom fornemmelsen af et fælles flow i rummet forsvandt. Arbejdet med frø-sekvensen foregik i en mindre gruppe, der havde tid og ro til aktiviteten, og børnene var opslugte fra start til slut, og de hoppede i samlet flok ud af lokalet som frøer, ligesom de gjorde, da de kom ind.

Custodero beskriver, at det kræver fingerspidsfornemmelse fra de voksnes side, når de i musikaktiviteter både skal styre og vejlede i forhold til det musikalske indhold, og samtidig skabe rum for børnenes kreativitet og selvudfoldelse i et fælles flow. I eksemplet med frøerne var der gode forudsætninger for vejledning og støtte omkring børnenes flow, da kunstner og pædagog tilsammen besad faglige musikskæmmetiske kompetencer og en konkret indsigt i den pædagogiske kontekst og i børnenes livsverden. Kunstneren havde således mest en igangsættende og vejledende rolle, mens pædagogen befandt sig i øjenhøjde med børnene, og støttede op om udviklingen af frø-verset. Disse roller blev mere fleksible og overlappende som forløbet skred frem og pædagoger, kunstnere og børn blev trygge ved hinanden og samarbejdet.

Opsamling – musikalske flow og fællesskaber i spændingsfeltet mellem regler og frihed

Selvom musikaktiviteter så at sige spillede andenviolin i det tværetetisk LegeKunst-forløb STORT Og småt, så oplevede og iagttog både pædagoger og os i forskergruppen, at sang og musik havde et særligt potentiale i forhold til fællesskabet. Hvad dette særlige potentiale består i, og hvordan det udfoldede sig i den konkrete kontekst, har undersøgelsen nærmet sig ved hjælp af forskellige teoretiske begreber. Et centralt fokus i analysen er det pædagogiske spændingsfelt, der i sang- og musikaktiviteterne opstod mellem musikkens faste og styrede form og det åbne mulighedsrum, hvori børn og voksne mødtes i et fælles flow og en fælles følelse.

Det kan forekomme paradoksalt, at musikaktiviteter med en ofte stramt styret ramme kan være befordrende for børns oplevelse af intersubjektivitet og affektiv afstemning. Processen med at lære nye sange kan være tålmodighedskrævende, og deltagelse i musikalske aktiviteter og fællesskaber fordrer, at det enkelte barn udviser accept og disciplin i forhold til grundlæggende strukturer og rammer (Hansen og Thorsen 2020; Pedersen 2020). Men musik og sang tilbyder med sin puls og sin faste strukturer samtidig mulighed for, at deltagerne kan synkronisere sig i tid og musikalske forløb, hvor de sammen kan udtrykke det, der i nuet fylder dem (Fredens 2018). Pædagogerne fra børnehuset Villa Kulla fortalte, at sangene og de små vers fra LegeKunst-forløbet blev et fælles frirum, hvor børn og voksne i både pædagoginitierede aktiviteter og i spontane sekvenser sammen kunne sætte udtryk på det fælles tredje.

Musikkens fællesskabsskabende potentialer blev i STORT Og småt-forløbet mere synligt i sang- og musikaktiviteterne i takt med, at børnenes deltagelsesmåder og strategier udviklede sig og blev mere mangfoldige. Børnene bevægede sig – i forskellige

tempi – fra udelukkende at være modtagende og imiterende (reception og imitation), til at være aktivt deltagende, involverede og medskabende (identifikation og elaboration) (Holgersen 2002), og de udviste i deres forholdemåder og ageren et stigende ejerskab i forhold til projektet. Undervejs i forløbet indtog børnene forskellige og skiftende deltagerstrategier, hvilket var helt legalt og også nødvendigt, afhængig af aktivitetens karakter. Men når børnene havde internaliseret og identificeret sig med en sang eller remse, opstod der i forløbet mange nuværende øjeblikke, hvor de i sange udtrykte et fælles nærvær og en samhørighed, der resonerer godt med Stern-citatet om affektiv afstemning: 'jeg føler, at du føler, at jeg føler'. (Stern 2004, 91).

Som tidligere beskrevet kulminerede LegeKunst-forløbet og det store fælles arbejde, som børn, pædagoger og kunstnere havde lagt i projektet ved forestillingen på Teater Fair Play. Her agerede børnene på scenen i et fælles gruppeflow, hvor de med hver deres rolle sammen præsterede deres bedste og fremstod som en enhed. *Group flow is a peak experience state, a group performing at its top level of ability*" (Sawyer 2007, 43). I de to fællessange fremstod denne enhed særlig tydeligt, da alle børn var på scenen, synkroniserede sig i sangen og hengav sig til et fælles musikalsk udtryk, der manifesterede deres fælles tredje omkring STORT Og småt forløbet.

Man kunne med afsæt i ovenstående pointer og potentialer argumentere for berettigelsen af et særskilt begreb for gruppeflow i musikaktiviteter med dagtilbudsbørn. Et begreb, der i tillæg til de karakteristika, som kendetegner flow og gruppeflow, også indfanger sang og musiks særegne potentialer i forhold til fællesskabsdimensionen. Et sådant *musikalsk gruppeflow* kunne beskrives som følger. Når en gruppe mennesker i en fælles puls sammen resonerer og i musikkens strukturer og forløb oplever et intenst nærvær og en samhørighed, der i nuet forbinder deres følelser, kroppe, bevidsthed og ånd.

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ANYA MATHILDE POULSEN

Kønsdiversitet og fællesskaber for handling

Et aktuelt billede af debatten om og arbejdet for en mere lige kønsrepræsentation i dansk musik med HUN SOLO som case

"Kom nu, be the change! For der er en komet på vej, og er du dino, så dør du!" Sådan afsluttede musiker og sangskriver Annika Aakjær i september 2020 en kommentar-artikel i musikmagasinet GAFFA (Aakjær 2020). I artiklen fremlagde hun egne erfaringer med sexistiske strukturer i den danske musikbranche og gav adskillige eksempler på diskriminerende adfærd over for kvinder i musikverdenen; ikke blot hvad hun selv havde været genstand for, men også episoder, hun havde været vidne til, som omhandlede andre musikere.

Annika Aakjærs opråb stod ikke alene. Det var en del af en række af tiltag i dansk musikliv, som i særlig grad fandt sted i løbet af 2020 – en kulmination, der kan ses som frugten af indsatser, som rækker langt længere bagud i tid, og som både tegner sig som opgør med sexismen og som indsatser for at skabe større ligevægt i den skæve kønsfordeling i dansk rytmisk musik. Det, der i 2020 og 2021 har manifesteret sig, er toppen af en bølge, der har samlet kraft over adskillige år, og nu er brudt igennem som en kulturkamp for diversitet, respekt og ligeværdighed i musikkens økosystemer. En bølge, som ikke mindst er båret frem af aktivistiske fællesskaber og initiativer blandt musikere, der udfordrer kønsbalancens status quo. Denne artikel belyser aktører og hændelser, der har spillet en betydende rolle i processen, og den forsøger at fremkalde baggrunden for tidens sexismen-opgør og diversitetstiltag i musik ved at undersøge den udvikling af modstand og bevidstgørelse, der har fundet sted de seneste cirka 10 år. Dertil søger den at skitsere, hvor debatten står netop nu, og hvilke muligheder, der synes at tegne sig for, at vi kan bevæge os frugtbart videre.

Empiri og egne erfaringer

Debatten om kønsbalancen og sexismen i dansk musikliv har oplevet et boom i løbet af 2020, som er fortsat ind i 2021, og empirisk materiale er især hentet fra artikler, som danske medier i disse år har bragt om emner relateret til arbejdet for mere diversitet i dansk populærmusik og et opgør med sexistiske strukturer i musikbranchen.

