Exploring Musical Knowledge Within One Canadian School Of Music: Ideology, Pedagogy, And Identity

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to understand how the distribution and transmission of musical knowledges impacted the identities and consciousness of agents within one Canadian school of music which was given the pseudonym Eastern Urban School of Music (EUSM). The project was framed using Basil Bernstein’s (2000) theory of the Pedagogic Device, offering a language of description to examine how forms of regulation differentially distributed various identities and forms of consciousness. Specifically, this study explored how varying modalities of classification and framing revealed competing values about what counts as legitimate and ‘excellent’ music education and who is seen as legitimate or excellent within this social arena.

This research implemented a qualitative, single case study design (Yin, 2014) focused upon the experiences and perspectives of agents within the EUSM. These were framed and contextualized using classroom observations, field notes, and documents (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016), which further shaped and added context to interviews with agents. Using a codes-to-theory model (Saldaña, 2013), data were organized into codes from which categories and themes emerged related to the nature of musical knowledges and the impacts these have upon identity and consciousness.

Findings indicated that tensions surrounding what counts as ‘excellent’ musical knowledge and pedagogies differently shape the ideologies and practices of agents. Discourses surrounding what and who could be considered excellent within the social arena of the EUSM were framed within the emergent themes of competition and performance, international reputation, interdisciplinarity, and the development of citizens. This study suggests that agents within the school of music might benefit from an educative space where tensions and boundaries between categories of musical knowledge are negotiated and where competing ideologies collide.
and interact to foster creativity, communication, and collaboration. Findings suggest that agents of the school of music might benefit from rethinking how supports can be embedded—and not just included—within curriculum to ensure their effectiveness for meeting health, wellness, and EDI needs. This study offers a space for rethinking who is served by dominant pedagogic and curricular models in higher music education and how agents might negotiate their own pedagogic spaces to better meet the needs of students.

Keywords: Musical Knowledge; Pedagogic Discourse; Identity; Music Education Sociology; Schools of Music; Excellence
SUMMARY FOR LAY AUDIENCE

This study explores musical knowledge within a Canadian university school of music. Specifically, I look at what knowledges are included, how they are taught, and how they are assessed to better understand the practices within the school of music and how they impact the identities of students and teachers. This project was designed as a qualitative case study which included various points of data such as classroom observations, documents, and interviews with participants. It uses Basil Bernstein’s (2000) theory of the Pedagogic Device to make visible what musical knowledges are included within the school of music, the ways in which they are included, the specific forms they take, and their role in shaping the identities of students and teachers. This is important as Bernstein (2000) suggests that knowledges are differently distributed to different groups within the field of education based on a host of factors such as their class, race, and gender relations. In this way, the educational system acts as a tool for reproducing particular values, beliefs, and identities unequally among different groups.

Findings from this study suggest that the school of music is a complex space where competing values about what are considered legitimate musical knowledge shape what is taught and who is seen as ‘excellent.’ Based on these findings, this study suggests that agents might benefit when tensions and boundaries between categories of musical knowledge were negotiated and where competing ideologies collided and interacted to offer opportunities for creativity, communication, and collaboration. Findings suggest that agents within schools of music might benefit from rethinking how supports can be embedded—and not just included—within their curriculum to ensure their effectiveness for meeting the needs of students.
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A school’s ideology may be seen as a construction in a mirror through which images are reflected. The question is: who recognises themselves as of value? What other images are excluded by the dominant image of value so that some students are unable to recognise themselves? In the same way, we can ask about the acoustic of the school. Whose voice is heard? Who is speaking? Who is hailed by this voice? For whom is it familiar? (Bernstein, 2000, p. xxi)

The curriculum in schools responds to and represents ideological and cultural resources that come from somewhere. Not all groups’ visions are represented and not all groups’ meanings are responded to. How, then, do schools act to distribute this cultural capital? Whose reality “stalks” in the corridors and classrooms of American schools? (Apple & King, 1977, p. 341).

We all construct and are simultaneously constructed by values. These values take many forms and come from many places including the home, our social relations, and education. They are the means through which identities are constructed, practices are shaped, and beliefs about the world around us emerge. While these values may not be immediately visible, they may become revealed through our actions and discourses. Sometimes we are aware of these values and how they came to be; at times, they work disguised and unbeknownst to ourselves.

Within the field of music education, values play an essential role in the organization and hierarchization of what counts as ‘valuable’ musical knowledge. Knowledges, their practices, and their discourses continue to be heavily contested within the field of music education. The organization and hierarchization of musical knowledge may be likened to an invisible war within the boundaries of educational institutions, wherein different and often contradictory beliefs collide regarding ‘what’ and ‘how’ musical knowledge should be taught (Shepherd et al., 1980). Students of varying social groups entering these education spaces may recognize the ‘acoustic of their school’ if the values the school espouses match their own, that is, the school ‘acoustic’
sounds familiar. Conversely, students may enter these education spaces unable to recognize themselves within this ‘acoustic’; they may remain unseen, unheard, ‘unfamiliar’ if their values do not align with the dominant ideology of the school. Recognition plays a significant role in how students construct their identities, how their consciousnesses are shaped, and how they recognize themselves as of value within this educational space. In other words, the ‘what’ and ‘how’ of knowledges included within education additionally impacts ‘who’ is included. This study presents an examination of a North American school of music which explores what counts as legitimate musical knowledge, its forms of regulation upon this knowledge, and the impact this has on student identity and consciousness.

**Reflexivity Statement: Hearing Myself within the ‘Acoustic’**

Before I describe the rationale and frameworks which underpin this study, I first wish to attend to my own position as researcher during this process to provide context to the reader; after all, as Merriam and Tisdell (2016) suggest, “power relations are everywhere, including the research study itself” (p. 62). My own positionality as researcher will be explored in greater detail within Chapter 4, however, it is important to highlight that my own position impacted every aspect of the research design, implementation, and analysis, including shaping the experiences and social relations which led to the decision to undertake this study.

I had two major sources of musical influence as a young child. The first was the Baptist church I attended throughout my early and adolescent life, which included the singing from hymnals and contemporary Christian worship music. The second was my father, a guitar player and singer who had little musical training but whose music was often well-received within our social community, including the church. At the age of seven I asked to begin piano lessons, to which my mother agreed. By the time I was sixteen, I had completed my RCM Grade 10
examination which largely included Western art repertoire. At this time, I was playing piano in
the church, both from hymnals which required sight-reading notation, as well as in a
contemporary worship band which required playing by ear and, to some extent, improvising.

My post-secondary career began as I pursued a Bachelor of Computer Science. During
my first year in residence, I met a vocalist from the music department and began accompanying
as well as writing and performing around the department. I had numerous people in my
professional and personal lives suggest that I transfer into the music department (it was painfully
obvious to many that I enjoyed my musical work more than my computer science work) and I
transferred in my second year.

I include this quick background on my experiences which led me to the music institution
to highlight that I very much ‘heard’ myself within the acoustic of the school. I had sufficient
experience with classical repertoire, I had formally studied theory, harmony, history, and
counterpoint, and I was capable of playing by ear and reading chord changes. Beyond my own
musical experiences, I am a heterosexual, Caucasian man, who enjoyed tremendous advantage
within my social relations. I was raised in a Canadian suburb to a middle-class family and
encountered no discernable restriction to access or opportunity. All of this to say that, within the
school of music, I felt that I and my musical knowledges belonged and were valued. My interest
in pursuing jazz music at the undergraduate level felt to be an obvious extension of the popular
and contemporary worship music I had grown accustomed to playing, as both benefited from
playing by ear and basic improvisation. However, I quickly learned that what I had expected
higher jazz education to be and what it was were two different things. After I graduated with a
Bachelor of Music, I worked for two years as a freelance musician, playing professionally in a
variety of contexts, before a professor reached out, suggesting I continue my studies and pursue a
Master’s degree in performance. The next year, I applied and was accepted to a Master’s in jazz performance. After two years, I received my degree and the next year I taught as a sessional instructor for a number of classes and ensembles, largely adopting courses from professors who were on sabbatical. While I had always enjoyed teaching music, this experience pushed me to apply for a PhD in music education as I had hoped it would help me better understand how to teach music in my own context (primarily higher education). In much the same way as the undergraduate, I found myself in a context which I had not expected, as I began to engage with theories of philosophy and sociology well outside of my own comfort zone. It is through this engagement and these experiences that the foundations for this research design emerged, at the intersection of my performance and academic experiences.

**Background to the Study**

My own experiences within schools of music in Canada and Europe have played a key role in the construction and shaping of this study as it exists today. During my very first one-on-one private lesson in higher education, I was advised to forget everything I knew about music, and that while my technical facility on my instrument would be an asset (I am a pianist of modest ability) it would be far better for me to forget my classical and popular music knowledges if I wanted to seriously undertake a journey in jazz. Over the course of more than a decade as a student and instructor, I came to realize the impact this had on my conceptualization of who I was within the higher music education space, and how deleterious such discourses were to myself as a developing musician. While not all private music instructors in Canada hold such discordant views around musical knowledges (a trend I would argue is improving), such discourses persist within higher music education. I was struck during my time studying and working within schools of music that despite undergraduate students working towards similar
(though not always the same) degrees—whether a Bachelor of Arts, Bachelor of Music, or in some cases, a Bachelor of Jazz Studies—it seemed that students within different departments developed contrasting ideas about musical knowledges regarding what and how music should be played, impacting how they saw themselves and others as valued within the school of music. This culminated in what I perceived to be a division between departments of music which led to isolation between agents and their valued knowledges within these departments. This became especially apparent as I began working as an instructor and developed curricula for courses within different music departments. It was at times difficult to believe that the ‘Western art’ and ‘jazz’ students in my classes were enrolled in the same school of music, given the differences in what they saw as worthwhile or legitimate knowledge. Observing differences in their interactions, including significant silence between students in different departments, I began to ask myself: how and in what ways does the school of music work to reproduce these values? What would an examination of musical knowledges of the school of music and its pedagogic principles look like? What might it reveal?

Coming into a doctoral program in music education from an almost exclusively performance background, I quickly became interested in the sociological theories of Basil Bernstein which focused on the nature of social reproduction within education and the ways pedagogic identities are constructed and maintained within and through social fields. In examining my own experiences and contexts through a Bernsteinian lens, it became apparent that there is a significant gap in literature surrounding how different musical knowledges impact agents within the same social arena. This study serves as a step toward filling this gap.
Background to the Problem

Higher music education spaces in North America—namely, conservatories and schools of music—have long maintained a strong hierarchy of musical knowledge which has favored the works and composers of the Western Art music tradition (Jones, 2017; Kingsbury, 1988; Nettl, 1992; Roberts, 1991). It was not until fairly recently, beginning in the mid-twentieth century, that North American music education began to reconsider whether musics of other genres and styles might be ‘worthy’ of inclusion within conservatories and schools of music (Ake, 2012; Baker, 1965; Dobbins, 1988; Murphy, 1994; Whyton, 2006). While over the past decades many forms of music have found legitimacy within the school of music including popular and non-dominant musics1, jazz has enjoyed particular popularity as a legitimate musical knowledge within the presence of the North American school of music. Today, many North American schools of music have distinct departments for jazz, while others offer jazz studies as a separate degree.

Despite this significant shift in the status and practice of jazz within many North American schools of music, there have been (based on a review of the extant literature) no examinations of the musical knowledges within a school of music which offers both jazz and Western art music; literature examining these knowledges has traditionally explored them as isolated jazz knowledges alongside their Western art counterparts (Wilf, 2014). However, with their inclusion in many schools of music, these knowledges now exist within a shared social field. I argue that this shift warrants a rethinking in how we conceptualize the school of music, towards understanding this space as a social arena in which beliefs and values are differently distributed among agents, impacting what and who is seen as valued and legitimate within this

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1 I use this term in place of the more widely used ‘world music’ to challenge discourses of commodification and exoticization which essentialize these practices (see Gaztambide-Fernández & Stewart Rose, 2016).
space. Through this lens, the identities and consciousness of agents within the school of music are simultaneously constructed and regulated by these various knowledges. The practices of knowledge transmission in education serve to hierarchize and legitimate these knowledges, thereby impacting the positions and legitimacy of agents within the social field of the school of music (Bernstein, 2000). As these knowledges are differently legitimated, so too are the identities of agents within the school of music. This begs the question: How and in what ways are musical knowledges legitimated within this school of music? How are agents within the social field thus positioned, and how do they come to understand and position themselves through this?

I argue that an examination of Western art and jazz musical knowledges within the social field of the school of music may provide a much-needed piece of a previously incomplete sociological puzzle with regards to the ways these different musical knowledges, their pedagogic practices and their forms of regulation construct and maintain identities and consciousnesses within the school of music. By refocusing the lens in order to see the school of music which offers both classical and jazz knowledges as a single case, we may better understand this social arena and how the differential distribution and transmission of knowledges impact the agents who comprise it.

Statement of Purpose

The purpose of this study is to explore, through the implementation of a case study, the ways in which forms of regulation on pedagogic discourse shape the consciousness and identities of agents within the multiple-department school of music. Situated within the framework of Bernstein’s theory for the transmission of knowledge, this study utilizes document analysis, field observations, and narrative interviews to examine how principles of communication specialize
and categorize forms of discourse, agents, and agencies, as means of revealing, critiquing, and reconsidering practices and assumptions of value within the multiple-department school of music.

Theoretical Framework Overview

We turn now to an examination of the terms that have been used throughout the introduction to this study to offer context. This context is important as Bernstein (2000) suggests that fields in the humanities—such as that of music education sociology—use particular forms of languages and criteria to position and legitimate themselves (p. 161). Thus, these terms may be operationalized differently among other fields. As this study adopts Bernstein’s theory of the Pedagogic Device as a framework for examination, the following explication of terms serves to position this study both within the fields of education sociology and music education. We will begin with an examination and rationale of the concept of the ‘multiple-department school of music’ as it is established and operationalized within this study.

The ‘Multiple-Department’ School of Music

There is growing popularity of schools of music which have established jazz departments alongside their Western art music counterparts, however, there has been a marked lack of examination of practices within such schools. This may be due in part to a lack of categorical specificity as there is no established term which delineates such institutions and thus no term to describe their particular practice. The broad definition of school of music is applied to all such institutions. While these schools often market the strength of their jazz departments, programs, and alumni as a key attraction for recruitment and benefaction, there is no generally accepted category with which these schools may easily identify (c.f. National Association of Schools of Music, 2022). For the purposes of this study, the term ‘multiple-department’ school of music
(MDSM) is used to denote a school of music which includes jazz as a program of study alongside Western art music. One could argue that any school of music which includes any specialized departments could be considered a ‘multiple-department’ school of music, such as those of ‘performance,’ ‘composition,’ ‘theory and research,’ ‘music education,’ etc. However, I assert that given the historical tendency of music education researchers to explore these different musics and departments in isolation (see Jørgensen, 2009), the categorization of ‘multiple-department’ to denote a school which contains these departments may prove worthwhile in order to examine its knowledges and agents as belonging to a single social arena.

**Sociological Rationale for the Development of the Term ‘Multiple-Department School of Music.’** From a sociological perspective, one may rightly feel compelled to ask: who benefits from establishing a category such as ‘multiple-department?’ How and in what ways do further categorization and specialization offer any tangible benefit, especially when one considers that such delineation enacts power relations which often create distance between categories and tend to work for a dominant group (Bernstein, 2000). In this response I show my ideological hand. From a review of literature on the topics of the history of schools of music and conservatories, development of jazz education, and inclusion of jazz within the institution, too often these resources focus exclusively on the inclusion and presence of jazz knowledges within the institution. In most cases, exploring jazz knowledges and discourses is done in isolation from other musical knowledges, such as Western art, popular, and non-dominant musics (see Kearns, 2011; Murphy, 1994; Prouty, 2002, 2005; Whyton, 2006; Wilf, 2014). In this way, I contend that the multiple-department school of music is never examined as a whole, and thus the strength of division of categories such as ‘classical’ and ‘jazz’ within the institution (and thus their boundaries) may be legitimated through this silence. This is not to say that these are the only two
categories of importance. Certainly, the shift to see jazz as legitimate within the institution has been similarly felt by many musical styles and practices such as popular music, rock, and non-dominant musics, all of which continue to find space (albeit slowly) within the North American school of music. There are two primary reasons why this study limits its scope to examining jazz and Western art musical knowledges. The first is that my own experiences within North American schools of music have ideally situated me to explore these knowledges in tandem. The second is, quite simply, that the context of the Eastern Urban School of Music aligned with such delineation. Once again, I am not arguing that these are the only two musical knowledges which are legitimate or worthy of inclusion within the school of music, but rather, that such an examination may prove fruitful.

Here one may make the argument that establishing a new category of ‘multiple-department’ may prove detrimental by maintaining stronger relations of power between schools of music. The introduction of a concept such as ‘multiple-department’ to describe schools of music will necessarily create a boundary between those schools which would not be identified (or identify themselves) in this way. Bearing that in mind, however, I suggest that a focus on a ‘multiple-department’ school of music may in fact weaken relations of power between categories within schools of music, and for the particular purposes of this study between those of classical and jazz musical knowledges. As the latter is I argue of much higher concern to the field, as well as to myself as both an educator and as a researcher, the establishment of the category of ‘multiple-department’ is a worthwhile endeavor for the examination of the school of music. For this reason, I use the term ‘multiple-department school of music’ in the present study to mean a school of music offering degree programs in both Western art and jazz musical knowledges.
Ideology and Musical Knowledge

Values and beliefs play an integral role in how we come to see and understand our world. This study uses the term ‘ideology’ to refer to a web of values and beliefs which form the means of influencing practice, whether of an agent or an institution. It is through these practices that the ideologies—that is, the values and beliefs—of agents and institutions may be revealed. Within the field of education sociology (and more specifically within music education sociology) many scholars have invested tremendous interest in how and why a school’s ideology plays a role in the selection and maintenance of knowledges (e.g., Apple, 2018; Bernstein, 2000; Green, 2014a, 2014b; Moore, 2013; Wright, 2010). Apple (2018) notes that institutional ideologies are tied to economic and cultural reproduction, and thus, these ideologies perpetuate (and importantly, reveal) social inequities through ‘filters.’ In particular, he highlights the role assessment plays in positioning and hierarchizing subjects (p. 38). Within music education, knowledges have been differentially legitimated (a point which will be explored further in Chapter 2) and thus the school of music has historically acted as a site of exclusion of certain musical knowledges and their agents.

I share Green’s (2014b) aversion to reducing ideology to “explaining only a one-dimensional power-relation between social classes, incapable of accounting for the variety of relationships, perspectives and social groupings that mark the contemporary world” (p. 17). Moreover, while it is often the values of those in dominant positions who benefit from the reproduction of ideology, Green argues that one cannot reduce ideology to “falsehood[s] cynically constructed by a powerful group of people and imposed upon an unsuspecting subservient group” (p. 18). Rather, it is important to recognise that ideology grows out of
relations between actors in a field and is legitimated through practices (Tyler, 2005). Certainly, ideology is often implicated in the reproduction of relations of domination and control within education and is worth examining. However, this research does not see education as reproducing ideological values in isolation of ‘external society’; rather, it is ‘linked beyond the classroom’ (Apple, 1982). Despite Green’s warning against the oversimplification of ideology, she notes the primacy of music education in reproducing ideology which works to shape students’ consciousness, writing:

Of course, music education has historically been one of the most powerful social institutions involved in the reproduction of ideologies, that is beliefs and values, concerning which music is ‘great,’ and which music is less so . . . also, of course, through defining which musical abilities are supposed to be the most valuable . . . and the most valuable and greatest musical abilities are, of course, the ones that are required in order to produce, as well as to wisely consume, the most valuable and greatest music! (Green, 2014a, p. 7, original emphasis)

In this statement, Green touches on key components of value which are based in ideological assumptions within music education: what is considered valuable music and what constitutes valuable musical ability. She notes that failure to critically examine ideological assumptions may lead to the reproduction of social inequities, writing that through “two belief systems . . . of musical ideology”—reification and legitimation—certain forms of musical knowledge may be differently valued, and this unequal valuing appears justified (p. 7, original emphasis). The reproduction of these ideological values within the school of music will play a significant role in shaping the consciousness of the actors who comprise it. As Mouffe (1979) reveals, “ideology is a practice producing subjects” (p. 187; as cited in Apple, 1982, p. 3). The ways ideological
assumptions of value within the school of music shape the practices and consciousnesses of actors is central to this study. Using the two belief systems which Green identifies—legitimation and reification—we will now explore some ways ideology shapes the valuing of different musical knowledges within the school of music.

**Legitimation.** Through the process of legitimation, “the high status attached to [musical styles] seems to be justifiable—or legitimate—and indeed necessary, because the greatness of the music inevitably demands them, and it would be morally wrong for a society to ignore this music” (Green, 2014a, p. 7, original emphasis). While Green’s original text reads “classical music,” I have supplanted “musical styles” in order to feature the legitimized position of jazz and other musics through their relatively recent inclusion in the multiple-department school of music. The inclusion of certain musics within the university school of music demonstrates that not all musical knowledge is valued equally, as categorizations are drawn between styles of music. The decisions by agents to include those musics within the school of music over others are the result of their held and shared values attributed to those musical styles, which Green indicates are reproduced through the processes of reification and legitimation.

**Reification.** While the European art music tradition is well-established throughout schools of music and conservatories around the world, DeVeaux (1991) reveals that there is likewise a largely accepted timeline of ‘jazz history’—the jazz tradition—that is now included in schools, arguing that these traditions represent forms of reified knowledge. He compares this jazz tradition in a starkly analogous manner to that of the European art music tradition, noting the ways they select and maintain a timeline of eras, including “the defining features of each style, a pantheon of great innovators, and the canon of recorded masterpieces” (p. 525). There is perhaps no more vivid example of this than Nettl’s (1995) analogy of the school of music
building representing the pantheon of the Greek gods, worshipped and served through ‘ritual’ and ‘repertory’ by the agents of the school of music. Such a tradition, Green (2014a) notes, serves to allow the music to “[take] on the appearance of possessing greatness, not as an obvious result of human belief or value, and [which] therefore appear[s] as a natural, eternal and inevitable part of the music” (p. 7). This narrative of jazz as art music through the reification of its canon and tradition serves to legitimate it; without this narrative, DeVeaux argues, the music would be “rootless” (p. 530). As such the reification of the jazz tradition is an important criterion in maintaining the elite position of jazz within the institution. Tucker (2012) writes that reification through jazz canon formation should be questioned and critiqued, “because of its utility in consolidating power for dominant groups” (p. 265). It serves, as does the European art tradition, to carefully select and organize legitimate knowledge based on beliefs and values of what ‘worthy’ music is and where / how it should be taught. Thus, we see that legitimation and reification work to reproduce ideological assumptions of value within the school of music. Of course, these processes of legitimation and reification are not limited to reproducing beliefs about the value and greatness of ‘jazz’ music within the multiple-department school of music. Indeed, as previously included, Green (2014a) writes that legitimation practices are traditionally associated with reproducing the dominant status of classical music. Rather, ideologies act upon specialized pedagogic practices, and as such, the multiple-department school of music can be seen as a site of contestation—an arena wherein differing beliefs and values produce and are produced by the actions of subjects (Bernstein, 2000). Allsup (2003) acknowledges this contestation, writing:

It is hardly controversial to state that most classroom teachers abide by a select compendium that represents our culture’s best ideas and greatest works. Disagreements
occur when the education we receive serves to reinforce one greater culture or heritage at the expense of another. (p. 7, as cited in Whyton, 2006, p. 66)

Allsup raises the point that ideological assumptions of value are reproduced through pedagogic processes, reinforcing certain claims of ‘greatness’ over others. With the inclusion of jazz as a legitimated musical knowledge within the school of music, the classical tradition is no longer alone in the ‘ivory tower’; rather, the school of music has become an arena of contestation over what counts as ‘great,’ ‘legitimate,’ or ‘valuable’ musical knowledge.

**Musical Knowledge.** Moore, in her 2013 dissertation exploring classical and Irish traditional tertiary music education, succinctly notes that “what counts as knowledge and knowing in music education has been contested among music educators for many years” (p. 117). For the purposes of this study, it is important to draw comparison between two distinct definitions of musical knowledge, of which the latter will be employed. The first would define musical knowledge as the aggregate of all knowledge related to and embedded in music. The boundaries of such knowledge or a nuanced definition may be difficult to exact, as how one defines the formation of ‘musical knowledge’ may differ depending on the educational context in which one finds themself (Olsson, 1997). The second definition, the one used in this study, may more appropriately be termed pedagogic musical knowledge. Rather than defining musical knowledge by what it is—and by extension what it necessarily is not—this study defines musical knowledge as that which is communicated within the bounds of the school of music through its pedagogic practices (Singh, 2002). I submit that within the context of the school of music, what counts as musical knowledge—whether legitimated or not—is what is transmitted, both formally and informally, explicitly and tacitly, through the discourse of agents within and relating to the field of the school of music. In other words, ‘musical knowledge’ as we are using it is that which
is embedded in and transmitted through the pedagogic discourse of the school of music (Wright, 2006; Wright & Froehlich, 2012). Bernstein (2003c) reveals that pedagogic discourse—the sum of all that is transmitted within education—is what is explicitly taught (the instructional discourse) embedded within that which is tacitly taught (the regulative discourse). This conception of pedagogic discourse further delimits the bounds of research focus for the study. Whereas research that explores ‘musical knowledge’ from the perspective of what is explicitly taught in a school of music may be informative, from Bernstein’s perspective that is only one aspect. Education scholars have long explored the concept of implicit discourses which have been framed in a number of ways. Alongside Bernstein’s identification of regulative discourse, most notable is the concept of the ‘hidden curriculum’ as explored by Bowles and Gintis (1976) (see also Apple, 2018; Giroux, 1978). The implicit discourse so identified works to regulate and maintain power relations between categories, and control relations within categories (Bernstein, 2000, p. 13). An examination of the effects this ‘musical knowledge’ has on student experience and identity will, then, require a far more complex and nuanced study than simply exploring the explicitly stated instructional discourses at face value—context regarding the tacit discourse will also need to be teased out. With this in mind, there are two notes worth making. The first is that the question of ‘what counts’ as musical knowledge within the higher education multiple-department school of music becomes categorically broad, encompassing all discourse—both explicit and implicit. The second is that this conception of ‘pedagogic’ musical knowledge as transmitted through pedagogic discourse has implications for the methodological bounds of this study and becomes a primary consideration for the decision to adopt a case study design, which will be explored later.
Secondary Theoretical Concepts

The foundations for Bernstein’s theories are expansive, and much of his work pulls from the sociological works of Marx, Durkheim, and Weber (Bernstein, 1971a). Due to this, his own writing adopts and oftentimes may appear to under-develop certain concepts, and it is important here to identify some of them and how they are being used.

**Power Relations:** Bernstein (2000) writes that power relations “create boundaries, legitimise boundaries, reproduce boundaries, between different categories of groups, gender, class, race, different categories of discourse, different categories of agents. Thus, power always operates to produce dislocations, to produce punctuations in social space” (p. 5). As we have explored previously, ideologies are reproduced through the practice of agents within the social field of the school of music. And through these relations to power, categories are established and maintained, which Bernstein (2000) notes within education work to specialize pedagogic discourses and thus specialize knowledges (p. 203). Bernstein (2000) uses the concept of classification to describe the strength of the insulation between categories, highlighting that it is through division that discourse between categories is silenced and specialized identities can be maintained (p. 99). Within the school of music, then, the strength of the identity of the jazz and western classical departments is dependent on the insulation between them. This is not to be conflated with the strengths of the departments themselves in any ‘natural’ or inherent way, however, it does raise questions of value. Among these are which agents or agencies within the social field of the multiple-department school of music benefit from strong classification? How? Who benefits from the silence between categories?

**Consciousness.** Bernstein (2000) writes “the rules of the pedagogic device are essentially implicated in the distribution of, and constraints upon, the various forms of consciousness” (p.
Consciousness refers to the way one realises what counts as ‘thinkable’ or ‘unthinkable’ forms of knowledges; it is comparable, although not reducible, to the beliefs and values agents hold within the field (Lamnias, 2002). In this way, forms of consciousness are regulated through the distribution of different forms of knowledge. Bernstein (2000) indicates that one’s ability to recognise oneself within the ‘acoustic of the school’ is tied to the way one’s forms of consciousness are mirrored through the ideology of the school (p. xxi). Who sees themselves as of value, then, are those whose forms of consciousness align with the dominant image of the school’s ideology. While seemingly similar to Elliott’s (1995) conception of human consciousness as “a repository of cultural values, beliefs, knowledge, and wisdom” (p. 111), this study focuses instead on the relationships between social practices and consciousness, and not physiological and psychological considerations (p. 110).

**Identity.** Within this study, the term ‘identity’ refers to an individual’s *pedagogic identity*; that which is constructed and maintained through “the classificatory relation to other pedagogic discourses” (Bernstein, 2000, p. 203). While identity, like consciousness, is shaped by the distributive rules which differently legitimate forms of knowledge, identities are constructed through categories maintained by relations to power (p. 5). This concept will be further explored during the examination of how the identities of music departments within the school of music are regulated by power relations.

**Symbolic Control.** Bernstein (2000) wrote extensively on symbolic control, which he explains, “through its pedagogic modalities, attempts to shape and distribute forms of consciousness, identity and desire” (p. 201). Lamnias (2002) summarizes Bernstein’s concept, revealing “symbolic control reflects the extant power relations of an existing mode of production” (p. 22). Within pedagogic discourse, these power relations are the means by which
this control regulates “contexts, practices, evaluation and acquisitions at institutional levels” (p. 201). In other words, symbolic control regulates pedagogic discourses through its ‘materialisation’ by the rules of the pedagogic device (p. 202). It is through this control that distributions of power are established and ‘relayed,’ and that forms of consciousness and identity are established and maintained.

**The Pedagogic Device**

Education sociology has long been interested in questions surrounding how knowledges are selected, organized, and assessed (Young, 1971), providing an ideal foundation for examination of musical and social practices within the institution. While the context of this study is unique, the use of theories from education sociology are not (see Green, 2014a; Moore, 2013; Wright, 2006, 2008). This study uses Bernstein’s (2003c) theory of the ‘Pedagogic Device’ as a means to critically examine the selection, recontextualization, and assessment of knowledge within the school of music. It remains arguably the most meaningful tool for examining discourses within educational institutions because of its ability to offer an analytic ‘power’ through its languages of description that other sociological theories do not achieve (notably the theories of Bourdieu—see Bernstein, 2000; Donnelly, 2018; Maton, 2014).

The pedagogic device encompasses three interrelated ‘rules’ which govern the selection and organization of knowledges: the distributive rules, the recontextualizing rules, and the evaluative rules (Bernstein, 2003c). This device, according to Bernstein, “provides the intrinsic grammar of pedagogic discourse” (p. 172), demonstrating how knowledge is recontextualized within the field of education. Atkinson (1985) notes that the pedagogic device serves as “a mechanism for the distribution of the ‘thinkable’ among different social groups, for the identification of what may be thought simultaneously implies who may think it” (p. 173).
However, as the pedagogic device works to control what is ‘thinkable’ knowledge, it carries with it “the shadow of the ‘unthinkable,’” containing within it the means to transform its own principles (Bernstein, 2003c, p. 180). Thus, control over the device becomes contested, as multiple players work to see their own ideologies reproduced. Crucial to this theory, Bernstein (2003c) argues, is that prior theories were not capable of separating the ‘voice’ of pedagogy from the ‘message,’ instead seeing them as one and the same. The pedagogic device serves as a means to examine not only what is relayed, but also the relay itself, the carrier of the message (Bernstein, 2000; Donnelly, 2018). According to Bernstein (2003c) the three rules of the device—the distributive, recontextualizing, and evaluative rules—are related hierarchically, in that “the distributive rules regulate the recontextualizing rules, which in turn regulate the rules of evaluation” (p. 172).

**Distributive Rules.** The first rules of the pedagogic device are the distributive rules, which work to “regulate the fundamental relation between power, social groups, forms of consciousness and practice, and their reproductions and productions” (Bernstein, 2000, p. 172). In short, they set the outer limits on what is considered ‘thinkable,’ and who is ‘allowed’ to think it. These distributive rules represent the first step in generating pedagogic discourse—only ‘thinkable’ knowledge could necessarily be considered ‘legitimate’ knowledge that is worthy of inclusion within pedagogy. Bernstein notes that, in societies with simple divisions of labour, it is the dominant religious system that maintains control of the boundary between ‘thinkable’ and ‘unthinkable’ knowledge. Today, as western society has shifted towards a much more complex division of labour and the control of the Christian church upon western society has weakened, the dominant system responsible for establishing the boundaries of ‘thinkable’ and ‘unthinkable’ is the higher education system (Bernstein, 2003c, pp. 172-173). Distributive rules regulate this
distinction between thinkable/unthinkable and therefore regulate “the degree of insulation between groups, practices, and contexts and between differently specialized principles of communication” working thus as a classificatory principle (p. 178). In Chapter 2 we will examine the shift in the ‘thinkability’ of musical knowledges outside of the European tradition through the establishment of the ‘art’ ←→ ‘popular’ dialectic (Gelbart, 2007).

Recontextualizing Rules and Pedagogic Discourse. As explained above, from the distributive rules we establish what is considered ‘thinkable’ knowledge. The next rules of the Pedagogic Device are the recontextualizing rules, which regulate the constitution of specific pedagogic discourse, defined as “the rules for embedding and relating two discourses” (Bernstein, 2003c, p. 172). The first of these two discourses is instructional discourse, which “regulates the rules which constitute the legitimate variety, internal and relational features of specialized competences” (p. 179). In short, it is a discourse of competence which comprises all that is explicitly taught in school. The second is regulative discourse, “the rules of which regulate what counts as legitimate order between and within transmitters, acquirers, competences, and contexts” (p. 179). It is a discourse of moral and social order which is tacitly taught (p. 174). Bernstein revealed that the instructional discourse is embedded within the regulative discourse and is dominated by it. Bernstein saw the instructional discourse and regulative discourse not as separate discourses but “as one embedded discourse producing one embedded inseparable text” (p. 179). He visualised this relationship as

\[ PD = ID / RD \]

which he terms pedagogic discourse: the set of what is taught, both explicitly and tacitly, within education. Singh (1997) highlights that pedagogic discourse is “an ensemble of rules or procedures for the production and circulation of knowledge within pedagogic interactions” (p.
It is comprised of other discourses which are de-located, relocated, and recontextualized. Through this process of delocation and relocation, “the social basis of [the original discourse’s] practice, including its power relations, is removed” (p. 175). The principle of pedagogic discourse then takes the discourse it has relocated and reorders and refocuses it to serve its purpose of selective transmission. As we will explore later, Bernstein notes the difficulty in revealing these struggles in practice within the university, given the roles of professors as positioned within both the fields of production and reproduction—the producers of official knowledge and the pedagogic recontextualisers.

**Evaluative Rules.** While education research writ large has focused a great deal on Bernstein’s distributive and recontextualising rules, much less attention has been given to the final rules of the pedagogic device, the evaluative rules. Gibbons (2019) cites Bernstein noting,

> The [evaluative] rules regulate pedagogic practice at the classroom level, for they define the standards which must be reached. Inasmuch as they do this, then evaluative rules act selectively on contents, the form of transmission and their distribution to distinct groups of [students] in different contexts. (Bernstein, 2000, p. 115; as cited in Gibbons, 2019, p. 838)

Put simply, the evaluative rules determine what counts as legitimate acquisition of knowledge and work to regulate the modes of assessment. In order for students to demonstrate their acquisition of the transmitted pedagogical knowledge, they need to understand how to produce the desired results, which is based on their ability to demonstrate an understanding of ‘recognition rules’ and ‘realisation rules’ (Bernstein, 2000, p. 125). Recognition rules determine the student’s ability to recognise the type of knowledge they are being assessed on. These rules are tied to the classificatory principles of insulation and division, and students must demonstrate
they understand what ‘counts’ as legitimate knowledge within the context in which they are
being assessed. Realisation rules regulate a student’s ability to understand the rules of assessment
and produce or ‘realise’ an appropriate answer, example, or other product demonstrating their
acquisition of content within the context of evaluation. Thus, together, recognition rules and
realisation rules work to determine not only what counts as valid knowledge, but also what
counts as a valid realisation of that knowledge within the mode of assessment (Bernstein, 2003c).

With these three rules, we can see the ways the pedagogic device selects and legitimates
knowledge, recontextualises this knowledge into forms of pedagogic discourse, and regulates the
acquisition of this knowledge through its modes of assessment. Thus what ‘counts’ as valid
knowledge and valid ways of knowing, Bernstein (2000) suggests, is regulated by the pedagogic
device, which consequently works to socially reproduce the ideology of the group which controls
the device. It becomes the means by which we can examine “both ‘the carrier’ (or relay) of
knowledge and ‘the carried’ (what is relayed)” (Gibbons, 2019, p. 837). As Bernstein and
Solomon (1999) explain:

The pedagogic device, the condition for the materialising of symbolic control, is the
object of a struggle for domination, for the group who appropriates the device has access
to a ruler and distributor of consciousness, identity and desire. The question is whose
ruler, in whose interests or for what consciousness, desire and identity. (p. 269)

This ruler of consciousness becomes the dominant voice within the pedagogic field, whose
interests and ideologies are reproduced by controlling all aspects of the pedagogic discourse—its
content, and its forms of transmission. Through the examination of the three message systems of
school knowledge—curriculum, pedagogy, and evaluation—we can begin to see the ways
pedagogic discourse is regulated (Bonal & Rambla, 1999). This happens, as Bernstein (2003c)
writes, at various levels of interaction: the ‘macro’ levels of the larger social field, the ‘meso’ levels of the educational department, and the ‘micro’ levels of individual pedagogic interaction (p. 171). Thus, an examination of the message systems within these different levels of interaction is capable of producing a nuanced analysis of the complex structure of communication relations and will serve as an important unit of analysis for this study.

Research Questions

This study focuses on the examination of two interrelated research questions:

1. What is the nature of legitimate musical knowledge within the multiple-department school of music?
   a. What are the forms of regulation which work to differently select and maintain this knowledge?

2. How and in what ways do these forms of regulation differently shape the consciousnesses and identities of agents and agencies within the social arena of the multiple-department school of music?

Methodology Overview

At the heart of this study is an examination of the musical practices of a school of music and the ways they shape the perceptions of identities and consciousnesses of agents within the social arena. Because of this, a qualitative framework was adopted as the ideal means to explore these phenomena. Merriam (2009) indicates that “qualitative researchers are interested in understanding how people interpret their experiences, how they construct their worlds, and what meaning they attribute to their experiences” (p. 5). Armed with an understanding that knowledges and identities are socially constructed and regulated (Matsonobu & Bresler, 2014), a focus on the meanings of subjects and their practices within the social arena of the school of
music further pointed to the use of a qualitative lens. Such an approach allowed for multiple methods of data collection to be employed, all within varied contexts, allowing for individual contexts to be explored.