Samtidig inddrager jeg også egne erfaringer og overvejelser som medstifter af koncertformatet HUN SOLO og som deltager i køns- og diversitetsdebatten omkring musik gennem mange år. Mit engagement i debatten går tilbage til slut-1990'erne, og

i 2007 udgav jeg bogen *Feminint forstærket* på DRs forlag. Bogen var baseret på samtaler med en række kvindelige artister fra dansk rytmisk musik, bl.a. Kirstine Stubbe Teglbjærg (Blue Foundation), Signe Høirup Wille-Jørgensen (Speaker Bite Me/Jomi Massage) og Kira Skov, og vinklen for samtalerne var bl.a. et ønske om at belyse, hvorvidt musikernes personlige karriereveje og eventuelle udfordringer i løbet af disse kunne bidrage til en forståelse af, hvorfor der var så relativt få kvinder og langt flere mænd i dansk musik. Samtalerne blev også sendt som en radioserie. Idéen til bogen var baseret på, at jeg gennem mit arbejde som musikjournalist i DR havde oplevet, at der var betydeligt færre kvinder i den danske musikbranche end mænd. Dengang eksisterede der imidlertid ingen talbaserede undersøgelser af dansk rytmisk musik, der dokumenterede kønsfordelingen og bakkede mit indtryk op med statistisk materiale. Disse tal kom først fem år senere og viste en fordeling på 80% mandlige aktører og 20% kvindelige.¹ I det indledende arbejde med bogen kom det bag på mig, at nogle af de musikere, jeg henvendte mig til med forespørgsel om interviews, var forbeholdne over for at deltage. Min antagelse var, at det ville være et interessant og neutralt emne for musikere at tale om. Denne opfattelse viste sig at være en fejlslutning. At tale om hvordan det var at være kvindelig musiker, og om man eventuelt mødte barrierer relateret til køn, blev af flere potentielle medvirkende opfattet som farefuldt terræn. Der blev bl.a. udtrykt bekymring for, at man ville blive opfattet som en vred feminist og kunne komme til at skade sine karrieremuligheder i branchen ved at komme i en slags *bad standing* blandt indflydelsesrige brancheaktører.

At dette ikke nødvendigvis var en ubegrundet bekymring underbygges af en artikel i det amerikanske *TIME Magazine* fra 2014 med overskriften "How To Reclaim the F-Word? Just Call Beyoncé" (Bennett 2014). Artiklen er skrevet på baggrund af Beyoncé's optræden ved MTV Video Music Awards 2014, hvor hun i et sidenhen yderst eksponeret og omdiskuteret øjeblik står foran ordet "Feminist" i høje lysende bogstaver. TIME-artiklen kalder i overskriften ordet "The F-Word" og sidestiller således "feminist" med ordet "fuck", et ord der generelt betragtes som et af de mest uacceptable i engelsk sprogbrug. Med hjælp fra en sprogforsker fremlægger artiklen data, der viser, at nogle af de ord, der oftest ses i sammenhæng med feminist i amerikanske nyhedsmedier og på websites er ord som "radical", "militant" og "man-hating" (ibid.). Man skal selvfølgelig være varsom med at drage alt for direkte paralleller fra amerikansk kultur til danske forhold, men artiklen vidner om de mange negative konnotationer, der kulturelt er blevet knyttet til begrebet "feminist". At noget lignende kan gøre sig gældende i en dansk kontekst, har kunnet ses i den aktuelle #MeToo-debat. I en artikel om Morten Østergaards tilbagetræden som formand for De Radikale, udtalte en tidligere sekretariatschef fra partiet fx, at: "Besindelse og omtanke blev skubbet helt til side af en feministisk, inkvisitorisk heksejagt forestået af en gruppe ikke-tilgivende, nådesløse furier og amazoner, som virker som om, de ikke helmer før det ultimative matriarkat

1 "Kønsbalancen i rytmisk musik", 2012.

<https://docplayer.dk/8643073-Koensbalancen-i-rytmisk-musik.html>

Denne undersøgelse blev foretaget på foranledning af Dansk Artist Forbund (DAF), DJBFA – Danske sangskrivere og komponister, Dansk Musiker Forbund (DMF) og Danske Populær Autorer (DPA).

er indført på værste fundamentalistiske vis." (Ritzau 2020). Det er ingen overdrivelse at påpege, at negative betegnelser her står i kø ved ordet "feministisk".

Selv om feminism og kønsdebat dengang ved *Feminint forstærkets* tilblivelse i sidste halvdel af 00'erne var potentielt mere kontroversielle områder end nu, blev bogen realiseret. Musikerne i den talte om mangel på forbilleder, om hvordan man kunne komme ud for som kvinde ikke at få credit for sine bidrag til kompositioner, hvordan det blev antaget, at det var de mandlige med-musikere der havde stået for alt det kreative, hvordan vrede og grimhed kan være sjældnere i kvinders musik, fordi piger og kvinder opdrages til ikke at udforske de såkaldt "negative" følelser og den "uskønne" æstetik, og om drømmen om større netværk og at have mentorer, ældre erfarne kvinder, man kunne lære af.

Den viden, som bogen havde samlet, affødte for min del mulighed for at tage emner relateret til kønsbalancen og dens konsekvenser op i flere panelsessions og oplæg om køn og musik samt i avisartikler og andre medieindslag gennem de efterfølgende år, og i 2016 var jeg medinitiativtager til koncertformatet og musikernetværket HUN SOLO, der arbejder for at skabe større synlighed for musik af kvinder og kønsminoriteter.

Den skæve kønsrepræsentation i dansk rytmisk musikliv

Men hvorfor er det overhovedet vigtigt at arbejde for øget kvindelig repræsentation i musikkens verden, kan man spørge. Det er der mange gode grunde til. En af dem handler om synlighed. Hvis vi kigger på de tilgængelige tal omkring aktører fordelt på køn i dansk musikliv, så viser de en kraftig underrepræsentation af kvinder.²

En optælling fra 2011 af analyseinstituttet NIRAS foretaget på initiativ fra fire af de store danske musikfagforbund konkluderede, at den kønsmæssige fordeling i dansk musikliv dengang var på omkring 80% mandlige aktører og 20% kvindelige ("Kønsbalancen i rytmisk musik", 2012). Undersøgelsen målte kønsfordelingen i dansk rytmisk musik på tre felter: Uddannelsesområdet, det professionelle område og gatekeeperområdet. I 2017 fulgte en anden konstellation af musikorganisationer op med en ny undersøgelse af tallene.³ Denne optælling fandt, at kønsfordelingen samlet set var 75% mandlige aktører og 25% kvindelige. Der er muligvis sket en lille forbedring mellem de to optællinger, men eftersom det ikke var helt de samme organisationer, der var involveret, og ligesom der ikke blev talt på helt samme parametre, er de to rapporter ikke direkte sammenlignelige. En fordeling på omkring 75-80% mandlige aktører

2 De to store undersøgelser, der kom i løbet af 2010'erne – hhv. i 2012 og 2017 – opererede kun med kategorierne "mand" og "kvinde", altså med binære køns kategorier, i en spejling af tidsånden, da undersøgelserne blev udformet. Opmærksomheden på og accepten af andre kønsidentiteter end "mand" eller "kvinde" var noget lavere på dette tidspunkt. Skulle tilsvarende undersøgelser foretages i dag, ville der formentlig og forhåbentlig være fokus på det ekskluderende i kun at operere med to køns kategorier.

3 "Diversitet i musikbranchen – Mod en bedre kønsbalance", 2017.
https://gramex.dk/wp-content/uploads/2019/04/Diversitet-i-musikbranchen_2017.pdf
 Denne undersøgelse blev foretaget på foranledning af Dansk Live, Gramex, JazzDanmark, Dansk Artist Forbund og Dansk Musiker Forbund – altså to gengangere fra 2011 (DMF og DAF) og tre nye.

og 20-25% kvindelige må dog anses for et retvisende billede. Begge rapporter arbejder med binære køns kategorier, og det er derfor ikke muligt at udlede noget af dem i forhold til repræsentation af andre kønsidentiteter end 'mand' eller 'kvinde'.