**Framing Case Study**

This study employs a qualitative single-case design methodology as the primary means of exploring the phenomenon of pedagogic musical knowledge within the social practices of the multiple-department school of music (Yin, 2014). This methodology was chosen because its focus is a bounded system (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016; Ragin, 1992; Smith, 1978); in this specific instance, the pedagogic discourse of a university multiple-department school of music (Cohen et al., 2000; Stake, 2010; Yin, 2014). This aligns with Yin’s (2014) rationale for conducting case study research, for one who wants to “understand a real-world case and assume[s] that such an understanding is likely to involve important contextual conditions pertinent to [the] case” (p. 16). Bernsteinian analyses of pedagogic discourse are for present purposes bounded within the school of music education practices, and as such the theoretical framework established through the research questions also serves as a boundary for what counts as related data for the focus of this study. Put simply: the case itself is delimited not by the physical boundary of the university school of music, but by the boundary of the pedagogic discourse. As Yin (2014) notes, “a case study […] investigates a contemporary phenomenon (the ‘case’) within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context may not be clearly evident” (p. 16). The boundary between what counts as pedagogic musical knowledge within a school of music and the school of music itself, we can safely argue, is extremely difficult to separate. This is especially true when considering Bernstein’s concept of recontextualization. ‘Original knowledge’ within a context is transformed into ‘pedagogic knowledge’ through the regulative
principles of selection, organization, and transmission which are at the heart of the pedagogic process (Bernstein, 2003c). In this way, separating the phenomenon (the pedagogic discourse of ‘musical knowledge’) from its context (the school of music) is almost (if not) impossible to do.

There were eleven Canadian schools of music which met the study criteria as a multiple-department school of music and administrators from these schools were contacted (see Appendix D). The first school to agree to participate was the Eastern Urban School of Music. The study took place in a large Canadian school of music (the Eastern Urban School of Music) during the Fall semester of 2021. Over the course of four months, engaging in various forms of data collection (document analysis, observations, and interviews), this study examines the nature of musical knowledges within the multiple-department school of music, their forms of regulation, and their impact on the construction and maintenance of identities and consciousnesses of agents within this social arena.

Positionality Statement

Throughout my time in the ‘field,’ I was conscious of the impact of my own subjectivities upon the materials being collected, the notes being made, and how these were understood within the context of the analysis. While my own researcher identity as a white, cis-gendered male is reflected through the data analysis (as I argue they are inherently embedded through my engagement with this material), I further acknowledge the role that a second identity plays, as musician and educator, one who is familiar within schools of music (including the Eastern Urban School of Music\(^2\)) and the impact this had on the materials I chose to examine and omit. While the school of music is different from my experiences (in so far as I have never attended it and knew little of the faculty or operations of the school prior to engaging in data collection), it

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\(^2\) The Eastern Urban School of Music is a pseudonym for the school of music for which this case study occurred.
became clear during my time there that I was comfortable within the space of the school of music, even within a relatively short timeline, despite my ‘outside’ position as researcher (a topic which will be explored further in Chapter 4) (Corbin Dwyer & Buckle, 2009).

Summary and Thesis Overview

This study provides a sociological examination of musical knowledges within a Canadian multiple-department school of music to better understand the ways musical knowledges and discourses impact the construction and maintenance of student identity and consciousness. The study is organized as follows. Chapter one introduces the problem and rationale, states the purpose of the study, presents the research questions to be examined, and provides a brief overview of the theoretical and methodological framing of the study. Chapter two provides a review of literature pertaining to the history of the North American multiple-department school of music and the academization and inclusion of jazz within the institution. Chapter three provides an examination of the theoretical framework and concepts used within this study, situating them within the literature. Chapter four discusses the methodology for the study, examining the rationale for the single-case study, the methods employed and considerations for trustworthiness, and reliability and ethical considerations. Chapters five offers a presentation and analysis of collected data, framed within Bernstein’s (2000) theory of the ‘pedagogic device.’ Chapter six offers a discussion, connecting the various themes that are presented, including concluding remarks, implications, and directions for possible future study.
CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

This chapter provides an examination of a review of literature pertaining to the history of the North American school of music, the developments which led to the inclusion of jazz within the academy, and prior examinations of North American conservatories and schools of music. In so doing, this chapter aims to situate the current study within music education literature, drawing upon past research to inform the structure and direction of this study (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016; Schultz, 1988). While this study is located within the field of music education, literature exploring social practices within schools of music has not been as limited. In this way, a thorough literature review of research includes works in the fields of anthropology, sociology and musicology.

The chapter may be understood in three sections. The first section provides a history of the development of the modern North American school of music focusing primarily on the period from the late eighteenth to the mid-twentieth century which led to the dominance of classical music within the conservatory. The second section provides a brief history of jazz music from its development in the early twentieth century and explores the social and cultural forces which led to the inclusion of jazz within the conservatory roughly half a century later, to the current period where jazz celebrates popularity within many North American music academies. The third section involves a critical examination of the academization of jazz within the context of the conservatory, the ways in which it has been subsumed within conservatory culture and the ways the shifting legitimation of knowledges is both predicated upon actors while simultaneously legitimating those in dominant positions. Noting criticisms of institutional narratives (Prouty, 2002), the purpose of this chapter is not to provide a singular ‘grand
narrative’ of jazz’s academization but to provide a critical perspective on the assumptions of value of the school of music. How classical and jazz music influenced and were influenced by the pedagogic practices within the conservatory may offer insight into how these values came to be and how they serve the interests of different social groups, including those within the academy.

The focus of this dissertation is a sociological examination of musical knowledge within the Canadian multiple-department school of music. As we have explored the ways assumptions of value are reproduced through education in Chapter 1, an historiographical account of how Canadian multiple-department schools of music came to be will help provide context for the school of music and its knowledges as they exist today. The purpose of this study is not to provide an exhaustive history of the North American school of music; certainly, numerous doctoral dissertations have explored the histories of conservatories and schools of music in great depth (Fitzpatrick, 1963; Gandre, 2002; Hays, 1999; Prouty, 2002). However, I trust this process may provide insight into how the current schools of music, including the Eastern Urban School of Music, have come to be established.

With the wide range of resources and literature available from which to draw, the included literature was selected for its value in locating this present study and framing the research and research problems. While a review of and rationale for the use of an education sociology lens will be undertaken in Chapter 3, this chapter focuses on studies which highlight critical examinations of social practices within schools of music, all of which frame the school of music in different, albeit complimentary ways. This selected literature worked to frame and delimit the study and offered a foundation for examination. While not all studies would be identified as ‘case studies’ (Kingsbury considers his account a musical ethnography, for
example), these studies offered considerable value in framing methodological considerations which arise from conducting qualitative ‘fieldwork’ and highlight nuances when conducting data collection in and about schools of music.

**History of the Canadian Multiple-Department School of Music**

**A Brief History of the Development of the Conservatory**

Since the emergence of the Middle Ages, formal music instruction was largely a responsibility of the church, primarily for choirs of men and boys and for the service of the church and liturgical services (Gandre, 2002). Hays (1999) explains that one of the first examples of Music being included as a formal educational subject was as one of Aristotle’s seven customary branches of knowledge, which would become codified as a requirement within the *quadrivium*. Hays distinguishes between the education of music theory (*musica speculativa*) and the education of music performance, what we often call ‘applied music’ today (*musica practica*) noting that the latter was excluded within Renaissance liberal education and was looked down upon (p. 4). Hays suggests that this is perhaps why the first examples of conservatories for applied music education first developed from *ospedali*, hospital asylums for orphaned and illegitimate girls in Italy. Where Hays (1999) cites the oldest examples as early as 1262, Olmstead (1999) suggests that it was not until around 1537 that the first secular music conservatory was established in Naples, Italy for the purposes of preparing orphaned or illegitimate girls to become members of society (as cited in Gandre, 2002, p. 4). Hays (1999) describes why these institutions became popular:

Funded by charity, the *ospedali* provided girls with vocal and instrumental training and gave regular public concerts. The public supported the *ospedali* due to the immense popularity of these concerts, and because the best of these trained musicians went on to
staff the orchestras of the burgeoning opera movement, all the rage throughout the Italian provinces. (p. 5, original emphasis)

The *ospedali* would become renowned for their performances and attracted composers to work and write for the choirs, including some of the most famous Italian composers of the time, including Monteverdi and Vivaldi.

A new model of conservatoire began to emerge in the eighteenth century which would replace the *ospedali*, one which encompassed a broader scope of music performance training which extended beyond opera. Hays (1999) elaborates, writing:

Throughout the eighteenth century, wealthy nobles supported teaching academies connected with the musicians engaged by a particular municipality to perform in court settings. While these small academies served the purpose of providing a steady stream of musicians for the courts, they had neither the scope nor the mission of a comprehensive music conservatory. (pp. 6-7)

Fitzpatrick (1963) identifies that “these [provincial academies] flourished throughout the 17th and most of the 18th centuries, however their pedagogical importance was perhaps negligible” (p. 45). This changed with the French Revolution, with the foundation of the *Paris Conservatoire*, whose purpose, according to an account of the legislative body in 1796, was to “train musicians to take part in the public concerts, fetes, and celebrations organized by the republic,” to maintain “national glory” and to supply “the Government with musicians for the armies” (Fitzpatrick, 1963, p. 48). Both Fitzpatrick and Hays highlight the criticisms that arose from a state-controlled Conservatory. Fitzpatrick (1963) cites an unknown editor of *De L’Opera* who warned:

A single corporation in music, is infinitely prejudicial to the progress and success of this lovely art. A Conservatory, when it has become sole and sovereign, in effect has a
very dangerous comination [sic]. It makes a formidable league between composers and performers, who adopt as their motto, ‘nul n’aura de genie hors nous et nos amis.’ (p. 49)

The pedagogical model of the Paris Conservatoire provides an illuminating foundation upon which our modern-day schools of music continue to operate. Hays (1999) elaborates:

The educational philosophy of the Conservatoire can be expressed in two guiding principles which shaped the curriculum: (1) emphasis on individual competition, and (2) progress and accomplishments were measured against struct predetermined standards. Individual competition was assured through the prize system in which students performed for a faculty jury at public competitions. The winners (first and second only) were awarded instruments, books, or printed music. Failure to win a prize after three years of study meant dismissal. (p. 9)

From this time, secular music conservatories continued to expand across Europe for the purposes of professional music study. Such expansion led to the development of what Hendrich (1978) terms the ‘Great European conservatories,’ including such institutions as the Paris Conservatoire de Musique (France, 1796), England’s Royal Academy of Music (1822), and Germany’s Leipzig Conservatory (1843).

Fitzpatrick (1963) identifies a key difference between the conservatory model of France and Italy and that of the German conservatories lay in funding. French and Italian institutions were free of tuition and other charges through state subsidization; meanwhile, German schools were both state supported (with little fees) or privately organized. It was the privately organized institutions which Fitzpatrick note would go on to have a particularly large influence upon the American music conservatories (p. 57).
One of the key figures in the development of the Leipzig Conservatory was German composer Felix Mendelssohn (1809-1847), who argued strongly for the establishment of an institution in Leipzig. Fitzpatrick (1963) notes the vision of the program nearly fifteen years after its inception, writing:

In 1857, Mendelssohn’s conception of a simply organized conservatorium with a limited curriculum, whose purpose it was to propagate “all that was highest and best in music and to send forth into the world earnest and thoroughly grounded musicians,” was still the institutional philosophy. (p. 63)

The Leipzig Conservatory added another element which would eventually become popular within American conservatories: that of a ‘studio class,’ where students would gather once a week and those students who were found successful by their teacher would have an opportunity to perform for their peers. However, this informal meeting would not immediately catch on; Fitzpatrick (1963) quotes Clara Doria, a student of the Leipzig Conservatory in 1857 who noted that such classes were in contrast with the “way of doing things in our American conservatories” (p. 63). Such institutions largely adopted a ‘master-apprentice’ model of education and course content would largely be categorized today as ‘Western art’ music.

These key conservatories would provide much of the foundation for the emerging American and Canadian conservatories, however, it is important to note that they were by no means alone. There are many more conservatories in Europe which would prove foundational for the development of the American conservatories, including those of Scandinavia (Conservatory of Copenhagen, Conservatory of Christiania, Sibelius Academy) and Russia (such as the Imperial Conservatory of Music at St. Petersburg). However, a full-scope examination of such
institutions and their role in the development of the American conservatory is beyond the scope of this dissertation.

These institutions became the foundation upon which American conservatories based themselves, many of which were established in the 19th century, including Peabody Institute (1857, opened 1868), New England Conservatory (1867), Boston Conservatory (1867), Chicago Musical College (1867), and Cincinnati Conservatory of Music (1867) (Gandre, 2002; Schabas, 2005). These conservatories featured faculties comprised largely of trained performers for the purposes of technical, musical instruction. Gandre (2002) succinctly summarizes the context for the development of the first conservatories in North America writing:

The founding of American conservatories of music occurred during the last third of the nineteenth century at the same time that the nation’s largest cities, mostly on the East Coast, began to mature culturally. The Eurocentric aesthetics of the educated and wealthy helped lay the foundation for these fledgling, non-degree-granting schools which quickly became some of the best professional, degree-granting, conservatories of music in the world. The drive for excellence was motivated by the desire to emulate or exceed the fame earned by the European institutions. The United States and its new prosperity, brought on by “heroic days of industrial expansion,” were calling for culture (McPherson & Klein, 1995). Music symbolized culture, refinement, education, and wealth. (p. 6)

It may not be difficult to recognize remnants of these directions and desires within the modern day North American conservatories and schools of music. Coursework of the American conservatories closely mirrored that of their European counterparts, including subjects such as harmony and counterpoint, composition, keyboard rudiments, history of music, choral singing, and solfège (Fitzpatrick, 1963).
However, it is important to highlight differences between the two models, particularly with regards to non-music coursework degree requirements. Following the model of German and European conservatories, Fitzpatrick (1963) asserts:

The purpose [of the conservatory] was to train students thoroughly for the professional life in the art of music. The basic educational philosophy held that all energies were to be expended on the study of the art, in all its aspects and practices. The thought of diffusing a student’s efforts in a well-rounded educational background, in the manner of a university type program, to the inevitable sacrifice of the study of music itself, was simply not conceived. (p. 70)

Such education philosophies were mirrored within the American conservatories, at least at the beginning of their development. However, over time many American conservatories would broaden their scope to include non-musical coursework as a degree requirement. Gandre (2002) explains:

Unlike European conservatories which were supported by a respective state, [American conservatories] were private institutions and existed on endowments, if any, tuition, and gifts. Another difference [between them] was the introduction of non-music coursework into the curriculum, something unheard of in Europe, and the subsequent awarding of the Bachelor of Music Degree. (p. 6)

While the American conservatory model would influence the structure of their Canadian counterparts, it is important to recognize that European influences would play an equal (and perhaps even more substantial) role in the shape and direction of the Canadian music institution (Fitzpatrick, 1963). Nearing the end of the nineteenth century, Canadian conservatories would begin to develop and would quickly take root nationwide.
The Emergence of Conservatories in Canada

There is a long history of conservatories within Canada, many of which drew heavily upon the Paris Conservatoire (Kallman, 1987). Kallman explains:

In 1913 about fifty [Canadian conservatories] were in existence, but an even larger number had already closed for reasons of financial or organizational failure. As time went on, the number of conservatories decreased, and only a few progressive and well-organized ones survived the early decades of the [twentieth] century. (p. 190)

Fitzpatrick (1963) argues that within Canada there is a long history of affiliation between music conservatories and universities, something he identifies is “a British characteristic” (p. 142). Certainly, this is the case for the most prominent conservatories in Canada, which will now be explored.

Canadian conservatories of music were not far behind their American counterparts, with the establishment of the Toronto Conservatory of Music (now the Royal Conservatory, 1886) and The Montreal Conservatory of Music (1893) (Schabas, 2005). The Royal Conservatory and the University of Toronto Faculty of Music have a long and storied relationship; Schabas (2005) suggests “the [U of T] Faculty has played a prominent role in the RCM’s story” (p. 10), with the University of Toronto senate approving affiliation with the RCM (then the TCM) in 1896, an affiliation which lasted until the separation of the two institutions in 1990. Fitzpatrick (1963) writes of the Royal Conservatory:

The Royal Conservatory . . . serves Canadian music in the broadest conception possible; it offers instruction to the amateur, to the professional, and to the scholar at the University level. It maintains an active preparatory department for students of all ages, with eleven branches in Toronto itself. (p. 147)
The McGill Conservatorium was closely connected to the Schulich School of Music at McGill University until a decision to close its doors was made public in June of 2022. While the McGill Conservatorium became the Faculty of Music in 1920 (which became the Schulich School of Music in 2005), the McGill Conservatory continued to operate at arm’s length as a community program of the Schulich School of Music, primarily providing instruction in classical music (McGill University, 2021).

Canadian conservatories, like their American counterparts, took their foundations from the European conservatory model. For example, the front cover of a curricular guide from the Montreal Conservatory at the turn of the century notes that it is “conducted according to the system of European conservatories and schools of music” (Montreal Conservatory of Music, n.d., p. 5). Similarly, Schabas (2005) notes that from the outset of the piano program at the Toronto Conservatory of Music, “technical studies were mandatory, the repertoire—surprisingly similar to repertoire today—was extensive, sight-reading and transposing demands were rigorous, and accompanying ability was expected” (p. 23).

Across Canada, the number of higher education institutions offering music as a program of study has continued to grow, with some recent counts revealing over fifty universities, colleges, and schools for the arts nationally (Kallman, 1987). In many of these institutions, the content and pedagogies still strongly reflect what was taught in the Canadian conservatories at their outset roughly one hundred and fifty years ago (Schabas, 2005). Western art music remained dominant and largely unchallenged within the North American music institution; that is, until the inclusion of jazz during the mid-twentieth century. Representing what Nettl (1992) described as a “barbarian at the gates” (p. 29), jazz would find itself a legitimated musical knowledge within the North American music institution, although its inclusion would be slow.
The history of jazz within the North American institution and the multiple-department school of music will now be explored.

**Jazz in the North American Institution**

North American conservatories continued to model themselves after European conservatories throughout the end of the nineteenth century into the twentieth century. At the same time, they simultaneously began to challenge their superiority, around the same time that the musical genre known as ‘jazz’ began to take shape in New Orleans (DeVeaux & Giddins, 2009). Jazz quickly expanded at the turn of the twentieth century, establishing itself, as Dr. Billy Taylor and others have famously described as “America’s classical music” (DeVeaux, 1991; DeVeaux & Giddins, 2009; Sales, 1992; Taylor, 1986). Gandre (2013) writes that “one of the very first institutions to offer jazz studies was the Berklee College of Music in Boston [then the Schillinger House]. It opened its doors in 1945 and offered jazz lessons and classes. In the early 1960s it began offering degrees, as well as classes in rock music” (p. 285). However, not all institutions were quick to adopt jazz within their degree offerings; Olmstead (1999) noted in her history of Juilliard, for example, that while the conservatory refused to teach jazz in the 60s, by the time of publication in 1999, the institution had *begun* to be “more flexible” (Lee, 2001, p. 442).

We will now turn to look more specifically at the process of the academization of jazz within North America, exploring the varying periods of jazz’s inclusion within the school of music beginning around the period of the 1920s. As Western Art knowledges have by this period been firmly established as legitimate within the school of music, an historical account of Western Art musical styles is not included within this section. However, that is not to imply that such
narratives are not worth exploring; rather, the scope of this dissertation does not lend itself to such an examination.

As Prouty (2005) identifies, it is Daniel Murphy’s 1994 account of the history of jazz education which largely remains the gold standard within the field. This account includes commonly accepted ‘eras’ of jazz education (notably within the United States) which include:

… the field’s growth from its “pre-history” in the 1920s and 1930s, to the establishment of the first recognized (at least within this context) jazz education programs in the late 1940s (North Texas State University and the Berklee School of Music are notable examples), and into the 1960s and 1970s, when jazz education underwent a period of pronounced growth. (p. 80)

While such a history may seem straightforward, the history of jazz education is no less prone to problematic assumptions than any other, and an examination of this narrative may prove beneficial if we are to properly situate the North American school of music that is the focus of this study. I will largely draw on the delineations established by Murphy, however, I will reframe the eras to focus more pointedly on the three periods which outline the legitimacy of jazz knowledges within the institution: a) the period of its ‘illegitimacy’ prior to its inclusion, b) the period wherein jazz began to see a shift towards legitimacy and its initial inclusion, and c) the period of its more general inclusion ‘post-’legitimation. While it may feel as though this exercise simply trades one reified narrative for another, my hope is that such categorization may offer much-needed context for how these knowledges came to be legitimated. Moreover, it is important to highlight that while we talk about jazz’s ‘legitimation’ as some sort of objective event, these eras may be better understood simply as trends rooted in and contextualized by social moments, not some overarching, natural ‘truth’ about the legitimacy of jazz generally. As
we will explore, even after jazz’s initial legitimation within North American schools of music during the mid-twentieth century, it would be decades before many institutions and scholars would come to accept jazz as a legitimate musical knowledge worthy of study.

**Framing Jazz as Musical Knowledge within the Institution**

What I hope will become clear through this examination is the role that values and beliefs play in shifting discourses on jazz musical knowledge to see it as worthy of inclusion within the North American school of music. I wish now to turn our attention to *how* jazz became included within the school of music. We will explore two interconnected factors that I suggest merit investigation in order to understand this phenomenon, although there is little doubt that any number of factors could be examined fruitfully. I begin by exploring the distinction of ‘thinkable’ and ‘unthinkable’ knowledge as outlined by Bernstein (2003c), followed by an examination of how such distinctions are established through the emergence and employment of the concepts of ‘art’ and ‘popular’ music within institutional discourses.

**University Context and ‘Thinkable’ / ‘Unthinkable’ Knowledge**

The university school of music represents an important voice in what counts as legitimate musical knowledge, both within the field of higher education and, as we will see, in society more broadly. Bernstein (2003c) reveals that while in traditional societies with little social division of labour it was religion which controlled what was ‘thinkable’ or ‘unthinkable’ knowledge, “today the controls on the ‘unthinkable’ lie essentially, but not wholly, directly or indirectly in the upper reaches of the educational system” (p. 173). For many years after its inception, jazz music was excluded from the university school of music as ‘unthinkable’ musical knowledge. It was not until the mid- to late-twentieth century that beliefs and values shifted in many universities in
Canada to position jazz musical knowledge as worthy, legitimate, and ‘thinkable’ knowledge. This shift, I argue, is in large part due to jazz’s rebranding as a form of ‘art’ music.

The initial exclusion of jazz from the institution was based on a myriad of factors; scholars have considered arguments based on issues of race, considerations of the ‘complexity’ of music, upon the basis of aesthetics, including the notion of “popular” music against categories of “folk” or “art” music (Baker, 1965; Gelbart, 2007; Nettl, 1992). There is no doubt that many of the initial arguments against the inclusion of jazz music took their roots in assumptions of value which today would be construed as problematic, often implicitly operationalizing hierarchies on the basis of race (Ake, 2012). However, that jazz music once had no place in the institution upon the grounds that it did not constitute ‘art’ or ‘serious’ music and therefore was not suitable for inclusion is a notion worth examining. Here I wish to explore the concepts of ‘art’ and ‘popular’ music, their origins, and their development and ubiquity within higher music education today.

The Concept of ‘Art’ Music

Gelbart (2007) explores the genealogy of the concepts of ‘folk’ and ‘art’ music and their development through Western culture over the past three centuries. He suggests that these categorizations originated around the time of the 18th century, informed by burgeoning nationalist interests within Europe wherein the origins and identity of musical works became important qualities for which to grant appropriate cultural capital (p. 24). From a Bernsteinian perspective, we may frame the establishment of such values through the maintenance of relations to power. An ‘ours’ and ‘theirs’ mentality, in this way, became the original impetus for a reified canon of ‘art’ music, established by the bases of the origins of the work.
Jazz as ‘Popular’ or ‘Art’ Music

Despite an understanding of the origins of such categorizations, Gelbart (2007) acknowledges the difficulty in establishing definitions of ‘popular’ and ‘art’ music, as well as how to realize distinctions between the two categories. He highlights the problematic nature in historically-adopted categories, writing, “as anyone has found who has ever taught a survey course on ‘Western Art Music’ and tried to justify why the curriculum covers what it does—and excludes what it does—it is virtually impossible to define such a domain in isolation” (p. 3). There have been many problematic distinctions made between Western art music and other musics—whether popular, folk or jazz—in the past, drawing upon factors such as complexity of the music or the musical origins of compositions; and indeed, such discourses survive in various contexts, academic or otherwise. Interestingly, Gelbart reveals that such distinctions tend to exist in a sort of constructed dichotomy, suggesting that “folk music and art music came to exist only in relation to each other” (p. 7). Such conceptualization ties strongly to Bernstein’s concepts of the classification of knowledge, wherein the strength of the identity of a category can only be assured insofar as it can establish itself as autonomous from other categories. As Bernstein (2000) explains, “A can only be A if it can effectively insulate itself from B. In this sense, there is no A if there is no relationship between A and something else” (p. 6). In other words, the concepts of art and popular music emerged as a way to compare and differently value musical works.

Gelbart (2007) demonstrates the ways art and folk music were established against the reconstructed concept of ‘popular’ music during the Industrial revolution (see Figure 1). Popular music, in this sense, is described as music that was designed for mass consumption. Interestingly,
he identifies that commercial savvy was seen as an indicator of the quality of a composition and not “of selling out” (p. 257).

**Figure 1:**

*Visual Representation of Differential Esteem Granted to Music During the Industrial Revolution (Gelbart, 2007, p. 257).*

Where the classical music instruction of the Canadian school of music would largely coincide with the descriptions of the “art / classical” music category shown here, it would be difficult to align jazz discourses to a single category. They are not generally reducible to either category of “pure,” “authentic,” and free of the ‘taint’ of commerce, nor are they generally commercial, corrupt, and “low.” As DeVeaux (1991) points out, the jazz tradition itself has historically been rife with contradictions about what is valued by musicians, audiences, and critics and can be grouped into dialectic pairs (Black vs White, Progress vs Conservatism, Primitive vs Innovative, Commercial vs Artistic) (p. 530). Ake (2012) offers further consideration, writing “Sweet versus hot, trad versus swing (versus bop), electric versus acoustic, avant-garde versus mainstream: these and other debates have been part and parcel of the jazz world for decades and continue to this day” (pp. 1–2). Proponents of jazz have been quick to
place its history and roots within an oral tradition, which has been the basis upon which jazz has been classified as “popular,” “folk,” “traditional,” or “vernacular” (Small, 1987).

Attempts to categorize and classify jazz discourses becomes even more difficult within the institution. Scholars have noted the tension inherent to the identity of jazz performance as both serious and playful; cerebral yet visceral (Prouty, 2002; Wilf, 2014). My own experiences in the jazz performance institution corroborated this; at times I was scorned for being too cerebral (“just play the blues, man”), other times for focusing on the entertainment aspects too strongly (“you’re not just a monkey in a suit up there!”). While instruction from one professor seemed at times to directly contradict another on certain aspects of the music or what constituted best performance, there was no doubt in my mind that they shared a strong collective sense of what it meant to be “playing jazz.” Such knowledge, I argue, stems from a constructed identity which these agents have negotiated within the arena of power.

Furthermore, it would be foolish to categorize jazz as solely dependent on “genius” or on “craft.” Taking a Bernsteinian lens, the category of jazz cannot sufficiently distinguish itself from either ‘popular’ or ‘art’ music as defined by Gelbart, and thus the relations to power of jazz and these categories is relatively weak. The inability of jazz to distinguish itself from popular music (and thus be capable of categorizing itself as ‘art’ music), I argue, is one of the causes for its initial exclusion from the school of music. It may be of value to review Gelbart’s (2007) original determinants of what counts as ‘classical’ music; he explains that it is:

part of a well-funded world of urban, sophisticated music-making—and part of a literate tradition in which authorship is clearly established, and pieces are communicated as fixed texts reflecting that author’s apparent intentions. (p. 1)
In short, characteristics Gelbart identifies to evince a music’s status include “oral / literate” and “fixed text / non-fixed text.” Prouty’s (2002) dissertation on the intersection of academic and non-academic jazz education critically examines issues with such dichotomies, arguing that, "such distinctions do little to explain the complex cultural and historical forces effect [sic] the field” (p. 326). Calkins (2012) draws upon the tired dichotomy of oral and written as one rationale for jazz’s initial exclusion. In order for this to shift, she notes:

Introducing jazz into the American academy was a complex and multilayered proposition, and one that not only necessitated changes at the institutional level, but also demanded initial acceptance on the part of an academic community that was not fully prepared to make these adjustments. (p. 6)

In summary, the conception of positioning jazz as either ‘popular’ and ‘art’ music presents significant issues, especially when you consider jazz’s development over decades and its many modes both within and outside the academy. In order to add more nuance, I suggest we turn to Lopes’s (2000) sociological analysis of the position of jazz within cultural fields, through the lens of Bourdieu.

**Redefining ‘Popular Art’ and ‘High Art.’** Lopes (2000) argues that categorizing jazz along the established dichotomy of ‘art’ and ‘popular’ simply reproduces an historical construction, one which is contested within jazz scholarship. Where Gelbart (2007) employed the categories of ‘art’ and ‘popular’ musics, Lopes redefines these broad categories as ‘high art’ and ‘popular art’ music, which on one hand ameliorates the discussion of jazz as popular or art music (at least discursively), while on the other creates a new question of jazz’s status as ‘high’ art. Lopes suggests that jazz exists within a unique position between these categories of ‘high art' and 'popular art,’ writing:
The evolution of a modern jazz paradigm and a jazz art world was a gradual response to the rejection of jazz practices by the popular music industry during [the 1930s – 40s]. It also was a response to the exclusion of urban popular musicians from practicing high art aesthetics and high art performance practices co-opted by the classical music establishment. (p. 167)

Drawing upon the theories of Bourdieu, Lopes argues that jazz experienced a shift in cultural position during the development of ‘modern’ jazz, which he ambiguously defines as the urban movement which gained prominence in the mid-twentieth century. He notes that during the 30s and 40s there was a disconnection between the ‘entertaining’ dance music that jazz musicians were playing (which was the industry standard) and a “late-hour artistic subculture,” acting as a sort of rebellion which would eventually become take over as the dominant form of jazz in the 40s and 50s (p. 172). In this way, Lopes offers an interesting expansion of the concepts of ‘popular’ and ‘art’ music, arguing that within the field of jazz itself there exists an additional dimension—the struggle of the principles of legitimacy for ‘popular art’ and ‘high art’ discourses (p. 174). He explains:

What this model suggests is that the musical field during its institutionalization refracted a broad cultural struggle for legitimacy between a bourgeois art pole and a popular art pole—an “elite culture” versus a “popular culture” in American music. In addition to this struggle, however, there were two other cultural struggles: one struggle over the principles of legitimacy for bourgeois art and then another struggle over the principles of legitimacy for popular art. (p. 174)

Lopes suggests that the artistic subcultures within ‘high’ and ‘popular’ art used different principles for determining the legitimacy of art than their broader cultures. Through this
conceptualization, Lopes offers a more complex picture of the fields of jazz discourse that extends beyond the traditional ‘popular’ and ‘high art’ dichotomy. These principles of legitimacy for these various categories, he argues, are based on differing qualities by differing groups. The pole of ‘high art’ is determined by the classical music establishment, based on what Bourdieu termed *institutional consecration*—namely, “the demand of high art music audiences, patrons and professionals” (Lopes, 2000, p. 174). For the pole of ‘restricted high art,’ demands were determined by a groups of artists, composers and critics on the basis of *charismatic consecration*, that is, the symbolic authenticity “provided by subcultures whose cultural identities often were more intimately tied to a genre of music” (p. 174). In the same way, the ‘popular art’ pole was generated by the popular music industry, upon the demands of popular music audiences and a mediated mass media market. The principles of legitimacy for the ‘restricted popular art’ pole once again were determined by the artistic subculture whose cultural identities afforded them a more intimate connection to the genre. Lopes (2000) illustrates this using a table (Table 1).

### Table 1

*Field of Music Production, United States*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bourgeois Art</th>
<th>Industrial Art</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Institutionalized Consecration</td>
<td>Mediated Mass Market</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Restricted High Art</td>
<td>Restricted Popular Art</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charismatic Consecration</td>
<td>Charismatic Consecration</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Put simply, Lopes (2000) highlights that jazz is not characterized simply as ‘popular art’ and ‘high art’ along a dichotomy, but instead based on its position within competing cultural fields. Thus, Lopes argues that the delineation of categories ‘popular’ or ‘high art’ are the product of struggle both *between* the fields of ‘high art’ and ‘popular art,’ but also *within* these fields by
those consecrated within those fields. We will return to this concept when we examine the academization of jazz.

For the higher music institution to eventually accept jazz as a ‘thinkable’ art music, two things would have to change. First, institutional narratives surrounding jazz and its origins would have to change. Second, jazz would have to be academicized in order to fit within the current model of the North American school of music. As we will now explore, the shifting of institutional values meant jazz would slowly become accepted as ‘thinkable’ musical knowledge within the North American school of music.

**Jazz as an Institutional Outsider**

During the period of the 1920s and 1930s, the popularity of jazz exploded, both within the United States and internationally (DeVeaux & Giddins, 2009). However, institutions largely ignored and excluded this music, viewing it as a form of ‘illegitimate knowledge’ due to its origins and close association with the red-light district of New Orleans, colloquially known as Storyville (p. 43). While the focus of this study is on higher music education, it is important to note that this exclusion extended to primary and secondary contexts as well. Mark and Gary (2007) cite a 1923 survey of Texas schools, where of the fifty-five responses they received, fifty-four of those schools had a prohibition against jazz (p. 319). Dobbins (1988) indicates, “before the late 1960’s the words ‘jazz’ and ‘academia’ were generally assumed to be mutually exclusive” (p. 30). Supporting this notion, Gioia (2021) vividly recollects an encounter, writing, “‘Hah,’ an old-timer responded at some point in the 1980s, when I mentioned a jazz professor—‘that,’ he insisted, ‘is what they used to call the piano player in a New Orleans brothel’” (p. 479, original emphasis). Such accounts reflect the distance many perceived between the school of
music and jazz. In this way, jazz knowledge during this period may be appropriately categorized as “unthinkable” knowledge within the institution. Murphy (1994) elucidates:

Prior to the 1960s most American music educators felt jazz was inappropriate for the music curriculum. Teachers of “serious” music scorned it, even forbidding jazz in the practice rooms at some colleges and conservatories. Professional music education texts and journals of the 1930s through ‘50s often attacked jazz for its degenerative effect on school music. (p. 34)

Gioia (2021) reveals that tied to sentiments of jazz’s origins was its relation to societal ‘undesirables,’ writing:

If you judged the state of the music based on write-ups in the newspapers of the day, you might have concluded that modern jazz wasn’t a real art form, merely a recreation activity for drug users, beatniks, agitators, and various other contingents of the underclass. (p. 477)

As explored above, jazz was originally considered ‘unthinkable’ knowledge, un-worthy of inclusion within the field of music education (Dobbins, 1988; Elliott, 1985) due largely to its origins and its status as popular music, which Green (2005) reminds us was often associated with rebellion and drugs (p. 85). The exclusion of jazz from the institution and its status as ‘unthinkable’ was rationalized through a number of factors, not least of which was its assumed association with ‘mischief’. A 1964 article in Music Educators Journal proclaims, “training a boy to blow a horn no longer insures [sic] that he will not blow a safe. It may well blow him into delinquency, for who can deny the close association between jazz and delinquency?” (Feldman, 1964, p. 60). The association between jazz and its initial development within Storyville meant that many saw jazz music as carrying values that were—to the gatekeepers within many
institutions—inappropriate for a learning environment; certainly, the “expression of protest against law and order” appeared counter to modernist educational values of standardization and maximizing outputs (Alperson, 1988, p. 40). It is no surprise, then, that jazz music was originally labelled ‘unthinkable’ knowledge to the university; in order for jazz to be considered ‘worthy’ of inclusion and study, it would have to shed its ‘impolite origins’ and become something else.

The shifting perception of jazz as legitimate within the school of music was not immediate. Even once societal perceptions about jazz began to change and the first institutions began to offer jazz as legitimate knowledge, it would be decades before such thinking would become widespread. Gioia (2021) refers to this period in jazz’s history, writing “Jazz was on the verge of what we today call brand reinvention, and ready to embark on a long path to respectability” (p. 478). The first schools to offer jazz in North America—North Texas and Schillinger House [today Berklee School of Music]—in the late 1940s signaled the earliest acceptance of jazz within the American school of music. It would not be until 1981, thirty-four years later, that the first Bachelor of Music in jazz would be offered in Canada—at McGill University in Montréal (McGill, 2021).

Despite jazz’s inclusion within the North American university school of music in the late 40s, scholars continued to write about the marginalization and exclusion of jazz for decades to come. David Baker, one of the most prolific proponents of jazz education, wrote in a 1965 article in Downbeat magazine:

Although strides are being made to establish jazz as a legitimate part of the college curriculum, the music is still a neglected stepchild. As an important American art form, jazz deserves the dignity and status afforded other serious music, but the initiation of any new program brings its share of problems. (p. 29, as cited in Prouty, 2002, p. 97)
Dobbins, in his 1988 article “Street Music in the Ivory Tower” reveals a striking shift in jazz’s acceptance within the university from his time there as a student (1964 – 1970) to the time of the published article two decades later. Dobbins writes, “many of our institutions had no thought of developing a jazz curriculum until such a move showed a decided potential for attracting larger numbers of students to music schools where both enrollment and talent were on a steady decline” (p. 30). Even at that time, Dobbins notes that musical academia had been reluctant to engage with jazz. Gioia (2021) discusses this interesting shift, writing “Student jazz bands, previously run informally without the support—and sometimes in outright defiance—of college officials, now started showing up as part of the curriculum, taught by faculty and earning academic credit for participants” (pp. 478–479). These examples from jazz educators and historians highlight the ‘outsider’ position that jazz encountered initially. Both Dobbins (1988) and Gioia (2021) note that, as jazz was initially un-welcome within the institution (and in some cases forbidden), the playing of jazz within the institution was perceived as a form of defiance. Drawing on our history of the European conservatory, we may be able to understand why this is the case. The values of ‘culture,’ ‘refinement,’ and ‘wealth’ that Gandre (2002) highlighted may not have been understood in the playing of jazz music. Moreover, Fitzpatrick’s (1963) account qualifies the very purpose of the institution, reminding us that “all energies were to be expended on the study of the art, in all its aspects and practices” (p. 70). It appears that, at least initially, jazz was not perceived of as included in the ‘study of the art, in all its aspects and practices.’ This highlights once again the ways values and beliefs play a role in institutional ideology.

Bruno Nettl, in his 1992 “Heartland Excursions,” offers a glimpse into the status of ‘musical minorities’ at the time of publishing:
The center of the Music Building with its repertory of the central classical music, composed between 1730 and 1950, is surrounded by peripheral musics which have found their way into the institution—the experimental, computerized, electronic “new” music; jazz; non-Western music; folk and ethnic music; “early” music, from before 1700. These are not necessarily the musics of ethnic minorities, but in the society of musics that inhabit the Music Building, they are treated, by students and faculty but also, as it were, by the central classical music in the way minorities have often been treated in American society. (p. 29)

I include these examples to demonstrate the range of acceptance of jazz over time. While jazz was ‘officially’ included in the institution in 1947, schools of music in Canada and the United States were in many cases reluctant to include jazz within the institution alongside its classical counterpart.