Det danske radiobillede har ligeledes en kraftig slagside til fordel for mandlige kunstnere. Hvert år offentliggør Gramex, rettighedsorganisationen for pladeselskaber og udøvende kunstnere, tre top-10-liste på basis af deres oplysninger om, hvilke danske numre og kunstnere, der er de mest spillede på landets radiokanaler. Én liste opgør årets 10 mest spillede danske numre, en anden årets 10 mest spillede danske hovedartister – dvs. den solist eller gruppe, i hvis navn udgivelsen er udsendt – og en tredje liste rangerer de 10 mest spillede danske musikere, da disse kan være studiemusikere eller producere, som medvirker på flere forskellige udgivelser og ikke udkommer som hovedartist.⁴ I 2016, 2017 og 2018 var der tre år i træk ikke én eneste kvindelig kunstner på nogen af de tre top 10-liste. I 2019 var ganske få kvinder repræsenteret på listerne og heraf kun én, Clara, som hovedartist.⁵ Og i 2020 var Drew Sycamore den første kvinde nogensinde på listen over mest spillede danske musikere.

Tal fra komponistrettighedsorganisationen Koda viste i 2020 et tilsvarende skævt billede. Blot 19 procent af Kodas medlemmer er kvinder, og kvinderne modtager kun 10 procent af den samlede udbetaling fra Koda ("Ulighed i kønsbalancen – Kønsstatistik 2020"). Kvindelige kunstnere er altså ikke blot i markant undertal, de tjener også mindre på egen musik, end deres mandlige kolleger gør. Kodas formand Niels Rønholdt opsummerede det problematiske i denne situation i en Politiken-artikel om undersøgelsen med ordene: "Kunsten er en afspejling af samfundet. Lige nu er det et decideret vrangbillede, der afspejles i musikken. Ser vi på den kommercielle del af musikbranchen, er vi oppe i noget kulturdefinerende på linje med folkesport eller mad. Og der ser det endnu værre ud med ligestillingen" (Benner 2020).

Som Rønholdt påpeger, er musik blandt de mest kulturdefinerende kunstformer, der findes. Musik er en del af de fleste menneskers liv på stort set daglig basis, fra barndommen og gennem hele livet. Yndlingskunstnere og favoritsange er med til at danne idealer og verdensanskuelser hos lyttere og fans. Og særligt i ungdommen går musikens budskaber og profilerede personaer ind som betydningsfulde elementer i identitetsdannelsen, ikke mindst som billeder på, hvordan køn performs og hvilke kvaliteter hos kønnene, der idealiseres. Tager man en kærlighedssang, så er teksten eksempelvis med til at fortælle personer af det køn, teksten har som sit objekt, hvilke egenskaber der sættes højt eller mindre højt. Netop fordi musik ofte handler om emner som begær, seksualitet og kærlighed, bliver billedet også misrepræsentativt, hvis det som nu i langt overvejende grad er ét køns blikke, drømme og erfaringer, der udtrykkes.

Den udtalt skæve kønsfordeling i de to officielle rapporter fra 2012 og 2017 tyder samtidig på, at der må foregå et betydeligt talenttab. I hvert fald er det relevant at

4 Listerne kan findes på Gramex' website: <https://gramex.dk/om-gramex/tal-og-statistik/>

5 På listen "Årets mest spillede danske sang" var bandet Alphabeat med Stine Bramsen i front nr. 3. Alexander Oscar indtog sammen med den svenske kunstner SVEA plads nr. 10. Der var ingen kvinder på listen over 2019's mest spillede danske musikere.

Kilde: <https://gramex.dk/om-gramex/tal-og-statistik/>

spørge, om ikke vi lider et stort kulturelt tab af talent, hvis så få piger og kvinder bliver professionelle musikere eller på anden vis får en karriere i musikbranchen. Branchen og publikum må være interesserede i, at flest mulige talenter kommer i spil, både hvad angår kvaliteten og mangfoldigheden af den musik, der skabes og publiceres. Det handler både om nydelsen af musik, og det handler om hele det økonomiske økosystem i branchen.

Der kan være mange årsager til dette talentfratag. Brancheaktører længere fremme i fødekæden har jævnlige peget på musikskolerne. At det er hos dem, der skal sættes ind. Det er relevant at finde værktøjer til at fastholde piger i musikskoleregiet, men det er nok en forsimpelse at koncentrere sig om musikskolerne eller andre af de tidligste led i fødekæden. Musikere og bands opstår ikke blot i institutionaliserede rammer eller ud af den læring, der foregår i disse fora. Den rytmiske musikhistorie er rig på eksempler på kunstnere, der er autodidakte. Adgangen til elektroniske muligheder for komposition, spil og produktion er blevet ultra-demokratiseret, og musik kan måske mere end nogensinde før opstå i alskens miljøer.

Det giver derfor mening også at tage højde for det perspektiv, der handler om kulturbilleder generelt. Hvis man ser på musikhistorien er den i overvældende grad domineret af mandlige kunstnere. Det billede, vi kulturelt er blevet præsenteret for og stadig i overvejende grad ser, er, at en musiker er en mand. Rockmusikens største ikoner, når det gælder fundamentet, er navne som Elvis Presley, Beatles, Rolling Stones, Bob Dylan, Jim Morrison, Jimi Hendrix, David Bowie, Leonard Cohen. Ser man på den klassiske musik, var de berømte komponister også næsten udelukkende mænd. Bach, Brahms, Beethoven, Mozart og en lang række andre mandlige fagfæller. Der fandtes kvinder, der komponerede i den klassiske musiks storhedstid, men grundet samtidens normer var de som regel henvist til at publicere under mandlige pseudonymer eller havde ganske enkelt ikke mulighed for at forfølge deres talent og passion. Fanny Mendelssohn udgav i sin brors navn indtil kort før sin død. Clara Schumann var en anerkendt pianist, men opgav at komponere. Alma Mahler, gift med Gustav Mahler, skrev om sine egne ambitioner som komponist: "I buried my dream and perhaps it was for the best. It has been my privilege to give my creative gifts another life in minds greater than my own. And yet the iron had entered my soul and the wound has never healed" (Mahler 1946, 23).

Hvis man kigger på det betydningsfulde fundament for nutidig populærmusik, nemlig tidlig afroamerikansk blues og gospel, er det også først og fremmest de mandlige legender, der huskes. Det er navne som Leadbelly, Robert Johnson, Son House eller Blind Lemon Jefferson. Hvorimod kvindelige pionerer, der var stjerner i deres samtid, såsom Mamie Smith, Ma Rainey eller Sister Rosetta Tharpe gled ud i historiens margener. Samlet set må kvindelige kunstnere siges op gennem musikhistorien at have befundet sig i en betydeligt mere marginaliseret position end mænd. Derfor er der vægtige grunde til at synliggøre kvindelige musikkunstnere i det offentlige rum og sætte ind omkring at gøre dem lige så meget til normen som mandlige artister. I *Feminint forstærket* (2007), min førnævnte bog, fremhævede flere af de interviewede musikere, der alle var kvinder, at de havde savnet rollemodeller i løbet af deres

musikalske karrierer, især i begyndelsen. Det har betydning, hvem man ser omkring sig, hvem der fremhæves som de mest betydningsfulde kunstnere og de mest beundringsværdige genier. Derfor er synlighed for kunst skabt af kvinder – både den, der blev skabt på tidligere tidspunkter i historien, og den, der skabes omkring os nu – vigtig. Ikke mindst fordi vores kulturhistorie kunstnerisk set er fattigere på kvinders fortællinger end på mænds. Der er behov for at høre pigers og kvinders egne udtryk og egne fortællinger skildret i kunst, både af historisk interesse, som samtidsskildringer og som elementer, der kan forme og forandre fremtiden.

Kvalitet og repræsentation

I begyndelsen og midten af det forgangne årti blev der tit opsat et skel mellem opmærksomhed på køn og hensynet til kvalitet fra bookeres og andre gatekeeperes side. Når journalister fx spurgte ind til gatekeeperes syn på kønsbalancen og deres villighed til at arbejde for forbedringer, blev der ofte fremsat udtalelser, som syntes baseret på holdninger om, at hvis man forholdt sig aktivt til kønsbalancen, ville man gå på kompromis med kvaliteten af musikken. Som landets største festival-aktør vendte danske mediers fokus sig tit mod Roskilde Festival. I en Ritzau-artikel fra 2010 om kønsfordelingen blandt kunstnerne på festivalen, særligt på Orange Scene, citeres festivalens daværende musikchef for følgende begrundelse: "Vi kommer ikke til at tænke over, hvilket køn folk har, når vi køber dem. Der er færre kvinder end mænd, der har en karriere, så de kan bære Orange scene, derfor kunne det gå ud over kvaliteten af programmet." (Ritzau 2010).

Da Roskilde Festival satte den svenske hiphop-artist Silvana Imam på som åbningsnavn på Orange Scene i 2019, var det første gang i 34 år, at æren tilfaldt et kvindeligt hovednavn (Bjerregaard 2019)

I 2015 talte avisen Information med Roskilde Festivals nye musikchef om overvægten af mandlige artister. Hans holdning til spørgsmålet om, hvorvidt festivalen havde ansvar for at være med til at skabe en positiv ændring i musikbranchen, lød dengang: "Jo, men ikke på den måde, at vi vil tvinge flere kvinder ind på vores scener. Vi udvælger musik alene ud fra et kvalitetsbegreb, det handler ikke om køn, etnicitet, religion eller noget helt fjerde" (Kjeldtoft 2015).

Andre bookere og festivalrepræsentanter gav i samme periode udtryk for et tilsvarende blik og praksis. Northsides daværende talsmand udtalte til Politiken i 2013: "Vi kigger på, hvor gode musikerne er. Der er ikke noget med 'uha, nu bliver vi nødt til at have tre kvindelige forsangere for at få programmet til at se bedre ud'" (Schmidt og Lund 2013). Og fra Tinderbox lød svaret på en kritik af festivalens lave repræsentation af kvinder i 2016, at "(...) det er ikke et tema for os. Vi er en festival, der booker efter at få det bedst mulige program, og det er med streg under mulige" (Paulsen 2016).

Køn versus kvalitet blev også et kulturministerielt stridspunkt midt i 2010'erne. I maj 2015 lancerede kulturminister Marianne Jelved en musikhandlingsplan, som skulle træde i kraft 1. juli samme år og gælde til og med 2018. Planen fik titlen "Mere musik – fra en stærk fødekæde" og indeholdt syv fokuspunkter, herunder "Ligestil-

ling og mangfoldighed i musikkens verden". Inden planen nåede at træde i kraft, blev SR-regeringen imidlertid afløst af en Venstre-regering, og Bertel Haarder blev ny kulturminister. Haarder omstødte Jelveds handlingsplan og lancerede en ny for perioden 2015-2018 under overskriften "Talent forpligter." Han understregede, at køn ikke længere skulle være et parameter. "Marianne Jelved indførte jo et kønsregistreringsbureaukrati, og det har jeg fjernet alle steder. Mit synspunkt er, at det er kvaliteten og intet andet, vi skal gå efter," udtalte Haarder ved offentliggørelsen af handlingsplanen (Møller 2015).

Det er indlysende, at kvalitet vil være et af de vigtigste parametre for personer eller organisationer, der kuraterer et kunstnerisk udvalg. Men der findes indikationer for, at selv professionelle aktører ikke altid er i stand til at lade en kvalitetsvurdering være upåvirket af køn. Den amerikanske undersøgelse "Orchestrating Impartiality: The Impact of "Blind" Auditions on Female Musicians" fra 2000 er et velkendt studie, der underbygger dette (Goldin og Rouse 2000). Her fandt de to forskere bag undersøgelsen indikation for, at kvindelige ansøgere generelt havde lettere ved at gå videre i ansøgningsrunderne til stillinger i de største amerikanske symfoniorkestre, når optagelsesprøverne foregik bag en skærm eller et forhæng, sådan at ansættelsesudvalget ikke kunne afgøre kønnene på den, der spillede.

Acts of Resistance – DIT: Do It Together

Hvis man følger debatten om den skæve kønsbalance i dansk musik op gennem 2010'erne, så synes der at være sket en iøjnefaldende og opmuntrende forandring. Parallelt med 2010'ernes kortlægning af kønsbalancen i dansk musik, opstod der i løbet af årtiet en lang række initiativer, der havde til formål at skabe en mere lige balance – formentlig fordi NIRAS-rapporten fra 2012 gav en dokumenteret basis at tale om behovet for en øget balance ud fra. Mange af tiltagene var aktivistiske og subkulturelle, men de etablerede musikorganisationer tog også opgaven på sig.

ROSA (Dansk Rocksamråd) startede i 2012 projektet Pop-Pilot, som er musikcamps, der finder sted i skolernes efterårsferie og er henvendt til piger i alderen 14-19 år.⁶ To år senere, i 2014, startede brancheorganisationen for jazzmusikere, JazzDanmark, deres "Jazzcamp for piger" henvendt til piger i alderen 10 til 15 år.⁷

En inspirationskilde til Pop-Pilot var de svenske musiklejre Popkollo, som har en næsten 20-årig historie i svensk regi. I Sverige, hvor man har en stærkere tradition for at være bevidst om kønsproblemstillinger og et mindre politisk ubehag ved feminisme, fandt den første Popkollo-camp sted i 2003 i forbindelse med Hultsfred-festivalen. Siden da er Popkollo vokset til at blive en landsdækkende organisation med adskillige lokalforeninger rundt om i Sverige. Popkollo hentede selv inspiration fra det aktivistiske amerikanske tiltag Girls Rock Camp Alliance, der går endnu længere tilbage og kan spore sin oprindelse i den amerikanske subkultur Riot Grrrl fra begyndelsen af 1990'erne (Amtoft Jensen 2012).

6 <https://rosa.org/pop-pilot/>

7 <https://jazzdanmark.dk/projekter/jazzcamp-piger>

Det er værd at hæfte sig ved, at svenske Popkollo anvender begrebet Do It Together eller DIT som et samlende begreb for de metoder og den tilgang, de har til kreativitet.⁸ DIT er en videreudvikling af begrebet DIY (Do It Yourself), et velkendt udtryk associeret med punkkulturens autonome energi og modstand mod dominerende, kommercielle strukturer. Ved at omskrive DIY til DIT betoner Popkollo fællesskabet frem for det individualistiske i modstanden. Konkret skriver Popkollo på organisationens hjemmeside:

”Vi använder uttrycket Do It Together eller DIT, som ett samlingsbegrepp för de metoder och det förhållningssätt vi har till kreativitet. Vi använder begreppet DIT som en vidareutveckling av DIY (do it yourself) för att än tydligare understryka att det handlar om att göra saker tillsammans – men vi tar med oss innehållet från DIY – till exempel eget skapande, ifrågasättande av normer kring vad kvalitet är, motståndet mot en proffskultur och ett synsätt att endast några få är experter och får tillgång till att uttrycka sig eller skapa kultur.”⁹

Det er vigtigt at understrege, at DIY-kulturen på ingen måde var eller er et individualiseret fænomen – den var og er en fælles kulturel modstand, især udtrykt af subkulturelle fællesskaber. Men ved at skifte ”yourself” ud med ”together”, som Popkollo gør, tydeliggøres det, at fællesskabet er en helt central værdi i Popkollos virke for en mere lige kønsbalance og en normkritisk og mere inkluderende atmosfære i musikverdenen.

Det samme kan siges at kendetegne de mange initiativer, der er kommet til i Danmark. Udenfor den institutionaliserede musikbranche har aktivistiske tiltag som eksempelvis She Can Play, PigeBEAT og Beats By Girlz Denmark samlet teenagepiger, unge kvinder og kønsminoriteter i safe spaces, hvor der undervises i musikskabelse.