It is worth including Gandre’s (2002) qualification that independent conservatories tended to take longer than university schools of music to embrace jazz as legitimate knowledge. He explains:

Interestingly, however, independent conservatories by and large took many more years to follow their university and college counterparts in embracing jazz as a field of study, either formally or informally. However, for the most part they, too, embraced jazz as a “legitimate” discipline, and by the 1980s most had some kind of program in jazz, informal or formal, as part of their institutions. Even the venerable and world-famous Juilliard began offering jazz as a major in the 1990s, one of the last institutions in the country to do so, with the great musician Wynton Marsalis (1961– ) as its leader. (p. 285)
While the shift to perceive jazz as legitimate knowledge within the school of music was a long process, it would soon become a popular course offering within the United States, Canada, and abroad. Today, over five hundred colleges within North America now offer jazz as a program of study (Hinkle, 2011; Murphy, 1994, Wilf, 2014). Its legitimacy has been firmly established and shows little sign that it is at risk of decline within the ivory tower.

**Canadian Higher Jazz Education**

Literature abounds regarding the history of jazz and higher jazz education within Canada (Brenan, 2005; Elliott, 1985; Gilmore, 1988; Hepner, 2013; Kearns, 2011; Kearns, 2015; Louth, 2004; Miller, 2003). As Hepner (2013) succinctly outlines:

the history of jazz education in Canada closely follows the same transitions as jazz education in the United States. Like the music itself that flowed north, so too did trends in jazz education, and the changes seen in instructional delivery in the U.S. were also adopted in Canada. Post-secondary educational opportunities for the study of jazz are now present in every province in Canada. In some instances, jazz education classes may only consist of the opportunity to play in a jazz ensemble, while at other schools, full-time programs in jazz studies were available. (p. 29)

While jazz in Canada may ‘closely follow’ our counterparts to the South, Gilmore (1988) qualifies that it has done so “generally at a cautious distance” (p. 114, as cited in Witmer, 1989, p. 158). In other words, while an in-depth look at the history of Canadian jazz within the institution strongly relies on an understanding of the history of American jazz and jazz education, it is not reducible to it. We will now quickly review the first university degree programs offering in jazz in Canada.
McGill University, located in Montréal, Quebec is cited as the first institution in Canada to offer a Bachelor of Music degree in jazz performance, beginning in 1981 (McGill University, 2021). However, Kearns (2011) cites Gordon Foote who revealed that it was not until 1984, and the arrival of Kevin Dean at McGill, that it was considered a ‘real’ degree (p. 190). Today, Hepner (2013) writes that “post-secondary educational opportunities for the study of jazz are now present in every province in Canada” (p. 29), including roughly a dozen institutions which offer jazz programs in Canada (Kearns, 2011). Kearns reveals that over the past two decades, a further four degrees have been implemented within Canada (p. 329).

**Jazz Education and Academization**

Now that we have established a history of the conservatory and have briefly explored notions of art and popular music as thinkable and unthinkable within the institution, I wish to turn to an exploration of the introduction of jazz into the academy. More specifically, I now turn to examine the commonly accepted narrative of the history of jazz education in North America.

**A Critical Look at Institutional Narratives**

Scholars argue that perhaps it is Daniel Murphy’s (1994) article in *Jazz Educators Journal* which provides the commonly accepted version of the history of jazz education as it is understood today (Goecke, 2016; Prouty, 2002). Certainly, oft-cited historical accounts of jazz education written since Murphy’s article often use it as a baseline of the ‘facts and acts’ related to jazz education’s development in the nearly one hundred years from its initial development to the time of the article’s publication (Hinkle, 2011; Kearns, 2011; Prouty, 2002; 2005). Murphy’s article was not the first institutionally based narrative of jazz education, however, it is often cited as being one of the most influential. Such narratives have become ubiquitous within jazz education scholarship. Snyder’s (1999) dissertation “College Jazz Education During the 1960s:
Its Development and Acceptance” takes up the mantle, offering to “illustrate the position and significance of college jazz studies in the history of jazz and music education” (p. 3). Prouty (2005) argues that such institutionally focused narratives are problematic in that they have “served to increase the cultural and social distance that many jazz educators feel in relation to the larger non-academic jazz community” (p. 100). Prouty continues by revealing that the histories of the jazz music community and jazz education developed together; he writes “students in jazz programs are not only a part of an institutional heritage; they are an important part of the jazz community itself” (p. 100). Attempts to separate the histories of jazz within and outside the institution, he argues, creates an undue disconnection between the community and the academy. This disconnection, scholars have begun to argue, may work to diminish the role of politics and race in the inclusion and development of jazz within schools of music (Ake et al., 2012).

I make this distinction clear as it is important to dispel notions that it could be possible (or somehow ideal) to separate the historiographies of the school of music, of jazz music, or of jazz education. More broadly, through this understanding, such thinking allows us to expose tacit relations of power that work to legitimate and reify certain knowledges.

**Jazz Canons and Critiques**

Whereas Murphy provided the most commonly accepted version of the history of jazz education in North America, DeVeaux’s (1991) account of the construction of the jazz tradition provides perhaps the most commonly cited perspective on the critique of jazz narratives. DeVeaux identifies that the established ‘jazz narrative’ that is taught within schools includes “the defining features of each style, the pantheon of great innovators, and the canon of recorded masterpieces” (p. 525), representing a form of reification which is used to establish the legitimacy of jazz as ‘serious’ music. Through the adoption of characteristics of the Western art
tradition, DeVeaux argues that jazz can be seen as ‘art’ or ‘serious’ music itself. And in so doing, jazz instruction may adopt the pedagogical practices of the institution—that is, those of Western art music. As we have explored above, the distinction of ‘art’ and ‘popular’ music were used to legitimate certain musics within the institution as ‘thinkable’ knowledges. In this way, the success or failure of jazz within the institution may be tied largely to its ability to establish and maintain a reified tradition—a canon—in the same fashion as their Western art counterparts.

**Reasons for Jazz Entering the Institution**

Wilf (2014) identifies two key factors which led to jazz entering the academy:

First, jazz musicians’ search for cultural legitimacy and for a place in institutions of higher music education against the backdrop of systematic marginalization and unequal access to resources; and second, their need to find alternative sites of employment and training in view of the increasingly disappearing commercial marketplace for jazz. (p. 26)

As we explored earlier, the principles of legitimacy determining the status of jazz as ‘high art’ within North America are located primarily within the university school of music (Lopes, 2000). Using a Bourdieusian lens, Lopes reveals that jazz’s position as ‘high art’ is tied to the classical music establishment, whose principles of legitimacy were largely tied to the “[demand] of high art music audiences, patrons, and professionals” (p. 174). Drawing on Wilf’s (2014) suggestion that jazz musicians were searching for “cultural legitimacy” within the institution, we can see that jazz discourses were required to ‘fit’ within the demands of the classical music establishment and its principles of legitimacy. One of the reasons for Western art music’s success within the institution is because its musical concepts are transmitted as separate from their historical contexts, and in this way, Western art music is made to appear ‘natural,’ or even
‘inevitable’ and thus worthy of study (Green, 2014b). However, discourses which legitimate the value of Western art music tend to do so based on seemingly ‘objective’ characteristics. Calkins (2012), for example, notes that “from the eighteenth century onward, classical music flourished within academic institutions and was supported by its evolved symbology, universally employed terminology, and highly formalized performance practices” (p. 5, emphasis added). For jazz to enter into the institution under the singular category of ‘high art’ music (and similarly ‘flourish’) meant it must be seen as separate from its own context and origins. This presents a dilemma for jazz music, as we have previously identified that jazz education has tended to draw content and context from its origins, providing a rationale for its continued categorization as ‘popular art.’ For jazz education to remain ‘high art,’ it would have to shift its discourses to establish a different “‘history’ of struggle” (Lopes, 2000, p. 174), and find a new narrative with which to align itself. Prouty (2002) argues that jazz education has largely done exactly that with the adoption of an institutional narrative of jazz education, which has historically tended to ignore what is being done outside of the academy.

‘It Belongs in a Museum.’ As jazz musical knowledge finds legitimacy within the school of music one may begin to see a trend in how knowledges may be selected as worthy of inclusion within higher education curricula. The viability of jazz as an instructional discourse occurred largely after the success of jazz and its commercial appeal; jazz’s evolution from the big-band swing era to bebop meant it had evolved from dance music to a ‘serious,’ ‘art’ music, one in which the audience took a more passive role as listener (Skårberg & Karlsen, 2021). It began to be seen as ‘conceptual’ and ‘elite,’ and in so doing retired or exchanged its status and identity as exclusively ‘popular’ (Ake, 2019, p. 77).
In some ways, one may notice that the multiple-department school of music resembles a museum displaying artefacts of the past. The process of selecting discourses, removing them from their original context and placing them in a new ‘school’ context for study may be compared to the work of an archeologist who displays their treasures in an exhibit. These artefacts are reminiscent of a bygone era, no longer for use in our society; however, they still hold symbolic value. This is especially true for the acolytes, without whom these artefacts would not be maintained or curated for future generations. Gioia wrestles with these very discourses in his 2021 book *The History of Jazz*, now in its third edition. He writes:

I’ve heard many predictions about jazz over the years. The prognosticators typically serve up grim forecasts about the genre’s inevitable decline into irrelevancy or its survival on life support as a kind of musical museum exhibit celebrating past glories. Such prophecies aren’t much fun to consider—but they haven’t been very accurate either. None of these seers has anticipated what’s actually now happening on the jazz scene, a development as delightful as it has been unexpected. (p. 507)

I share Gioia’s optimism that jazz may have found a resurgent relevancy attributable to categorical weakening, as artists and audiences continue to challenge and stretch the boundaries of what some might call ‘jazz’; however, his focus remains largely outside of the institution. Such predictions may still be more relevant within the school of music than Gioia may care to admit. Ake’s (2019) suggestion to “spend some time in most any city (or on most any college campus, for that matter) and you will hear remarkably vibrant, creative, contemporary jazz music” (p. 84) seems an apt counter, until one realizes he is arguing not for institutions as stalwart keepers, but rather that American jazz has not lost its ‘vitality’ and is still in demand internationally.
Perspectives on the current ‘state of jazz’ are as varied as the individuals who provide them and are heavily impacted by their experiences and social contexts, and as such the perspectives found within this work represent my own understandings of the complicated relationship of jazz within and outside of the institution, one that is subject to change. However, Gioia’s optimistic perspective does provide a glimmer of hope to those in the academic jazz community, where literature often takes a rather critical stance on the state of jazz, both within and outside the institution. It would be interesting to see if these institutions are following the lead of these musicians Gioia identifies who are trying to bring jazz into cultural relevancy; my results of ensemble performances indicate they may not. I do not mean to contribute to a division between jazz within and outside of the school of music, but to argue that Gioia’s argument is perhaps myopic and may not adequately address the school of music context.

**Critiques of the Academization of Jazz**

The academization of jazz and its inclusion within the institution has presented new issues for consideration, namely when considering what and who is included within the ivory tower. Notably, while this study focuses its attention within a North American context, the institutionalization and academization of jazz is not limited to these contexts (see for example Dyndahl’s 2015 article on the institutionalization of jazz in Norway). Dobbins (1988) writes about his experiences with the inclusion of jazz in academia, recalling:

Those of us who formed the school’s first ongoing jazz ensemble were thrown out of practice rooms, prohibited from signing out school instruments to play jazz and, in general, strongly discouraged from having anything to do with America’s greatest musical contribution to world culture. Only when the ensemble continued to receive highly visible praise and support from university student and administrative organizations
did the school of music involve itself, taking credit for musical developments which they
had aggressively fought at every turn. (p. 30)

Dobbins highlights that the institution’s decision to accept and adopt (and perhaps co-opt) jazz as legitimate was, among others, a political move, one in which discourses and attitudes shifted when economic and social benefits to the institution emerged. Nettl (1992) identified that the inclusion of jazz and other popular musics demands a rethinking of the values of the institution, especially as assumptions of musical value were ascribed to those knowledges and discourses which reflect a political and economic elite (p. 29). The ideologies which initially saw jazz music as ‘unthinkable’ knowledge within the North American music institutions similarly pointed to those who practiced these knowledges and discourses as not worthy of inclusion; it was not just a matter of what was included, but also a matter of whom.

‘Color-Blindness’ and Jazz Education. Among the problematic and under-discussed byproducts of the institutionalization of jazz has been its failure to address racial tensions and disparities. Goecke (2016) offers scathing observation about their experiences within the institution, noting

My research has suggested that color-blind methodology and structural forms of racism became the norm in many academic jazz learning-spaces. This trend has fostered an environment where white students and educators believe that people are neither advantaged nor disadvantaged because of skin color; deny the notion of white privilege; fear appearing racist if race is discussed; or feel as if they do not have the right to discuss the subject of race. (p. 20)

While Goecke presents this suggestion generally and anecdotally, I am compelled to agree with his assertion. Discourses in jazz education often go to significant lengths to obfuscate the social
contexts in which the music is embedded, mirroring jazz after its Western art counterparts in the institution. Wilf (2014) notes that this is part and parcel with jazz’s intentional shift towards ‘high art,’ forcing it to detach from its ‘black roots’ (p. 159). This can be seen within jazz education research as well. For example, Calkins’ (2012) dissertation, “A History of Jazz Studies at New England Conservatory, 1969 – 2009: The Legacy of Gunther Schuller” offers a single page on the topic of “Influences of Politics, Race and Society” as it relates to her topic, of which she spends much of that one page explaining that the dissertation was not meant to deal with such issues (p. 18). While jazz had made its way into the school of music despite its “humble, even despised origins” (Ake, 2012, p. 2), it appears that jazz education research may also fall into the trap of limiting the role of social context.

Goecke (2016) identifies why this may be the case in a disconcerting (though not surprising) analysis of advertisements within the 2005 *Downbeat magazine* offering "Student Music Guide: Where to Study Jazz," wherein he found significant gender and racial disparities among the included models; he identified that 84.5% of students and teachers pictured were White, 15% were Black and 0.5% were of Asian descent. White male students in particular represented 67% of those pictured (pp. 259–260).

Bradley (2015) argues that myths of music as a universal language work in a similar vein. She writes, “By hiding behind the statement, ‘I don’t see color, I only see children (or people),’ White people are able both to distance themselves from obvious racisms around them, and at the same time feel self-congratulatory for not being racist themselves” (p. 196). While I am not asserting that the institutionalization and academization of jazz consciously begets a ‘Whitening’ of jazz discourses through the adoption of the discourses of Western art music pedagogy, I suggest that there is a connection between the shift in jazz discourses and knowledges and who
identifies with them. Bradley references Apple (2004), suggesting “the knowledge deemed worth knowing—that which becomes part of the curriculum—is not random, but represents the ‘economic and social interests’ of the dominant group, those who hold power in curricular decision-making” (p. 198). In other words, I contend that the institutionalization of jazz forced a shift in discourse to meet a new demand. Wilf (2014) asserts that:

the racial composition of the current body of jazz educators and students at Berklee might also explain their reluctance to introduce the social context of jazz into the curriculum. Jazz’s entrance into academia has taken place in tandem with the increased representation of white middle-and upper-middle-class players in the jazz world. (p. 160)

With institutions wary of providing social context which might create boundaries among social agents (Wilf, 2014) or cause discomfort amongst students (Goecke, 2016), it seems that the academization of jazz has led many to ignore these factors in their pedagogical practices and research. Moreover, we may begin to see how discourses and knowledges are included and excluded to serve economic and political purposes within the institution and, importantly, how the positions of subjects shift alongside these shifting knowledges. Dyndahl (2015) cites Moore (2002), writing:

Moore (2002) reminds us that authenticity is not an inherent property of music, but something that is attributed to specific genres and practices: “It is ascribed, not inscribed” (Ibid., 210). He further argues that researchers should ask questions about “who, rather than what, is being authenticated” (Ibid., 220), so that they would describe more precisely authenticity as processes rather than specific qualities of the music itself. (p. 12)

The academization of jazz and its inclusion within the North American music institution has led to a shift in discourses, working to benefit those in dominant positions. In this way, we can see
universities as sites of social reproduction which recontextualize knowledges to align with an institutional image of value. The question is: what are these images, how have they come to be, and who recognizes themselves as of value? (Bernstein, 2000) It may be fruitful now to turn to a review of literature which examines conservatories and their cultures to situate this study and its purpose.

Examinations of the Conservatory and the School of Music

This study is predicated upon the assumption that an examination of a school of music may provide key insights into how identities and consciousnesses are maintained and regulated through the process of knowledge transmission. As previously noted, this study is not the first to examine the school of music as a site of social or cultural reproduction, nor to examine the school of music’s role in the regulation of social identities. In fact, there are three key studies which have provided a clear foundation for this study. All three studies occurred within a relatively short time between one another (from the years of 1984 to 1991) and represent a relatively homogenous example of schools of music and conservatories in the United States and Canada at that time, including the musical knowledges accepted as ‘worthy.’ It should be noted that in all three cases, despite jazz’s ‘acceptance’ into conservatories as early as the mid twentieth century, all three studies highlight that jazz as a musical knowledge had still not made its way into these institutions at the time of their publication.


Kingsbury’s examination of the Eastern Metropolitan Conservatory of Music has played a significant role in the shape and direction of this research project. Using an anthropological lens that had for hundreds of years been used by researchers to examine the “Other,” Kingsbury
turned such a lens upon an institutional setting that would appear familiar to many in higher music education to better understand its practices as an outsider. There is a strong connection between this task and what Bauman (1990) refers to as “thinking sociologically,” noting that:

once we understand better how the apparently natural, inevitable, immutable, eternal aspects of our lives have been brought into being through the exercise of human power and human resources, we will find it hard to accept once more that they are immune and impenetrable to human action—our own action included. (p. 16)

Through such a lens, Kingsbury wrestled with many notions which they argued actors within the school of music take for granted. One of Kingsbury’s primary contributions to the field is his examination of the concept of musical talent and how it is operationalized within the conservatory. He notes, “talent, in its countless manifestations, represents a cultural experience of inevitable social hierarchy” (pp. 78–79). Such investigation sheds light on the various facets of conservatory culture wherein talent is used as a tool to hierarchize individuals, providing an incisive look into the relations of power inherent in ‘talent.’ Kingsbury further explains:

The political point is that the very meaning of musical “talent” is tied to power relations. Its use arises in the context of marked differentials in social power (parent-child, teacher-pupil), ambiguities of its meaning are clarified through referral back to higher levels of this power structure, and perhaps most importantly, it contributes significantly to the reproduction of a structure of inequality in social power. (p. 74)

That ‘talent’ is a tool used by those in dominant positions in order to maintain and reproduce a class hierarchy is further explored by Kingsbury through his examination of the Master, Goldmann. Allsup (2016) summarizes the setting of Kingsbury’s account, writing:
The setting I summon below details a European style applied studio where a heterogeneous group of preprofessionals take turns performing for their teacher, who, in return, dispenses wisdom and advice about how they should play. Unsurprisingly, most lessons focus on score interpretation and expression. (pp. 7–8)

Delving into this account provides insight into what constitutes ‘talent,’ who is said to have it, and how it is used to position subjects within the school of music. Talent becomes a means of legitimation of subjects, which in turn works to legitimate their knowledges. After all, it may be foolish to assume that a subject to whom ‘talent’ is ascribed within this context would know the ‘wrong’ things. But who decides what is the right and wrong knowledge? Goldmann the Master, according to Kingsbury’s account, has authority over what is considered ‘thinkable’ and ‘unthinkable’ knowledge within this setting. While he touts the absolute authority of the markings on the score, he at times contradicts himself when he demands students play something differently than what is on the score. In this way, Kingsbury shows that the legitimation of knowledges and discourses (and thus the positioning of students within the social hierarchy) is predicated upon the beliefs and values of Goldmann, whom Allsup (2016) contends acts as a gatekeeper within the school of music.

Kingsbury also examines aspects of conservatory life such as recitals and ensemble performances anthropologically as a form of ‘ritual,’ a “highly formalized pattern nature of social behavior” (p. 224). In such rituals, Kingsbury examines both the function and their high-stakes nature. They are an important form of social interaction for maintaining the social position of the actor, as well as for the actor to individually position themself and their ‘ego.’ Kingsbury elaborates on the value of recitals and performances, writing:
Western culture has few occasions in which the self, the ego, or the “face” are more directly threatened and endangered, and yet at the same time few occasions in which the ego/self/face is offered a more immediate source of potential gratification and fulfillment.

(p. 233)

In this way, the school of music may also be seen as a critical site for the maintenance and reproduction of identity. As Kingsbury notes, it is through these performance ‘rituals’ that the ego/self may be threatened, and thus we may see the ideologies of the institution impacting the regulation of these identities to position actors. Central to such thinking is the valuing of performance and talent as dominant within these social arenas, where actors are positioned based on how much ‘talent’ they possess and their navigation of performance ‘rituals.’ One may recognize the choice of pseudonym for this study (Eastern Urban School of Music) as a nod to Kingsbury’s Eastern Metropolitan Conservatory of Music.


Nettl (1992) similarly conducted an ethnography of the school of music at a major university in the Midwest. Like Kingsbury, he explored the school of music as a cultural outsider, arguing against the famous quote by Kerman (1985) who wrote “Western music is just too different from other musics, and its cultural contexts too different from other cultural contexts [to permit ethnomusicological methods to be used effectively in its study, B.N.]” (Nettl, 1992, p. 9). Nettl acutely suggests the problem with such thinking, explaining:

“[Ethnomusicologists] were not saying, in effect, ‘Western music is just too different,’ but rather, ‘the rest of the musical world is just too different from Western music’—and thus needs a discipline or sub-discipline of its own” (p. 9). While Nettl draws upon Kingsbury’s examination, he expands upon slightly different aspects of the music building. In particular, Nettl compares
the great composers of the Western Art tradition to the Pantheon of Greek Gods, as deities whom
the school of music and its acolytes serve.

**Rethinking Roles Within the School of Music.** Of sociological importance is Nettl’s
organization of the agents within the school of music as a religious hierarchy. He writes:

> Not that Western art music lovers approach their music in a religious spirit, but they often
say they are working in the service of music, an abstraction that exists without human
intervention. One may say that music itself is the deity here, but it is more instructive to
look for godlikeness to the great masters, who are served by a priesthood of performers
and musicologists, with rituals in concert, rehearsal, lesson, practice session, and icons in
the form of scores and visual forms of respect. (p. 12)

Nettl’s comparison of the modes of religious hierarchy within the school of music shows strong
conceptualises a hierarchy of the pedagogic field which maps alongside the model of religious
hierarchy that Weber presents (Table 2).

**Table 2**

*Bernstein’s (2000) Comparative Hierarchy of Religious and Pedagogic Fields*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Religious field</th>
<th>Pedagogic field</th>
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While these models are similar, I suggest that Nettl’s model may blur the roles of the reproducers
and acquirers within the field of education. In particular, Nettl’s model categorizes performers as
the priesthood, leading to an assumption that the acquirers may be the audience, or the general
public; whereas, in Bernstein’s model, the acquirers are in fact the student body, who are
receiving the recontextualised knowledge from the Priests (the professoriat) who in turn are
drawing on the knowledge of the Prophets who are the deities or ‘great masters’ of the canons. I
make this connection to highlight the ways perspectives shift when drawing on different lenses to
examine the school of music; in this particular instance, those of anthropology and sociology.

It is also worth noting (although this will be addressed in greater detail later) that the
conception of the Great Masters can be reflected within the jazz tradition. In much the same way
as Nettl notes there are generally agreed upon Great Masters within the classical tradition such as
Bach, Mozart, Haydn, and Beethoven, there are likewise Great Masters in the jazz tradition.
Commonly expressed examples include Charlie “Yardbird” Parker, Louis “Satchmo” Armstrong,
Miles Davis, John Coltrane, and Thelonious Monk. Nettl further suggests that these positions
within the hierarchy are established and reproduced through the discourse of the institution. He
writes, “never fear . . . our rhetoric takes these concepts for granted” (p. 17). Prouty (2014)
engages with this concept and the way “genius” is used to construct and reify traditions within
the jazz tradition. Such reification is explored further in another section.


Roberts, in his 1991 publication “A Place to Play: The Social World of University
Schools of Music” offers a Canadian perspective of the school of music. His examination
focuses on the sub-field of music teacher education within the school of music and the ways
social practices impact what is considered ‘legitimate’ musical knowledge and the regulation of
student identity. Adopting a sociological lens, Roberts examines the ways discourses are valued
and regulated, and the ways in which they serve to position students hierarchically. Five
Canadian universities were used as sites of data collection, employing both interviews and
participant observation. Such a process was valuable, Roberts asserts, as “Observations became
fuel for interviews and interviews provided clues for observation” (p. 27). His marriage of the anthropological works of Kingsbury to the sociological work of Bernstein was especially relevant for this project, as I had already decided to do so prior to my review of this literature; his similar reading of these works together afforded confidence to pursue this research design. Roberts’s study also impacted my own decision to incorporate interviews and observations within my data collection methods. However, because of the strong focus on the nature of legitimate musical knowledge within this examination, I felt it necessary to incorporate document analysis as well, in hopes that such data may further fuel both observations and interviews.

While Roberts’s research proved invaluable, it presented some problematic methodological considerations. Roberts is clear that prior studies of schools of music which used largely quantitative data to understand the social processes of music students—namely that of L’Roy (1983)—do not do justice to the nuance that such a topic deserves. In response, Roberts suggests a qualitative approach may better serve to uncover meaningful results. However, to accomplish this task successfully, Roberts notes that researcher distance is a prerequisite. He writes:

Although the research community in music education has largely ignored the potential of qualitative research, other academic disciplines such as sociology have developed long and distinguished traditions with this style of research methodology. The rigor of such an approach depends substantially on the ability of the researcher to suspend belief in his own “knowledge.” Shutz (1964:27) writes, “The sociologist is the disinterested scientific onlooker of the social world.” (p. 19)
Such an approach, I suggest, does little to contribute to ‘rigor,’ whatever Roberts meant by that. My own position as research designer, data collector, analyzer and reporter renders any perceived ‘disinterest’ I may have farcical; moreover, it is precisely because of my own knowledge and beliefs that this study is designed and executed as it is. Veiling my own position would only serve to obfuscate this context, which in turn I argue would ironically make such a study appear ‘natural’ or ‘inevitable.’ This would be ironic as such practices of legitimation are precisely what this study serves to critically examine. It is important to situate Roberts’ position historically; after all, the first Conference on Qualitative Methodologies in Music Education Research was held in 1994 (Journal for Research in Music Education, 1993), and beliefs and values surrounding qualitative research design and researcher positionality were just beginning to enter into music education discourses.

**Relevance of the Literature**

As previously noted, these examinations took place before the ‘multiple-department’ school of music as a category (and specifically jazz musical knowledges) began to find legitimacy within the field. Moreover, the schools which were the focus of examination would not have fit the category of ‘multiple-department.’ This presents a dislocation between the contexts explored in the literature and many schools of music as they exist today.

This is not to say that prior studies no longer have value within the modern contexts surrounding many schools of music. Indeed, schools of music and their knowledges bear remarkable (and one may argue too similar) resemblance to the conservatories of the past. In this way, while the contexts may have shifted, many of the issues in the schools of music of past and present remain, and these studies might provide meaningful foundations for examination. It could further be argued that because these studies tended to adopt anthropological lenses, their
conclusions about these cultural characteristics, while very telling, do not offer a language of description for analysis. However, there is one clear exception, with the case of Brian Roberts’s (1991) *A Place to Play: The Social World of University Schools of Music*, wherein Roberts adopts a sociological lens to explore five Canadian schools of music and their social practices. In the case of Roberts’s (1991) analysis, he identifies that Bernstein’s concept of the classification of knowledge is critical to his sociological examination of the school of music. In this way, Roberts provides perhaps the most succinct foundation upon which this research project is built, suggesting:

> While the universities argue whether to admit jazz into their enclave, the schools are more and more embracing the world of pop and rock as well as musical theatre and other world musics as an everyday diet for school children of all ages. In effect, the social organization of musical knowledge in school is itself critical. Bernstein (1971:49) writes, “Classification thus refers to the degree of boundary maintenance between contents” and “where classification is strong, contents are well insulated from each other by strong boundaries.” The perception of a music education problem would therefore reside in the apparent dispute over the boundaries which classifies what constitutes acceptable knowledge about music and subsequently what counts as “musician.” (p. 7)

Two very interesting things stand out from this statement. The first (and arguably less interesting item) is how Roberts uses Bernstein’s concept of classification to demonstrate the ways musical knowledge is socially organized, leading to dispute over what counts as legitimate musical knowledge (and, he notes, “what counts as ‘musician’”)—less interesting insofar as such conceptualization occurs so frequently in musical literature that it can begin to seem rhetorical (see Moore, 2013; Söderman et al., 2015; Wright, 2006, 2010). Secondly, and of perhaps greater
interest, is that the year prior to Roberts’s 1991 publication, Bernstein had published *Class Codes and Control (vol. 4): The Structuring of Pedagogic Discourse*” (CCC IV), which expanded heavily upon his earlier works, completing his theory of the Pedagogic Device and its role in the recontextualization of knowledge. Such realization may impel the reader (as it did myself) to wonder what impact this work would have had upon Roberts’s analysis, and the further language of description Roberts may have been afforded through this framework. In some way, then, this current research project could be imagined as a modest extension of Roberts’s analysis, which utilizes a more complete oeuvre of Bernstein’s analytical tools. Such consideration will be explored later.

While these three studies are rather dated, we can see that they are not irrelevant. Notably, Perkins’s relatively recent examination of learning cultures within a UK conservatory draws heavily upon the works of Kingsbury and Nettl and will be explored now.


The most recent exploration of the conservatoire as a case study may be Perkins’s (2013) “Learning Cultures and the Conservatoire: An Ethnographically-Informed Case Study,” wherein Perkins examined a UK conservatoire to understand its ‘learning cultures,’ defined by James et al. (2007) as the “practices through which people learn” (p. 28, as found in Perkins, 2013, p. 198). While the studies of Kingsbury, Nettl and Roberts are now over three decades old, Perkins notes that conservatoires and schools of music remain relatively unexamined and unchallenged, particularly with respect to their cultural practices; that is, practices “which at one and the same time [structure] individuals’ actions and [are] structured by individuals’ actions” (p. 198). Of particular note to this study is Perkins’s examination of learning cultures of musical hierarchies,
wherein they suggest that students understand their social positions and consolidate these positions through discourse. In this way, students’ identities are maintained and regulated through school discourse which hierarchizes them based on "day-to-day practices such as public postings of orchestral seating or public celebrations of prize winners" (p. 205). Such delineations are then consolidated, Perkins argues, as students hierarchize themselves against one another; she draws on Bourdieu (1984) who writes that “the social order is progressively inscribed in people’s minds” (p. 471, as cited in Perkins, 2013, p. 206).

Two key findings emerge from Perkins’s study. First, the specialization which has offered musical knowledges a place at the institutional table may be at odds with the goals of the institution in preparing students for their professions; second, they note that the performance-centric discourses which dominate institutional pedagogy may “[stand] in tension” with the very act of learning that the institution claims its key purpose (p. 209). While the article provides an interesting basis for examination, I argue that it lacks the descriptive power needed to understand the principles which shape these discourses. What Perkins’s article does reveal is the importance for a study such as this, particularly for understanding how the discourses of the school of music maintain and regulate student identity and consciousness. Going beyond the identification of ‘learning cultures,’ this study serves to examine these practices through Bernstein’s pedagogic device with the aim of revealing how principles of communication regulate these discourses. Perkins’s study identifies key issues within school of music discourses (many of which align with data emerging from this study) and reaffirms the importance of this study both in the continued relevance of this study as well as its topic of examination.

One of the most significant pieces of literature examining the nature of musical knowledges within higher education is Gwen Moore’s (2013) thesis “Musical Value, Ideology and Unequal Opportunity: Backgrounds, Assumptions and Experiences of Students and Lecturers in Irish Higher Education,” which examined the discourses of students and lecturers across a national context. Using document analysis, surveys and interviews, Moore describes the concerns raised by social agents with regards to issues of access and opportunity in higher music education through access to formal musical knowledge and skills. Moore’s study is extremely relevant to the present study for reasons which will now be explored.

Moore uses the theories of Basil Bernstein to highlight the ways musical knowledge impacts the identities of students, notably with regards to the classification and framing of musical knowledge. However, Moore appears to have made the decision to omit the role of the pedagogic device within the regulation of discourses in the dissertation and focus solely on the regulation of principles of communication through the role of ideologies. This presents an issue as Moore avoids the distinction between the voice and the message of pedagogic relay, which Bernstein (2000) notes is key to understanding the ways power relations may be challenged through framing relations (p. 204). In fact, the tensions between voice and message (and thus the potential for the change of classificatory relations) do not emerge throughout the dissertation and highlight a rather deterministic viewpoint of power relations.

Such understandings may be key to understanding Moore’s decision to adopt a Social Realist framework for understanding how access to ‘certain’ musical knowledges may lead to further opportunity, both within higher education and beyond. In particular, Moore draws upon
the work of Michael F. D. Young (2008a, 2008b) and his theories espousing the emancipatory potential of epistemically oriented knowledges. While arguably thin on theory, Moore’s dissertation provides a clear example of framing musical knowledges within higher education schools of music using the lens of education sociology. I argue that there is much room to extend this work, both within the Canadian higher music education context, but also in terms of how theory is applied to understanding the data collected in order to understand how student identities and consciousnesses are regulated.

Chapter Summary

While the examination of the context of the school of music is not a new endeavor, recent scholarship indicates that there is still value in examining the seminal works of Kingsbury, Nettl and Roberts even three decades later, as with the work of Moore (2013) and Perkins (2013). While a plethora of studies has emerged which provided insightful descriptions of cultural practices and social organization, there are still no examples which examine the North American multiple-department school of music, its musical knowledges, and the ways the principles of communication upon knowledge maintain and regulate the identities and consciousnesses of students. With this study situated in literature, we turn now to examine the theoretical frameworks which will be employed.
CHAPTER III
THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

It is probably wrong to use the word ‘theory.’ The most we seem able to do is to construct weak interpretative frames. Perhaps in the end the sole criterion is: do these encourage a shift in perspective so that we can see received frames differently or even a little beyond them? (Bernstein, 1971a, p. 20)

Now that we have explored the history and context which led to the inclusion of jazz within the Canadian multiple-department school of music, we will turn to an examination of the theoretical framework for this study. I include the above epigraph for three reasons. First, it highlights the value of theory for affording the opportunity to look beyond our perspectives and perceptions of the world, providing an explicit rationale for its purpose and use. Secondly, I suggest that it challenges the implicit legitimation of theory through the creation of tidy and seemingly inherent or objective frameworks. I suggest that Bernstein’s observation highlights the often-overlooked subjectivity in both the construction and interpretation of theory and thus demonstrates that theories are rarely (if ever) comprehensive, nor exist without potential for change. And finally, such writing highlights Bernstein’s own relationship with theory, one which has been contested, critiqued, admired, attacked—and sometimes all of these at once! (e.g., Atkinson, 1985)

Bernstein was an avid generator of theory, one whose career is noted for its rather narrow focus (Atkinson, 1985; Gibbons, 2019). In this way, the theory generated throughout his long career in academia (spanning four decades) was continually reconceptualized, reworked, and in many cases, renamed. However, as Atkinson (1985) notes, Bernstein’s interest in generating theory resulted in “correspondingly less interest in the detailed operationalization and testing of all its aspects” (p. 23).
In this chapter we will explore the sociological underpinnings which led to Bernstein’s (2000) theory of the ‘Pedagogic Device,’ the particular concepts and features of this theory, and how it can be used to explore the research questions posed within this study. Prior to this examination, however, I suggest it is worth briefly considering the process through which this theory was selected for this study.

**Coming to a Theoretical Framework**

The heading ‘Coming to a Theoretical Framework’ is meant to reflect the emergent nature of the framing for this study. What I hope to make clear is a reflexive relationship between the topic being explored, the problems which emerge, the questions asked, and the forms of analysis of data. All of these considerations have influenced and shaped one another through interactions on multiple levels. This is important to foreground as, without such framing, this chapter may be construed as producing a narrative which implicitly serves to legitimate the theories being explored and justify their use within this study. While the purpose of theory is precisely to offer a perspective beyond those of the researcher, the structure of the study and the forms of analysis are inherently tied to the ideologies of the researcher, as it is from my own social relations and experiences that the study emerges (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). Thus, it is important to highlight that this framework is shaped through my own values and understandings, which impact the specific concepts being highlighted. The study is further influenced by methodological considerations which have impacted the topics, problems, questions, and theories being utilized. Such considerations will be explored in Chapter 4.

While I am not suggesting that an exhaustive timeline is warranted which reveals the shifting of the theoretical framing used in this study since its inception, it is important to highlight that such a shift *has* taken place and point (albeit vaguely) to its importance in the
structuring of the study. For now, what I hope to make clear to the reader is that a) the theoretical framework employed emerged through reflexive engagements between topic, field, and problems, b) the elements which undergird this study all influence one another, and c) this presentation of the theoretical framework is meant to provide context to the reader, not mask the subjective nature of both theory construction and interpretation.

At its embryonic stage, the research topic for the study focused upon knowledge within the North American multiple-department school of music. There are many fields of study which could have been drawn upon to examine this topic. However, the field of education sociology was selected because it promises perhaps the most meaningful means for the examination of the nature of knowledges as scholarship focuses on the social function of knowledge transmission within educational institutions. Young (1971) emphasizes that the field of education sociology is primarily concerned with problems of control and the organization of knowledge in education (p. 3). Thus, the implementation of an education sociology lens presupposed the examination of various research problems relating to how knowledges are selected and maintained and the impact of knowledge transmission upon agents. Given the research topic (namely exploring knowledges within the North American multiple-department school of music) the research problem for the study emerged, pointing to the principles of communication and the recontextualization of musical discourses within the social arena of the school of music and the impact this has on the regulation of agents’ identities and consciousness. From this, research questions emerged which focus on understanding the study’s research problems.