HUN SOLO – en case

Parallelt med disse tiltag, der både er opstået i institutionaliseret og mere aktivistisk regi i løbet af 2010'erne, begyndte der desuden i sidste halvdel af årtiet at blive dannet flere fællesskaber og netværk af kvinder, som på forskellig men beslægtet vis sætter ind for at forbedre repræsentationen af kvinder i dansk musik.

Et af eksemplerne er HUN SOLO, som jeg var med til at starte i 2016, og som fokuserer på koncerter med kvinder og kønsminoriteter. Koncerterne sammensættes med skiftende line-ups og med flere, oftest fem, artister ved samme event, sådan at publikum præsenteres for en bred vifte af kunstnere og udtryk ved et enkelt show og hver gang oplever nye kunstnere, hvis de går til flere HUN SOLO-koncerter.

HUN SOLOs baggrundshistorie er illustrativ, fordi den vidner om den etablerede branches dengang manglende interesse for at arbejde med kønsrepræsentation. Kirstine Stubbe Teglbjærg og Nana Jacobi, som begge er etablerede danske musikere, havde i 2015 udviklet en fælles idé om at afholde en koncert d. 8. marts 2016, på Kvindernes Internationale Kampdag. Idéen gik ud på at sætte en koncert op med en

8 <https://www.popkollo.se/om-oss/>

9 <https://www.popkollo.se/om-oss/>

række kvindelige musikere, der hver skulle spille et komprimeret solo-set. Men ingen af de etablerede spillesteder, som blev kontaktet og præsenteret for idéen, havde lyst til at gå ind i projektet. Det var ikke muligt at komme igennem hos branchens etablerede gatekeepers med idéen om en koncert, der satte fokus på kvindelige artister og kønsrepræsentation.¹⁰ Kirstine Stubbe Teglbjærg og Nana Jacobi henvendte sig til mig omkring årsskiftet 2015/16, idet jeg via mit arbejde som booker af musikarrangementer ved Roskilde Bibliotekerne havde adgang til en koncertscene. I fællesskab og på kort tid arrangerede vi den første HUN SOLO-koncert med et line-up bestående af Lydmor, Julie Maria og Maggie Bjørklund plus Nana Jacobi og Kirstine Stubbe Teglbjærg. Det var dengang ikke endegyldigt besluttet, om det skulle være en enkeltstående event eller noget, vi ville arbejde videre med. Vi havde dog talt om den amerikanske festival Lilith Fair som et forbillede for formatet og noget, vi gerne ville lade os inspirere af i dansk regi. Den mangel på interesse, som idéen til HUN SOLO i første omgang havde mødt i branchen, gjorde imidlertid, at det ikke var muligt at vide, om der ville være en realistisk fremtid for projektet. Så snart den første koncert var offentliggjort, tog interessen for formatet imidlertid fart. Anden koncert fandt sted allerede dagen efter på Krudttønden i København, og spillestedet Vega henvendte sig med tilbud om at huse et show i efteråret. HUN SOLO har nu eksisteret i fem år og præsenteret mere end 90 forskellige artister på scener rundt om i hele Danmark samt på Færøerne og i Pakistan. Året efter debut'en var HUN SOLO blandt navnene på Roskilde Festival 2017 med en koncert på festivalens tredjestørste scene, Avalon, og i 2020 modtog HUN SOLO fra GAFFA prisen "Tak Rock", som gives til "en aktør, der har gjort en ekstraordinær indsats for dansk musik".

Baggrunden for idéen til HUN SOLO har flere forskellige facetter. Én var den, som det er tydeligt at få øje på: Ønsket om at skabe et scenerum for unikke og interessante kunstnere i dansk musik via koncerterne. Det tilbagevendende argument fra bookere og andre gatekeepere om, at man kun forholdt sig til kvalitet, samtidig med at bookingerne i praksis viste, at mandlige artister i overvældende grad blev favoriseret, var en medvirkende katalysator. Vi nærede helt enkelt et ønske om at være med til at løfte og hylde alle de fremragende kvindelige musikere, som vi kunne få øje på, og dermed, forhåbentlig, være med til at åbne såvel branche-gatekeeperes som publikums øjne for disse kunstnere i en opløftende, positiv og inspirerende ånd.

Dertil kom ønsket om at bidrage til den offentlige debat om kønsbalancen – at dele den viden, vi alle tre havde samlet efter mange år i branchen som henholdsvis kunstnere, formidlere og debattører. Jeg havde som nævnt udgivet *Feminint forstærket* i 2007 og været løbende involveret i debatten, Nana Jacobi stod i 2015 bag et debatindlæg om musikbranchens "broderskaber" i Politiken om netop den skæve kønsrepræsentation (Jacobi 2015), og Kirstine Stubbe Teglbjærg havde deltaget i debatsessions om emnet siden 00'erne. HUN SOLO blev en fælles platform at sætte sagen på dagsordenen ud fra.

10 Denne del af musikbranchen agerer generelt efter, hvad der er økonomisk rentabelt, så det må antages, at vurderingen har været, at en koncert med udelukkende kvindelige kunstnere og dertil en koncert som satte fokus på køn ville være en økonomisk risikabel satsning.

En anden kilde til idéen var, at Kirstine Stubbe Teglbjærg og Nana Jacobi i en uformel kontekst var kommet til at tale om, hvor få kvindelige kolleger de kendte personligt i musikbranchen. Kirstine Stubbe Teglbjærg beskrev i et interview med Weekendavisen fællesskabet med andre kvinder i branchen som: "Noget vi begge savnede, for vi ville gerne have flere kvindelige kollegaer og gerne høre dem spille. Det havde ikke undgået vores opmærksomhed, at drengene havde et større fællesskab, de hang ud i hinandens øvelokaler og medvirkede på hinandens plader, de gik i byen sammen og havde en større udveksling af ideer, hvor vi mere følte os som øer. Forsanger, projektleder, booker, jo vist, men ikke et egentligt kvindeligt netværk. Vores kvindelige kollegaer var sådan nogen, vi læste om i blade og aviser eller hørte i radioen" (Lynggaard 2020).

HUN SOLO er således også bygget op ud fra en ambition om at opbygge et gensidigt inspirerende netværk af kvindelige kunstnere – at skabe rum for at mødes, erfaringsudveksle, opleve hinanden spille og understøtte såvel den kreativitet som den spejling og inspiration, der kan opstå i et fælles rum.

Et andet aspekt handler om det performative. HUN SOLO er, som navnet antyder, bygget op om solokoncerter. Hver kunstner går på scenen helt alene og akkompagnerer sig selv. I musikmæssig sammenhæng kan en solokonzert også nogle gange forstås som en solokunstner med andre musikere som backing. Det er ikke tilfældet i HUN SOLO-regi. Her er artisten vitterlig helt alene på scenen. Dette handler om, performativt set, at skabe et anderledes space for kunstneren og en anderledes oplevelse for publikum. I førnævnte interview fra Weekendavisen udtrykker Kirstine Stubbe Teglbjærg det således, set fra det udøvende kunstneriske perspektiv: "Det er en vild ting at skulle erobre rummet helt alene og en smule udfordrende første gang. Ud fra det opstod tanken om at arrangere en koncert med fem solister, hvor dogmet var, at hver enkelt gik alene på scenen med sine sange." (ibid.)

Udover at give kunstneren en udfordring og publikum en anderledes oplevelse af en artist, der måske normalt spiller i et band eller backes op af andre musikere, er dette format også med til at rokke ved en indgroet kulturel forestilling om, at kvindelige musikere primært er sangere. Når en kvindelig kunstner akkompagnerer sig selv på scenen – med guitar, synth, klaver, elektroniske tracks eller hvad hun måtte vælge – highlighates det, at hun også selv spiller musikken. Der har været eksempler på publikumsreaktioner ved HUN SOLO-koncerter, der netop fremhævede, at formatet havde gjort tilskuere opmærksomme på egne fordomme om, at kvinder ikke er instrumentalister.