**On the Selection of the Theories of Basil Bernstein**

The field of education sociology, while specialized, is not homogenous, and as such there is tension within the field of education sociology with regards to considerations of the impact
social construction and function play in the mediation of the agency of agents. There are many theories available to draw upon as the development and continued evolution of the field highlights new features and foci of study. For example, recent expansions upon Bernstein’s work within the New Sociology of Education (NSOE), particularly those of Social Realist (SR) perspectives, claim to provide insights into how access and opportunity for all students may be realized: through the implementation of ‘powerful knowledges’ (Maton, 2014; Moore, 2013a, 2013b; Muller, 2007; Young, 2008a, 2008b). From these different understandings necessarily emerge different values related to research problems and the questions posed. These scholars reveal that their theories and conceptions about the nature of value of knowledges have emerged and developed out of the work of Bernstein, namely his work on knowledge structures (Wheelahan, 2010; Maton, 2014). As I have argued elsewhere (Zavitz, in press), the emergent Social Realist (SR) perspectives within NSOE point to abstract theoretical knowledge as the key to affording access and opportunity to students. These arguments emerge largely from the final paper Bernstein published before he passed, entitled “Vertical and Horizontal Discourse: An Essay” (Bernstein, 1999). In this paper, Bernstein examines educational discourses and their underlying structures in various forms of knowledge. This work follows Bernstein’s (2000) continued insistence that these different knowledges have had the misfortune of being homogenized in prior examinations, and their social bases inadequately conceptualized (p. 170). To this end he writes:

To my mind much of the work generating these oppositions [between ‘schooled’ and ‘everyday, common sense’ knowledge], homogenizes these discursive forms so that they take on stereotypical forms where their differences or similarities are emphasized. It is
not unusual for one form to be romanticised as a medium celebrating what the other form has lost. (p. 156)

Bernstein became concerned that a shift to center the local, tacit horizontal discourses within education may not adequately prepare students to see beyond their own contexts (p. 169). Moreover, he was concerned that a move towards including segments of horizontal discourse within education was fueled by a postmodern shift towards ‘pedagogic populism,’ ‘in the name of empowering or unsilencing voices to combat the élitism and alleged authoritarianism of Vertical discourse’ (p. 170, original emphasis). Effectively, Bernstein was describing “a discursive shift in legitimation from knowledge to knower” (p. 170). Many SR scholars have adopted Bernstein’s work in this essay as a rationale for the continuation and expansion of his theory, becoming fixated upon foregrounding ‘knowledge’ over the ‘knower.’ However, in my view, much of the work of the past decades within SR scholarship has been unable to sufficiently recognize the importance and impact of the social relations and experiences of agents, arguing instead that we ‘bring back in’ … ‘the object of knowledge itself’ (Maton, 2014). These arguments have become embedded within the emergent SR theories, pointing to the privileging of knowledges based upon their capacity for integration. While arguments surrounding the relative merits and pitfalls of ‘powerful knowledge’ continue to emerge, Bernstein’s theories remain a beneficial tool for revealing forms of regulation upon knowledges within the social arena of the school of music using a unique language of description (Maton, 2014). This is done while avoiding some of the pitfalls of recent SR scholarship: that it does not adequately account for the experiences of students (Alderson, 2020), that it does not afford the access and opportunity it claims (James, 2017), and that it maintains a status quo instead of challenging
social order (Reay, 2021; White, 2018; Whitty, 2018), particularly as it relates to the field of music education (Wright, 2021; Zavitz, in press).

Bernstein’s theories have often been criticized for being difficult to understand; Bernstein (2000) himself recalls a critic who describes his work as “virtually unreadable” (p. xv). However, I argue that engagement with these theories provides the most meaningful insights into the ways forms of communication within educational institutions influence and regulate the consciousnesses and identities of its agents, issues which are key to this study. Prior to an examination of the work of Bernstein, it would prove beneficial to briefly explore the foundations within the field of education sociology from which Bernstein draws extensively.

**Émile Durkheim and the Foundations of Education Sociology**

Émile Durkheim (1858–1917) is perhaps most often thought of as the progenitor of education sociology for his work examining the purposes and functions of society. His 1893 dissertation examining the organization and division of labour in society became foundational for understanding how education serves as a tool for social reproduction, examining the impacts of the ever-growing complexity and its effects on consciousness. Durkheim presented various ‘social facts’ which govern the function of societies. One such social fact is the concept of solidarity, which we will now explore.

**Solidarity**

Solidarity, Durkheim (1893) explains, explores the functions through which different societies are regulated and maintained. Durkheim (1893/1964) poses the question: “Is it our duty to seek to become a thorough and complete human being, one quite sufficient unto oneself; or, on the contrary, to be only a part of a whole, the organ of an organism?” (p. 41). These questions raise the issue of the responsibility and morality of social participation. He draws on Tocqueville
(1838) who observes “In so far as the principle of the division of labor receives a more complete application, the art progresses, the artisan retrogresses” (as cited in Durkheim, 1893/1964, pp. 43–44). Durkheim observed that traditional societies were regulated through ‘mechanical’ solidarity, wherein social cohesion was achieved through the homogeneity of the group and shared social relations. Using the example of penal systems, Durkheim explores the ways social cohesion is derived from regulation of collective consciousness, observing “[punishment’s] true function is to maintain social cohesion intact, while maintaining all its vitality in the common conscience” (p. 108).

However, as populations and their densities grow, societies necessarily become more complex, resulting in a more complex division of labour and specialization of labour roles. In these societies, ‘organic solidarity’ regulates social cohesion, wherein members may not share values or social relations. Durkheim (1893/1964) explains:

whereas the previous type [mechanical solidarity] implies that individuals resemble each other, this [organic] type presumes their difference. The first is possible only in so far as the individual personality is absorbed into the collective personality; the second is possible only if each one has a sphere of action which is peculiar to him; that is, a personality. (p. 131)

These different solidarities emerge as functions of social relations. In the case of mechanical solidarity, social cohesion is maintained through what is shared among agents, where relation to a common social base is valued. In the case of organic solidarity, social cohesion is maintained through the specialized function of an agent within the ‘social organism,’ and thus agents may not share a social base. The legitimation of these different forms of social relations within these
societies impacts the legitimacy of different forms of language as they relate to social bases. We will explore this later when examining Bernstein’s concept of language codes (1962).

As this study examines the North American multiple-department school of music and its shift to include multiple specialized musical knowledges, it is useful to conceptualize the emerging specialization of social functions of agents within the school of music. As previously explored, musical knowledges outside of the Western art canon were initially excluded from the school of music for a number of reasons. One may perceive such institutions as ‘mechanical,’ establishing and maintaining identities and functions of agents based on what is shared between them—after all, they shared a relatively similar context and system of values which was understood tacitly by its agents. However, the shift to include multiple musical knowledges may signal a shift towards a more ‘organic’ social function, wherein agents are specialized to fit particular roles within the social arena. While this is an overly generalized conceptualization of shifting social functions within these institutions, it offers insight into institutional rationales for the shifting acceptance and inclusion of musical knowledges and provides a basis for further conceptualization with the theories of Bernstein.

Drawing upon the social function of religion, Durkheim argued that different forms of knowledge were required to realize meanings within these different social arenas. To this end, he presented his conception of the dialectic of the sacred and the profane, which we will now explore.

**Sacred and the Profane**

Durkheim also explored the role and function of religion in the regulation of society, identifying religion as one of the fundamental social institutions which regulate forms of consciousness. Through this examination he highlights the importance of the ‘sacred’ as a key
component in all religions, in dialectical opposition to the ‘profane.’ Where the profane relates to mundane, everyday life, the sacred points to that which transcends the everyday, relating to that which is out of reach. Durkheim (1912/1995) writes:

> Whether simple or complex, all known religious beliefs display a common feature: They presuppose a classification of the real or ideal things that men conceive of into two classes—two opposite genera—that are widely designated by two distinct terms, which the words *profane* and *sacred* translate very well. (p. 34, original emphasis)

This dichotomy between sacred and profane, Durkheim observes, has the particular feature of being absolute, in that “in the history of human thought, there is no other example of two categories of things as profoundly differentiated or as radically opposed to one another” (p. 36).

Within the field of education sociology, scholars have expanded on the theories of Durkheim, exploring the ways the social institutions of religion and education align. Notably, Bernstein (2003c) identified that as Western society has shifted towards a much more complex division of labour, education has replaced religion as the primary regulator of social functions within Western society. Bernstein (2000) developed Durkheim’s conception of the sacred and profane, attributing the sacred to ‘esoteric knowledge’ which is theoretical and conceptual, and the profane to ‘mundane knowledge,’ that of the everyday. He explores the ways different forms of language which relate to different social bases and their principles of communication within education regulate consciousness of agents within the institutional social field.

**Basil Bernstein (1924-2000)**

Bernstein was an English sociologist whose work focused on the analysis of educational discourse and practice, and the ways pedagogy worked to reproduce and legitimate the ideologies of dominant societal forces. Despite the largely (mis-)quoted and misunderstood
interpretations of Bernstein’s early work that led to considerable controversy in fields including sociolinguistics and the sociology of education (Halliday, 2003; Sadovnik, 1991; Atkinson, 1985). His work has been attracting increasing attention in sociological studies of education since the late twentieth-century. His theories owe much to Durkheimian structural theory, although his thinking encompasses work from sociologists such as Marx, Mead, and Weber as well (Bernstein, 2003a; Sadovnik, 1991; Wright, 2006, 2010). Bernstein (1971a) described his initial disposition towards the works of Durkheim as a young scholar, indicating:

I read Durkheim and although I did not understand him it all seemed to happen. I did not care that he was a naughty functionalist with an over-socialized concept of man, that he neglected the institutional structure and the sub-strata of conflicting interests, that his model of man contained only two terms, beliefs and sentiments. In a curious way I did not care too much about the success of his various analysis. It was about the social bond and the structuring of experience. (p. 3)

Gibbons (2019) writes that Bernstein spent the majority of his career focused on the same project: “the development of a theory on how the structure of social relationships influences the structure of communication, and how the structure of communication shapes people’s consciousness and identity through the curriculum” (p. 836). The basis of this project was an examination of how to find ways to “prevent the wastage of working-class educational potential’ (Bernstein, 2003a, p. 28)” (from Sadovnik, 1991, p. 61). Bernstein saw that the educational field was reproducing social inequities through the ways in which it shaped the consciousness of students. Bernstein’s work connected all levels of the field of education, “from the macro structures of society and interactional practice to the micro level of the school”
Wright, 2010, p. 15). In some ways, Bernstein’s work can be seen as developing the examination of the institutional structure that he suggested Durkheim’s work neglected.

**The Development of the Theories of Basil Bernstein**

Born in the East End of London, Bernstein’s upbringing influenced his interest in the role education plays in regulating social mobility (Sadovnik, 2001). He served in a variety of positions in his youth, including as an underage bomber in the Royal Air Force in Africa during the Second World War (Davies, 2000). He then put himself through school to earn a degree in sociology from the London School of Economics and a teaching certificate from Kingsway Day College. It was in this setting as a teacher that the initial formation of Bernstein’s research and career trajectory began to take shape. In examining the demographic of the school, Bernstein (2003a) recalls:

> The majority of students at the College then were on one-day-a-week release from the GPO [General Post Office], where they were employed as messenger boys. There were other groups of students from various industries, and a small but lively group from the London Docks. The GPO students were split into two groups. One group prepared for a minor Civil Service examination (Postal and Telegraphic Officers) and the larger group prepared for nothing. (p. 3)

Bernstein (2003a) observed that he quickly became frustrated by what he perceived as a disconnect between the interest of students and the school, writing:

> The level of formal attainment of the students was one of the best indictments of the educational system. There was no good reason for them to be interested. School had given them up many years earlier. (p. 3)
Here Bernstein highlights a dual issue: students had no interest in the school, and these same students perceived that the school had no interest in them. However, Bernstein saw a shift when he began teaching the subject of driver education and motor repair (despite the fact that he himself did not drive). While teaching this course, Bernstein expressed that the same students who seemed to have little stake in other school subjects and who were otherwise disinterested became avidly engaged. Bernstein described his initial realization of the sociological impacts such a course could have on student experience, revealing:

I perfectly well realize that such a course does not topple the class system, but it successfully demonstrated to each boy that the educational experience was an experience to which he could both contribute, explore and, in part, control. (p. 4)

Bernstein (2003a) began to examine the ways the forms of pedagogy differed between the contexts of his vehicle maintenance and motor repair class and his other teaching. In particular, his interest was in understanding the implicit structures of meaning within speech and writing between the different pedagogic contexts (p. 4), eventually leading to his initial research into the ways language forms impacted meaning (Sadovnik, 2001, p. 608). Bernstein (2003a) revealed that poetry, due to the nature and spacing of lines, allowed for students to construct personal symbols and meanings implicitly through text. He writes:

I became fascinated by condensation [of language]; by the implicit. In my teaching I covered a range of contents and contexts, and yet, despite the variations, I felt that here was a speech form predicated upon the implicit. (p. 4)

This concept of implicit speech forms became the foundation for his concept of ‘codes,’ which we will now explore.
Code Theory

Bernstein (2003a) reveals that the first use of the concept of ‘codes’ was in 1962 with two papers (‘Linguistic Codes, Hesitation Phenomena and Intelligence’ and ‘Social Class, Linguistic Codes and Grammatical Elements’). In both papers, Bernstein uses the concept of code to “go behind the list of attributes given as indices of public and formal language, and to suggest the underlying regulative principle” (p. 6). Bernstein’s assertion was that forms of communication (and thus their principles of regulation) could be predicted through analysis of various familial structures, and thus social relations impacted forms of communication and their meaning.

Bernstein (1971) suggests:

Without a shadow of a doubt the most formative influence upon the procedures of socialization, from a sociological viewpoint, is social class. The class structure influences work and educational roles and brings families into a special relationship with each other and deeply penetrates the structure of life experiences within the family. (p. 175)

Over the next decade(s), Bernstein would continue to refine the concept of codes. In his 1971 history of the development of ‘code theory,’ these concepts underwent various adaptations and iterations as they interacted in various social and research contexts. While an exhaustive history of this development provides insight, it provides little theoretically to this study, and thus will not be examined in greater detail. Instead, we will now turn to an examination of Bernstein’s ‘restricted’ and ‘elaborated’ codes, and the ways they were theorized as regulating forms of communication.

Restricted and Elaborated Codes. Bernstein (1971a) conceived of codes as different principles through which meaning could be established. And importantly, Bernstein (1971a) highlighted the role social class had in regulating these differentiated meanings. He explains,
“forms of socialization orient the child towards speech codes which control access to relatively context-tied or relatively context-independent meanings” (p. 176). Bernstein termed the context-dependent speech code a “restricted” code, as its use is relatively restricted to a shared and particular social base. Its meanings are often tacitly acquired, requiring less need for “explication or elaboration” (p. 177). Bernstein highlights that his theory draws from scholars in various fields, writing:

Sapir, Malinowski, Firth, Vygotsky and Luria have all pointed out from different points of view that the closer the identifications of speakers the greater the range of shared interests, the more probable that the speech will take a specific form. (p. 176)

Thus, the restricted code relies upon a strong relation to social base, often employing tacit and shared understandings. Meanings using restricted codes are properly understood by those who understand the contexts of the speech. Drawing on Durkheim, restricted codes are related to the profane, in that they represent mundane, everyday discourses which point to present social relations.

Conversely, Bernstein (1971a) highlights that the context-independent speech code, which he terms an “elaborated” code, is less tied to social base and can thus be more universally understood by those who do not share the same contexts (p. 178). With communication employing an elaborated code, language and meaning must be explicit in content and context. Such elaborated codes could be seen as related to Durkheim’s conception of the sacred in that they point to discourses beyond the everyday and are independent of social relations.

Bernstein (1971a) argues that meanings must be intelligible to the listener, and thus one of the principles which determines which code is used in communication is the role of the participants. Restricted codes may be employed within ‘communalized’ roles where the goal is
consensus among participants, particularly those who share a similar context and do not need additional elaboration (p. 178). In situations where elaborated codes are employed, ‘individualized’ roles may be highlighted, where difference between social context requires participants to shift aspects of communication in order to achieve ‘universalistic meanings’ (p. 178).

As previously explored, the orientations to different codes are established through socialization, with a strong emphasis on schooling and family relations. This means, Bernstein (1971a) argues, that socialization within different social classes may differently orient subjects to select different codes. And because elaborated codes orient to meaning beyond a social base, he argues that orientation to such codes provide access to the “principles of intellectual change,” allowing subjects to effectively “access the grounds of their experience,” and in so doing, change these grounds (p. 175). Put simply, Bernstein suggests that the process of socialization to recognize when elaborated codes are being employed and realize their meaning becomes the means by which people can understand—and importantly—change their worlds. And because Bernstein (1971a) identified that distributions of knowledge were differently enacted between social classes, individuals’ familial relations and experiences within school will impact their “access to the sense that the world is permeable” (p. 175).

**Criticisms of Code Theory.** There was one glaring issue with Bernstein’s code theory. This theory was unable to establish *how* these codes were “generated, reproduced and changed as a result of macro (institutional) features of the society, and how they are generated, reproduced and changed at the more micro levels of interactions within the family and within the school” (Bernstein, 1971a, p. 9). Karabel and Halsey (1977) highlighted in particular Bernstein’s
inability to explain how “power relationships penetrate the organization, distribution and evaluation of knowledge through the social context” (p. 347).

Moreover, within the field of education sociology, this work was heavily criticized for its apparent determinism, often cited as a deficit model theory. It is not hard to imagine why—a superficial reading in which social class impacts differential ‘access’ to coding principles which determine social class became all-too-common among sociologists. Davies (2000) illumes, “[Bernstein’s] complex and highly nuanced studies, on the boundaries of linguistics, sociology and psychology, were steadfastly misread as indicating black and working-class language deficit and inevitable relative educational failure” (p. 485). Bernstein recalls that too often his theory was used as a ‘ritual reference,’ but only ever superficially, including by “the uncritical and curious expositions of students in degree, teacher’s certificate, ‘A’ level, and even ‘O’ level examinations” (p. 18). Atkinson (1985) affirms this, writing, “for those who have been exposed to vulgarized and garbled versions of the work, ‘Bernstein’ may be all but synonymous with theories of ‘linguistic deficit’ as explanation of ‘educational failure’” (p. 2). Bernstein’s scholarship would develop towards connecting the micro and macro practices of pedagogy, rooted in the concepts of classification and framing (Sadovnik, 2001). He himself noted that the focus of his thinking shifted in the 70s and 80s, where he began to try to incorporate his work on code theory—the microprocesses of educational interaction—into larger context, “the macro considerations of the constitution and regulation of elaborated codes and their modality” (Bernstein, 2003c, p. 171). This took the form of pedagogic codes, which will now be explored.

**Pedagogic Codes**

Bernstein (2000) suggests that power and control construct relations *between* and *within* forms of interaction and are empirically embedded in one another, despite operating at different
levels of analysis (p. 5). In order to make these relations visible, Bernstein offers a further level of analysis, through the coded principles of classification and framing.

**Power Relations and Classification.** Power relations, Bernstein (2000) writes:

create boundaries, legitimise boundaries, reproduce boundaries, between different categories of groups, gender, class, race, different categories of discourse, different categories of agents. Thus, power always operates to produce dislocations, to produce punctuations in social space. (p. 5)

Put simply, power relations regulate what can be grouped and what can be separated. These relations are used as positioning tools, classifying and dividing so that categories can be ordered. Through these power relations the order of these positions appears to be natural and legitimate (Althusser, 1971). A crucial consideration is that power relations reproduce themselves “by establishing a principle of classification that suppresses its own contradictions and dilemmas that inhere in the very principle of classification” (Bernstein, 1981, p. 336). In other words, power relations establish what appears to be natural, legitimate order and then maintain this through the principle of classification. Categories become the means by which power relations can position and order subjects.

These relations are effectively maintained insofar as the insulation between subjects can be maintained. Bernstein defined his concept of ‘classification’ as the means to “examine relations between categories, whether these categories are between agencies, between agents, between discourses, [and] between practices” (Bernstein, 2000, p. 6). The principle of classification becomes the means by which the degree of insulation can be measured by examining the change in strength of power relations through the varying modality of classificatory strength (visualized as ±C). Categories, according to Bernstein, could be strongly
or weakly classified, depending on the uniqueness of a category’s identity, voice, and its own specialized rules of internal relation (Bernstein, 2000). A change in the strength of insulation becomes the means by which the established arbitrary power relations which were hidden by the principle of classification can be revealed. Revealing these hidden relations, Bernstein argues, would be to the detriment of the group who is responsible for establishing and maintaining these power relations, and thus classification works not only to establish relations between categories, but also works to prevent the weakening of insulation internally.

As previously explored in Chapter 2, musical knowledges represent categories within the school of music whose relations are maintained. In a multiple-department school of music which includes both Western art and jazz departments, this results in the categorization and maintenance of power relations between these different groups. The question is: what is the strength of the classificatory relations between these two categories of jazz and Western art? Are these relations visible through the shift in strength of insulation between these categories? As highlighted by Green (2014), discourses which differently position and legitimize knowledges are often reproduced in ways which benefit those in dominant positions (p. 7), and thus an examination of the shift in classification between these two musical knowledges may make visible the hidden relations between them.

**Control and Framing.** Where power constructs relations between categories, control constructs relations within given forms of interaction, “establish[ing] legitimate forms of communication appropriate to the different categories” (Bernstein, 2000, p. 6). The concept which defines the relation between these controls is *framing*, which “refers to the location of control over the rules of communication” (Sadovnik, 1991, p. 52). Within the context of education, “fram[ing] refers to the degree of control teacher and pupil possess over the selection,
organization, and pacing of knowledge transmitted and received in the pedagogical relationship (Bernstein, 1971/2003, p. 159). In other words, Bernstein (2000) writes, “framing is about who controls what” (p. 12, original emphasis). The strength of framing determines the extent to which the transmission of knowledge is controlled; strong framing gives limited freedom for agents within the transmission of pedagogy, weak framing implies more freedom (Sadovnik, 1991, p. 52). Framing modalities are visualised as ±F. Bernstein (2000) includes a list of items which framing may enact control over, including:

- the selection of the communication; its sequencing (what comes first, what comes second); its pacing (the rate of expected acquisition); the criteria; and the control over the social base which makes this transmission possible (pp. 12–13).

**Pedagogic Message Systems**

Bernstein (1971b) highlights that these codes are realized through three interrelated (albeit distinct) message systems, writing:

Formal educational knowledge can be considered to be realized through three message systems: curriculum, pedagogy and evaluation. Curriculum defines what counts as valid knowledge, pedagogy defines what counts as a valid transmission of knowledge, and evaluation defines what counts as a valid realization of this knowledge on the part of the taught. (p. 47)

The principles of classification and framing, then, become the means by which educational communication is regulated, both in what gets taught (curricula) and the ways in which it gets taught (pedagogy). Classification works to insulate educational contents, where framing determines what is considered a legitimate form of pedagogy. The message system of evaluation will be explored in further detail in our analysis of the rules of the Pedagogic Device.
However, Bernstein notes that classificatory and framing principles exist with *internal* and *external* features (denoted in the following equation as $i \& e$, respectively), depending on spatial boundaries (with classification) and temporal boundaries (with framing) (p. 14). Within the elaborated code structure present in education ($E$), Bernstein visualizes this pedagogic code as:

$$E \pm C^{i\&e} / \pm F^{i\&e}$$

A crucial qualification must be established before moving on: the strength and weakness of classificatory and framing principles are understood as existing within a spectrum. As Bernstein (2000) highlights, these modalities are not dichotomies, but rather oppositional forms with a “range of realisations” (p. xvii). Bernstein’s conceptualization of power and control relations become the foundation for his examination of the processes which regulate the distribution of knowledge in schools, which he terms ‘The Pedagogic Device’ (Bernstein, 2000).

**The Pedagogic Device**

Having established the principles of communication, we can begin to look at the pedagogic device, “the distributive, recontextualizing, and evaluative rules for specializing forms of consciousness” (Bernstein, 2003c, p. 172). This device, according to Bernstein, “provides the intrinsic grammar of pedagogic discourse,” showing how knowledge is recontextualized within the field of education (p. 172). Atkinson (1985) explains that the pedagogic device serves as “a mechanism for the distribution of the ‘thinkable’ among different social groups, for the identification of what may be thought simultaneously implies who may think it” (p. 173).

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3 Bernstein refers to the internal and framing features with regards to control on legitimate communication in different contexts. Bernstein (2000) highlights that classification determines the ‘spatial’ concept of boundary; it cannot be understood away from its temporal concept as regulated through framing relations (p. 206).
However, as the pedagogic device works to control what is ‘thinkable’ knowledge, it carries with it “the shadow of the ‘unthinkable,’” containing within it the means to transform its own principles (Bernstein, 2003c, p. 180). In this way, control over the device becomes contested as multiple players work to see their own ideologies reproduced. According to Bernstein, the three rules of the device—the distributive, recontextualizing, and evaluative rules—are related hierarchically, in that “the distributive rules regulate the recontextualizing rules, which in turn regulate the rules of evaluation” (Bernstein 2003c, p. 172). We will begin with an examination of the distributive rules.

**Distributive Rules.** The first rules of the pedagogic device are the distributive rules, which work to “regulate the fundamental relation between power, social groups, forms of consciousness and practice, and their reproductions and productions” (p. 172). In short, distributive rules set the outer limits on what is considered ‘thinkable’ and who is ‘allowed’ to think it. These distributive rules represent the first step in generating pedagogic discourse—only ‘thinkable’ knowledge could necessarily be considered ‘legitimate’ knowledge that is worthy of inclusion within pedagogy. As previously explained, in societies with simple divisions of labour, it was the dominant religious system that maintains control of the boundary between ‘thinkable’ and ‘unthinkable’ knowledge. Today, as western society has shifted towards a much more complex division of labour, and the control of the Christian church upon western society has weakened, the dominant system responsible for establishing the boundaries of ‘thinkable’ and ‘unthinkable’ is the higher education system (Bernstein, 2003c, pp. 172–173). Distributive rules regulate this distinction between thinkable/unthinkable and therefore regulate “the degree of insulation between groups, practices, and contexts and between differently specialized principles of communication” working thus to regulate principles of classification and framing (p. 178).
Drawing upon Chapter 2, we can see the ways distributive rules impact the thinkability and thus legitimacy of Western art and jazz musical knowledges in higher education. Boundaries are established between categories, and principles of classification regulate and maintain the strength of these boundaries. Examination of the distributive rules with the multiple-department school of music may lead us to question who is establishing these boundaries and which forms of curricula or pedagogy are categorized. We may ask: who benefits from strong classification of these categories and their knowledges? Which identities (of categories, agents, etc) are strengthened through this classification? How and in what ways does this classification impact the hierarchical position of these different categories? In the same way, distributive rules impact framing relations, forcing us to examine the ways distributive rules may play a role in the selection of particular forms of communication and acquisition / assessment practices. These will be further explored when we consider different pedagogic models. For now, however, we understand distributive rules as determining the legitimacy of knowledges as legitimate or worthy of inclusion within the school of music.

**Recontextualizing Rules and Pedagogic Discourse.** From the distributive rules we establish what is considered ‘thinkable’ knowledge. The next rules are the recontextualizing rules, which regulate the constitution of specific pedagogic discourse, defined by Bernstein (2003c) as “the rules for embedding and relating two discourses” (p. 172). The first of these two discourses is instructional discourse, which “regulates the rules which constitute the legitimate variety, internal and relational features of specialized competences” (p. 179). In short, it is a discourse of competence which comprises all that is explicitly taught in school. The second is regulative discourse, “the rules of which regulate what counts as legitimate order between and within transmitters, acquirers, competences, and contexts” (p. 179). In short, it is a discourse of
moral and social order which is tacitly taught (p.174). Bernstein asserted that the instructional discourse is embedded within the regulative discourse and is dominated by it, seeing instructional discourse and regulative discourse not as separate discourses but “as one embedded discourse producing one embedded inseparable text” (p. 179). He visualized this relationship as

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PD = \frac{ID}{RD}
\]

Pedagogic discourse comprises the set of what is taught, both explicitly and tacitly, within education. It is comprised of other discourses which are de-located, relocated and recontextualized. Through this process of de-location and relocation, “the social basis of [the original discourse’s] practice, including its power relations, is removed” (p. 175). The principle of pedagogic discourse then takes the discourse it has relocated and reorders and refocuses it to serve its purpose of selective transmission.

According to Bernstein, the process of recontextualization within the pedagogic device produces two social fields: the official recontextualizing field (ORF) and the pedagogic recontextualizing field (PRF) (Apple, 2002). The official recontextualizing field “is constituted and dominated by a core of officials from state pedagogic agencies and ministries” and creates an official pedagogic discourse (Bernstein, 2003c, p. 187, emphasis mine). The pedagogic recontextualizing field, meanwhile, is comprised of all the members of pedagogy—teachers, education publishers, research foundations, etc.—and produces the non-official pedagogic discourse. Through the process of discourses shifting from the field of production to the field of reproduction, Bernstein argues that there is ‘space’ for agents within the field of reproduction to recontextualize the discourse—thus ideologically transforming it—before it is transmitted to the acquirers. Singh et al. (2013) write, “when a text is moved from its original site to a pedagogic site, the movement creates a gap or space where interruption, disruption and change can take
place” (p. 469). In this way, reproducers have an important role to play in the recontextualization of discourse, the degree of which is dependent on the space between the ORF and PRF and the autonomy of those in the pedagogic recontextualizing field which is determined by the strength of control the ORF holds over the PRF. If framing is strong, then the PRF may have less autonomy to recontextualize discourses, and the ideological values of the ORF become the only values reproduced through pedagogic discourse. As official educational policy increases control upon the PRF, the space between both fields diminishes and consequently so too the difference in their discourses. In this way, increasing control of the PRF by the ORF limits the available space for change. Singh et al. suggest that “autonomy and struggles over pedagogic texts and practices occur within the PRFs, and between this field and the ORF” (p. 468). In this way, the recontextualizing rules become the means by which we can analyze the change in pedagogic discourse as it changes from the field of official production—the ORF—to the field of enactment: the PRF (p. 468). As we will explore later, Bernstein notes the difficulty in revealing these struggles in practice within the university, given the roles of professors as positioned within both the fields of production and reproduction—the producers of official knowledge, as well as the pedagogic recontextualisers.

**Evaluative Rules.** While education research writ large has focused a great deal on Bernstein’s distributive and recontextualizing rules, much less attention has been given to the final rule of the pedagogic device, the evaluative rules (Gibbons, 2019). Bernstein writes:

The [evaluative] rules regulate pedagogic practice at the classroom level, for they define the standards which must be reached. Inasmuch as they do this, then evaluative rules act selectively on contents, the form of transmission and their distribution to different groups of [students] in different contexts. (Bernstein 2000, p. 115, from Gibbons, 2019, p. 838)
Put simply, the evaluative rules determine what counts as legitimate acquisition of knowledge and work to regulate the modes of assessment. In order for students to demonstrate their acquisition of the transmitted pedagogical knowledge, they need to understand how to produce the desired results based upon their ability to demonstrate an understanding of ‘recognition rules’ and ‘realization rules’ (Bernstein, 2000, p. 125). Recognition rules determine the student’s ability to recognize the type of knowledge they are being assessed on. These rules are tied to the classificatory principles of insulation and division, and students must demonstrate they understand what ‘counts’ as legitimate knowledge within the context in which they are being assessed (p. 17). Realization rules regulate a student’s ability to understand the rules of assessment and produce or ‘realize’ an appropriate answer, example or other product demonstrating their acquisition of content within the context of evaluation (p. 18). Together, recognition rules and realization rules work to determine not only what counts as valid knowledge, but also what counts as a valid realization of that knowledge within the mode of assessment.

With these three rules, we can see the ways the pedagogic device selects and legitimates knowledge, recontextualizes this knowledge into forms of pedagogic discourse, and regulates the acquisition of this knowledge through its modes of assessment. Thus what ‘counts’ as valid knowledge and valid ways of knowing this knowledge are regulated by the pedagogic device, which consequently works to socially reproduce the ideology of the group which controls the device. It becomes the means by which we can examine the Pedagogic Device: both “‘the carrier’ (or relay) of knowledge and ‘the carried’ (what is relayed)” (Gibbons, 2019, p. 837). Bernstein and Solomon (1999) suggest:
The pedagogic device, the condition for the materialising of symbolic control, is the object of a struggle for domination, for the group who appropriates the device has access to a ruler and distributor of consciousness, identity and desire. The question is whose ruler, in whose interests or for what consciousness, desire and identity (p. 269).

This ruler of consciousness becomes the dominant voice within the pedagogic field, whose interests and ideologies are reproduced by controlling all aspects of the pedagogic discourse—its content, and its forms of transmission.

Through the examination of the three message systems of school knowledge—curriculum, pedagogy, and evaluation—we can begin to see the ways pedagogic discourse is regulated. This happens, as Bernstein writes, at different levels of interaction: the macro levels of the larger social field, the meso levels of the educational department, and the micro levels of individual pedagogic interaction (2003c, p. 171). Thus an examination of the message systems within these different levels of interaction will produce a complex structure of communication relations.

This theoretical model provides a language of description for the examination of the principles of communication within the multiple-department school of music. Through this model we can examine the ‘thinkability’ of knowledges through the distributive rule, the de-location and relocation of these knowledges to produce pedagogic discourse with the recontextualizing rule and the ways valid expressions of these knowledges are produced through the evaluative rules.

**Secondary Theoretical Concepts**

*Identity, Voice, and Message.* Within this study, the term ‘identity’ refers to one’s pedagogic identity; that which is constructed consequentially through ‘pedagogic discursive
specialisation’ (p. 203) and maintained through “the classificatory relation to other pedagogic discourses” (Bernstein, 2000, p. 203). Bernstein elucidates:

A pedagogic identity is the result of embedding a career in a collective base. The career of a student is a knowledge career, a moral career and a locational career. The collective base of that career is provided by the principle of social order […] expected to be relayed in schools and institutionalized by the state. (p. 66)

Bernstein notes that pedagogic identity is established by both classificatory and framing relations which work to regulate the ‘voice’ and the ‘message’ of the identity, respectively. Classificatory principles and are essentially concerned with controlling the potential limits of an identity’s legitimate discourse, which Bernstein (2000) terms the ‘voice’ of the identity (p. 204). However, Bernstein points out that classificatory controls on discourses only limit what can be said; in this way, classificatory principles regulate the range of possible discourses but do not establish the discourse itself, which Bernstein terms the ‘message’ (p. 204). This ‘message’ constitutes “what [is] said and the form of its contextual realisation” (p. 204, original emphasis). Bernstein suggests that the message is a function of framing, writing “the stronger the framing, the smaller the space accorded for potential variation in the message (what was said and its contextual realisation” (p. 204).

The importance of describing pedagogic identity through this lens, Bernstein suggests, is that it demonstrates a tension between the voice and message and offers a space for the framing relations to change the classificatory principles. In other words, the message may play a role in shifting power relations (p. 204). This qualification demonstrates the complexity of identities of both categories and agents and the roles that power and control relations play in the regulation and potential change of identity.
Consciousness. Bernstein (2000) explains that “the rules of the pedagogic device are essentially implicated in the distribution of, and constraints upon, the various forms of consciousness” (p. 28). Consciousness refers to the way one realizes what count as ‘thinkable’ or ‘unthinkable’ forms of knowledges. It is comparable, although not reducible, to the beliefs and values agents hold within the field (Lamnias, 2002). In this way, forms of consciousness are regulated through the distribution of different forms of knowledge. Bernstein (2000) identifies that agents’ abilities to recognize themselves within the ‘acoustic of the school’ are tied to the ways forms of consciousness are mirrored through the ideology of the school (p. xxi). In other words, the regulation and maintenance of consciousness—in the same way as pedagogic identity—is tied to the principles of classification and framing. The shift in these principles will impact who sees themselves as of value through their alignment with the dominant image of the school’s ideology.

Pedagogic Models and their Modes

Bernstein (2000) demonstrates how principles of classification and framing are implicated in the producing different pedagogic models, which he terms ‘performance’ and ‘competence’ models. Furthermore, each of these models can be realized through various modes. These concepts have been explored in much further detail (see Bernstein, 2000) and a full-scope examination of pedagogic models and their specific modes is beyond the scope of this chapter. However, an introductory examination will prove useful for describing pedagogic practices and their principles of communication, as these offer broad structures through which the pedagogic practices of the Eastern Urban School of Music may be organized.

Performance Model. The first model we will explore is the ‘performance model.’ Bernstein (2000) writes:
A performance model of pedagogic practice and context places the emphasis upon a specific output of the acquirer, upon a particular text the acquirer is expected to construct and upon the specialised skills necessary to the production of this specific output, text or product. (p. 44)

Performance models are focused on diagnosing and repairing ‘deficits’ within student knowledge, using a structured format to ensure a standard and specific product. Bernstein highlights that “performance modes focus upon something that the acquirer does not possess, upon an absence, and as a consequence place the emphasis upon the text to be acquired and so upon the transmitter” (p. 57). Such a model and its modes may be familiar to readers; Bernstein (2000) reports that “performance modes are empirically normal across all levels of official education” (p. 51). Within the field of music education in North America, this model may take many forms and may be recognizable within the normative ‘triumvirate’ of wind band, orchestra, and chorus (Montemayor et al., 2018). Performance models and their modes often feature strong classification and framing, often enacted through top-down teaching models through which discourses and their realizations within assessment are explicit and acquirers have less control over selection, sequence, and pace (Bernstein, 2000, p. 45). Such a model might be understood through Allsup’s (2008) analysis of band methods which often feature rationalized, efficient pedagogy designed to hold acquirer’s attention. He cites an interview with a California band director who recalls, “I follow the 10-second rule, meaning I rarely stop for more than 10 seconds. I have had colleagues time me to be sure I quickly diagnose a problem, give instruction, and start the ensemble playing again” (p. 159).

**Competence Model.** Bernstein (2000) illustrates that there was a convergence of multiple disciplines in the 1990s focused on the concept of ‘competence.’ Bernstein was
fascinated with this convergence for two main reasons. The first is that these disciplinary fields (Linguistics, Psychology, Social Anthropology, Sociology and Sociolinguistics) had “divorced, even opposed, epistemological roots” (p. 44), however, they were united through an anti-positivist position. The second is that despite these fields not being connected with education, competence today is central to educational theory and practice (p. 44). Competences, Bernstein (2000) writes, “are intrinsically creative and tacitly acquired in informal interactions. They are practical accomplishments” (p. 42).

A competence model is founded upon the theory that “there is an in-built procedural democracy, an in-built creativity, an in-built virtuous self-regulation. And if it is not in-built, the procedures arise out of, and contribute to social practice, with a creative potential” (Bernstein, 2000, p. 43). As we explored previously, the concepts of pedagogic models are not constructed within a dichotomy, rather, as oppositional forms. Bernstein (2000) highlights the ways principles of communication point to these different models through their impact on features shared between both: categories (space, time, discourse); evaluation orientation; control; pedagogic text; autonomy; economy (p. 45). Competence models feature weaker classification, focusing on what is present within the acquirer’s product, rather than performance models which focus on what is missing in the product (p. 46). Whereas performance modes were seen as ‘normative’ within the field of education, competence modes “may be seen as interrupts or resistances to this normality or may be appropriated by official education for specific and local purposes” (p. 51).

What can be seen from the examples above of performance and competence models of pedagogy is that these models work to distribute and regulate the message systems of pedagogy—what is taught, how it is taught, and how it is assessed. The purpose of these,
Bernstein (2000) reveals, is to produce and institutionalize particular pedagogic identities. While a full examination of pedagogic identities is beyond the scope of this dissertation, it is necessary that we introduce retrospective identities (R.I.) and their function as they will appear in our data analysis.

**Pedagogic Identities: Introducing Retrospective Identities (R.I.)**

Bernstein (2000) admitted that his conception of pedagogic identities emerged from his experience within the UK educational system, and thus may not accurately be applied to other contexts such as the North American higher education context in which this study finds itself. However, his conception of retrospective identities offers a unique look at the relationship between legitimated musical knowledges, their particular forms of regulation, and their role in shaping and maintaining identity and consciousness. He writes:

Retrospective identities (or R.I.) are shaped by national religious, cultural, grand narratives of the past. These narratives are appropriately recontextualized to stabilise that past in the future. An important feature of the resources that construct R.I. is that the discourse does not enter into an exchange relation with the economy. The bias, focus, and management here leads to a tight control over discursive *inputs* of education, that is its contents, *not* over its *outputs*. R.I.s are formed by hierarchically ordered, strongly bounded, explicitly stratified, and sequenced discourses and practices. What is foregrounded in the construction of the R.I. is the collective social base as revealed by the recontextualised grand narrative of the past. The individual careers [are] of less interest. What is at stake here is stabilising the past and projecting it into the future. (Bernstein, 2000, pp. 66–67, original emphasis)
As we will see in Chapters 5 and 6, the Eastern Urban School of Music includes a broad range of pedagogic practices with various classification and framing modalities. In many cases, findings from this study indicate that this additionally includes pedagogic discourses which point to retrospective identities. While this will be explored in much greater detail in following chapters, for now it is important to introduce this concept of pedagogic identity and the ways modalities of classification and framing distribute forms of discourse which differentially value pedagogic inputs and outputs.

**Chapter Summary**

This chapter outlines the theoretical framework for this project, describing the concepts which become the vehicle for examination throughout the case study project. While admittedly dense in terms of abstract conceptualization, it serves to present a foundation through which the research topic and questions are situated, and through which collected data can be analyzed. It may be beneficial now to re-examine the research questions underpinning the study and describe the ways this theory supports them:

1. What is the nature of legitimate musical knowledge within the multiple-department school of music?
   a. What are the forms of regulation which work to differently select and maintain this knowledge?

2. How and in what ways do these forms of regulation differently shape the consciousness and identities of agents and agencies?

The first question (1.) and its sub-question (1. a) can be explored through close examination of the first rules of the Pedagogic Device, the distributive rules. These rules become means through which knowledges are established as ‘legitimate’ and worthy of transmission within the multiple-
department school of music. The principles of classification establish the boundaries of acceptable musical knowledges within the various departments of the school of music through the maintenance of power relations. How categories between knowledges are established and maintained will impact their pedagogic identities and their status as ‘thinkable’ within these departments. The principles of framing will further establish what legitimate forms of pedagogy look like within the various departments. These are revealed through examination of practices and contexts within pedagogic modes.

Question (2.) is closely related to evaluative rules. These rules are key to make visible the forms of regulation which select and maintain these knowledges and their effects upon consciousness and pedagogic identity. What counts as legitimate recognition of assessment criteria (understood through principles of classification) and realization of an appropriate response (understood through principles of framing) impact regulation of knowledges, and thus examination of recognition and realisation rules becomes central to understanding how consciousness is regulated through acquisition of pedagogic discourses. Moreover, these knowledges exist as pedagogic discourses within the school of music which have been recontextualized from an original discourse. Through exploring schisms and differences between the ORF and PRF, principles of recontextualization may be revealed which impact the consciousness of agents within the social arena of the multiple-department school of music. Such distinctions may further be analyzed through the various pedagogic models and their modes, which work to reveal the principles of communication and their code modalities.
CHAPTER IV

METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

The fundamental methodological problem of any human science lies in the division [découpage] of the object of study . . . Once this decision has been made and accepted, the results will be practically predictable.⁴ (Goldmann, 1971, cited in Bhaskar, 2009, p. 70)

In this chapter I will examine the methodological considerations that have shaped the design of this study. These considerations, alongside the research topics, questions, and theoretical framing of the study, ensure that questions of what is being researched, why it is being researched, and how it is being researched align. Chapters 2 and 3 have explored the purposes of the research and the lenses being used to examine data; however, they may not presuppose a particular research paradigm. Or, at the very least, they do not explicitly determine the paradigm, although the ideologies from which they emerged offer indications regarding the shape the methodology may take (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). Merriam and Tisdell (2016) explain that researchers must “consider whether the design is a comfortable match with [their] worldview, personality, and skills,” in order to ensure that the philosophical foundations for their research design aligns with their own (p. 1). In this section I will explore the assumptions of value which direct this research, the methodological frame of this research, the individual methods for collecting these data, and considerations for ensuring the ‘validity’ of the research findings.

Understanding the Research Paradigm

This particular research topic is concerned with understanding how the pedagogic transmission of knowledges within the Eastern Urban School of Music impacts identities and

⁴ Original text: Le problème méthodologique fondamental de toute science humaine—surtout lorsqu’on se situe dans une perspective structuraliste et historique—réside dans le découpage de l’objet d’étude et, dans le cas particulier, dans le découpage des structures significatives. Une fois ce découpage fait et admis, les résultats de la recherche seront pratiquement prévisibles et d’éventuelles erreurs concrètes de méthodologie facilement corrigeables.
consciousness of agents. At the heart of this inquiry is an examination of the thoughts, beliefs, values, and experiences of agents within this social space, and importantly, their interpretation of these experiences. For these reasons, it was necessary to construct a research design which aligned with and emerged from a paradigm wherein the subjective experiences of participants are valued. Every research paradigm is positioned by the ontological and epistemological values from which it emerged—from beliefs surrounding the nature of ‘reality’ and ‘knowledge,’ respectively (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011; Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

In the case of qualitative research, there is an assumption that knowledge is constructed through the interpretation of agents’ experiences (Creswell, 2013) and, as such, they construct their ‘realities’ socially and historically. As Merriam and Tisdell (2016) elucidate, “qualitative researchers are interested in understanding how people interpret their experiences, how they construct their worlds, and what meaning they attribute to their experiences” (p. 6). Such a position would likely be labeled ‘postpositivist,’ representing a departure from the positivist era which held an “ontological assumption of a single, tangible reality,” and an “epistemological assumption about the possibility of separation of the observer from the observed—the knower from the known.” (Lincoln and Guba, 1985, p. 28).

What Lincoln and Guba (1985) term ‘naturalistic’ research design is concerned with the meanings participants construct within their subjective realities. Central to this research is an examination of how forms of regulation shape pedagogic practice in situ, including an examination of how practices and the strengths of their organizing principles have shifted among disciplines over time, and how these shape the consciousness of agents within the social arena. In this way, engagement in qualitative research may prove the most compelling means of conducting research. Denzin and Lincoln (2005) describe qualitative research as:
a situated activity that locates the observers in the world. It consists of a set of interpretive, material practices that make the world visible. These practices transform the world. They turn the world into a series of representations, including field notes, interviews, conversations, photographs, recordings, and memos to the self. At this level, qualitative research involves an interpretive, naturalistic approach to the world. This means that qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them. (p. 3)

This focus on interpretations of phenomena in situated activity harmonizes with the purpose and aims of this project. Delamont (2020) suggests that in qualitative sociology of education, the focus is on the sociological analysis of interactions, the knowledge being transmitted and acquired, and ways in which the actors make sense of their interactions, their social relationships and the transmission of knowledge and skills (p. 6).

Delamont’s statement resonates strongly with the topics and interests of this research project. This form of qualitative design aligns closer to this proposed research topic than a quantitative design. By virtue of the research focus on engaging with participants to understand what counts as legitimate musical knowledge, its forms of regulation and the ways these forms work to shape the consciousness of students, assumptions of value are reflected which align with the qualitative research paradigm. Merriam and Tisdell (2016) contextualize Lincoln and Guba’s (1985) work by stating that:

a study was ‘naturalistic’ if it took place in a real-world setting rather than a laboratory, and whatever was being observed and studied was allowed to happen ‘naturally’ . . . it is also discovery-oriented research, in which the findings are not predetermined. (p. 7)
For these reasons, a qualitative research design was selected for this study as the most meaningful framework through which to engage with the research topic and answer the questions posed.

However, this shift towards research which explores the experiences of participants is not without its critics. Bernstein (1974) himself highlights that subjective reports may be incomplete and ‘misleading,’ as the interpretation and understandings of agents is informed by the very social field in which they find themselves and thus are produced in contexts of unequal power. Cohen et al. (2007) describe how these risks may manifest:

The danger of interactionist and interpretive approaches is their relative neglect of the power of the external—structured—forces to shape behaviour and events. There is a risk in interpretive approaches that they become hermetically sealed from the world outside the participants’ theatre of activity—they put artificial boundaries around subjects’ behaviour. Just as positivistic theories can be criticized for their macro-sociological persuasion, so interpretative and qualitative theories can be criticized for their narrowly micro-sociological perspectives. (p. 26)

It is crucial that the study methodology accounts for these perspectives, ensuring that data exploring agents’ interpretations are understood within the context in which they are constructed and not, as Cohen et al. (2007) note, “hermetically sealed from the world outside the participants’ theatre of activity,” thus addressing Bernstein’s (1974) concerns of the ‘incomplete’ nature of interpretive accounts. For these reasons, this study adopts a case study methodology, which will now be explored.
On the Selection of Case Study

This research project employs a case study design methodology as the primary means of exploring the phenomenon of pedagogic musical knowledge through the social practices of agents within the Eastern Urban School of Music. While many qualitative research methodologies may be adopted to examine the nature of musical knowledge, its forms of regulation, and how these shape the consciousnesses of subjects, case study is unique in that its focus is a bounded system (Ragin, 1992; Smith, 1978). In the specific instance of the study, the ‘case’ in question is the pedagogic discourse of a university school of music (Cohen et al., 2000; Merriam & Tisdell, 2016; Stake, 2010; Yin, 2014). This aligns with Yin’s (2014) rationale for conducting case study research, for one who wants to “understand a real-world case and assume[s] that such an understanding is likely to involve important contextual conditions pertinent to your case” (p. 16). Certainly, as explored previously in Chapter 3, pedagogic music discourse is produced within the context of the higher education school of music: the two are inextricably linked. It may be useful to think of the two, as Thomas (2011) suggests, as a subject (the context of inquiry—the Eastern Urban School of Music) and an object (musical knowledge and its forms of regulation) (see Barrett, 2014, p. 117). Thus, a case study provides the ideal means of inquiry for this study as, Merriam and Tisdell (2016) write, “other types of qualitative research—such as ethnography, phenomenology, narrative, and so on—are defined by the focus of the study, not the unit of analysis” (p. 39). Bernsteinian analyses of pedagogic discourse are bounded within the school of music education practices, and as such the theoretical framework established through the research questions also serves as a boundary for what counts as related data for the focus of this study. Put simply, the case itself is delimited not by the physical boundary of the university school of music, but by the boundary of the pedagogic discourse. As
Yin (2014) explains, “a case study . . . investigates a contemporary phenomenon (the ‘case’) within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context may not be clearly evident” (p. 16). The boundary between what counts as pedagogic musical knowledge within a school of music and the school of music itself, we can safely argue, is extremely difficult to separate. This is especially true when considering Bernstein’s (2003c) concept of recontextualisation: ‘original knowledge’ within a context is transformed into ‘pedagogic knowledge’ through the regulative principles of selection, organization, and transmission which are at the heart of the pedagogic process. In this way, separating the phenomenon (the pedagogic discourse of ‘musical knowledge’) from its context (the school of music) is almost (if not) impossible to do. For these reasons, a case design methodology serves to provide the most meaningful framework for conducting this study, for exploring legitimate musical knowledge within the Eastern Urban School of Music.

**Data Collection**

Merriam and Tisdell (2016) reveal that qualitative case studies use a wide range of data collection tools in order to explore the bounded object of study. According to Barrett (2014), given their “open-ended and flexible” nature, case studies may employ multiple strategies for the collection and analysis of data. Thus, it is the responsibility of researchers to determine the value of strategies by their ability to:

- [bind] the case (the subject), articulating its conceptual or analytical frameworks (the object), employing appropriate and multiple strategies for data generation, addressing clear purposes, and providing a detailed report of the case that is particularistic and complex. (p. 118)
Likewise, within this study, a number of tools were used simultaneously in order to understand the case of the EUSM. These different forms of data additionally interacted with one another, serving to triangulate materials and ultimately add richness and depth to the inquiry (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005; Lincoln et al., 2011). After all, Denzin and Lincoln (2005) observe, “qualitative researchers deploy a wide range of interconnected and interpretive methods, always seeking better ways to make more understandable the worlds of experience they have studied” (p. 21). In this way, a picture of the bounded system of the EUSM was painted by the researcher through the codes and themes which emerged from these distinct yet supplementary forms of data.

Denzin and Lincoln (2005) suggest that qualitative research methods serve to form a bricolage whose process may resemble the act of jazz improvisation, creating “the sense that images, sounds, and understandings are blending together, overlapping, forming a composite, a new creation” (p. 4). These different methods of data collection include participant interviews, classroom observations, field notes, and analysis of documents. Because of the nature of conducting a research study during the COVID-19 pandemic, each of these data collection tools was additionally designed to be adaptable and flexible to meet the needs of agents within the school of music while also meeting the ethical guidelines established in the ethics proposal for this study.

Approval for this study, including all forms of communication, and all facets of data collection was acquired from the Western University Non-Medical Research Ethics Board (NMREB) on June 3, 2021. This indicated that the study design was judged to be in compliance with the principles of the 2018 document “Tri-Council Policy Statement: Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans” (TCPS2) (Canadian Institutes of Health Research et al., 2018), a policy for Canadian federal research agencies. Written consent was obtained from all participants.
and included express consent for direct quotations of responses to be included in the study. Separate Letters of Information and Consent were designed and distributed for interviews and observations (see Appendices A and B). Students were informed that their participation in the study would have no impact upon their grades in any way and they could, at any time, change their response and choose not to participate. All observation and interview participants were further asked to provide a pseudonym to deidentify them throughout the study findings. For those who chose not to include a pseudonym, one was provided for them. I now include brief explanations of the rationales for each data collection tool.

**Document Analysis**

To see the shift of strength of classification and framing, both *between* categories and *within* categories, it was necessary that I incorporate some method of collecting data of or pertaining to the past. Case study design incorporates multiple means of doing so, through both document analysis and personal narrative. Document analysis provides a crucial means of demonstrating the change in strength of classification and framing over time as these documents reflect the content as they were originally penned/published.

Bowen (2009) defines document analysis as “a systematic procedure for reviewing or evaluating documents—both printed and electronic (computer-based and Internet-transmitted) material” (p. 27). Throughout the data collection process of this study, documents provided key information which shaped the study direction and its findings. Documents included: course outlines, assignments, program requirements, online interviews, concert programs, information on webpages, visual displays, advertisements on bulletin boards, and more. A complete list of documents used within the data analysis is available in Chapter 5 (Table 5).
One of the primary limitations of documents as a form of data is that they are not normally produced for the purposes of research and thus may not generate information in a useful way for research projects. Merriam and Tisdell (2016) explain that this may especially be the case when used as secondary sources to verify other points of data. However, they suggest that documents can be very useful throughout the processes of category building and constructing theory (p. 181). As is further explored in Chapter 5, documents such as the mission statement of the school of music and its core values were drawn upon to construct an initial framework through which data were coded and analyzed, intersecting closely with the pre-coded data found in field observations and virtual interviews.

*Field Observations*

Field observations played an important role in generating context and data directly related to the nature of musical knowledges within the Eastern Urban School of Music. Merriam and Tisdell (2016) highlight two features of field observation which distinguish it from interviews:

- observations take place in the setting where the phenomenon of interest naturally occurs rather than a location designated for the purpose of interviewing; [and] observational data represent a firsthand encounter with the phenomenon of interest rather than a secondhand account of the world obtained in an interview. (p. 137)

While this first-hand account is ideal for understanding the bounded case as a social field and the nature of the musical knowledges within it, one consideration of this data collection method is the researcher. Pertaining to the question “what counts as legitimate musical knowledge,” the researcher can and arguably must engage with the process, however, it is through the perspectives of participants within the field of study that these data are made meaningful.

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Additionally, one of the limitations of field observation as data is what the researcher is capable of seeing and hearing. As Wolcott (1992) explains, “qualitative researchers, like others whose roles demand selective attentiveness—artists and novelists, detectives and spies, guards and thieves, to name a few—pay special attention to a few things to which others ordinarily give only passing attention” (pp. 22-23, cited in Merriam & Tisdell, 2016, p. 138). Tobias (2014) affirms this, writing “generating and recording the range and density of data that one might address when observing participants create or perform music requires concentration, coordination, analysis, and decision-making to determine what data to generate and the most appropriate process for doing so” (p. 289). Meaningful field observation, then, is that which the researcher can use in order to bring context into their other forms of data collection, which can then be triangulated through interviews and documents (Wolcott, 1992). Field observations are not limited to social interactions; the physical context of the school of music also provides meaningful data and points of examination (Kingsbury, 1984; Nettl, 1992). However, given the disruption in traditional field observations due to the coronavirus pandemic, the specifics of field observation protocol were made necessarily flexible to accommodate multiple classroom models, including in-person and virtual instruction. As will be seen in Chapter 5, such consideration allowed for different classroom contexts to be observed, revealing interesting and intersecting data.

**Interviews**

As Green (2014a) illustrates, at the heart of sociological research is an obligation to “ask people what they think about things, and what they mean by things” (p. 10). Personal narrative is at the heart of this research process, as it provides key context for analysing the collected document and observation data. DeMarrais (2004) defines a research interview as “a process in which a researcher and participant engage in a conversation focused on questions related to a
research study” (p. 55, cited in Merriam, & Tisdell, 2016, p. 108). Interviews of participants surrounding the topic of “what counts as musical knowledge” within the higher-education school of music are interested primarily with the experiences of agents in the pedagogic field: administrators, professors, and students (Bernstein, 2003b). Jackson (2017) warns that research about music and the experiences of individuals will continue to “recycle the same themes” until researchers are willing to open space for participants to tell their stories (p. 42). Jackson writes of his own experience conducting interviews with jazz musicians,

the simple act of turning the tables methodologically in interviews—so that the musicians were asking the questions—resulted in information about musical tastes, stylistic boundaries, tradition, and a host of other issues that I might not have gained through my pre-set interview protocol. (p. 42)

Jackson cites Art Taylor’s (1993) popular collection of interviews *Notes and Tones: Musician-To-Musician Interviews* as an example of how giving space for participants to share their experiences in a semi-structured interview environment can lead to more meaningful data (p. 39). It is perhaps the interview method which is the most influenced by the initial enculturation period. Stauffeř (2014) explains, “stories are relational phenomena—unique to the individual, constructed from her experiences, shared between teller and listener, and told in different ways depending on time and context as well as the relationship between speaker and listener” (p. 177).

In other words, the relationship that is built during this research process will directly have an impact on what participants share, and how they share it. Finn and Holton (2020) describe the importance of ‘place’ when conducting interviews; the context in which the interview is situated may influence what is said, writing “indeed, selecting an appropriate site for qualitative research encounters to unfold is as much a part of the methodology design as selecting the methods
themselves” (p. 142). This was certainly the case for this research project, as many participants did not request to be interviewed until later in the semester, after I had been present as a member of the school of music for months and was seen by them as a part of the school of music. In order to accommodate students while abiding by pandemic protocols, interviews were collected virtually. Because of this, my rapport with students in-person at the school of music was paramount to establishing a relationship through which they shared their experiences.

A semi-structured interview guide was approved by the NMREB (see Appendix C), serving as a broad map by which interviews would follow to best understand participants’ experiences. The questions included on the interview guide were designed to elicit data to answer the research questions, focused around revealing participants’ beliefs surrounding the nature and forms of musical knowledges within the school of music and the impact they perceive this has had upon their identities and consciousness. Decisions surrounding which questions were ultimately posed in the virtual interviews were informed by my own experiences and observations as researcher at the Eastern Urban School of Music and were informed additionally by the relationship that I had established with each participant. This ensured that the interview questions were focused on answering the research questions while accounting for the contexts of researcher and interview participants.

**Data Analysis**

A primary consideration for this research was how data would be organized and analyzed. This impacted all aspects of the study design, additionally playing a role in the presentation of the data, even impacting the organization of the dissertation document. Given the exploratory nature of the research questions, themes from the findings of the data collection were
emergent. For this reason, a streamlined codes-to-theory model (Saldaña, 2013) was employed which afforded space for categories to emerge from the collected data (see Figure 2).

**Figure 2:**

*Saldaña’s (2013) Streamlined Codes-to-Theory Model*

These categories were established through the grouping of ‘codes’ throughout the data, a concept which will now be explored.

**Data Coding**

Throughout the data collection process, codes emerged which organized and grouped data into potential categories. These categories were renegotiated as boundaries and interactions
between and within coding groups shifted; after all, Saldaña (2013) suggests, “rarely will anyone get coding right the first time. Qualitative inquiry demands meticulous attention to language and deep reflection on the emergent patterns and meanings of human experience” (p. 10). Initial codes were largely based upon aspects and concepts related to understanding the research questions through an education sociology lens and, in particular, through the lens of Bernstein’s (2000) theory of the pedagogic device. In this way, codes were based upon understanding and revealing the distributive, recontextualising, and evaluative rules which impacted the different message systems of pedagogy within the EUSM.

Codes were reframed multiple times throughout the data collection process. As data were collected, codes were ascribed manually in various ways. For classes which were audio recorded, hand-written notes were additionally taken which included researcher comments, notes, and insights. If data revealed something interesting, a timestamp would be included in the notes which corresponded to the audio recording, often accompanied by a comment. At times, this was used to offer visual context which was not otherwise available during audio recording. Other times, it served simply as a form of ‘pre-coding’ (Saldaña, 2013), providing a first impression. As data were collected and manually transcribed, highlighting was used to foreground different points of interest, data which specifically related to or helped answer research questions, and data which related to the theoretical underpinnings of the study. It additionally served as a reminder to member-check various points of interest, providing a quick way to visually organize data when preparing for the next day of observations, or preparing for an interview. Throughout the process of coding, in all its forms (journaling, pre-coding, etc), my own experiences as researcher played a significant role in how these codes were organized, for what purpose, understanding that I
brought into the research my own personal history, gender, social class, race, and ethnicity into the interactions with others (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005, p. 6).

As the Fall 2021 semester continued, more and more data began to emerge. Concerts, bulletin boards, student conversations, course content and outlines, concert programmes, and online documents began to offer unique points of interest which intersected with the data I had already collected, providing springboards for other avenues of data exploration. Thus, the process of coding began to co-exist beside the equally important process of re-coding data, and the beginnings of categories began to emerge as coded and re-coded data interacted. Fortunately, a number of participants agreed to be interviewed near the end of the term, and as such interview format and questions emerged based upon the already collected and coded data.

**Researcher Bias through the Process of Transcription.** While further context is provided in Chapter 5 relating to the specifics surrounding the observation process, it should be said that the process of transcribing data impacted the ways it was framed and presented. I provide a brief excerpt from the transcription of the November 10, 2021 Modal Counterpoint class which reveals this:

As the class works through an example, Professor Halliday notes that a passage is illegal. He stops thoughtfully and remarks, “I find that word odd in this case, ‘illegal.’” He explains it anecdotally, illuminating that when he reads the boxes of Lego that his children play with, the boxes note ‘illegal building techniques,’ “as if there is a Lego police!” he laughs. He continues, “but maybe that means against the law, which isn’t so far from against the rules . . .” Halliday plays through portions of student assignments to showcase places where students made errors. Until I wrote this up afterwards, I never thought of this exercise as
potentially shaming or embarrassing students, more just showing different ways that students can learn from one another’s mistakes. But here I am, met by an interesting thought. When I was in the class, going through and picking apart student mistakes with the whole class didn’t feel the way it might appear as I read this writing now, which to me highlights the difference between being in the classroom and reading about it afterwards. And additionally, perhaps my position as researcher who is at the same time inside and outside of the class saw it as unproblematic, where a student may find it embarrassing. I’ll have to ask Halliday about this later.

In two different classes, (Theory and Analysis II, Renaissance Modal Counterpoint) handwritten notes were taken instead of audio recordings, at the behest of the course instructor. This effectively meant that data were encoded twice: once as I took notes, and once as I transcribed those notes later that evening. As these notes were taken in real-time, I was careful to include the data which I felt would prove most meaningful—that is, which I believed would best serve to answer the research questions of the study. In this way, my own values and beliefs as researcher impacted the data which were collected in these contexts. While a similar case can (and should) be made for the transcription of audio recorded data, I simply wish to highlight that the transcribed data came from an already ‘distilled’ dataset, which I as the researcher filtered through my own experiences and worldview.

Establishing Validity

The word “validity” has itself become a point of contention within qualitative research literature, as scholars and researchers have needed to reconceptualize its purpose during and after
the postmodern turn. Denzin and Lincoln (2000), for example, write, “this is the legitimation crisis. It involves a serious rethinking of such terms as validity, generalizability, and reliability, terms already retheorized” (p. 17, as cited in Merriam & Tisdell, 2016, emphasis in original). While Merriam (1998) explains that “the question of generalizability has plagued qualitative investigators for some time” (p. 207), it nonetheless remains necessary that readers and scholars may be confident that this study and its findings may provide meaningful analysis which has the potential to inform practices and discourses. After all, Merriam reveals, “Being able to trust research results is especially important to professionals in applied fields, such as education, in which practitioners intervene in people’s lives” (p. 198). Denzin and Lincoln (2005) suggest that the practice of adopting multiple methods of data collection, which is popular within qualitative research, serves as a form of triangulation to better understand the phenomena being explored (p. 5).

Generalizability is one such term which has been reconceptualized within the qualitative paradigm, as one of the primary criticisms of case study methodology is its inability to provide generalization among contexts. Yin (2014) explains that for this reason, case study is often referred to as ‘soft study.’ While the study was designed to offer insights into a particular context, it was not designed to fulfill the purpose of understanding the nature of excellence within all North American Schools of Music, or to suggest that the interactions or experiences of agents are generalizable across contexts. Rather, Yin (2014) explains that usually generalizations within fields are not made from stand-alone experiments; it is from multiple discrete engagements from different perspectives that generalizations are constructed (p. 20). While the

5 Seidman (2010) describes the “postmodern turn” as a shifting away from a modernist towards a postmodern aesthetic, which is “visible in the processes of ‘de-differentiation’ (the breakdown of boundaries between social institutions and cultural spheres) and the ‘de-territorialization’ of national economies and cultures” (p. 2).
subject of this study—namely, the Eastern Urban School of Music—does depart from the more
traditional higher education music research focuses, generalisability of theoretical propositions
as a determinant of value is a concept much more aligned with research in the natural sciences
(Yin, 2012, p. 18, as cited in Barrett, 2014, p. 121). Instead, generalisability within this study
may be less about the transfer of theoretical propositions, and more, as Barrett (2014) argues, for
the transferability of thick description related to the case and its complexities (p. 121, emphasis
mine). In this way, ensuring that the findings of the case study are transferable is paramount; this
means engaging with the case in a nuanced, complex, and meaningful way. Once again, this does
not mean that this data should stand alone; rather, Barrett (2014) notes that case studies:
fall short of our expectations when researcher[s] fail to portray the case in its fullness, or
when the findings stitch together a patchwork quilt of data that does not sum up to a
coherent whole. They also miss the mark when researchers stop short of reintegrating the
study’s findings into the fabric of what is already known about the topic under study. (p. 123)

It is important that this research reintegrates the full findings of these data in a transferable way,
in order to weave them into the “fabric of what is already known” and contribute to the field of
music education.

This idea of transferability speaks to another criticism of case study methodology, that
due to the ‘loose’ nature of case study design, the object of study is neglected at the expense of a
In this way, Thomas argues, the study fails to describe anything meaningful, a criticism which
has been popular of qualitative case study designs. As the object of study—that is, musical
knowledge—is strongly conceptualised through the theoretical framing of Bernstein’s
‘Pedagogic Device’ (2000), and is inextricably linked to its context (Yin, 2014), I argue that the design of this study helps to mitigate the concerns and criticisms related to such case designs.

Central to this study was the *emic*, insider understanding of participants (Matsunobu & Bresler, 2014, p. 25). For this reason, member checking provided key means of maintaining trustworthiness of data throughout the research process in order to ensure that data properly represented the viewpoints and interpretations of participants. Also known as ‘respondent validation,’ this process extends beyond accurate representation of some voices, including ensuring that diverse viewpoints are represented within the data being presented (Matsunobu & Bresler, 2014). In this way, the research project aimed to provide a “thick description,” extending beyond facts and acts to include context and meaning (Geertz, 1973). Through this process, the participants within the study and its readers might be able to judge validity through the “plausibility of [the] interpretation” (Matsunobu & Bresler, 2014, p. 28). I must acknowledge that due to a relatively small pool of interview participants, one may argue that the perspectives of agents may be drowned out by my own interpretation of observations and field notes—that much of the data is of my own perspective as researcher. However, these interpretations became the foundations for the questions posed within interviews, serving as a way for the experiences and perspectives of agents to offer context to the data I collected. This became a form of member checking, which Merriam (1998) writes involves “taking data and tentative interpretations back to the people from whom they were derived and asking them if the results are plausible” (p. 204).

Finally, the length of time I was immersed within the field was also an important consideration for establishing a trustworthy account, what Merriam (1998) terms “long-term observation” (p. 204). Stake (2010) writes that prolonged engagement within a field may be important as the phenomena of study are “long and episodic and evolving” (p. 29, as cited in
Matsunobu & Bresler, 2014, p. 31). I have no doubt that immersion within the field for additional semesters would have revealed further points of consideration and offered unique insights into what counts as legitimate musical knowledge within the EUSM. However, I trust that the four months I spent with the Eastern Urban School of Music provided sufficiently rich data and context to support the study findings. Following Yin’s (2014) suggestion, this study may provide one of many engagements which serve to reveal the nuanced and constantly evolving nature of musical knowledges within the North American school of music.

Understanding Positionality: Researcher as Insider and Outsider

Throughout the process of collecting data at the Eastern Urban School of Music, I noticed a shift in my own position, negotiating a space between that of insider and outsider. Moreover, I found that there were times when this took the form of self-positioning, and times when my own position was revealed by agents at the EUSM. I include an excerpt from my observation notes from November 29, 2021, while attending the Modal Counterpoint class:

Today students are being tested on finding mistakes. This exercise should, Professor Halliday notes, last roughly half an hour. This represents a similar exercise to the problems students have been working on in class over the past few weeks. Every five or so minutes, Halliday gets up and plays the passage for the class. As I sit here in the back of the class, I also try my hand at the task based on what I have learned over the past months (Halliday provided me with an extra copy). While it’s fun for me to be tested, it’s hard to switch back to researcher mode and not pretend to be or act like a student. Which, as I’m sitting in the class listening to course lectures, acquiring and negotiating materials and learning, I guess I am a student? This is the first time that I realize that I am a student
here . . . I am not paying tuition at the institution, and I am not being graded or assessed here, but in another sense, absolutely I am.

During the November 29, 2021 Psychology of Music class, I began to realize that, like many agents within the school of music, my comfort with the environment impacted what I was focusing on with my data collection. I include some notes while in the classroom:

I’m feeling a sort of ‘data fog,’ and I worry that I am not as ‘open’ or ‘perceptive’ as I was a few months ago. This is maybe because I now feel comfortable within this context and it feels ‘normal,’ ‘usual,’ or ‘obvious’ now. Maybe it’s because I have fallen into a data collection pattern? It’s an interesting thought. I know exactly where I’ll be at all times today, I know what topics will be discussed, and I’m fairly certain I can anticipate many of the pedagogic processes and practices of the professors.

What I had perceived as a data fog, I later came to realize, could be better understood as a shift in perspective from micro- to macro- pedagogic processes within the EUSM. Throughout my time at the institution, the revealed micro processes became a foundation through which to understand larger systems of belief and value that various agents held within the School of Music. In many ways, this reflects the “codes-to-theory” model which frames the data analysis (Saldaña, 2013).

**External Positioning**

Throughout the data collection process, interactions with agents at the EUSM shaped how I saw myself and my position as well. For example, at the end of my interview with Marcus, he asked me, “are you enjoying your time studying us?” I laughed and affirmed that I was enjoying my time, to which he responded:

It's been good. Yeah, it's been good having you in the class to bring a different . . . it's a cool energy to have, you know?
In my interview with Molly, she highlighted that she noticed a shift in my position throughout the semester as well, saying:

And it was really, really nice having you there. And it was a really nice moment when we got to the poster sessions and then somehow you just became one of the crowd! [both laugh] And the students just, you know, “Oh it’s Kyle!” you know . . .

Kyle: Yeah.

Molly: And it was really lovely.

K: And that was a turning point for me as well with students, stopping me in the hallway just to chat.

Molly: Yeah, nice.

My position as ‘one of the crowd’ was perhaps more evident in Psychology of Music than in other classes. During Western Musical Traditions, for example, I introduced myself to the class virtually and explained my research, and that was the only time I interacted with any of the students in the class. Similarly, during Theory and Analysis and Renaissance Modal Counterpoint, my presence was largely as an observer in the back of the classes.

In Jazz Improvisation and Musicianship I, my presence provided a brief disruption, one which was made evident within the October 4, 2021 class, the first class that I was audio recording:

Figaro: Okay, when you were soloing. So, what did you notice?

Jeff: Um, I noticed that if I was letting [student name], I mean, if I let Charles comp . . .

[class laughs]

Jeff was making a specific note of the fact that I was audio recording the class and therefore felt he should create a pseudonym for his classmate; in this case, he referred to the classmate as
“Charles.” This event shortly followed the signing of Letters of Information and Consent and my request that students provide a pseudonym, so my presence was perhaps front-and-center in students’ minds. However, apart from this very brief interaction, there was no other explicit indication that my presence was even noted by participants, as I was not aware of any other form of hesitation presenting itself.

I include my field notes from December 6, 2021, about my shifting position during my last day of observing classes, which I wrote while waiting to enter my very last class for observation:

Compared to the anxiety I felt about sending initial emails in September, I have felt a strange peace. During my time at the institution, I have floated between classes, immune to the stresses which influence and impact students, faculty, and administration.

I chatted with Professor Figaro today before class, he mentioned he couldn’t believe I showed up each Monday at 10:00am. I mentioned that in past classes he had made comments about how early that class is. He said ever since he was a teenager, mornings have been hard for him.

As I’m sitting outside my final class, I am surrounded by students chatting animatedly. The conversations are, if nothing else, very human. Not a single sheet of paper or music notation in sight (save for my own as I write this)—people are chatting, laughing. Not a single person in this giant group of forty (or more) is alone, they are all with a partner or group. Groups grow as students arrive outside of the classroom. The noise, as with the concert halls prior to performance, as with classrooms before the beginning of lectures, grows and grows.
And in this moment, I realize that I am different, other. There is no one who speaks my particular language here, no one with whom I can really understand these experiences I’ve had the past couple of months. And yet, every interaction with students or faculty reminds me that I’m not alone in this process. The conversation I just had with Marcus and Nick, the quick chats with Figaro, Halliday, and Molly Anderson today . . .

As is hopefully made evident through these short excerpts, my experiences were not framed exclusively as either an insider or an outsider. Moreover, it should be noted that my own identity impacted interactions between agents within the space of the Eastern Urban School of Music. With Professor Figaro, for example, conversations centered around our experiences as jazz pianists and educators within the discipline of jazz specifically. My conversations with Molly Anderson were often framed by a shared (and yet different) understanding of music education research, and a passion for reimagining pedagogic practices. Interactions between Professor Halliday and I focused around the experiences of students in his courses. With Marcus, Nick, and Susan, our shared experiences and identities as students within schools of music became a foundation for our conversations and interactions, shaping our discourse.

**COVID-19 and Data Collection**

While I touch upon it many times throughout my findings, the coronavirus pandemic played a central role in the shaping and execution of this study. The beginning of lockdowns in March 2020 meant that COVID-19 was a consideration throughout the study design and data collection processes. Lupton’s (2020) crowd-sourced document “Doing Fieldwork in a Pandemic” offered insights for adapting data collection tools to be necessarily flexible in order to meet the changing challenges of the pandemic. Given the centrality of COVID-19 in shifting university policy decisions, I had initially anticipated including a theme in my data presentation
surrounding COVID-19 (or at the very least, a category). However, after re-engagement with the findings from the study, it became clear that COVID-19 impacted both the methodological aspects of this study and the findings surrounding the nature of musical knowledges within the Eastern Urban School of Music. For this reason, I include several examples from the data as a sort of ‘bridge’ between the methodological considerations and the study findings that will be explored in Chapter 5, particularly when examining discourses surrounding health and wellness.

Generic Composer #1 and the Impact of Masks

Because of the coronavirus pandemic, many schools of music operated virtually to some extent from the Winter 2020 semester to the Fall 2021 semester (many continuing to offer virtual / remote courses as I write this in 2022). There is no doubt that COVID-19 impacted the very fabric of the institution and forced many changes and reconsiderations to curriculum and pedagogy. Moreover, during the Fall, 2021 semester in which I collected data, the very presence of the coronavirus pandemic was evident in almost every aspect of school of music life. One such example was the presence of “Generic Composer #1,” a detail I include in my field observations from the Music Library from October 25, 2021:

At the beginning of the semester I noticed, as I entered the music library, a bust of a composer adorned with a mask. I wondered who it was and made a note to ask the music librarian about it. When I returned weeks later, the bust was gone. I asked the librarian about who the bust represented, and she revealed that the music library named it “Generic Composer #1.” She explained to me that it is a marble bust and is very heavy. She noted the librarians took it out to put a mask on as a humorous nod to the ongoing pandemic and masking mandates, but the placement of the bust was a little too precarious and so they were forced to put it away. They refer to the bust as “Generic Composer #1”
because, she explained, “people don’t recognize him as one of the ‘Great’ composers.” It is interesting that when I first saw the bust, I myself thought it in some ways looked like an amalgamation of all the busts of composers I have seen.

Masks were perhaps the most visible proof of the ongoing pandemic and continued to impact my data collection. In particular, it was on many occasions difficult to discern the responses of students and professors during classroom observations in part because of the masks they wore. During the Psychology of Music class this was the most obvious, as the size of the classroom, spacing of students, and the volume at which they spoke made it difficult at times to distinguish what they were saying, and the audio recording equipment often did not pick up student responses. This was not just an issue for me as researcher but also for the class, as many students found it difficult to hear within the space. To remedy this, Professor Molly Anderson often reiterated what students said to ensure everyone was included. For this reason, there are many occasions within the data where indistinguishable data was labelled [indistinct].

**Other Impacts of COVID-19**

More details surrounding the impacts of COVID-19 upon musical knowledges, their forms of regulation, and their roles in the maintenance of identities and consciousness of agents within the school of music will be explored in greater detail in Chapter 5. However, I do briefly want to include one way in which COVID-19 had an impact upon the findings of this project, beyond those previously stated. On numerous occasions, the pandemic was listed as the cause for disruption within classes and impacted pacing and sequencing of course materials and assessment. Professor Halliday perhaps best summed up the emotional toll COVID-19 had upon students during the December 6, 2021 Modal Counterpoint class:
Normally, at this stage we’d talk about where we started, where we are and where we’re going next . . . but this time, it feels like we’re just limping across the finish line. It feels like in the Olympics, where someone injured themselves, and an hour after the race is over, we limp across the line. [class laughs]

The effects of COVID-19 were present throughout the semester as well, not just at the end. I met Professor Halliday on December 13, 2021 to debrief about the findings from the Theory and Analysis II and Renaissance Modal Counterpoint I classes. He explained that he witnessed a significantly lower level of quality in harmonic analysis this year from his students than in years past, guessing that this was primarily due to the 100-level class (Theory and Analysis I) being offered virtually the year prior.

I include these two small examples to highlight that there may be many ways beyond those explicitly stated within the data findings in which COVID-19 impacted pedagogic discourses and practices that I as a researcher would not be privy to during my one-semester data collection period. This research represents a snapshot of the social practices of the Eastern Urban School of Music, during a period of uncertainty and change.