En lignende kulturel fordom handler om det kompositoriske. Ved en artist talk med Lydmor i januar i år, fortalte hun eksempelvis, at hun generelt ikke spiller live sammen med mænd, fordi hun har erfaret, at det så antages, at det er den mandlige musiker, der har komponeret musikken. I *Feminint forstærket* påpegede flere af de interviewede kvinder det samme, bl.a. Maria Laurette Friis fra Tys Tys. Hun var gruppens grundlægger, bandleader, sanger og komponist. Orkestrets øvrige musikere var mænd. Hun forklarede sine oplevelser således: "Jeg har egentlig aldrig oplevet, at det har være noget problem at blive taget seriøst, men det har altid været meget, meget lettere for mig at blive taget seriøst som sangerinde end som komponist og tekstforfatter og producer. Det tror jeg stadig gælder ret mange kvinder (...) Lige i starten var det

næsten altid pianisten, der blev krediteret som komponist i artikler eller anmeldelser. Det bliver man jo ekstremt træt af" (Poulsen 2007, 137).

I en kulturtradition som den vestlige, hvor originalitet og kompositorisk ophav tillægges meget høj værdi, risikerer kvindelige musikere en uforstyldt og uretfærdig nedvurdering, når en underliggende kulturel forestilling får modtagere til som udgangspunkt at antage, at det ikke er kvinderne, men en mandlig kollega, der har komponeret værkerne. Det udgør simpelthen en potentiel ekstra barriere, kvindelige musikere skal forholde sig til. Jeg drøftede engang fænomenet med en mandlig forsanger i et dansk band, som kunne berette, at det stik modsatte gjorde sig gældende i hans tilfælde. Selv om han ikke spillede nogen instrumenter på scenen, og selv om gruppens sange blev komponeret i fællesskab, fik han oftest al credit for det skabende arbejde. Han skulle faktisk kæmpe med det modsatte problem. For ham var det nødvendigt at gøre en indsats for at rette offentlighedens opmærksomhed mod, at hans bandkolleger, der alle var mænd, også havde været med til at skabe musikken – at det ikke kun var ham. Der er med andre ord noget, der tyder på, at en kvindelig frontfigur ofte er i fare for uberettiget at blive frataget sit *authorship* i kulturens opfattelse af hende, hvori mod en mandlig frontfigur ofte bliver tillagt mere.

For at vende tilbage til HUN SOLO, så har et yderligere aspekt i grundlæggelsen og vores mål med projektet været at skabe positiv forandring i kulturhistorien og udfordre vanetænkning. Det er for eksempel også vigtigt for os, at kvinder er subjekter i og derved afsendere på deres egne fortællinger.

Kvindes kunst og fortællinger er op gennem historien i overvældende grad blevet formidlet af mænd. Dette er først begyndt at ændre sig nævneværdigt inden for allernyeste tid. Journalistik om rytmisk musik – et fagfelt, der i altoverskyggende grad har formuleret og defineret musikkulturens grundfortællinger – har på samme måde været kendetegnet af en markant større andel af mandlige aktører, og denne repræsentationsskævhed kan give et andet blik på kunstneren og hendes udtryk og en vægtning af andre aspekter i kunsten, end hvad kvinder ville lægge vægt på.

Kulturhistorisk bærer kvinders kunst desuden på et historisk efterslæb, der har anskuet kunst af kvinder som sekundær og af lavere værdi end mænds kunst. Vestlig kulturhistorie baserer sig på en tradition for at betragte det kunstneriske geni som værende en mand, en opfattelse som har stærk tilknytning til romantikken, hvis idealer i høj grad har formet den rytmiske musik.

Historisk har kvinders udtryksformer også ofte måttet indordne sig og har i tidligere tider ikke haft mulighed for at udfolde sig på lige fod med mænds eller er blevet direkte undertrykt. Dette har haft afsmitning helt op i vor tid, bl.a. i en ringere bevidsthed om kvinders kunstneriske værker historisk set og færre rollemodeller at søge inspiration i.

Historisk har det endog forholdt sig sådan, at usædvanlige kvinder, kvinder med særlige evner eller kundskaber, har været særligt udsat for at blive betragtet med mistro og stigmatisering.

Bevidstheden om denne historiske arv er også en vigtig baggrund for det nutidige arbejde med at synliggøre kunst skabt af kvinder.

Oplomstringer af fællesskaber

HUN SOLO er som nævnt et enkelt blandt en række af netværksinitiativer for kvinder og kønsminoriteter i musikkens verden, som er opstået i 2010'erne.

Women In Live Music, forkortet WILM, med den danske CEO Malle Kaas, fokuserer på live-produktionssiden, hvor kvinder også er i markant undertal. WILM er en europæisk sammenslutning af kvindelige lydteknikere, lysteknikere, tourmanagers, stage-managers og andre behind-the-scenes-faggrupper. WILM-netværket fungerer både som et online-community og som en database, hvor brancheaktører kan finde kvindelige crew-medlemmer. Desuden organiserer WILM meet-ups blandt medlemmer på tværs af landegrænser og organiserer workshops – tiltag, der styrker kompetencer, netværksbånd og faglige og personlige fællesskaber.

GRAMEX' førnævnte radio-top-ti-liste og deres fravær af kvindelig repræsentation tre år i træk har været en anden faktor, der har affødt flere initiativer med sigte om at skabe en mere balanceret kønsrepræsentation i musikkens miljøer.

I 2018 oprettede sanger og sangskriver Fallulah playlisten *Hej Søster* på Spotify for at sætte fokus på kvindelige kunstnere. Playlisten har aktuelt i omegnen af 5400 følgere og indeholder over 16 timers musik. Omkring playlisten og en tilhørende Instagram-profil er et feministisk community vokset frem. *Hej Søster* udvidede sidenhen med koncert-events, og i februar 2020 føjedes en podcast til på netmediet Heartbeats. På Heartbeats' website beskrives emnerne for *Hej Søster*-podcasten som "meget mere end repræsentation i musikbranchen. I hver episode inviterer Fallulah to gæster i studiet til en samtale om, hvordan kvinder bedre kan løfte hinanden og gøre verden til et endnu vildere sted at være." (Collin 2020).

Året efter grundlæggelsen af *Hej Søster* i 2018 så endnu et initiativ dagens lys. Musikbevægelsen af 2019 blev etableret i sommeren '19 som reaktion på endnu en række top-ti-opgørelser fra Gramex uden kvindelige artister. Musikbevægelsen af 2019 begyndte som en Facebookgruppe for kønsminoriteter i den danske musikbranche, og sidenhen er flere fora kommet til, der alle er for kvinder, ikke-binære og transpersoner, som beskæftiger sig med musik foran, på og bag scenen. Facebookgruppen har aktuelt omkring 2300 medlemmer og er et forum for udveksling af erfaringer, holdninger, gensidig hjælp og gode råd – alt sammen med henblik på at styrke og støtte hinanden og skærpe opmærksomheden på kønsbalancen og arbejde for forandring. Musikbevægelsen af 2019 eksisterer også som en Instagram-profil, der jævnligt lader bevægelsens medlemmer lave take-overs og dermed portrætter sig selv og fortælle om de emner, der optager dem hver især. I efteråret 2019 blev Foreningen Musikbevægelsen af 2019 stiftet som et separat led i arbejdet for ligestilling (Frank 2021). Musikbevægelsens fora er således både safe spaces for debatter, samtaler og fællesskabsstøtte foreningens medlemmer imellem og samtidig en aktør, der arbejder udadvendt politisk for at ændre kønsbalancen.

Medierede budskaber

I 2020 var det som om en række strømninger løb sammen og kulminerede i en kraftfuld bølge, der for alvor har skabt gennemslag i musikbranchen. Blandt disse strømninger er dels de mange fællesskabs-initiativer beskrevet i det foregående, og dels det, der kaldes den anden bølge af #MeToo i Danmark. Portene for den anden #MeToo-bølge blev som bekendt slået op via Sofie Lindes tale ved Zulu Comedy Awards i august 2020, hvor hun bl.a. fortalte sin personlige historie om som 18-årig at blive antastet af en "stor tv-kanon" og bedt om at give ham et blowjob med trusler om, at han ellers ville ødelægge hendes karriere. Lindes offentlige vidnesbyrd afstedkom en strøm af solidaritetserklæringer og opfølgende sexismevidnesbyrd i store medier fra en lang række faggrupper, herunder 97 kvindelige musikere, som stod samlet frem med egne beretninger om sexistisk behandling og overgreb i en omfattende artikel i Politiken (Wind-Friis, Dalsgaard, Søndergaard og Jensen 2020).

I musikbranchen var jorden dog blevet gødet for sexismepøget allerede inden Sofie Lindes tale. En én-stjernet anmeldelse af trioens Velvet Volumes nye album i Ekstra Bladet med overskriften "Amatøragtige: Ullideligt jysk band" skrevet af Thomas Treo i maj var tændsats (Treo 2020). Den danske musiker Lydmor (Jenny Rossander) tog til genmæle over for anmeldelsen med en kommentarartikel i GAFFA under overskriften "Så er det nok, Ekstra Bladet", hvor hun gik i rette med den overordnede holdning til kvindelige kunstnere i Treos anmeldelser. Bl.a. kritiserede hun skarpt: "At det skal handle om det faktum, at de er kvinder, om hvad de har på, og hvad han synes om det. Om han så kalder Madonna "en dum blondine" eller Lana Del Rey "en fæl narrefisse", er det altid tydeligt, hvad hans holdning til kvindelig tilstedeværelse på en scene er" (Rossander 2020).

Nogle undrede sig over, hvorfor Treos anmeldelse af Velvet Volume blev opfattet som sexistisk, da den ikke indeholdt explicit nedgørende ord som fx førnævnte "narrefisse". Anmeldelsen opererede mere subtilt. En af de sammenligninger, Treo benyttede i anmeldelsen, lød: "Symptomatisk larmer titelnummeret, som det må have lydt, da pigerne sloges om slikskålen i kravlegården" (Treo 2020). Den norske forsker Berit Ås er kendt for sin kortlægning af det, hun har kaldt herskerteknikker, og som netop handler om patriarkalsk magtbevarelse ved at bruge herskerteknikkerne til at holde kvinder ude eller nede (Ås 1979). Disse teknikker opsummerede Ås som usynliggørelse, latterliggørelse, tilbageholdelse af information, dobbeltafstraffelse samt påføring af skyld og skam. Senere er begrebet blevet nuanceret yderligere med bl.a. "umyndiggørelse/patronisering" som en tilføjelse (Fast Jensen, Torp, Brandstrup, Sørensen, Højbjerg, Jensen, Gregersen, Hansen og Sørensen 2007). Denne teknik, altså patronisering i form af nedladende italesættelse af alder, sammenholdt med latterliggørelse, er et af eksemplerne på den sexismes, som anmeldelsen udfolder.

Lydmors kritik af Thomas Treo blev samlet op i flere store medier. Både TV 2 og DR lod Lydmor og Ekstra Bladets daværende chefredaktør Poul Madsen debattere sexismes og anmelderpraksis i store nyhedsprogrammer. I Politikens faste "Mediekommentar" påpegede Søren Schultz Jørgensen under overskriften "»Punkteret sexdukke«

og »syg kælling«: Hvorfor skriver Thomas Treo fra Ekstra Bladet stadig sexistisk om kvinder?”, at den debat, Lydmor havde åbnet, var vigtig af mange årsager. Bl.a. skrev Schultz Jørgensen, at: “Den viser for det første, at sexismen – ikke bare den subtile og skjulte, men også den eksplicitte, der bevidst går efter at skabe klik og annoncekroner på nettet – stadig trives i dele af den danske mediebranche. Den forsvinder næppe, før de sidste brovtende boomere har forladt redaktionslokalerne. Buhet eller båret ud” (Schultz Jørgensen 2020).

I hvad der efterhånden tog form af en slags serie i GAFFA, støttede flere andre musikere hen over året op om Lydmors kritik og bredte den ud. En af de første var Caroline Henderson der fulgte op med kommentar-artiklen “Da Lydmoren og Jazzsangerinden mødte hulemændene” i GAFFA i juni (Henderson 2020).

I september føjede Annika Aakjær sine personlige oplevelser og overvejelser til debatten, ligeledes i en GAFFA-kommentarartikel. Under overskriften “Nu skal musikbranchen også til at lytte” berettede hun om egne oplevelser med anmelder-sexisme og forklarede bl.a. de skadelige effekter af fænomenet ‘negativity bias’: “Jeg så engang Dr. Phil fortælle en skuespillerinde, der havde været udsat for en masse internethad, at de ondskabsfulde og sårende ord kun behøver at blive sagt eller læst en enkelt gang. Herefter skal din egen hjerne nok sørge for at gentage det tusindvis af gange – særligt i de situationer, hvor man træder forkert. Så henter hjernen de grimme ord frem fra det sted, hvor skammen sidder” (Aakjær 2020). Aakjær folder desuden debatten videre ud ved at fremlægge eksempler på sexistiske udtalelser, hun havde været vidne til på pladeselskaber, herunder en samtale mellem to midaldrende, mandlige pladeselskabsfolk, der om en kunstner havde sagt: “Hun er jo sådan set meget fræk og kan nogenlunde synge, og så skal vi bare have fyret bandet og fundet et godt repertoire til hende” (ibid.). Aakjær fortalte senere, at det drejede sig om en nu internationalt kendt dansk kunstner. De to pladeselskabsfolk havde været blinde over for denne kvindes talent og mere optaget af at omforme hende til deres egen kreation frem for at styrke og løfte de kvaliteter, hun kom med. I artiklen genfortæller Aakjær også en oplevelse med en større dansk producer, der direkte havde fortalt hende, at pladeselskaber prioriterer forskelligt alt efter kunstneres køn, både hvad angår økonomi og graden af langsigtet karriereplanlægning: “(...) med de mandlige artister følger der flere penge til produktion. Der er også flere ansatte på projektet til at hjælpe musikken frem, og derudover er der plads til flere svipsere hos dem, der er længere line. Med de kvindelige artister skulle den gerne være der med det samme” (ibid.).

Som del af samme serie af kommentar-artikler i GAFFA vendte en mandlig booger blikket mod egen fortid. “Jeg har svigtet en kvindelig artist. Det må ikke ske igen” fastslog Malte Birkelund, mangeårig booker, bl.a. hos det store bureau PDH Music. Hans artikel belyste egne tidligere blinde vinkler og fortalte heriblandt om, hvordan han havde deltaget i negativ kønsbaseret behandling af Fallulah, som han var booger for. “Vi var altid en flok mænd, som kunne blive enige om, hvorvidt hun var besværlig, sur eller for sart – bag hendes ryg,” skriver han og perspektiverer: “På samme tid arbejdede jeg også med mandlige artister, der ligesom Fallulah var succes- og talentfulde. Bag deres ryg kaldte vi dem for egocentriske og ambitiøse, men aldrig for

at være "sur" eller "sart". Se, det er en ærgerlig forskelsbehandling mellem mænd og kvinder" (Birkelund 2020). I relation hertil konstaterer Birkelund, at han svigtede sin ypperste funktion i forhold til den artist, han repræsenterede: "(...) jeg ved, at jeg ikke hjalp hende nok til at kunne finde plads i branchen, og få ro til at skrive og turnere med sin musik" (ibid.).

Det, som musikbranchen i mange år havde benægtet eller ikke ønsket at tale om – at vilkårene ikke er lige uanset køn – blev for første gang lagt åbent frem i løbet af 2020.

Plads nok til mange?