**Reflecting on Methodology**

Qualitative case design offered a useful toolkit through which to examine the practices and discourses of agents within the Eastern Urban School of Music. The use of multiple data collection methods whose data triangulated and intersected with one another provided key insights into the nature of musical knowledges within the EUSM, their forms of regulation, and the impact upon the identities and consciousness of agents. Given the alignment between the theoretical framing and methodology, I would not hesitate to employ case design for similar future research projects.
However, like most (if not all) research studies, not everything transpires as intended. For example, I am cognizant that my attention was not equally split among my field observations. While I tried to ensure that I was meaningfully engaging as a researcher with all incoming data, I recognize that my own interests might have impacted the extent to which I engaged with classroom observations. While I was fascinated with the topics covered in Jazz Improvisation and Musicianship I, Psychology of Music, Theory and Analysis II and Renaissance Modal Counterpoint, my interest in Western Musical Traditions was, admittedly, significantly lower. This may have been in part due to the content itself (as I have taken a number of courses in the past which were remarkably similar) or the nature of its delivery (both because it was a virtual lecture and because of the forms of pacing, sequencing, and assessment). More information about the nature of pedagogic discourse for the course will be explored in Chapter 5.

Additionally, the low participation rate for interviews was unexpected, and forces me to reconsider how I would address this in future studies. In all cases, interview participants and I had established some form of rapport prior to engaging in interviews. I must wonder if an extended or more in-depth enculturation period would have been beneficial. While I had intended on building significant rapport with students, faculty, and administration, I fear the unusual context in which I conducted this research (namely during the coronavirus pandemic) made it difficult to establish such connections.

Finally, I am forced to wonder what a multiple-case design with cross-case analysis would reveal about the data (see Yin, 2014), with a particular focus on the emergence of categories and themes. Would such a study find similar points of interest? Would the research questions be addressed in similar ways among cases? I recognize that such design and analysis are beyond the scope of this study, however, these questions may be addressed in future studies.
Chapter Summary

This chapter presents an examination of the rationales which led to the decision to adopt a case-study design which is rooted in a qualitative research paradigm. It explores how the theoretical framework and research questions intersect and inform the study design and its data collection tools. Moreover, it explores issues of validity and researcher bias and interpretation, revealing the complex nature of qualitative research. I now move to an examination of the data collected throughout the study, framed using the research questions and Bernstein’s (2000) theory of the pedagogic device.
**CHAPTER V**

**EXCELLENCE, IDENTITY, AND THE EASTERN URBAN SCHOOL OF MUSIC**

Of course, there's always resistance to change—but when you start talking about change, often people will be afraid that what you're really talking about is something to do with compromising excellence—Professor Molly Anderson, interview.

**Framing this Chapter**

This chapter is structured by the research questions of the study, providing a ‘road map’ of the collected data as it relates to Bernstein’s (2000) pedagogic device. In this way, the chapter comprises three main sections: I) an examination of the nature of legitimate knowledge within the Eastern Urban School of Music (EUSM), II) an investigation of the forms of regulation which maintain and select this knowledge, and III) the impact these forms of regulation have on shaping and maintaining the identity and consciousness of agents within the social arena of the EUSM. The results, analysis, and discussion are interwoven holistically under the heading of each research question. In each of these sections, data from documents, observations, and interviews are presented and discussed which interact with the particular research questions. As these research questions emerged from Bernstein’s (2000) writings on the principles of communication within education, this chapter can be seen as iterative, as its structure, content, and analysis are framed by the theory.

As explored in Chapter 4, this study employed a ‘codes-to-theory’ model (Saldaña, 2013), wherein the process of arranging data using codes allows for categorization, leading to the generation and emergence of more general or abstract themes (p. 13). As such, this chapter could be seen as reading ‘backwards’ in a sense, as abstract themes are presented first and then are described using the ‘real’ coded data to ensure comprehension and flow. Prior to an examination of the data pertaining to the three research questions, however, I include a brief description of my
initial experience at the Eastern Urban School of Music to provide some context for the data collection process for this study and the findings which follow. It should be stated up front that the names of all students and faculty who participated in observations and interviews are pseudonyms. While all participants were asked to provide pseudonyms, no faculty member chose to provide one, and so pseudonyms were assigned for them.

**Situating the Data Set**

This study received ethics approval on June 3, 2021, and Canadian schools of music that fit the study criteria were immediately contacted through an ethics-approved initial email to the administration (see Appendix D). After a series of correspondence with the Eastern Urban School of Music administration, approval was granted for data collection on June 29, 2021. I moved to [Large Canadian] city on September 1, 2021 and met my primary administrative contact on September 13. I include my field journal notes from September 18, five days after:

Five days have passed since my first meeting with my primary administrative contact at the Eastern Urban School of Music and my first excursion to campus. By this point I had the pleasure of meeting multiple administrators as well as a graduate student at the school of music. All were pleasant with me and were readily available to meet, although I sensed a resistance to my being there. My primary contact at the school of music introduced me to multiple members of the administrative staff, saying “This is Kyle, a PhD student from Western. He will be studying us.” On more than one occasion this was met with faux horror as well as a well-timed “Oh no!” in jest. However, I could tell my presence did present some disruption. Moreover, while this administrator had read my ethics proposal as well as my dissertation proposal, the general impression they seemed to be conveying to the others was that my position could be likened to an auditor examining the actions of
the administration, rather than a music education sociologist studying the pedagogic practices of the school of music. This distinction may be partly responsible for what I felt as a general wariness from administration.

While I had been given contact information for the pursuit of data collection avenues, no one yet had actually agreed to anything, despite a) reading my dissertation proposal and b) giving me approval to study at the school of music. I was told by an administrator that I should wait at least another week from the date of September 14, 2021, before requesting permission to observe classes from faculty members, in order to give them time to adjust to the new semester—I would have better luck then, they said.

My primary contact at the school of music explained to me that they felt empathetic towards my request to collect data at their institution during such an unusual time.

The journey to being granted approval to observe classes was anything but clear. Over the following weeks I contacted various department heads and asked their suggestions on which courses would prove most meaningful to observe and which instructors might be the most open or willing to agree to such observation, including those who directed and supervised ensembles. I describe my experiences from my field notes on September 25, 2021:

After initial contact with instructors and administrators, four had responded. The first was Professor Nicole Parsons, who seemed interested in my project; she asked for more information regarding how I would negotiate virtual observations. The second was the jazz combo coordinator, who assured me that any of the instructors I reached out to would be great candidates to observe in jazz combo. The third was the coordinator of chamber music ensembles, who suggested specific instructors for me to contact for chamber music ensemble observation.
The fourth was Professor Figaro, who initially seemed unclear about what I was doing or why I was soliciting participation from him, and whether this was a blanket email sent to all instructors or if I was interested in his jazz improvisation class specifically. When I explained further, he invited me to sit in on the Jazz Improvisation class on Monday. It looked, so far, like I had a very busy Monday morning, which I was thrilled about.

The unfortunate truth is that in most of these cases, professors and faculty did not often respond, and if they did their responses were any variant of “no,” “I don’t have the mind space for this,” “I don’t have the physical space for this,” or, “I'll let you know if something changes.” I reached out to several ensemble directors over the next few weeks; none of them agreed to observation.

These mixed results gave the impression that instructors of the ‘practical’ or ‘ensemble-based’ courses seemed much less willing to be observed. The professor for Music Performance Strategies invited me to their class to solicit students for interviews (see Appendix G for the in-class recruitment script), although they did not grant me permission to conduct observations as they felt my presence would be disruptive and might impact student responses and experiences. Specifically, she explained that the Music Performance Strategies class is a space where students can be vulnerable with each other in discussing their performance issues and feared that students might hold back if they were being observed by a researcher.

Fortunately, some professors did allow me to observe their classes. The first to offer was Professor Molly Anderson, an Associate Dean who was teaching the course Psychology of Music that semester. This course had not initially been on my radar, as the courses I initially suggested observing were primarily music theory or performance-based. She offered to let me sit in and see if it was a course in which I felt the observation data could prove fruitful. Professor Figaro offered similarly, saying I could sit in for Jazz Improvisation for the Monday class, and
we could see from there. Professor Parsons also agreed to let me observe their virtual class “Western Musical Traditions” throughout the semester. And finally, but certainly not least, was Professor Brian Halliday. After brief correspondence, Halliday indicated that he did not think he could acquiesce to my request, although agreed to meet at his office on October 1, 2021. I include a brief account of our first meeting:

After realizing how cramped it would be, he suggested instead we use the conference room across the hall. He asked me about my background, how I was finding [the city] etc., and after roughly five minutes the fire alarm went off. We entered the gathering space outside and, as we walked, I could hear a jazz saxophonist continuing to play through the drill. Did they hear the alarm? Were they using noise-cancelling headphones? We took a seat near the ever-popular staircase. Professor Halliday started by describing his class as a classical theory and analysis course focusing exclusively on the works of Mozart, Beethoven, and Haydn. He explained to me that he felt the ‘deep dive’ is worth it. Twice during our conversation, I noticed that he used the term “payoff” to describe the class in different ways:

- Payoff when students came to the end of the semester and were capable of analyzing a whole sonata.
- Payoff when students began to see the value in the exercises. He said he himself appreciated the music more for teaching the class.

As will be explored later in Chapter 6, these ‘payoffs’ can be understood as legitimating both the discursive inputs and the outputs of the class. The field notes continued:
The class used a textbook written by one of the retiring faculty members. He explained to me that it is ‘very pedagogically sound,’ in that it looks at examples sequentially and builds up to a student being able to analyze a whole sonata by the end of the semester. Because the class size is so large (it is a class of eighty), he explained that it must be an analysis class. While we were chatting, I was struck by the fact that he very explicitly touched on the three message systems of pedagogy as Bernstein outlined: curriculum (what is taught), pedagogy (how it is taught), and evaluation (how it is assessed). The conversation then shifted, and Professor Halliday explained to me that EUSM has a ‘Faculty program’ both for “B. Mus” and “B. Mus” in jazz, which are ideal for students whose interests do not conform to a specific degree of study, allowing them greater flexibility within music and with courses outside of music. The downside he identified was that the most selective courses are only for students majoring in specific areas, so these faculty program students may not have access to these courses. He said there had been talks in prior years about lessening the division between the different departments.

As we were getting up to leave, I thanked him for his time, and he explained that he would permit me to observe the Theory and Analysis class. However, he revealed that he really did not feel comfortable with me recording the classes and that he did not like laptops in his classes. I asked if I could take hand-written notes instead, to which he agreed. After observing the class on Monday, I once again thanked him and asked if there were any other classes I could attend. He mentioned he was teaching a Renaissance Modal Counterpoint class, and that I was free to join, which I gladly accepted.

We now turn to look at the specifics for each form of data collection within this study.
Observations. In-person class observations were collected from September 27 to December 6, 2021, for the following four courses.

Table 3

List of In-Person Classes Observed and the Course Instructor

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Instructor</th>
<th>Total Number of Observations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Music Theory and Analysis II</td>
<td>Professor Brian Halliday</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Renaissance Modal Counterpoint</td>
<td>Professor Brian Halliday</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psychology of Music</td>
<td>Professor Molly Anderson</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jazz Improvisation &amp; Musicianship I</td>
<td>Professor Figaro</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Both Music Theory and Analysis and Renaissance Modal Counterpoint were observed without an audio device present as per Professor Halliday’s wishes, and as such hand-written notes were taken. They were transcribed the evenings after the classes while still fresh, to ensure that the collected data were as accurate as possible. Jazz Improvisation and Psychology of Music were audio-recorded, and transcriptions were completed within twenty-four hours of the class.

Finally, the fifth observed class, Western Musical Traditions, was a virtual class whose videos were made available online after each class. From the time I was granted access to these five courses, I attended every class, missing none of them (with the exception of Western Musical Traditions, which was an online course whose videos were available asynchronously).

Because of the performance-based and conversational nature of the Jazz Improvisation / Musicianship I class, it may be helpful to include a brief table which connects the students to the instruments that they play.
Table 4

List of Students in the Jazz Improvisation / Musicianship I Class and the Instrument They Played

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name (Pseudonym)</th>
<th>Instrument</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Marjane</td>
<td>Vocals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Riley</td>
<td>Trumpet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lucas</td>
<td>Trumpet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thaddeus</td>
<td>Tenor Saxophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jeff</td>
<td>Piano</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert</td>
<td>Guitar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chris</td>
<td>Bass</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daniel</td>
<td>Drums</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goobs McNasty</td>
<td>Drums</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joey</td>
<td>Drums</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All of these students included a pseudonym in their Letter of Information and Consent which is how they are identified within the data, with the caveat that “Goobs McNasty” has been shortened to “Goobs” for consistency throughout the study findings.

Documents. Documents came in many forms. Following the examples of Kingsbury (1984) and Roberts (1991), documents included anything readily available which pertained directly to the school of music, such as course outlines, information from the online course modules, library displays, concert programs, bulletin boards, news articles, information from the EUSM website, program requirements, and even interviews with faculty members made publicly available. The complete nature of these documents will be explored throughout the findings.

Table 5

Summary Table of Documents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Document</th>
<th>Document Type</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>EUSM Strategic Plan 2020-25</td>
<td>Strategic Plan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EUSM Equity, Diversity, and Inclusion (EDI) Strategic Plan</td>
<td>Strategic Plan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psychology of Music Course Outline</td>
<td>Course Outline</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western Musical Traditions (WMT) Course Outline</td>
<td>Course Outline</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WMT Class Materials</td>
<td>Course Materials</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Interviews. Throughout the semester, finding students and faculty to interview became my proverbial ‘white whale.’ As part of the ethics process, I had scripted a series of recruitment documents including flyers, emails, and in-class scripts (see Appendix E, F, and G). I had a lovely meeting with an administrator on September 23, 2021, who agreed to post my recruitment flyer in the student newsletter and on the student association homepage. Moreover, she agreed to send out a mass recruitment email with two reminder emails sent at two-week intervals. Flyers were also posted to School of Music bulletins, with the approval of the student association. However, these documents served to attract no potential interviewees. In fact, the only response any of these mass recruitment methods returned was a single disheartening email from a student which read “I would not like to participate in this study, and I request to be removed from the mailing list.” Throughout the semester, three students and one professor / administrator (n = 4) requested to be interviewed: Nick, Marcus, Susan, and Professor Molly Anderson. I was
fortunate to find significant variety between students in terms of their programs of study, their year, their interests, and their experiences within the EUSM.

Table 6

List of Interview Participants and their Program of Study (if Applicable)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Year of Study</th>
<th>Program of Study</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Marcus</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Bachelor of Arts, Music &amp; Psychology double major</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nick</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Bachelor of Music, Faculty Program (guitar)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Susan</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Bachelor of Music, Performance (violin)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prof. Molly Anderson</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

While more could be said about the context in which data was collected, further context will be granted as particular data are introduced throughout this chapter. I now turn to section I of the data analysis, which explores the nature of legitimate knowledge within the EUSM.

I: The Nature of Legitimate Musical Knowledge at the Eastern Urban School of Music

I return once again to the statement of purpose for this study to guide the presentation of the data: “The purpose of this study is to explore, through the implementation of a case study, the ways in which forms of regulation on pedagogic discourse shape the consciousness and identities of agents within the multiple-department school of music.” Drawing upon Bernstein’s (2000) theory of the Pedagogic Device (see Chapter 3), an examination of pedagogic discourse first demands an examination of the rules which select various forms of knowledge. For this reason, the first research question of the study—what is the nature of legitimate musical knowledge within the multiple-department school of music?—will now be addressed. To understand how forms of regulation upon musical knowledges impact the identities and consciousness of students, we must first examine what these knowledges are, and the principles which select and distribute them.
As I began to organize categories within data collection related to the nature of legitimate of musical knowledges, the word ‘excellence’ continually emerged as a central theme in the justification of which knowledges were included and seen as ‘legitimate’ within the EUSM. For this reason, the examination of the nature of legitimate musical knowledges will begin with an exploration of the concept of ‘excellence.’

**Introducing Excellence**

The study findings suggested that the knowledges considered legitimate within this social arena appeared to be those which were based in excellence, those which lead to excellence, and those which could be recognized as excellent (both internally and externally). Findings revealed that there was little (or no) debate amongst agents that striving for excellence was a key objective within the school of music; however, what emerged from the study findings was that there appeared to be serious contention amongst agents regarding what constitutes excellence—what or who could be considered ‘excellent,’ and the varied beliefs and values about how excellence was to be achieved and maintained. Throughout analysis of the data, this culminated into a single statement through which the nature of musical knowledges could be understood: differential beliefs and values surrounding the nature of excellence delineated ideological boundaries upon which the legitimacy of musical knowledges were assured. [Italics included for emphasis] To help us understand what forms this contestation took, I begin by examining the vision statement of the EUSM as posted on their website:

> Our vision is for the School to be internationally recognized as a North American leader in shaping the future of musical culture and practice through a diverse and inclusive musical education that balances artistic and academic excellence, tradition and
innovation, and a strong disciplinary identity with a bold and imaginative connectivity to multiple disciplines and communities.

This vision statement provides an official perspective on the knowledges which are included within the school of music, describing the characteristics of an imagined institutional identity. It highlights particular values which drive the direction of the institution and offers a glimpse into an imagined future for the school of music. The stated characteristics of this imagined institution—one which balances artistic and academic excellence, for example—serve to legitimate particular knowledges, and thus particular agents. Importantly, however, these characteristics do not necessarily point to or legitimate the same knowledges. And, as Bernstein (2000) asserted, the school distributes knowledges unequally to different social groups (p. xxi).

This vision statement highlights potential points of ideological tension: namely, the spaces between artistic and academic excellence, between tradition and innovation, and between “developing a strong disciplinary identity” and “a bold and imaginative connectivity to multiple disciplines and communities,” what one might term interdisciplinarity. Plasket (1992) offers one perspective on how these knowledges are contested by different groups within a traditional music conservatory setting, writing:

What then governs behavior? Two things: 1) people's various beliefs about what the institutional goals are or 2) what people, faculty in particular, call their own or their department's mission or purpose, regardless of the institution's purpose. The resulting range of views leads to a disparate set of goals at the conservatory. There is a basic and severe source of tension within this disparity: belief in focus on musical development versus belief in personal development and preparation for life. Although there is no clear statement of the importance of musical development and professional training over other
areas, including personal development and preparation for life, there is an implied hierarchy. The implication begins with what brings a student to a conservatory in the first place, musical performance. (Plasket, 1992, p. 46)

This selection highlights that beliefs surrounding what counts as valuable, legitimate knowledges are contested by agents within schools of music. The nature of legitimate musical knowledges within a school of music cannot be reduced exclusively to those highlighted within official statements, as beliefs and values of agents surrounding the nature of excellence within the school of music (particularly faculty, as this passage suggests) may contradict the institutional directive.

It should be noted that Plasket’s assertion, while interesting, focuses primarily on the purposes and goals of one particular group: faculty. Findings from this study indicate that there are many additional agents whose beliefs and values impact what is seen as legitimate and valued musical knowledges within the school of music, including students, administrators, university policymakers, as well as broader cultural and economic markets. However, Plasket presents an interesting lens through which to explore the vision statement of the EUSM as these values and beliefs represent a series of tension points through which what is considered ‘excellent’ musical knowledge is contested. In this way, excellence serves as a tool for ideological reproduction, becoming means by which knowledges and traditions are legitimated within the institution (Green, 2014).

An initial ‘pre-coding’ of observation and interview data simultaneously provided broad categories through which the ‘excellence’ of various knowledges could be justified and thus the legitimacy of musical knowledges was maintained within the EUSM (Saldaña, 2013). The study findings surrounding the nature of legitimate musical knowledges produced four primary categories which emerged from the data which serve to examine the first research question: 1)
competition and performance, 2) international reputation, 3) interdisciplinarity, and 4) the
development of citizens. It is through these four emergent categories that the nature of legitimate
musical knowledges was revealed, through the justification of (and in many cases contestation
over) ‘excellence’ within the institution. This first section will now explore how these categories
serve to justify and legitimate various contesting musical knowledges, beginning with the first
emergent category of excellence: competition and performance.

**Competition and Performance**

When exploring the nature of legitimated musical knowledges within the Eastern Urban School
of Music, discourses of competition and performance continually emerged within findings.
Given the foundation upon which North American music education has emerged (see Chapter 2)
it is perhaps unsurprising that agents within the Eastern Urban School of Music maintained
competition and performance as key factors in ‘what’ and ‘who’ can be considered *excellent*.
There may be no more obvious example of the value of competition within the institution than
that of the Golden Violin Award.

**The Golden Violin.** From my field notes, October 26, 2021:

When you enter the EUSM library, you are met with a glass enclosure which houses a
golden violin and bow. Written across the glass, it says “The Golden Violin recognizes
Excellence in Performance.”

There is strong symbolism evoked from this in two ways. For one, the naming of the ‘Golden
Violin Award’ emphasized characteristics often attributed to gold: in competition, gold is often
associated with ‘first place.’ While the competition included awards for second and third place
finishers, there are no ‘silver’ or ‘bronze’ violins. Furthermore, gold is often characterized with
other descriptors such as ‘rare,’ ‘pure,’ ‘expensive,’ etc. It does not seem a stretch to assume that
the symbol of the Golden Violin is meant to represent something of significant value. Within the classical context the instrument is almost exclusively called a violin, and so the School of Music can be forgiven for missing the opportunity to name it the ‘Golden Fiddle,’ in reference to the famous Charlie Daniels Band’s (1979) “The Devil Went Down to Georgia.” But then again, perhaps this is intentional to maintain said symbolism, as associations with violin are often attributed to high, art music, while associations with fiddle often relegate its status to lower popular or folk music. For example, while jazz bass players may technically meet the general eligibility requirements, the repertoire requirements demand that candidates include repertoire from the Classical period. It is never explicitly stated that only students who are studying Western classical performance are eligible, but it quickly becomes clear that this is for Western classical performance students only.

There is the additional symbolism evoked by the physical presence of a Golden Violin, which is kept on a pedestal behind a glass enclosure within the music library. It is raised up necessarily just out of reach, to be seen and not touched by music students. Its presence provided a constant reminder to students that competitions, including this one, are a valued part of the university schooling experience; however, they are attainable only for a few select students.

I interviewed Susan, a violin performance major in her fifth year who is additionally working towards a minor in music education. I asked her about the Golden Violin award, and whether she has applied for the competition. She laughed and replied:

I have not applied, I consider that kind of like outside of my realm of possibilities. It's really for like the top, top students of the performance program. I mean, I guess I could try, I’m just not brave enough, yet…. There are a few rounds, you have to submit a video—I know because my friend’s participating so I know some of it—and then I guess
you get accepted to semi-finals? And then you perform quite a few, there's a lot of repertoire to learn for it. Yeah, so that would also be a reason I'm not doing it: I don't know that many pieces yet…. And then if you win, you get a lot of money and concerts, I think. And I think they also consider your engagement into school in general, your engagement with like . . . not just your playing, but how much you've like contributed to Eastern Urban

What stood out is Susan’s reluctance to enter the competition as she did not consider herself to be a strong contender for the award for two stated reasons: she noted she is not ‘brave enough yet’ and does not feel she has mastered sufficient repertoire. As a fifth-year strings performance major, she appeared to be ideally suited to apply for the award. After all, if a fifth-year student in good standing does not know enough repertoire to apply, who does? If repertoire is valued within this social space, how are her private instruction and classes preparing her to meet the needs of the competition? What is the school of music preparing Susan for? Can the school of music sufficiently prepare students within four years, or does this award perhaps value things that the school of music itself does not afford?

This example was made even more interesting when examining Susan’s background. She revealed that her parents are both classical musicians: her father was a cellist in the city’s symphony orchestra and her mother was a private piano instructor. In this way, Susan’s social relations and the discourses of her home suggested that she was appropriately (and even ideally) positioned to both recognize her context and realize a legitimate form of communication within it. It is for these reasons that Susan appeared to understand the social context of this competition, the hierarchy of strings students, and to place herself positionally within this social arena.
Susan’s response suggested that she herself did not feel she was an appropriate candidate to apply for the award. Eastern Urban’s website outlined the procedures for applying for the award:

All eligible string players (violin, viola, cello, and bass) may apply by submitting an unedited, video recording and a brief CV. The CV should detail the candidate’s musical accomplishments since beginning their studies at Eastern Urban, their contributions to the Eastern Urban School of Music and Eastern Urban communities, and a short bio for the program.

On paper, it seemed Susan would prove an ideal candidate—from repeat engagements with her in the Psychology of Music course, I suspected her grades were strong, and from her interview responses it seemed she invested into her community. However, beyond what was explicitly stated on the university website, there is something that Susan understood which was invisible to me: that, despite meeting all of the explicit criteria, there was an implicit element which she felt she has not (or is not). Susan made it clear that she did not consider herself a strong enough candidate and that it was not worth trying, as she felt it was “outside of [her] realm of possibilities.” It would seem that her pedagogic identity did not perfectly align with this value of the school of music or this award. Susan’s comments reveal an implicit musical hierarchy among agents within the school of music, aligning with research such as that by Kingsbury (1984) and Perkins (2013).

Education sociologists such as Bourdieu and Bernstein have written extensively about the school’s role in reproducing social hierarchies through the distribution of various forms of knowledge. Bernstein (2000) writes:

If we look at the knowledge the school transmits we shall find that it is based on a distributive principle such that different knowledges and their possibilities are
differentially distributed to different social groups. This distribution of different knowledges and possibilities is not based on neutral differences in knowledge but on a distribution of knowledge which carries unequal value, power, and potential. (p. xxi)

In the case of Susan, a preliminary reading of cultural reproduction might lead us to expect to find a student whose social relations have positioned her to see such a competition as within the realm of her possibilities. Bourdieu (1977) might argue similarly, writing, “by doing away with giving explicitly to everyone what it implicitly demands of everyone, the educational system demands of everyone alike that they have what it does not give” (p. 494). In other words, Bourdieu suggested that it may not be from Susan’s instruction that she would come to recognize and realize herself as a suitable candidate, but rather her social or cultural relations.

However, these study findings force a look beyond the classroom instructional content and the home. Susan was both an upper-year student in violin performance in good standing and evinced social relations which sociologists might argue would likely position her to recognize herself as a suitable candidate. So, if Susan did not see herself as such a candidate, who should? What I suggest is that such an example highlights the school’s role in distributing a particular institutional form of consciousness which is at the same time interacting with, while simultaneously distinct from, social relations. Susan’s schooling transmits a pedagogic discourse which is comprised not only of an instructional discourse, but also a regulative discourse in which Susan is positioned and positioned herself. In other words, it would appear that the discourses shaping student identities regarding who are both recognized and recognizes themselves as a ‘top’ student happen within the regulative discourses distributed within the educational space. In this way, the distribution of pedagogic discourses which are predicated on
particular beliefs and values serve to legitimate particular musical knowledges, and in turn distribute particular forms of consciousness.

I included the Golden Violin and Susan’s responses to highlight two things: the first is the primacy of competition and performance discourses in discussions of excellence and legitimate musical knowledge within the EUSM. Secondly, it demonstrates that discussions of legitimate musical knowledge within the institution are of pedagogic discourses—not simply ‘what’ is taught explicitly within the classroom spaces, but also the regulative discourses in which they are embedded. Implications of this will be explored in section II of this chapter, when exploring forms of regulation upon knowledges.

While competition and performance discourses were very present within the study’s data collection, findings from the study suggested that beliefs about the value of competition and performance within the Eastern Urban School of Music were not equally distributed amongst agents. In particular, interview responses indicated that beliefs about the extent to which competition is valued appeared to be contested within the space. This will be explored further within section I of this chapter when discussing the emergent category of ‘The Development of Citizens.’ For now, it should be highlighted that values and beliefs surrounding competition and performance revealed competing ideologies of agents regarding excellence, including the importance of incorporating health and wellness discourses within performance instruction and who is served by particular discourses surrounding competition and performance. The centrality of performance discourses may become clearer when examining the admissions requirements for the Bachelor of Music degree, which we will now explore.

‘Serious’ Music Students and their Foundational Skills. Admission requirements provide one of the key means of revealing legitimate musical knowledges, as Schools of Music
select students based upon particular criteria. As we have seen, there is contestation among agents within the school of music surrounding the legitimacy and importance of competition and performance, which impacts what is considered valuable musical knowledge. While competition is not stated as a core value on the EUSM website, their description of the Bachelor of Music program may provide further context:

The Bachelor of Music degree provides serious music students with the foundational skills required for a successful career in music performance and research. The Eastern Urban School of Music’s distinctive identity as a major conservatory within a world-class university environment uniquely positions our graduates for a wide-range of career paths. This statement provides an interesting foundation from which to raise further questions, such as: What constitutes a ‘serious musician?’ Who determines the seriousness of a student? How does such a student differ from an un-serious musician? What skills are considered foundational for successful careers in music performance and research? To what extent do these skills overlap with one another? And perhaps most interestingly, to what extent do these ‘serious music students’ already possess these ‘foundational skills’ as they enter into this pedagogic space? The answer to the first question is fairly straightforward: admission requirements provide the primary means by which to determine the ‘seriousness’ and thus legitimacy of students, as the language implies. An examination of the Bachelor of Music degree program outlines on the university website highlights a relatively similar program direction for all incoming B. Mus students which includes participating in private lessons, enrolment in large / small ensembles, basic musicianship, theory and analysis, and a history course.6

6 Program outlines become more specific to particular streams (composition, theory, etc) as their program progresses. B. Mus jazz students are expected to take jazz history, keyboard skills, and ear training courses.
On their website, the Eastern Urban School of Music provide a section entitled “Recommended Performance Levels for Applicants,” suggesting that students interested in a program within the performance department for instrument or voice who have come through the Royal Conservatory programme (perhaps the broadest standard across Canada) have attained their RCM Grade X. According to the Royal Conservatory website, in order to achieve this, students must first achieve a passing grade for their Level 10 Practical, their Level 8 Theory, Level 9 History, Level 9 Harmony (or Keyboard Harmony), Level 10 History, Level 10 Harmony & Counterpoint (or Keyboard Harmony) (Royal Conservatory of Music, 2022). It is likely that many of the incoming students into the EUSM performance program have achieved these or commensurate levels, indicating that they already possess many of the foundational skills the EUSM claims to provide. However, even more interestingly, the school of music recommends students who are interested in a program outside of performance (such as education, theory, composition, or history) to have the equivalent of the RCM Grade IX. In this way, these recommended performance levels further serve to position musical performance knowledges as central to what characterizes a ‘serious’ music student, and thus as valuable within the school of music and worthy of admission.

It should be noted that the EUSM website highlights that these performance levels are guidelines, not requirements, which is important when considering students who are interested in a non-classical performance program, notably jazz. While many students who enter North American jazz programs have additionally completed classical music programs (myself among them), this is not necessarily the case for all students, as was made clear during observation of the jazz improvisation class on November 8, 2021. I include this excerpt to demonstrate the
various experiences of students which led them to study jazz at the Eastern Urban School of Music and their commensurate experience.

Getting into Jazz. I enter the classroom to find some students have already arrived. They are warming up while discussing the chord changes to Thelonious Monk’s “Well You Needn’t,” a popular jazz standard which was assigned the week prior.

The class begins in a similar fashion to others, where there is deliberation about the piece to be played, the key in which it is played, and then it is counted off. After playing through the head\(^7\), students take turns soloing around the room, until a return to the head is indicated by a student or the instructor. On November 8, after the class plays, Professor Figaro addresses the class. The following rather long excerpt is included to show the variety of responses.

Figaro: Uh, okay so now I’m going to ask you a question. I want you to tell me how you got interested in playing jazz music.

Goobs: I’ve been listening to it all my life, just through my parents, and then . . .

Figaro: Were your parents musicians?

Goobs: No, they just listened a lot of music. And uh, and then it just kinda, seemed like the logical step in my musical education, I guess.

Lucas: For me, I first joined the jazz band with my high school and the first year was just bad, cause nobody knew anything. And second year got more into like, smaller style playing and that’s where I started having the most fun and realized that I really enjoy this music and then from there I just sort of found myself here four years later.

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\(^7\) The ‘head’ is the melody or theme of the tune being played. Often it is played at or near the beginning of a tune (also referred to as the ‘head in’) and again after the solo section to mark the ending of a tune (also known as a ‘head out.’) For more information, see: Berliner, 1994, p. 63.
Thaddeus: Um, when I was in fifth grade, there was a school band that I really wanted to join but they wanted me to be a singer, hence, I really didn’t want that. [Class laughs, Marjane smiles]. And then in high school I had a big band that competed a lot, so I got really into that music.

Riley: Um, I went to a jazz summer camp as a drummer, cause I used to play drums, and I thought I wanted to be a drummer cause it was like, the only thing I had kind of going for me [some laughter] I was really bad at it too and I didn’t really enjoy it. On the final night the camp had a big concert where all the combos would play. And I heard one of the combos and I just saw a trumpet player up there, he was the same age as me, and I thought he looked so cool [class laughs]. So, I just asked my mom, “Mom can I try playing trumpet?” My uncle gave me a hand-me-down cause he gave up years ago. [shocked laughter from the class]

Riley: It was fun. I had no pressure when I started so . . . it was like a game. I got a little bit better and I got to play with people and my band teacher was super . . . like, he’s the reason why I’m here.

Marjane: Yeah, I was a classical violinist for about twelve years when I was a kid, that was cool. And um I don’t know, I had a brain bubble when I was sixteen and I was like, “No!” I just threw it away and then I got really sad, ‘cause I really like music [laughs] and that’s when I started taking classical singing lessons. And uh, I really liked it, but I kept getting angry cause I had to sing what was on the page, and then my teacher was like, “you know there’s music where you don’t have to sing what’s on the page” and I was like “okay, that’s kind of cool.”
Jeff: So, I actually started as a guitarist playing bluegrass and folk guitar and stuff in Vermont. And then I really wanted to learn the piano and so I was asking around like, where I could find a good piano teacher and they recommended me to this guy who didn’t even teach me to read music or anything he just like, liked to listen to rock tunes and whatever tunes, and like learn them on the piano. So, he started teaching me that way, and got me into jazz.

Chris: So, what age did you start piano?

Jeff: I started piano in like, seventh or eighth grade, but I was playing guitar before that.

Chris: Um, I actually started playing bass like really young, like electric bass, I was seven. And then I would play just like, rock for a long time and prog rock a lot, like Yes! and stuff. And then—well, I feel like at some point you like, do your instrument for a while, and then the topic of jazz comes up . . . [class nods in agreement]

Student: Naturally.

Chris: [laughs] Yeah naturally, so yeah. That’s how.

Joey: Yeah, um, I went into middle school in Grade 6, and one of the options was you could choose band. So, I was like “alright I’ll choose band.” So, then I was like, “well I need to play an instrument” so I chose clarinet [class laughs] . . . and I couldn’t play like, anything [class laughs] I was like, “well this kind of sucks!” So, then I switched to alto sax [more laughter] and I played alto sax for the rest of the year and I was like, “well this is a little bit better,” but I still couldn’t really, you know, make the noises like I wanted to make. And then my music teacher was like, “just play percussion instead” and I was like, “okay, sure.” And that was enough.
I include this excerpt to highlight examples of the experiences which led students to study jazz within the EUSM. Despite the necessarily vague definition of what constitutes a ‘serious musician,’ these students have all met the requisite entrance requirements (or guidelines) to study jazz performance at the EUSM. Some note they have formal or classical backgrounds, while others do not. Where previous studies of schools of music have highlighted that the legitimacy of musicians and musical knowledges was predicated upon the musics they played (see Nettl, 1992; Roberts, 1991), the ‘seriousness’ and thus excellence of musicians in this context appears to be based largely upon discourses of performance.

**Excellence and Performance.** Instilled within myself, on many occasions throughout my higher music education experience, was the belief that the legitimacy or excellence of a jazz musician is tied inextricably to performance ability. This was highlighted in many ways: educators expressing that students should be focused solely on performance (ironically, these jazz educators claimed that students who were preparing for a career in jazz education were less ‘serious,’ and thus legitimate) as well as discourses such as “if you can’t play it, then you can’t hear it / you don’t know it.” While in most cases I am certain these educators were trying to guide and motivate students, such discourses permeated my own jazz practice within every institution I attended. Similar discourses served to legitimate performance practices as the most (and in some cases, only) valued forms of musical knowledge within the EUSM.

The centrality of performance discourses as the ‘most’ legitimate forms of musical knowledges continues among traditional schools of music across North America, and not exclusively within the jazz education context. Jones’s (2017) chapter on policy in higher music education referencing the neo-liberal concept of performativity highlights the hierarchization between knowledges, where the legitimacy of knowledges is predicated upon their ability to help
students “perform in the ‘right’ way” (p. 247), that is, in a way which will be recognized as legitimate within an external market. It should be stated up front that throughout my observations such discourses were rarely, if ever, explicitly stated by the faculty. However, implicit forms of regulation were distributed which aligned with such discourses, a point which will be discussed later. However, while instructors were not explicitly presenting these discourses during observations, they still permeated the school of music. And importantly, such discourses shaped what counted as legitimate knowledge and therefore legitimate forms of assessment. I draw upon an example from the Jazz Improvisation class which explores how the distribution of knowledges impacts pedagogy.

On more than one occasion, Figaro would ask the students, “so what tune should we learn next week?” From my experience within schools of music, most of the tunes the students chose to learn are standard within a jazz improvisation class. One glaring exception was Jimmy Raney’s “Motion,” which was not a student choice but instead a tune that Figaro himself assigned for the students. The week prior, students had learned “You Stepped Out of a Dream,” the tune upon which “Motion” was based. A discussion on October 18, 2021, between students in class as they wait for Figaro to arrive offers context:

Thaddeus: Nah I’m just irritated cause it took me like an hour to learn the first half of “Motion,” the head . . .

Riley: I think it’s a cool tune—

Thaddeus: Yeah it’s a cool tune but it’s like, what if we did a song that we’re probably going to play? Like somebody would call, you know? . . .

It’s fine it’s just like, bro. Can we maybe do like, not this song? You know, do one that’s, you know, you go to a jam session and somebody’s like, “Oh?”
Thaddeus highlights that a key component to what he considers valuable knowledge is that which he can take to the world outside of the classroom and into a performance context—notably in this case, a jam session. For Thaddeus, legitimate and ‘excellent’ musical knowledges within this context are those which prepare him to perform tunes that will be called in a jam setting at the highest level. Because “Motion” is not considered a common standard and is not highly valued within the standard repertoire, the distribution of such knowledge appears to be less legitimate. From a Bernsteinian perspective, it appears Thaddeus values knowledge which has an exchange relation with an external market: in this case, at a jam session. Moreover, Thaddeus demonstrates an understanding of the reified jazz tradition, recognizing that Raney’s “Motion” does not belong to or serve this established narrative. I include an excerpt from the October 18, 2021 class which demonstrates how Figaro engages with students on the piece “Motion.” It is included to demonstrate how the knowledges presented relate variably to the specific tune being analyzed, as well as the broader examination of theory.

Figaro: Okay, so: “Motion.” [Goes over to the piano and plays the head] Okay, so here’s the part that’s different. [plays it] It goes to G minor, at the end, second line F, Bb, E, A. Ok? But then in “You Stepped Out of a Dream,” [plays “You Stepped Out of a Dream”] go to A minor. So, if we’re going to play the “Motion” changes in C, you would have gone to F minor. A lot of people are doing that now, which is okay, there’s nothing wrong with it, it makes sense theoretically, but the original chord is a nice D7. . . .