I oktober 2020 bragte Politiken som nævnt en stor vidnesbyrd-artikel, hvor 97 kvinder fra den danske musikbranche stod frem med beretninger om de mange former for sexistisk adfærd, de havde oplevet igennem deres karrierer i branchen (Wind-Friis, Dalsgaard, Søndergaard og Jensen 2020). Overskriften lød: "Kvinder i dansk musik skal være unge og 'fuckable', og der må ikke være for mange af dem." Eksemplerne i artiklen spænder bredt. Der er de fysiske overgreb, som at blive befamlet eller udsat for andre former for uønskede seksuelle handlinger. Der er eksempler på at blive bedt om seksuelle ydelser til gengæld for hjælp, lønforhøjelse eller for at blive booket eller signet. Der er nedgørende udsagn, som når Barbara Moleko på 34 år fortæller, at hun fra en magtfuld mand i branchen fik at vide: "Nu skal vi altså til at have noget musik ud, for du er ved at have den alder, hvor der ikke længere er nogen, der har lyst til at røre ved dig" (ibid.).

Flere af artiklens medvirkende fortæller også, at det har været udbredt i branchen at blive afvist fra projekter eller ikke at blive booket ud fra en holdning om, at der kun kan være en eller få kvinder ad gangen inden for en genre. Den svenske musikjournalist Annah Björk kalder det "konkurrencemyten" og perspektiverer fænomenet således i artiklen: "Konkurrencemyten er en subtil, men enormt stærk struktur (...). Det er den gamle såkaldte sandhed om, at der kun kan være én pige i enhver kontekst, og at alle andre piger er potentielle trusler. Det er en kæmpe stor myte, der trænger til at blive punkteret" (ibid.). Denne pointe, som også er fremhævet i artiklens overskrift, kan perspektiveres til begrebet "queen bee syndrome", som har sin oprindelse inden for psykologisk kønsforskning i begyndelsen af 70'erne (Staines, Tavris og Jayaratne 1974). Tre forskere formulerede det i 1974 som begreb for et observeret fænomen, der indikerede, at visse succesfulde kvinder inden for et mandsdomineret felt behandlede underordnede kvinder mere kritisk eller holdt andre kvinder ude eller nede. Fænomenet kan overfladisk set tage sig ud som et usympatisk træk i kvindelig mentalitet, men hollandske forskere som Naomi Ellemers, der beskæftiger sig med arbejdspladspsykologi, har argumenteret for, at fænomenet skyldes den sexismen, kvinder har mødt (Ellemers og van den Heuvel 2004). Er man minoritet på et felt kan det være medvirkende til, at man mere eller mindre ubevidst forholder sig usolidarisk med andre fra egen gruppe af flere årsager, bl.a. for at beskytte sin egen position. I forhold til "queen bee"-fænomenet har Ellemers således påpeget, at problemet ikke skal løses på det individuelle plan, men ved at forandre de organisationer, der giver anledning til, at problemet opstår.

Nye toner hos store gatekeepers og skabelse i fællesskaber

Når man følger sporene op gennem dansk musikliv i 2010'erne og ind i det nye årti, tegner der sig en støt voksende bevidsthed om kønsbalancen og den skæve repræsentation fulgt af et tiltagende fokus på udfordringerne og en voksende aktivisme. Med læringsinitiativer som Pop-Pilot, She Can Play og Beats By Girlz, kunstneriske tiltag som HUN SOLO og netværksprojekter som Musikbevægelsen af 2019 samt de mange andre initiativer nævnt i denne artikel, ser problematikken ud til at have affødt et omfattende kulturelt entreprenørskab båret af fællesskaber. Et entreprenørskab som videre har været med til at øge opmærksomheden på skævhederne og bragt nye tiltag på bane, nogle fra græsrodsniveau, andre fra de store aktører i branchen.

I HUN SOLO har vi samtidig oplevet flere eksempler på, at fællesskabet bringer nye kunstneriske alliancer og skabelse af ny kunst med sig. For eksempel i form af en stor artist, der løfter en upcoming kunstner frem, som da Eivør tog Hannah Schneiders band AyOwA med som opvarmning ved koncerter i Europa, efter at Eivør og Hannah Schneider havde været en del af samme HUN SOLO-turné. Eller i form af direkte kunstnerisk skabelse relateret til projektet, som da Dicte i 2018 ved HUN SOLOs markering af FNs Internationale Pigedag på Vega ankom om eftermiddagen og fortalte, at hun optændt af #MeToo og kampen for pigers og kvinders rettigheder var gået i gang med at skrive et nummer. Hun måtte hjem og gøre det færdig. Ved aftenens koncert havde "I'm On Fire" uropførelse – med et omkvæd, der indeholder linjer som "Hallelujah for the beaten / hallelujah for the voice / hallelujah for the women / who dare make the choice." Sangen er nu at finde på Dictes album *All Good as It Is*. Et andet eksempel på kunstnerisk nyskabelse er, at Selina Gin, der var en del af trio'en Nelson Can, komponerede flere nye sange specifikt til sit HUN SOLO-solosej på Hotel Cecil. De kunstneriske nybrud kan også handle om at opleve empowerment for de involverede artister. Drew Sycamore akkompagnerede som noget nyt sig selv på guitar ved en HUN SOLO-koncert og udtrykte, at det "benspænd", som soloformatet var, først var en overvindelse, men derpå havde givet hende en nyoplevet tiltro til, at hun kunne spille live alene, og at hun kunne bruge guitaren på scenen.

Også fra musiklivets allermest indflydelsesrige aktører har synet på diversitet og blikket for mangfoldighed som en ressource løftet sig i løbet af 2010'erne. I sidste halvdel af årtiet synes der at være indtruffet en gennemgribende holdningsændring til køn og diversitet blandt magtfulde brancheaktører. Hvor eksempelvis Roskilde Festival i begyndelsen og midten af 2010'erne gav udtryk for ikke at forholde sig til kønsdiversitet, har festivalen sidenhen introduceret en aktiv politik om at skabe bedre kønsbalance og berigelse af musiklivet. I en hensigtserklæring på festivalens website med titlen "Ligestilling" kan man læse, at: "Vi vil proaktivt ændre verden, og vi ønsker at give kvinder en bedre chance for at være en del af musikbranchen. Vi føler, at vi har et ansvar for at få indflydelse og ændre tingene til det bedre. Både på og uden for scenen."¹¹

11 "Ligestilling." *Roskilde Festival*. <https://www.roskilde-festival.dk/da/about/solidarity/equality/gender-equality/>

Mens Roskilde Festival tog skridtet for nogle år siden, så er DR først på det allerseneste kommet med. En artikel i Politiken fra februar 2021 fortæller, at DR i efteråret 2020 søsatte "et projekt, der skal sikre flere kvinder i DR's musiktilbud på tværs af radiokanalerne. Senere vil der også komme fokus på tv og på redaktionelle indsatser" (Wind-Friis 2021). Indsatsen er ifølge artiklen implementeret ud fra en erkendelse af, at kvindelige talenter har for svært ved at komme i radioen. Kasper Tøstesen, der er ledende DR-redaktionschef i Kultur, Børn og Unge med ansvar for P3, P4, P5 og P6, udtaler til artiklen: "Det er helt centralt, at vi som branche finder ud af, præcis hvorfor og hvor det er, kæden hopper af, og får gjort noget ved det, så flere kvindelige talenter – både komponister, sangere, musikere og producere – bliver udgivet og spillet i radioen. Det er i min optik den store opgave, og der vil vi i DR gå aktivt ind og spille en vigtig rolle." (ibid.).

Netop nu tegner der sig således et billede af, at indflydelsesrige musikbrancheaktører aktivt melder ud, at de ønsker at arbejde for ændringer i de strukturer, der gør det sværere for kvinder og kønsminoriteter at få karrierer i branchen. Det interessante bliver at følge, hvilke initiativer, der sættes i værk. Og ikke mindst, om de erklærede hensigter og projekterede initiativer vil blive fastholdt. Sagt på en anden måde: Vil vi se "real change"? Vil der komme en forandring, der bliver forankret og ikke forsvinder som en bølge, der trækker sig tilbage igen? Det er vigtigt at have blik for dette fremadrettet. Ligesom det også er værd at arbejde med at finde nye og flere metoder til at få kønsfordelingen mere i balance. Vi står et sted, hvor potentialerne ligger åbne og tegner til at være lige til at gribe.

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