Figaro: I promise you there won’t be too much theory after this. I just want to make it clear. Okay so, let’s see now . . . [sings the melody of “You Stepped Out of a Dream”]. Okay, I’ll start at the beginning—this is the second half of the tune! . . . D half [diminished], or Ab13#11 . . . G7 . . . And then continue in E half [diminished] or E
minor 7 flat 5, if you prefer. And here, simplest way: D major, B7, so your 6 chord, flat 9.
So, what people usually play is D, G, F# minor, B7, so theoretically this is going 1 to 6,
yes? I know this is a drag at 10 o’clock in the morning, I know, believe me. It’s hard for
me to even think. This is 1, 4, 3, 6. You’re going to see this a lot in tunes . . .

Figaro: So. “Motion,” here’s a D half diminished here. For “You Stepped Out of a
Dream?” Usually Gb13#11. [indistinct]. It’s not going to be on an exam, you can forget it
after you leave class if you want, but I’m just letting you know.

The theoretical examination is sequenced in two ways: 1) a bar-by-bar analysis of the chord
changes for “Motion,” and 2) how these changes relate to “You Stepped Out of a Dream.”
Pacing and sequencing such as this is, from my experience, standard within a ‘jazz
improvisation’ education context, but I draw on it to examine Thaddeus’s earlier comment which
foregrounds the legitimacy of musical knowledges which correspond to the gig context and
reified tradition. Figaro’s pedagogy demonstrates the legitimacy of knowledges which are both
context dependent and independent—he explains how these knowledges are applied both to
“Motion” and “You Stepped Out of a Dream,” but also how chords and scales function in a more
abstract, general sense. This is interesting, as Thaddeus is interested in the selection of
knowledges which tie to his experiences, both present (the tunes he knows) and future (the tunes
he expects he will need to know to be successful in a gig setting).

As we can see, musical knowledges within this context are legitimated, valued, and found
to be excellent based upon their ability to be transferred to other contexts. What is interesting is
that at times this appears to be context-independent (in this example, understanding how chord
structure and function relate to different tunes) but also context-dependent (how these relate to
“You Stepped Out of a Dream” and “Motion.”) Moreover, it seems that while there is consensus
that excellent musical knowledges are those which transfer to other or multiple contexts, the beliefs and values of agents surrounding which contexts and how this knowledge is transferred creates tensions between what counts as legitimate and excellent musical knowledges.

From the above examples, we can see that competition and performance are key factors in what are considered valuable, musical knowledges within the Eastern Urban School of Music which are valued by agents based upon the ‘excellence’ they afford. Now we will turn to the second emergent category regarding what counts as legitimate musical knowledge, that which leads to international reputation.

**International Reputation**

Bernstein (2000) suggests that a key consideration for the legitimacy of discourses within the institution is its ability to create a competitive output (p. 68). He writes, “the basic unit of the institution, a department, or a group will also have autonomy over its own position in the market: that is to optimize its position with respect to the exchange value of its products, namely students” (p. 69). Eastern Urban School of Music is consistently ranked among the top schools of music in Canada and would be characterized by Bernstein as an ‘elite’ university as it is one which can attract high level faculty with relatively greater economic or symbolic resources (p. 70). EUSM advertisements often boast the high level of their faculty, students, and alumni, and may be made evident through discourses such as those surrounding the ‘greatness’ of their faculty.

**The ‘Great Faculty.’** Kingsbury (1984) wrote at length about the ways the value and reputation of the site of his study, the Eastern Metropolitan Conservatory, were maintained and reproduced through strong focus on the faculty artists. Reading from their conservatory bulletin, he explains:
Over fifty percent of the conservatory bulletin (34 of 64 pages) is given to biographical summaries and promotional photographs of the individual faculty members. Thus, one source of evidence is in official pronouncements: the primary valuation of faculty artists is a point of official policy at the conservatory. (pp. 105-106)

It became clear throughout my time at the EUSM that similar discourses are used to legitimize the faculty as well. One such example appeared while I attended various student concerts at the school of music.

All orchestra concerts that I attended were MC’d by the director of that orchestra who was responsible for, among other things, introductions of the pieces, the orchestra musicians, the soloists, and importantly, the composers and arrangers of the pieces. I made special note of the language used by the orchestra directors when introducing their faculty colleagues.

On October 20, 2021, the Eastern Urban Jazz Orchestra I performed a concert entitled “Here and Now.” One tune was an arrangement of the jazz standard “Autumn Leaves,” arranged by the jazz department head who had just stepped down that year. The director introduces them as “The Great [ ], Eastern Urban’s own.” They arrive at another composition by a faculty member, introduced as “by another local, [ ],” however I make a note that he didn’t call the faculty member “Great.” However, when the tune finishes and the audience begins to clap, the director says “The Great [ ].” In my field notes I write, “Okay: he’s great too.” The final piece of the concert is again a composition by a faculty member; the director highlights this faculty member is one of their favourite composers. All three faculty members whose work is highlighted are given special designation: they are ‘great,’ they are the director’s ‘favourites.’ While perhaps not an explicit policy at the school of music, it seems that the discourses Kingsbury (1984) highlighted are present at the EUSM as well.
On November 29, 2021, I attended the Eastern Urban Jazz Orchestra II concert, entitled “Canadian Sounds and Beyond,” which featured music exclusively composed or arranged by Canadian jazz musicians and composers. Led by a different member of the jazz faculty, the orchestra opened with a suite composed by the orchestra director, herself a prolific player in the Canadian jazz music scene. They followed with an arrangement by Rob McConnell, the leader of the Canadian group “The Boss Brass,” an artist who was both inducted into the Canadian Music Hall of Fame in 1997 and endowed with an Order of Canada in 1998 (Hale, 2010). The following piece was by renowned Canadian jazz trumpeter Kenny Wheeler, who was described by the orchestra director as a “Fantastic Canadian trumpeter.” This piece was followed by an arrangement from the jazz department head who recently stepped down, and the concert finished with two arrangements by Canadian arranger Gil Evans.

Through these different examples, we can see that musical knowledges and discourses which serve to reinforce the excellence and legitimacy of the School of Music are themselves legitimated within this social arena. I chose to include these examples as they all took place during orchestra concerts and are discourses distributed by the orchestra directors, who themselves are faculty members at the EUSM. Legitimate musical knowledges within the school of music context, it seems, are those which speak to the excellence of the school of music and its agents. While these examples are all external, outward performances which were public displays to the broader community, discourses which secure the international reputation of the faculty were additionally present in a context which was not so public. The example below describes one example of how this looked.

**Birdsong.** Throughout the semester that I conducted research, the music library curated a visual display entitled “Birdsong.” I include an excerpt from field notes:
Outside of the music library one sees a glass-encased display entitled “Birdsong,” which includes a collection of music documents which all maintain some relation to birds. Documents include literary texts, musical scores, and CDs which have been curated based upon the theme. Some documents are songbooks from the university from years long passed, and recordings released by university groups.

From a research perspective, these documents provide insights into what is considered legitimate through what is included. A number of the documents feature EUSM faculty and alumni and are dispersed among the works of world-renowned composers and artists as Clément Janequin, Olivier Messiaen, and Miles Davis. In this way, these musical artefacts may be afforded a sense of legitimacy or value. The displays represent reasonable parity between musics that one may label ‘Western classical’ and ‘jazz,’ and it seems a conscious effort has been made to include both. However, I note that there seems to be more in the cases that connect to the Western classical music included, if only because of the included scores, poetry, and paintings that accompany the music. In many cases, the only available paraphernalia available that directly connects to the jazz music would be the physical copy of the record or CD. Moreover, originals of scores were included wherever possible, including photocopies of handwritten versions. This, it seems, serves to create a sense of authenticity for the documents which is interesting as they, like their engraved counterparts, are photocopies. We can see that such a display, while aesthetically pleasing, further serves to legitimate discourses which reinforce the excellence of and reputation of the school of music. We can see these discourses at work, both through external performances which are visible to the community, as well as internally, visible only to agents within the school of music.
The third category which emerged when considering the nature of musical knowledges is that of interdisciplinarity.

*Interdisciplinarity*

When exploring what counts as legitimate musical knowledges, tensions emerged in study findings between agents’ discourses surrounding the excellence of ‘disciplinary’ and ‘interdisciplinary’ knowledge. However, it was quickly clear that interdisciplinary ways of knowing were a matter of official policy for the school of music; of the EUSM’s six core values which guide the actions of the school of music, two connect directly to the concept of ‘interdisciplinarity’:

- **Communication and Connectivity:** We celebrate music’s multifaceted nature, its capacity to communicate non-verbally, physically, intellectually, and emotionally, and its ability to connect at many levels with other arts and sciences and with the social and cultural experience of societies, groups, and individuals.
- **Collaboration:** We value working across disciplinary, geographic, and community boundaries to share, combine, and advance knowledge.

The definition for interdisciplinarity, according to *The Canadian Oxford Dictionary* is, “of or between more than one branch of learning” (Barber, 2005). Throughout this study, the question of how knowledges relate to different or multiple branches of learning is central, as the nature of these knowledges and their forms of communication will differently impact the consciousness and identities of agents within the social space of the school of music. Bernstein’s (2000) concept of classification explores means by which relations of categories are established and maintained (p. 6). The very nature of interdisciplinarity suggests that there are distinct categories of knowledges and that these are connected or combined. As Bernstein (2000) reveals,
classification examines “relations between categories, whether these categories are between agencies, between agents, between discourses, between practices” (p. 6). In other words, while these categories are established, there may be ulterior or competing means by which the strength of the insulation between these categories is weakened. Discourses surrounding interdisciplinarity were central throughout study findings. One such way this can be evidenced is through the establishment of the multi-institution Interdisciplinary Research Center.

**The Interdisciplinary Research Center.** As seen in the EUSM core values, interdisciplinarity is a matter of official policy. There may be no better example of this than the development of the Interdisciplinary Research Center\(^8\) (IRC), a research group founded in 2001 which is housed within the EUSM facilities. The IRC website describes its role in providing training and funding opportunities and for enabling interdisciplinary research which is supervised across a range of domains. Throughout the Fall semester, there were many projects and presentations supported by the Center. The Center additionally hosted an international symposium on performing sciences, representing a wide range of interests and influences. I attended the Keynote lecture for the ISPS, which focused on connecting the fields of kinesiology with music performance, with a particular interest in mitigating injuries sustained through musical practice and performance.

Discourses surrounding interdisciplinarity were, as we will later explore, understood in different ways by agents throughout the school of music. What is important to highlight up front, however, is that in most cases, findings suggest that agents appeared to understand the values of interdisciplinarity in a rather unidirectional manner: in particular, the ways in which the inclusion of other disciplines can positively impact music training and performance. Discourses

\(^8\) The Interdisciplinary Research Center is a pseudonym.
surrounding the benefits of music for other disciplines tended to be much less common, although they were notably present within the course content of the Psychology of Music course. Commonly, interdisciplinarity was understood with respect to encouraging health and wellness within a music performance context. In summary, while interdisciplinarity was legitimated by the school of music both discursively and through the allocation of resources, tensions existed amongst agents regarding how and in what ways interdisciplinarity leads to excellence, and the particular forms these interdisciplinary knowledges and discourses take.

**Music Performance and Student Well-Being.** One prominent facet through which interdisciplinary knowledges were viewed as legitimate explored how health and wellness discourses intersected with performance knowledges. The sixth core value of the EUSM was student-centeredness, which the school explains: “We keep student needs and well-being at the forefront of our teaching and learning and the support we provide.” Throughout my field research, there was a significant focus on the relationship between living and working as a music student and the negative physical and mental impacts this can lead to. On the main floor of the school of music building, on what is perhaps the most visible bulletin board at the school of music, a large section is devoted to Student Health and Wellness. This was chock full of posters, ranging from advertisements for classes in Alexander technique and Feldenkrais, to spaces for students to write down spaces to relax on campus, to lists of resources for students such as “Managing stress in uncertain times,” “Skills for managing exam anxiety,” “PhD support group,” to advertisements for light therapy. Many more posters included information on why sleep is important, and resources for mental health support on campus.

Student well-being appeared to be a very present topic in students’ day-to-day interactions. As the Fall 2021 semester was the first semester back in-person since the beginning
of the COVID-19 pandemic, health and well-being were at the fore of conversations, impacting everything from student conversations to assignment deadlines.

My interview with Professor Molly Anderson brought context to this phenomenon. We were discussing what I perceived to be an increased expectation by students for resources and support, and she explained:

Yeah. I mean, one tiny example just the other day that really struck me was, I was having a conversation with some students and one of the students said, you know, it was just shocking, shocking, that our institution doesn't have dedicated health and well-being . . . kind of like the equivalent of a sports psychologist, but a person to support music performance students. And there was a general sort of, “Yeah, isn't this terrible?” from, you know, and shock and horror and “how could this be?” And I was just really struck by it because I thought, you know, when I was a student—okay, that's a million years ago—but that would have been such a foreign concept. That just would not have come up in conversation, it totally . . . it wasn't even part of the conversation.

It seemed that these conversations were beginning to happen more and more in the music building. Marcus mentioned some of his experiences with health issues that came from a more traditional musical model which did not include health and wellness discourses:

Yeah, my bass teacher in particular was really like—I had never had like formal music training, as I said because I taught myself mostly—and so it was really like there's a lot of pressure from the individual lesson tutors, and stuff, where I actually injured my wrists doing that, like it was so much pressure, so much, “Hey, I'm in pain!” “Well, you have to practice more.” “Hey, my wrists are really hurting,” “Practice more.” Next thing I know,
I have tendonitis and carpal tunnel and a compressed nerve in my neck. And I was kind of like, “wow, this, this is really kind of shit,” you know?

Later in the interview, when I asked Marcus what would be one thing he would change about the music department, he responded:

Um, inform their teachers that physical pain is not something that you have to push through. God. [both laugh] Tell them that. I don't know. I feel like everyone should be more well-rounded.

Marcus mentioned that he prides himself on being well-rounded, which is evident in his decision to do a double-major in music and psychology. He says:

I've always prided myself on being well-rounded, which again, ties into doing the double major aspect of it. Because I think focusing too firmly on one thing is, I don't know . . . it's narrowing for a person.

From these examples, we can see the ways interdisciplinary musical knowledges are legitimated within ‘health and wellness’ discourse. In many ways, Marcus’s education trajectory models the interdisciplinary characteristics which align with the EUSM’s core values. And at the same time, he identifies that this switch away from performance had an impact on how he constructed his identity. In this way, health and wellness issues informed the ways he valued the concept of interdisciplinarity. This shift in values away from a performance-centric model towards a more well-rounded, ‘interdisciplinary’ model also had an impact on his identity. He reveals:

I used to think that, I was like, “Oh, well, I'm not good because, you know, I changed out of performance . . . a musician is someone that sticks with performance.” And I'm realizing pretty rapidly that there are people in my entourage that they can be . . . I don't know, I appreciate their musical knowledge and their gifts, and I don't even know what
they play . . . Because coming from a school where, my only exposure to Eastern Urban was through the performance aspect of it . . . my sense of self was disrupted because I was like, “Oh, if I can't perform, then I can't be a music student.” And that the only thing tying me to music was the ability to, you know, perfect solfege, which was always problematic for me. You know, “if I can't get 100% on an ear training test, if I can’t hear the harmony then who am I?” And, “I guess I'm not good.”

Marcus identifies that his negative experiences with music performance and the development of his health issues played a role in his shift in beliefs and values about what makes a good music student. Moreover, he notes that interactions with his ‘entourage’ revealed that other students shared similar issues. Susan, on the other hand, felt that the focus on performance at the expense of well-being was improving in one-on-one instruction, saying:

I think there's a lot of focus on technical aspects of playing in lessons . . . now it's somewhat becoming more of a holistic approach, maybe? Where we're starting to talk about more healthy habits and things like this. So, in that sense, I think it's getting better to prepare musicians to, like, manage performance, stress, and things like that.

Susan identified that performance students may also not be aware of what is available on campus because of their singular focus:

Um, maybe it's just my particular social circle, but I feel like they're, my friends don't really know what's going on in terms of like clubs and things like this at school, or like— I mean, I don't know, either! [laughs] . . . The students that are involved in that or not, as far as I'm aware, are hardly ever performance majors. Yeah, it's just like, the mindset is just like “I need to practice” and then a lot of other things go out the window.
While Susan never explicitly identifies health and wellness support as one of the aspects which get overlooked by performance students, it would be fair to assume that a myopic view of the purposes of school may impact what students consider available to them. In other words, there appears to be contestation between what is considered valuable, legitimate knowledge among agents as it pertains to disciplinary and interdisciplinary discourses. It seems that within the school of music, tensions exist between the importance agents place on performance discourses as students negotiate beliefs surrounding the importance of practice and well-being. I brought up this point to Molly Anderson, who responded:

Yeah, and that’s for sure a common thread. I've heard that from many students. And it's not just the students, it's also the instructors, you know. So, there's a lot of work to do there. And again, I think partly that's because we're still taking this kind of ‘add-on approach.’ So, the health and well-being stuff or the, you know, equity resources or anything like that is kind of an ‘add-on,’ it's something you have to search for extra. It's not embedded in the core curriculum, where it needs to be. If it was embedded, then we wouldn't all be scrambling around searching for it.

Professor Anderson’s comment illuminates a key issue with such supports: even when support is available, if it is not embedded in the core curriculum, then it is ‘extra’ and may not be visible, especially for those students who are singularly focused on music performance. Combined with Susan’s comment, findings suggest that embedding health and wellness discourses into private instruction may be key to ensuring that performance students have access to them.

In summary, there appears to be contestation of values and beliefs between disciplinary and interdisciplinary musical knowledges. ‘What counts’ as legitimate (in terms of what leads to excellence) seems to be understood differently by agents in different arenas. While Susan
suggests that health and wellness discourses are becoming more prominent within students’ private instruction, it seems that there is still tension between beliefs surrounding the importance of these discourses within the music performance space.

**The Development of Citizens**

The final emergent category related to the nature of legitimate musical knowledges focuses on the purposes of music education more broadly. Specifically, study findings indicate that there appears to be tension among agents with regards to preparing students for careers in music or their lives more broadly. There is no shortage of music education literature espousing the purpose of music education for developing citizens. Such arguments focus on the value of music education in developing students as engaged citizens, including (although not limited to) shaping critical thinking skills (Woodford, 2005; 2019), policy knowhow (Schmidt, 2019), and attitudes of lifelong learning (Westerlund, 2008).

One question I asked all the interview participants was, “what do you believe are the characteristics of an ideal student?” The responses were, admittedly, not what I had expected. Marcus, for one, responded:

> Marcus: Hmm. I guess someone that engages with not only material but with their peers. Someone that has a good balance of life and school . . . so, yeah, someone that is global. Someone that is both approachable and studious. And, you know, whatever ‘kind’ means.

Marcus’s response highlights qualities such as approachable and kind as characteristics of an ideal student. While he notes the importance of being studious, it is framed within having a good balance of life and school. From my own experience within schools of music as well as observations throughout the semester, this may not be a characteristic that is shared equally among all agents. Nick’s response aligned fairly closely to Marcus’s:
Nick: Stuff like just being a nice person [laughs] if that makes sense. Like, I've heard horror stories of [a Canadian university] specifically where it's really fiercely competitive. And, you know, it's kind of cutthroat like that, like they make you show up for your auditions in like all concert blacks and all that stuff. Whereas Eastern Urban’s definitely not like that, you know, everyone's very nice, everyone's very supportive. Not being like . . . you can be competitive but not a “competing against one another” sort of thing to try and make your way to the top. But, of course, like all the normal things, I would go with any university like really applying yourself for your courses, really paying attention in class, being engaged.

Nick’s response was surprising. Twice he noted the value of being nice and supportive, and not too competitive, saying “you can be competitive but not a ‘competing against one another’ sort of thing to try to make your way to the top.” Given the other responses from participants and the focus on competition within the faculty, what Nick values is perhaps starkly counter to the implicit value of competition present within the school of music. This is fascinating as Nick is enrolled in the Bachelor of Music Faculty program and his values align with the program he selected. Professor Molly Anderson had an interesting response as well to this question, although framed slightly differently as I specifically asked her about the characteristics of an ideal student for the Psychology of Music course she instructed:

Molly: Oh, ok so the very first word that just popped into my head was ‘curious.’ I think that's the top characteristic. Curious, conscientious. Yeah, I mean I like students who ask questions. And I recognize that many students are shy to ask questions; I think they all have questions and, you know, I guess I think it's part of my role to draw those questions.
out. But yeah, it's just curiosity, perseverance, tenacity, conscientiousness, you know . . .
participation. Those are the kinds of things I love in a student.

Finally, Susan’s response:

Susan: I think a top student ideally would kind of see how performance and the non-
practical, writing, the non-playing classes are connected. Because I think as I've gone
through my undergrad I've seen, like, I definitely started in the realm of like, “I only care
about performing, I don't know why I have to take these other classes.” But as I've
continued, I've seen how important it is to have context and, you know, understand the
history and social context behind what we're doing. Yeah, a top student would be equally
engaged and also engaged, like, into social aspects of the school. I think that's another
thing that a lot of performance majors don't feel like they need to engage with.

Susan’s response reflects a shift in values throughout her four years in the program,
demonstrating increased importance for engaging with historical and social context, as well as
engagement with the social aspects of the school.

These responses highlight that what counts as legitimate musical knowledge is contested
by agents within the school of music. On the one hand, agents may value foregrounding
performance discourses which prepare students for a particular musical career, on the other,
agents may foreground discourses such as ‘kindness,’ ‘curiosity,’ or those which focus on
understanding knowledges within social and historical contexts. Findings indicated that these
discourses which foregrounded the development of citizens extended into beliefs and values
surrounding the importance of equity, diversity, and inclusion practices within the school of
music.
Equity, Diversity, and Inclusion Practices. There is no doubt that over the past decades, Canadian university policies have followed the shift towards postmodernism, turning the lens inwards to examine and re-evaluate their own practices and ways of knowing. This has certainly been the case at the Eastern Urban School of Music, which has impacted everything from hiring practices to rethinking admissions requirements, whose direction is based on the Eastern Urban School of Music Equity, Diversity, and Inclusion (EDI) Strategic Plan 2020 – 2025. Molly described this shift:

So, I think we're living in changing times. The university is trying very hard to be more inclusive and to think more about equity, diversity, inclusion, and to diversify the socioeconomic profile of the student body, and that sort of thing. So, to put it really bluntly, we might be, and I don't know this for a fact, but I think I do know that retention is an issue for some students from particular backgrounds. And I worry that we maybe are succeeding in attracting some students, but when they get into the institution, what they expected it might be, or what they expected in terms of the support they would get, or the community that they would be part of, they're kind of . . . that's where the problem is. So, it's like, “okay we'll open our doors and let you in, but once you're here, you've got to be just like us, and if you're not like us, then you'll have to take the exit.” So that's putting it really crudely and I'm not saying that anyone is sort of explicitly setting out to do that but I'm very worried that that is in fact what is happening in some cases.

Molly’s comments reflect a key issue of this study: that is, understanding how forms of communication impact student identity and consciousness. She addressed an interesting dilemma within the Eastern Urban School of Music which reveals the very nature of the school’s dominant ideology. The school of music strives to “diversify the socioeconomic profile of the
student body” and works to attract these students to the school. From Molly’s comment, one could argue that the school is especially interested in attracting these students for, among the usual reasons, their “diverse socioeconomic profiles.” However, once they enter the school of music, these students are subject to the same social reproduction practices as all students. Tacit forms of regulation upon their practice and behavior may in fact prove more difficult to negotiate than for other students; they may not recognise themselves against the dominant image of value. To shape their discourses and practices to “be just like us” may require a much more significant shift than for other students who come into the school of music recognising themselves within this space. Molly continued:

And the university has support in place; like, for example for black students there's some bespoke targeted support systems. But I don't know whether it's enough, I don't know if whether sort of tacking on those kinds of supports is enough. I think maybe we have some deeper thinking to do about programs, and the values that underpin those programs.

Kyle: Do you have any kind of thoughts on what some of those ideals might be?

Molly: You know, these are really big issues. What I found really interesting is that there's—of course there's always resistance to change—but when you start talking about change, often people will be afraid that what you're really talking about is something to do with ‘compromising excellence,’ and that's completely not what I'm talking about. I'm not talking about dumbing down on compromising on excellence. So, I think there's some big discussions that have to take place and will take place, inevitably, because I think students will demand that it takes place, because students are changing. Students don't stay the same as they were in, you know, a hundred years ago; they’re products of their time and they will demand change. So, it won't happen overnight but it is happening.
Molly’s comments reflect a key message to meeting the diverse needs of students: such supports must be directly embedded into the core curriculum and must be built into pedagogic models if they are to be accessible to all students. Such thinking aligns with the earlier considerations about embedding health and wellness discourses within the core curriculum. Chapter 6 will explore how and in what ways pedagogic models may work to meet these needs. Drawing upon Bernstein (2000), it seems a shift in the ideology of the school is necessary in order to change how students recognise themselves against the dominant image of the school. Bernstein argues that the rules which regulate and distribute pedagogic communication reflect the ideologies of dominant groups (p. 27). With a shift in Canadian music education towards neoliberalism (Horsley, 2014; Woodford, 2019; Zavitz et al., in press) and corporatization to meet market demands, students’ voices play an integral role in shifting who the dominant groups are. Molly Anderson’s comment highlights the increased importance in student voice for affecting change within higher education spaces. While there are many other factors which maintain and regulate the positioning of dominant groups within higher education, Anderson highlights that student voice may play an important role in the regulation of such groups.

The above section reveals discourses surrounding the nature of legitimate musical knowledges, organized through four emergent categories: competition and performance, international reputation, interdisciplinarity, and the development of citizens. From this first section, we can see the various ways in which the legitimacy of musical knowledges within the school of music are contested based on differential beliefs and values surrounding excellence in order to answer the first research question: “What is the nature of legitimate musical knowledge within the Eastern Urban School of Music?” In the first category, competition and performance, we see the ways particular musical knowledges (particularly Western art music) are legitimated
through the example of the Golden Violin. Moreover, we can see the legitimacy of performance discourses within the School of Music through recommended performance levels for applicants, and the ways these are negotiated within the jazz context in the Jazz Improvisation class. In the second category, international reputation, we examined how particular musical knowledges, once again primarily performance discourses, serve to legitimate the school of music and its agents both internally and externally, through orchestra performances and the example of the ‘Birdsong’ display. In the third category, interdisciplinarity, we can see how the legitimacy of musical knowledges is contested by different groups depending on their beliefs and values surrounding the excellence of disciplinary performance discourses or interdisciplinary health and wellness discourses. And finally, in the fourth category, the ‘development of citizens,’ we can see how once again, there is contestation among agents regarding the purposes of the school of music and what counts as an excellent musician and their skills and knowledges. These findings indicate that there is contestation surrounding the nature of legitimate and excellent musical knowledges among agents, which are distributed differentially by agents through their social relations within the school of music. Thus, these competing pedagogic discourses distribute different knowledges which feature different forms of regulation. I wish to turn now to the forms of regulation upon these knowledges, offering a space to examine how these knowledges are distributed differentially by agents, with a particular focus on relations of power and control.

II: The Forms of Regulation upon Knowledges at the Eastern Urban School of Music

From the above section, we can see that many knowledges are legitimated—and contested—within the Eastern Urban School of Music. However, an analysis of ‘what’ is included offers little if it is not rooted in an understanding of ‘how’ these knowledges come to be legitimated—that is, a description of the principles of communication which differently select, maintain, and
regulate these knowledges (Bernstein, 2000). This is a key consideration for understanding the ways value, power, and potential are unequally distributed (p. xxi).

This section explores these principles of communication using the tools afforded through Bernstein’s (2000) conceptualization of the Pedagogic Device. In particular, it provides an analysis of collected data through the varying modalities of pedagogic codes, particularly those of Classification (\(\pm C\)) and Framing(\(\pm F\)). Perhaps there is no better place to begin than an examination of discourses surrounding categories of musical knowledges.

**Classification and Maintaining Categories of Musical Knowledges**

As Bernstein (2000) suggested, power relations:

- create boundaries, legitimise boundaries, reproduce boundaries, between different categories of groups, gender, class, race, different categories of discourse, different categories of agents. Thus, power always operates to produce dislocations, to produce punctuations in social space. (p. 5)

These power relations and the boundaries they maintain and regulate become means through which the legitimacy of knowledges can be assured. As we have seen in Chapter 2, this categorization was at one point in time means through which Western classical musics were legitimated and jazz and other musical knowledges were excluded from the Canadian school of music curriculum. This shift in power relations offers a unique opportunity to reveal the ideologies which maintain and regulate them; Bernstein (2000) writes “Every time a discourse moves, there is space for ideology to play. New power relations develop between regions and singulars as they compete for resources and influence” (p. 9). While today both Western art and jazz musics enjoy legitimacy within the school of music, that does not mean that these
knowledges, their discourses, or their practices are equally valued by all agents within this social arena.

One of the by-products of the postmodern shift which has made its way into the school of music appears to be a challenging of genre distinctions, particularly as they are understood with relation to race and class. Initially, this study was focusing on understanding key differences in the nature of musical knowledges between departments (namely jazz and Western classical) in order to understand the ways different forms of regulation upon knowledges differently impacted student identity and consciousness. While these forms of regulation play a central role in the legitimation of knowledges through what Bernstein (2000) terms the *distributive rules*, my time within the Eastern Urban School of Music suggested that such distribution may not be equally understood through different students’ experiences. In this way, we can see multiple competing ideologies at work within the EUSM, as different groups struggle for control over the relay of the pedagogic device (see Chapter 3). In particular, students demonstrated varied understandings of the nature of division, boundaries, and siloing both between and within different categories, pointing to differential modalities of classification. We will now explore some of the experiences of students and faculty and their differential distribution of knowledges.

**Nick’s Experience with Division.** A number of factors may play a role in shifting discourse around genre. This shifting discourse was revealed during Nick’s interview. I asked if Nick has experienced a strong division between the jazz and classical departments at Eastern Urban, to which he replied:

Nick: Not so much in Eastern Urban. At Eastern Urban it’s surprisingly integrated. But I'm not sure if Eastern Urban is just the standard for me because at [Canadian university] my last university it was hard divided, shared zero courses with the jazz students at all.
And that was something apparently, they did share courses, but then a couple of professors pushed to split everything at [Canadian University].

Nick: And that sucked, it sucked! It literally created an ‘Us versus them’ mentality, whether people liked it or not. You know, the jazz students were like, “ooh it’s the classical students” or whatever. Coming to Eastern Urban . . . it feels like there's no real divide at all.

Nick highlights what he perceives as weakened boundaries between the jazz and classical departments at EUSM compared to what he experienced at his prior university. He explained that the imposed divisions between departments created what he perceived as an “us versus them” mentality. These weakened boundaries that Nick perceives at the EUSM liken to what Bernstein (2000) describes as a weakened relation to power, where one might expect the identities and categories of knowledges and agents to be less established and more permeable.

**Susan’s Experiences with Genre Distinction.** Compared to Nick’s experiences, Susan reveals that her experiences are vastly different. When I asked her what one thing she would change about her music department, her response was:

Susan: Ah! [laughs] Okay . . . one thing . . . I wish that the different faculties of music—so like, there's like hardly any interaction between voice students, string students, wind instruments, pianists, and then jazz faculty is also . . . anyway, all the different like parts of the music school are really disconnected. And I think that a lot of issues can be solved if there was some way for us to like, talk to each other more. Like, if jazz students and classical music students had classes together more. I just think that talking to people who are learning something different than you're learning . . . could really help a lot of issues.

Kyle: Not to pry too deep, but could you tell me what some of those issues might be?
Susan: Last year we were learning . . . I took this “Issues in Music Education” course. And they’re learning about diversity in education and decolonizing [the] music classroom, and things like this. And I think talking about kind of how sometimes in music schools, to be considered a “legit musician” [laughs], you need to go through the classical path . . . which makes a block to many people trying to participate, because it's not fair that a jazz musician—I'm just generalizing—would have to learn about classical things to be included. But a classical musician wouldn't have to learn about jazz music. So that I think if people talk to each other more, they would learn more about other ways of approaching music, and then hopefully, would start to break down some barriers.

Susan’s response highlighted her understanding that perceptions about music within EUSM remain hierarchized, with agents continuing to believe that classical music knowledges maintain an elite position; as she noted, “sometimes in music schools, to be considered a ‘legit musician’ you need to go down the classical path.” The issue this raises, she highlighted, is that barriers and divisions between agents play an integral role in how agents communicate. Nick and Susan’s responses highlight that there is an unequal distribution of knowledges within the school of music. It appears that while both students attend the same school of music, their conceptions of the strength of classification between categories (and agents) are not shared. Nick’s experiences lead him to perceive musical knowledges and agents within the school of music as weakly classified, where Susan described knowledges and agents at the EUSM as strongly classified.

Interestingly, Susan reveals that barriers and divisions to communication do not exist exclusively with agents between departments, but also agents within them, explaining:

Okay, so I really love chamber music, that's what I want to do. But then if I think about trying to find people to play with, I don't have personal connections with anyone, really
outside of string department, like hardly even outside of violins, so it makes it so hard to collaborate with people and like share ideas that I would probably want to work with people from outside of like, classical violin. [laughs]

I asked her if she could speak more about the barriers to communication within the classical department. She replied:

Susan: If you see someone, like, the more you see each other in the practice hall, the more you like, connect that this person is part of the school. People who practice at home, you never see them in school unless you have a class together. And so we joke about, like, “do they even go here?” The voice and piano have different practice wings, so like they're on a completely different floor [from violin]. You just never see them. So, the other way that people interact is in orchestra. It's not encouraged, this communication between sections. So, it doesn't feel like we're playing as a whole group . . . And then the only time we've maybe encountered voice, jazz, or piano students is in classes. But then if there isn't a lot of group work in the classes the personal connections just aren't made.

Susan’s response highlights the impact physical barriers and divisions have for communication, both with practice room ‘wings’ as well as between orchestra sections. Althusser (1971) affirms this, asserting that physical boundaries impact the distribution of different ideologies. It is interesting that while the stated core values of the university highlight the need for collaboration and communication, the implementation of practice room ‘wings’ (whether explicitly enacted or tacitly established) serve as a barrier to communication. My own experiences as a school of music student at various universities across Canada and Europe corroborate this; after all, the jazz and Western campuses at a school I attended were located in different parts of the city!
The responses from both Nick and Susan are vastly different regarding barriers and siloing between departments, perhaps due in part to their different music education paths. Nick transferred to EUSM in the Fall and it is his first semester at the EUSM, whereas Susan is in her fifth year of studies. Also, Nick is in a Faculty program and studying guitar, whereas Susan is in the performance program studying violin. Thus, while both are enrolled in the same school of music, are both located within classical performance, and even share a class together, it appears the different programs maintain and regulate knowledges differentially to students. The responses from Nick and Susan indicate that what counts as legitimate musical knowledge is differently distributed amongst the agents who are in proximity to them, including those within their programs. In other words, we can see that forms of regulation upon pedagogic discourses, particularly principles of classification, are differentially distributed amongst agents based upon the social relations of their different educational programs.

Figaro and Genre Distinction. Previously I discussed the November 8, 2021 class on jazz improvisation, where students were explaining how they started playing jazz and what led them to the Eastern Urban School of Music. After all students had finished speaking, a student asked Professor Figaro how he got into jazz. I include an excerpt from his response:

. . . . I was NOT forced to take classical music, I did take piano lessons when I was a kid but only for about two years. I hated it, didn’t want to know. I came back to the piano when I was like, fourteen, fifteen, you know, started trying to [goes over to the piano] D minor [plays triad] you know, for like an hour. [Plays a long glissando on the white keys of the piano, ascending and then descending] You know, all the white notes. So, [laughs] and that got me into trying to play modal jazz, I just basically tried to find my own way.
And I understand what you said about the classical music thing cause I’ve had students, really good piano students, actually, who . . . there was one woman from Taiwan and she had had piano lessons drilled into her since she was like 3 years old, she was a prodigy, she came into the first lesson with me, she could hardly speak any English and she said, uh, “what do you want me to do?” And I said, “well, can you play something, anything? Let me hear a classical piece.” She said okay, and she sits down and she plays this Ravel thing, like no one I have ever heard. I mean, I never heard Ravel sound like this, she played the shit out of it [class laughs] it was just one of the most beautiful things I ever heard. And I’m listening to this and I’m thinking “Why the hell does she want to play jazz music when she can play classical music like this?” I mean it was unbelievable, I felt as if the whole room was like, lifting up, you know, when she was playing this piece. All the colours coming out of the piano . . . and then I said, “wow that was amazing” and she says “I hate this music.” And I said, “What? You don’t play it like you hate it!” She says “I hate it. I hate the whole experience. I hate this music, I want to learn how to improvise, I hate this music,” and she just went on and on about, you know, her parents made her do this. So I said, “Well look, try not to leave this stuff behind too much, because you definitely have a connection to the instrument, you know, let’s try not to differentiate too much between jazz and classical,” but she didn’t want to know. And she did! She learned how to improvise, she had started writing her own music, and she did actually quite well. Figaro’s colourful account offers insight into the ways he conceives of genre categories. Of note is the parity with which he describes the value of classical and jazz music. His anecdote about the student from Taiwan reveals his perspective on the value of classical music, perspectives which he as a legitimate ‘knower’ is reproducing and distributing through his discourse with
students. His suggestion to the piano student in the anecdote to “try not to differentiate too much between jazz and classical,” suggests that Figaro believes there is (or should be) relatively weak classification between the categories of jazz and classical knowledges. He then continues:

Music is quite different now and everybody’s so polarized, in some ways.

Marjane: What do you mean by polarized?

Figaro: I mean there’s opinions on how jazz should be played, and nobody wants to hear certain things, and other people want to hear certain things. But everybody has like, very strong opinions—it's like politics. And really, what we need to do is we need to find ways to work together. You know, to me, the music doesn’t have to be categorized too much. I think it’s okay to play swing music, and I think you guys think that too, but it’s also okay if you don’t want it.

Underlying Figaro’s conception of categories is his belief that “what we need to do is we need to find ways to work together.” This may be part of the reason why his conception of classification is very weak within the jazz improvisation class; after all, Bernstein (2000) explains that strong relations to power result in relative silence between agents. Figaro similarly reveals that there are discourses which work to maintain strong boundaries within jazz, something which DeVeaux (1991) suggests is a means to establish a jazz ‘pedigree’ and reified tradition (see Chapter 2). Figaro’s values additionally appear to align with the stated core values of the school of music, particularly those of Collaboration and Communication and Connectivity.

Findings indicate that Figaro’s values and beliefs align closely with Susan’s, as their responses both point to valuing strong communication amongst groups. Whether it is through weakening genre distinctions (both between genres and within them) or by weakening the physical boundaries (as found with different practice wings, etc.), the weak classification of
categories aligns with the values strongly tied to excellence through communication and collaboration as found in interdisciplinarity. In answering the question of “what are the forms of regulation which work to differently select and maintain this [legitimate musical] knowledge,” we can see that Figaro’s pedagogy within the Jazz Improvisation I class is underpinned by relatively weak classificatory principles.

**Halliday and Genre Distinction.** A number of times throughout Professor Halliday’s lectures, both in the Theory and Analysis class and Renaissance Modal Counterpoint class, jazz knowledges emerged as legitimate means to teach concepts. I include an excerpt from Renaissance Modal Counterpoint class on October 20, 2021 looking at motivic repetition:

Halliday, to the class: “Is it starting to seem more musical? What these [Renaissance] composers like, is when things are the same, but not too the same.” After this, he summarizes succinctly what this means when working within motivic repetition: “change something.” The class laughs.

Halliday spends the first 10 minutes of class playing excerpts from the textbook to demonstrate this. This conversation led to a conversation about the displacement of cells, and Halliday references the ways that cells are used in jazz. He says “These cats [Zarlino and the other composers] invented it first.” Halliday then continues by understanding the ending to Thelonious Monk’s “Blue Monk” as being a series of displaced cells.

**Figure 3**

*Example of cell displacement in Thelonious Monk’s “Blue Monk” (1954)*
Note: The melodic fragment in measure 1 is repeated in measure 2, however, it is displaced to beat 2.

Another student then continues this by suggesting Monk’s “Straight No Chaser,” which they note is basically entirely displaced rhythmic cells.

Figure 4

Example of cell displacement in Thelonious Monk’s “Straight No Chaser” (1951)

Professor Halliday is a very capable pianist and begins playing both of these tunes without any difficulty or sheet music.

Two things stand out immediately: The first is that for a moment, if a student walked into this room during this conversation, they could be forgiven for thinking this was a course in jazz theory, analysis, arranging, or composition, as this exact topic (cell displacement) has been covered in my own jazz education classes (and using the same tunes, no less!) Secondly, Halliday engages with students on this topic using jazz. He brought up the topic as a legitimate means of explaining the concept of motivic repetition. In fact, that he brought this up seems to suggest this was one of (if not the most) legitimate means of examining motivic repetition within a context these students would understand.
From the above examples (Nick, Susan, Figaro, and Halliday) a picture is painted of a school of music where weak classifications between categories of musical knowledges are valued. In the case of Figaro and Halliday, we can see that faculty are distributing discourses which legitimate discourses outside of their own immediate departments. Figaro’s discourse, in particular, appears to be actively working to reproduce this ideology. While Nick and Susan have experienced very different levels of division within their music education experiences, both value discourses which weaken the boundaries between categories.

This discourse of weakened classification extends to weakened framing principles as well, as Halliday makes clear multiple times throughout the Theory and Analysis class. During the October 6, 2021 class, Halliday addresses the class, explaining that the forms of analysis which they use within the course comprise simply one lens through which to analyze music, not the only one or necessarily the best one. He then went on to explain to students, “I don’t want you to think these are the only composers worth listening to and I also don’t want you to think this is the only or best way to analyze music.” These declarations from Halliday are interesting, as the actual pacing and the sequencing of the class are very structured, leaving little space or opportunity to explore other composers or analyze music in a different way. I note that the course largely follows the textbook, and slides are prepared and followed sequentially. Students only speak or give their own ideas when called upon, although Halliday did note at the start of the class that he likes when students come forward.

In this way, it seems that there is a tension between these stated discourses and the instructional discourses of the class. The course structure appears to be strongly classified and framed: it is highly sequenced in terms of both content and pedagogy, following a popular theory textbook which was itself penned by a retired faculty member. The use of examples solely from
Mozart, Haydn, and Beethoven further reinforce the narratives of musical ‘eras,’ (see Chapter 2), and the prestige and legitimacy of the examples is assured by the narratives of the ‘Greatness’ of these figures. On the other hand, Halliday’s caveats serve in a way to ‘subvert’ this tacit legitimation, explaining that this may not be the ‘best’ or ‘only’ way to analyze this music. Importantly, this discourse does not seem to appear in the course content, pedagogy, or evaluation in any way. In other words, while Halliday’s discourse could be construed as reflecting principles of weakened classification and framing, the modalities of his pedagogic discourse reflect much stronger classification and framing principles. This strong classification, which is often associated with traditional school of music discourse and practice, served to make visible the regulation of categories through the maintenance of boundaries.

**Recognition Rules and the Classification of Pedagogic Discourse.** One such instance where the maintenance of boundaries was made visible was during Theory and Analysis class on October 18. From my field notes:

As Professor Halliday works through the material, he asks students to name a chord, and a student suggests it is a C major 9 (C E G B D).

Halliday: A C major 9 would be nice in another context such as jazz . . . [goes over to the piano and plays a lick reminiscent of Bill Evans] . . . but not here.

What may be obvious to those ‘in the know’ is that, as Professor Halliday pointed out, the context dictates the legitimacy of the pedagogic discourse. In this instance, a C major 9 chord would be the wrong answer when analyzing the music of Mozart, Beethoven, and Haydn, where just a few hours prior in the Jazz Improvisation class, that student would have provided the most legitimate or ‘excellent’ response. In this way, this particular example foregrounds a strongly classified pedagogic text; the teacher does not “[operate] with a theory of reading through the
product the acquirer offers,” but rather sees the produced text as an inadequate performance of
the student (Bernstein, 2000, p. 47). Interestingly, Halliday makes clear within the evaluation,
the student demonstrates a misunderstanding of the recognition rules which distribute what
counts as a ‘legitimate’ context. While this evaluation was very informal (a ‘segmental’
conversation within a classroom setting), it still served to distribute a particular form of
communication. Marcus discussed almost this exact phenomenon within his own music training
at Eastern Urban. I had asked him to what extent he felt—as a jazz bass player—the jazz
department communicated with the other departments. He replied:

Horrible communication. Like atrocious. There's just this huge divide, either you're in
jazz or in classical, and they don't communicate to one another . . . Which I don't know,
again, was strange for me, because I was doing all my history, all my theory courses
[were] classical. Yet I was doing jazz performance. How did that make sense? You know,
how does it make sense that I'm studying classical theory, not talking about, you know,
seventh chords [laughs] because jazz stuff, you know, like, I want to, I want to talk about
why there's a 13 on top, but they're like, “that doesn't exist. Bach never did that” [laughs].

Marcus brings up an interesting consideration: students who are working and studying in
multiple departments may need to re-calibrate their recognition and realisation rules depending
on the pedagogic context to produce a legitimate message. Such examples highlight that forms of
regulation upon musical knowledges are additionally predicated upon the pedagogic contexts in
which they exist. Principles of classification and framing which serve to distribute various
knowledges shift between context, and with them the content or pedagogy that counts as
legitimate or excellent. Marcus’s comments demonstrate that program requirements may
function to suit an institutional directive, instead of functioning to sequence learning.
This example further reinforces the concept that the legitimacy of a pedagogic text and its realisation is tied directly to the context in which it is produced. A text produced within two classes, within the same school of music, on the same day, mere doors from one another, can be legitimate or illegitimate based upon the pedagogic context. Once again, we can see that the principles of communication which regulate the distribution of knowledges shift depending on the context. In this way, we may begin to see the school of music as a site where there is tension and contestation of forms of regulation upon knowledges, impacting the legitimacy of forms of content, sequencing, and assessment. The following section explores the bounds of the legitimacy of pedagogic discourses within the school of music with three examples.

“Crazy Frog” in the Classroom. Molly Anderson begins the Psychology of Music class on October 18, 2021, with a quick experiment. During the last class she asked for four volunteers to bring a piece of music to share with the class. Students would, in this class, provide feedback on their familiarity and emotional responses to the music. The scale of possible responses includes sadness, surprise, calm, anger, irritation, nostalgia, interest, anxiety, love, disgust, admiration, and pride, adopted from the responses in a research article the class examined previously (Juslin et al., 2008). For brevity, I include only the third selection which Marcus brought to the class.

Marcus selected Axel F’s “Crazy Frog.” Even as he types the name into the Google Search bar, students already begin laughing and groaning in their seats.

“Oh no, come on!” The giggles began before it even starts. As it played, the student right ahead of me, a music performance student, covered their ears.

Molly Anderson turned it off to more laughter. “Okay, so.” She looked at the responses from the poll. “Here we have some clear trends. So we’ve got, um . . . this is interesting.”
[class erupts in laughter] The most common were Nostalgia, Anger and Irritation, and Happiness and Surprise. So, is that what you were expecting?

Marcus: Yeah, we were expecting a little more disgust . . . [class laughs]

Molly: Yeah, there’s not . . . there’s only a little bit of disgust. [laughter].

I include this excerpt to highlight the broad range of legitimate text within the context of the Psychology of Music course. Compared to other courses (particularly the Western art theory or history courses), in the Psychology of Music course there are no explicit features which specialise and distinguish this musical context. In other words, such discourses can be seen as weakening classification between musical categories and agents. Bernstein (2000) writes, “The classificatory principle at the level of the individual creates recognition rules whereby the subject can orientate to the special features which distinguish the context” (p. 17). Here, the inclusion and legitimation of broad musical knowledges represent a relatively weak classificatory principle. Students were not asked to pick music from a particular genre or style—they were free to draw upon musics from their own experiences and social relations. While this example does serve to answer the first research question regarding “what counts as legitimate musical knowledge" within the institution, its presence here foregrounds the relatively weak classificatory principles which regulate content within the Psychology of Music class.

Anachronism and Original Discourse

The rationale for the legitimacy of pedagogic texts within this class are determined, as previously suggested, by its context. One rationale for this legitimacy is offered numerous times by Professor Halliday throughout the semester in both Theory and Analysis and Renaissance Modal Counterpoint classes: a legitimate text within these contexts cannot be anachronistic. Such discourse produces dislocations between the content presented within the classes and the
musical experiences of the students. I include notes from the Renaissance Modal Counterpoint class, November 24, 2021:

Today the students begin working on three-part counterpoint. During the class, Professor Halliday makes a very explicit distinction between triads and ‘three-pitch classes.’ He does this to outline that Renaissance composers did not think about music theory the same way we do today. This appears to be an important part of the course, to immerse students in this different way of seeing and experiencing music and composition.

Halliday: “We can’t have first-inversion triads, speaking anachronistically . . .”

This rule regarding the inclusion of anachronisms is not hard and fast, however. The textbook describes the extent anachronisms are allowable within the style, and during my observations Professor Halliday follows the suggestions from the text closely. From the textbook:

This book is only as historically correct as it needs to be for its audience. I believe it is efficient to refer to elements that the student may already know, even if they were not expressed at the time.

Thus, it seems there are tacit rules which judge the legitimacy of pedagogic text, as there are forms of ‘allowable’ anachronism. Such rules appear again during the December 1, 2021 class.

From my field notes:

Professor Halliday describes a situation where this musical knowledge ‘contradicts’ the musical knowledge these students use in their lives and academics outside of the class.

Halliday: If we were doing tonal analysis, we would understand it’s being decorated, but that wouldn’t do it for them [composers 500 years ago], they don’t have the notion of a harmonic entity sitting in the background.

Halliday: We hear it as a i6, but “they” [the composers of yore] keep us from doing it today.
The qualification of anachronism as ‘illegitimate’ but still pedagogically efficient creates a sort of classificatory tension, as the individually produced recognition rules may vary depending on how these knowledges are distributed. In short, these contradictory forms of regulation upon this knowledge (particularly the shifting principles of classification) reveal the various (and at times contradictory) ideologies which select and maintain these knowledges.

These anachronisms reveal the recontextualising rules which delocate discourses from their original context and shape them to fit within the context of the classroom. Ironically, because of the pedagogic context in which students are learning (the EUSM), there is an additionally stated caveat: despite teaching and learning with these anachronisms (to save time, resources, and to make sense of them through your experiences), they function as a pedagogic discourse which has been taken from an original discourse. In other words, there is a very real distinction made between the instruction of the class and the values which are embedded within it. Moreover, these anachronisms highlight how forms of regulation serve to select and maintain particular forms of knowledge.

This becomes clear many times throughout my observations, as the students in the class have a deep knowledge of Baroque and Classical music conventions. However, their knowledges and experiences have not adequately prepared them for the species writing component of the class. Moreover, there are many times that Professor Halliday himself notes the discrepancy between what is being taught and the knowledges students use within their own music experiences. I identify this phenomenon in my field notes on October 18, 2021:

Throughout this class, there are multiple times that Halliday explains that the nature of the class and its content are relatively self-isolated. He often says things such as:

“In actual music . . . repeated notes are allowed.”
“For now, this is wrong. But your ears aren’t wrong.”

“Pedagogical exercises do not allow the full range of what you can do.”

Such statements imply that something can be wrong now and will later not be wrong, or that these things are not actually wrong but will be graded as wrong, which demonstrates something very interesting about the class. This is a Modal Counterpoint in Renaissance music class, and much of what is considered legitimate music within the Western Art tradition is that which aligns, depending on who you ask, roughly between 1600-1950, styles often organized under the banners of the Baroque to Twentieth-century, which transpired after the period of Renaissance music. Said another way, Professor Halliday is explaining that the things that are “not in the style” or wrong that these students are learning and being assessed on are in fact the things that are in the style of the music largely valued and legitimated at the school of music.

This creates an odd tension. For what purpose do students benefit from learning this theory? An obvious answer is that this is the music which precedes Baroque music, and thus Western art musicians may benefit from the history and tradition as a foundation for their own musicianship. Also, there are many Early Music ensembles and classes offered at the Eastern Urban School of Music, and so Early Music musicians may benefit directly in their own compositions and understandings.

This tension may have been culpable for students’ hesitation on occasion to engage within the class setting. I recall from the October 18, 2021 class:

As I watch I notice the professor is trying to get students to engage with the writing process and is having very limited success. He is asking questions such as “Could I write this? “What if I did this?” “We could also do this / try this,” often met with silence.
Two reasons for this stand out to me. The first is that the myriad of rules make it difficult to want to put themselves “out there,” so to speak. Students with answers that do not fit are often dismissed because of some rule, and those that do present a ‘legitimate’ answer are often then told why that suggestion is not the best one and could be improved.

The second reason is because of the pacing of the class. Often student answers slow down the relatively quick pacing of the class as explanations require energy, require a return to old material, and mean that students have less time to work on the next assignment. The prompts are useful to focus on particular sections of the counterpoint, but really Halliday is asking if these specific sections are permissible within the idiom—not if they sound good, but if they are “legal.”

While these discourses do not explicitly legitimate certain genres over others, they do serve to maintain and regulate the boundaries between and within musical categories: ‘hard’ and ‘soft’ rules\(^9\) distribute the limits of legitimacy over what knowledges are included and excluded. While pedagogically students are offered autonomy over the class structure and their assignments through their suggestions, inputs, and decisions about how the exercise should sound, their responses are framed within a strongly classified pedagogic discourse. In other words, this course might be seen as existing within an interesting pedagogic position, where modalities for pedagogic text and economy align with both performance and competence models; the

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\(^9\) Throughout the Renaissance Modal Counterpoint Class, students have been exposed to two kinds of rules: ‘hard rules’ and ‘soft rules.’ The class textbook explains the distinction:

**Hard Rules:** To benefit from the book at this level you don’t need to become a Renaissance composer. But you do need to master the hard rules. Breaking a hard rule in counterpoint is analogous to writing a sentence without a verb—you must master basic grammar to be literate.

**Soft Rules:** Soft rules are just style guidelines. The difference between them and hard rules is like the difference between correct grammar and elegant, poetic expression. The exercises in species, particularly, are designed to enable you to “speak Renaissance music” the way you first speak a foreign language.
recognition and realisation of a legitimate message is assessed both upon a theory of reading of
the acquirer’s product, while the text itself is assessed as the product. In answering the question
of “what forms of regulation select and maintain these legitimate musical knowledges,” the
examples above within the Renaissance Modal Counterpoint class reveal the ways forms of
regulation upon knowledges may themselves shift, according to ideologies and pedagogic
context, producing a range of potential modalities to distribute particular forms of consciousness
(which will explored further in section 3).

**Strong Classification within Western Musical Traditions.** Western Musical Traditions
demonstrated perhaps the most obvious examples of strong classificatory and framing principles
from among the courses I had the opportunity to observe. In the following paragraphs, I describe
the particular forms of regulation upon knowledges within the course, and their impacts on
course structure as well as how contesting values are understood by students.

It may come as little surprise that there has been a tremendous lack of parity among
genders in traditional music history classrooms; my own experiences in similar Western music
history courses have almost exclusively featured learning about men. Dr. Parson’s Western
Musical Traditions course was designed to address this issue: in an email to students on August
17, 2021, Parsons explained that within the course material, “almost two-thirds of the pieces
were composed by women.”

The course content demonstrated a thoughtful approach to reimagining a ‘standard’
music history course by additionally incorporating a feminist lens. She explained during the
October 15, 2021 virtual class, “people just didn’t believe women could be good composers . . .
it is interesting how women lose to posterity until revival.” Two of the learning outcomes for the
course specifically work to redress this:
By the end of this course students will:
• Recognize selected genres and styles of western classical music from the Middle Ages to the 21st century, including music by women and men.
• Know about the challenges and opportunities in composers’ lives, and how they affect both men and women.

This extended to course content; a list of the figures studied includes: La comtessa de Dia, Hildegard von Bingen, Binchois, Josquin, Maddalena Casulana, Barbara Strozzi, Jacquet de la Guerre, Bach, Haydn, Lombardini Sirmen, Mozart, Clara Wieck Schumann, Fanny Mendelssohn-Hensel, Beethoven, Stravinsky, Saariaho, and Sokolovič. The course content highlighted a particular timeline which focused on the accomplishments of women composers and lyricists from the Medieval period to today, including their own lives and works through a feminist lens.

However, while the content had been adapted to meet this incorporation, the format, pacing, sequencing, and assessment mirrored very closely a traditional music history course. Students were expected to memorize general terms to describe music, historical dates, and details about the social and historical contexts which situate musical works and artists’ lives. The extent to which memorization was necessary was perhaps best highlighted by a peer tutor who introduced themself during the first class, saying:

I want to say the biggest advice I would give is that you have to memorize. The single most important thing in this class is memorization, cause the exams are pretty straightforward; like, you know it, or you don’t know it.

This class structure demonstrates extremely strong principles of classification and framing; both what is taught and how it is taught are strongly regulated. It demonstrates a very clear performance pedagogic model, with lectures that feature an instructor working through highly prescribed course material through a reified timeline and students whose job is to present a
pedagogic text which coincides with explicit recognition and realisation rules. The course features an extremely large amount of information for students to digest and demonstrate that they can produce an acceptable response within the prescribed guidelines. In short, the forms of regulation which select and maintain knowledges were strongly classified and framed, and the assessment pointed to a performance pedagogic model.

During our interview, Marcus mentioned he was enrolled in Western Musical Traditions. I asked him how he felt it differed from his other music courses, to which he replied:

[Western Musical Traditions] feels very . . . I don't particularly like the course, to be honest with you. Because it is less community and more “lecture-y,” which, you know, it doesn't encompass that . . . for me, music is a together thing. And so, history is very, you know, “memorize this. Got to know that. And that's it.” Versus musicianship—you know, you're harmonizing with other people, you know, you're singing together, you're laughing. I screw up my major third, and they laugh at me. And I'm like, “that's fine, because we're all in this together.” [laughs]

Marcus’s response highlights that there is relatively little ‘community’ within the class, and revealing his belief that for him, “music is a together thing.” Part of this lack of ‘community’ may be due to the lecture format, or the nature of the pedagogy. It also may be in part due to the remote aspect of the class; the lecture is disseminated virtually.

What becomes apparent from a quick examination of this class structure and Marcus’s comments is that pedagogic contexts which feature strong classification and framing principles run the risk of limiting the potential for students to engage with one another, what Marcus calls ‘community.’ This is made evident within Western Musical Traditions, which is essentially a Western classical survey course. It appears that the forms of regulation upon knowledges within
this context are not equally valued by Marcus, who suggests that the “lecture-y” format does not provide the ‘community’ aspects that he values as an aspect of what music is. In other words, we can see that forms of regulation upon knowledges are selected and maintained based upon differing beliefs surrounding the nature of musical knowledges.

**Guitar Instruction and Competence Models of Pedagogy**

My conversation with Nick highlighted the particular forms of regulation present within his guitar studio and the impact these have had on his conception of legitimate musical knowledge. His responses pointed heavily to a competence model of pedagogy, one in which weak classification and framing impact assessment.

As part of the Faculty Program, Nick participates in private guitar instruction and is additionally included in the guitar studio, both of which would be classified as ‘classical.’ When I asked him about his musical background, he mentioned that he played jazz guitar and bass in high school. He describes this experience:

Nick: there was jazz in a very loose sense of the word and half of the kids didn't really know how to play 'jazz' specifically. And then half our repertoire was just whatever 'non-classical' music it was [laughs].

Kyle: Right, so ‘jazz’ is the catch-all for everything else?

Nick: Yeah, I remember there were talks while I was graduating about the band teacher trying to specifically start R&B and rock band and separate that from jazz. Unfortunately, I wasn't around for that. But yeah, jazz was kind of a mix of—jazz standards, don't get me wrong—but also some R&B and rock music, altogether.

Kyle: Very cool. And have you taken any courses in the jazz department?
Nick: No, but I really want to. Yeah, I’d really like to because my biggest weakness as a guitarist is I'm not the best at improvising at all. For jazz people, or just people playing rock or whatever, they always say like, “Hey, do you want come over and jam?” And that's kind of like the gauge of like, “do I want to work with you?” And for me I'm just like, “Like I do, but I'm not going to be good at it.” So, I really want to take some lessons through school for jazz guitar, specifically.

Nick’s response provides some insight into his musical experiences and direction. While he is enrolled in classical music study, his experiences and interests are not necessarily limited to this genre. He explains that this may be in part due to a different distinction: between guitar and other classical instruments:

I'm a bit biased because I do guitar. So, a lot of my private instruction professors have been pretty chill, pretty supportive, pretty open to new genres, because of course, at one time, guitar was a new thing that's still not quite as respected as many other classical instruments, too. But generally, from my experience . . . it's not so much like styles specifically. It's more so just doing a faithful representation or faithful reproduction of the music that's in front of you, and that can mean many different things. Like faithful to yourself in your own interpretation of the piece.

Here, excellence is not limited to a particular style, but, as he notes, in the representation or reproduction of the music in front of him. Interestingly, Nick draws a connection between the genres which are legitimated within music study and the history of the instruments which play them within the institution. Certainly, guitar is one instrument which is commonly found in both Western art and jazz instruction. This may be a reason why the instruction of jazz and classical guitar is legitimated: instruction in either can lead to the kinds of excellence that the school of
music values. Nick’s comments highlight relatively weak classificatory principles among guitar performance discourses which select what count as legitimate knowledges. He describes how his instruction at EUSM has impacted his beliefs, describing the relatively weakened genre distinctions made within his private instruction:

Nick: And so, for private instruction that can be like, at least for me playing guitar it can be like a plethora of different genres—the plethora of different styles through the ages by different composers. And luckily, in my experience that hasn't been like, strict “you must play the classical canon in specific ways.” For example, if you're playing Baroque it doesn't have to be *dead-on specific*, like, every note is treated in this exact way, strict . . . it's more so just like faithful is more of an open term to the style. But also true to yourself in your interpretation as you like, really commit to playing it.

Nick notes it is ‘lucky’ that playing guitar in his private instruction has not been specific to a particular classical canon. This seems to suggest that the power relations which serve to establish and maintain categories between classical and jazz are relatively weak; in this way, to ‘play guitar’ is not to align with any singular style, rather to recognize the stylistic requirements of varying genres and realise an appropriate product. Nick continues by suggesting that ‘studio classes’ contribute to his beliefs and values about what counts as legitimate musical knowledges and the realisation of his interpretation. He explains his studio further:

So, studio is kind of based on private instruction. But for guitar studio, it's every guitar major gets in a room once a week. A few of us will play for the rest of the class that's kind of run just like, it's essentially just masterclass. And some [differences for] every instrument depending on the professor will do have run a slightly different way but for guitar, it's everyone, every week, and three people play. So um, one of the talks
specifically . . . one I’m directly referencing is like, you can play whatever, but you want to be faithful and true to yourself and true to your personality. A general theme and sentiment that at least, the professors and other students at Eastern Urban have reinforced in me, which I think is a pretty good and healthy way to approach music, is [to] be faithful to the style, but also be faithful to yourself and make it convincing.

Nick is describing a pedagogic model which features weak framing principles, wherein students have significant control in terms of control over sequencing and pacing. The assessment model he describes, one in which students are working to be ‘faithful to themselves’ would be categorized by a competence pedagogic model, additionally characterized by weak classification. I probed Nick about the particulars of the studio class, such as attendance requirements or assessment standards. His direct responses to these questions will be explored later, but this shift in direction led to his comment:

It's like a low-stress kind of atmosphere. So, a very conversation-type atmosphere. And, as the professor said at the start, he learns almost more from watching other people be taught, then, you know, your own thing.

Nick describes some of the forms of regulation which serve to legitimate musical knowledges through faithful representation and reproduction. The relatively weak framing of the studio class he describes impacted his beliefs about the best ways to approach making and practicing music in a “good and healthy way.” It also highlights his perception of the benefits of collaborative music-making practices, which align with his earlier statements about what he sees as a less competitive atmosphere at Eastern Urban than at other Canadian schools of music.

This discourse seems to suggest that a competence model of pedagogy is used within Nick’s private instruction and guitar studio, where weaker classification and framing give rise to
forms of self-regulation (Bernstein, 2000, p. 43), and where internal regulation offers increased potential for creative practice, or at least the illusion of it through tacit regulation. After all, excellence through this perspective is, he notes, the realization of his ‘personal voice,’ making it ‘faithful to himself,’ ‘true to his personality,’ and ‘convincing.’

**Framing Pedagogic Models within Classroom Practice**

Bernstein (2000) reveals that forms of regulation which select, maintain, and distribute particular knowledges are implicated in producing different pedagogic models, which he terms ‘performance’ and ‘competence’ models (see Chapter 3). The various modalities of classification and framing point to these different models. These are useful tools for offering a language of description with which to examine classroom practices, and the beliefs and values which underpin them. While we have already begun to explore these models, we will now take a step back and examine the models of the various courses observed within this study.

Over the course of the Fall semester, five courses were observed at the Eastern Urban school of music: Western Musical Traditions, Jazz Improvisation and Musicianship I, Psychology of Music, Theory and Analysis II, and Modal Counterpoint I. Figure 5 provides a sketch of the relative positioning of the pedagogic models and the modalities of their principles of communication across a cartesian, providing a visual representation of the relationships between the strengths of classification and framing and the classes being observed:
What needs to be stated explicitly before the analysis continues is that *I am not suggesting that Western art discourses necessarily favour performance models or that jazz discourses favour competence models of pedagogy*. Moreover, it must be stated that while the classroom discourses may more neatly be categorized within performance or competence models, the modality of the pedagogic codes which organize them are not binary, they exist along a continuum. I will begin with an examination of the principles which frame the jazz improvisation and musicianship class.
I include an excerpt from my first time sitting into the jazz improvisation class to situate both my entry into the class as well as offer some context for the reader. As this was my first class and I was invited simply to sit in, I did not bring any audio recording equipment, these notes were transcribed by hand:

The Jazz Improvisation I classroom is small and resembles an inverted L shape. It is littered with music stands and chairs which make up the majority of the furniture. There is also a drum kit, piano, vocal and bass amps, and a sound system, all of which are fairly standard in my experience (see Figure 6).

Figure 6

*Jazz Improvisation / Musicianship I Classroom Layout*
As students file in, I take a seat in the back. Professor Figaro then enters, and takes a seat, effectively completing the circle. I introduce myself and am met by a fist-bump.

As you walk into the classroom, the only “art” that greets your eye is a crudely written message on the wall in big capital letters: “BIRD LIVES.” It appears to be a work of defacement not unlike what you would see written in a bathroom stall, but the sheer size and central placement may lead one to believe its presence, while likely not sanctioned by the administration, is not unwelcome.

The class time is devoted today to students performing as part of their assessment. Their task was to transcribe a piece of music from the pre-bop era, the era prior to the 1940s when bebop took over the jazz scene. Whenever Figaro asked who wants to go next, there was always an eager hand. Students were also met with questions about the piece they played: why they chose that selection, what they heard, and what stood out to them.

Figaro’s presence within the classroom space could well be likened to that of ‘facilitator,’ in that the content, pacing, and sequencing of class materials were dictated largely by students. This included what they focused on in classes, and how they addressed the content. Using Bernstein’s (2000) conception of pedagogic models, this class represents a competence model of pedagogy, whose pedagogic discourses and practices represent a relatively weak classification and framing modalities.

Figaro does present an interesting consideration for his jazz students, namely affording space and time for ‘experimentation.’ Jazz studies programs are increasingly criticized for being highly prescriptive and producing musicians who reproduce very similar values and discourses (Whyton, 2006; Wilf, 2014). Figaro went on to describe what he considered a more ideal model that he saw while he was in Norway. I include a quick description from my notes:
Figaro talks about his time at schools of music in Norway which follow more closely to a ‘conservatory’ model where students come every day, set up rehearsals, and ‘figure out their stuff.’ He explained that these conservatories might have facilitators come in and be like “we’re doing the music of Monk” or something along those lines.

This system of values may contribute to the relatively weak classification and framing that is evident within Figaro’s pedagogic practice. In many ways, the study findings indicate that instead of prioritizing the production and assessment of disciplinary skills and knowledges, Figaro was more interested in curating a space for students to collaborate and experiment. In summary, findings from Figaro and Jazz Improvisation / Musicianship I point to relatively weak principles of classification and framing, where a competence model is employed which aligns closely to the values of Figaro and which serves to legitimate collaboration and weakened categorization among musical knowledges.

**Psychology of Music**

The Psychology of Music and Jazz Improvisation and Musicianship I classes were vastly different in terms of the knowledges that were included, however, findings from the study suggest that both adopted similar pedagogic models. I include field notes from my first day in the Psychology of Music classroom, September 27, 2021:

From Jazz Improvisation I entered the Psychology of Music class. The room itself is much larger than the Jazz Improvisation / Musicianship I classroom, and 21 students fit comfortably within the space. Once again, I was introduced to the class by the professor, Molly Anderson: “This is Kyle, he’s from Western, and he’ll be with us this semester,” to which I took a seat in the back of the class.
The focus of the first weeks of class was on musical development, with a particular focus on the concept of musical expertise. In prior classes, students had explored concepts such as nature versus nurture, and the reasons why commonplace indicators such as ‘ability to audiate’ may not be predictors of universal musical aptitude or ability due to their Western focus.

The class then began a discussion of what counts as a musician or a non-musician. Responses from two students were of particular interest. The first response was “a musician is anyone who plays music professionally.” The professor then probed the nature of the term ‘professional,’ highlighting the difficulty with defining musicians based on their pay. A second student offered that a musician was someone who was formally trained within an institution. This comment added to the discussion, with follow-up questions such as “so what about professional paid musicians who never went to a school?” I note a glimmer of humour in the professor’s eyes as students worked around the question of “who counts as a musician and non-musician,” and asked them afterwards about it. I will regale that in a short while.

Molly Anderson is a prolific music educator and researcher, and it was clear through conversations and observations that pedagogic considerations were of significance to her. While an in-depth examination of course content is not possible in this chapter due to space, findings from the Psychology of Music course demonstrate the relative nature of code modalities and thus modes of pedagogic models, where aspects of both performance and competence models of pedagogy are present within course content and sequencing. It demonstrates that the forms of regulation which work to select, maintain, and distribute knowledges do not exist in a binary, instead making visible a range of potential legitimate knowledges.
In summary, this section explored the study’s second research question, which examined the forms of regulation present within discourses of the Eastern Urban School of Music which distribute various forms of musical knowledge. We can see that these forms of regulation are not equally distributed among agents and social groups, and serve to legitimate different content, pedagogy, and assessment practices based on their code modalities. From this, we get a glimpse of the processes which legitimate particular musical knowledges. Now we will turn to our section III, which is concerned with answering the final research question: How and in what ways do these forms of regulation differently shape the consciousness and identities of agents and agencies within the social arena of the Eastern Urban School of Music?

III: The Impact on Shaping and Maintaining Identities and Consciousness of Agents

This final section is concerned with understanding how the forms of regulation which distribute, select, and maintain knowledges impact the identities and consciousness of agents within the Eastern Urban School of Music. Bernstein (2000) writes that “any one educational reform can then be regarded as the outcome of the struggle to produce and institutionalize particular identities” (p. 66). In this way, the shift in the maintenance and regulation of pedagogic identities can be understood as borne out of a number of purposes, including the maintenance of grand narratives (p. 66), changes to meet cultural, economic, or technological change (p. 67), to maintain a competitive output (p. 68), or to produce an identity which is valued within a market (p. 69). Within the Eastern School of Music, study findings indicate that these various purposes work to establish identities of ‘excellence’: to see the Eastern Urban School of Music as an excellent institution comprised of an excellent faculty which produces excellent students through the transmission of excellent knowledges. This will now be explored
by examining the identities which emerged, both stable and in flux, beginning with an examination of identities shaped around the category of competition and performance.

**Competition, Performance, and Identity**

The collected data from the study illuminated a strong connection between identity and the distribution of discourses related to competition and performance. In particular, participant interviews revealed the ways their identities have been impacted by the various ideologies of agents within the school of music, revealed by forms of regulation upon knowledges which serve to distribute particular forms of knowledge. We will now briefly explore how the distribution of these knowledges impacts the construction of identity and consciousness of agents.

**Marcus and Shifting Identity.** I asked Marcus how he came to study at the Eastern Urban School of Music and a little about his background, to which he replied:

Music has always been exposed to me, since I was a kid. So, when I was leaving high school, I was like, you know what, I was already known as the music guy. [laughs] I did all the shows, you know, sung and play guitar, all the different things. So I was like, I kind of want to pursue this. I kind of played everything as you can see here [in the background are an array of guitars, keyboards, and an organ]. So I was like, “Okay, well, I'll play jazz bass.” And then I pursued that. Now, [Local Vocational College] was affiliated with the Eastern Urban School of Music actually, so a lot of my professors were from Eastern Urban. And then I realized that I just didn't really enjoy the performance aspect of it . . . it was a different culture than what I wanted. So, then I wanted to turn to music, like as a study of theory, as a study of art, rather than a study of performance. Marcus reveals that his identity as ‘the music guy’ prior to enrolling at the EUSM played a role in his decision to pursue higher music education, highlighting the importance of his prior social
relations as he entered into this tertiary education space. As previously explored in this chapter, Marcus explains that the negative health impacts he suffered due to pursuing performance impacted how he constructed his identity:

I used to think that, I was like, “Oh, well, I'm not good because, you know, I changed out of performance . . . a musician is someone that sticks with performance . . .” because coming from a school where, my only exposure to Eastern Urban was through the performance aspect of it . . . my sense of self was disrupted because I was like, “Oh, if I can't perform, then I can't be a music student.” And that the only thing tying me to music was the ability to, you know, perfect solfege, which was always problematic for me. You know, “if I can't get 100% on an ear training test, if I can’t hear the harmony then who am I? And I guess I'm not good.”

Marcus highlights a common discourse within North American schools of music: that knowledges which do not centralize around performance are often deemed less legitimate. Connected to this is an implicit understanding that students who are not focused primarily on performance hold less legitimacy within school of music discourses (Jones, 2017). In this way, the distribution of performance discourses as legitimate within Marcus’s social relations played a role in how he shaped his identity. Interestingly, however, his response indicates that these discourses appear to be present and simultaneously contested within the Eastern Urban School of Music, as he negotiates a shift in his identity.

**Susan and Shifting Identity.** As previously established, Susan’s perspectives on the legitimacy of performance discourses have shifted as well, explaining:

. . . as I've gone through my undergrad I've seen, like, I definitely started in the realm of like, “I only care about performing, I don't know why I have to take these other classes.”
But as I've continued, I've seen how important it is to have context and, you know, understand the history and social context behind what we're doing.

Susan reveals that her education is responsible for this shift to value not just technical performance elements, but also to being able to place this knowledge within historical and social contexts. This may be in part due to factors she had identified, such as her private instruction teacher and the Psychology of Music course. Her response indicates that, like Marcus, the performance discourses which were legitimated within her social relations were contested within the arena of the EUSM, leading to a shift in beliefs and values surrounding what counts as legitimate musical knowledge. While both of the responses above represent the viewpoints of students, Professor Molly Anderson additionally explained her role as educator in distributing forms of knowledge which extend beyond performance discourses.

**Molly Anderson and Shifting Identity.** Molly’s experience within schools of music and performance programs impacts how she shapes her class pedagogy. She discusses the rationale for using what she considers a less-than-ideal pedagogic format to ensure that students are maximally benefitting from the class time. She reveals:

> I think performance students often . . . you know, they will always prioritize their practicing and their performance activities. That's what they're there to do in their heads, that's their total priority. And so, I really kind of felt like I needed to work with that, somehow, and so that was why I kind of pivoted to that well-trodden format of presentation and then activities.

Here, Molly highlights the centrality of performance discourses at the Eastern Urban School of Music, particularly with performance music students. Her comment that she needed to “work with that” demonstrates her beliefs and values that performance discourses are not the only
legitimate forms of musical knowledge, and that her pedagogy works to additionally distribute other musical knowledges as legitimate. We spoke briefly about student responses relating to the development of a community within the Psychology of Music class, to which Molly continued:

Yeah, and I do think that's incredibly important especially in a class like that, because there's so much competition in their performance studies. And in a space like that, it's a level playing field so they can park the competition at the door . . . And sometimes I felt like I was sort of too much emphasizing the music performance perspective and . . . sometimes I was very aware that I was trying to introduce another perspective that was not the ‘music performance perspective.’ And the performance students found that really difficult to shift to, you know . . . they would come back with a perspective that was very much founded on the idea that a musician is someone who has formal musical training in a Conservatoire setting, and this was their understanding.

Molly’s response underscores what might be considered a performance-centric pedagogic identity of agents within the Eastern Urban School of Music. Interestingly, her response suggests that she additionally implicates herself in the distribution of these particular performance discourses within her pedagogic practice, something she revealed she is actively working to broaden. Molly used the course content of the class as means to widen student perspectives—particularly the perspectives of performance majors—surrounding ‘which knowledges’ and ‘whom’ could be considered legitimate or excellent within the school of music. In this way, we can see the ways the differential distribution of particular forms of knowledge influences the identities and consciousness of students, both in terms of content (what she teaches) and pedagogy (how she teaches). After my first Psychology of Music class, I met with Molly to discuss the course over a coffee. From my field notes, September 27, 2021:
I brought up the responses from the class discussion surrounding the concept of ‘musical’ and ‘non-musical’ and she laughed. She explained to me that students tend not to challenge their assumptions and values within the school of music, which is a frustration that she has found in teaching. And even if you can get them to, Molly notes, they do it in a particular way once they learn the rules of the game, so that it’s still somehow prescriptive and loses its value.

Molly’s comments reflect an interesting intersection between the categories of competition, performance, and the development of citizens. She identifies that the discourses which shape the identities of students may function counter to their development of reflexivity and critical thinking. From a Bernsteinian perspective, these discourses demonstrate relatively strong principles of communication and framing, clearly delineating ‘legitimate’ knowledges, and would be characterized within a performance model of pedagogy. Her pedagogy, she explains, is focused on widening the perspectives of students beyond relatively narrow performance discourses while ensuring students find value in challenging assumptions and values beyond simply meeting assessment criteria.

Such a shift in pedagogic identity may be difficult for students within the school of music due to tensions between discourse and practice. The relatively rigid assessment models within performance practice may leave little autonomy for students to develop skills in reflexivity and to be able to look beyond their own constructed worlds, especially when these practices and discourses are legitimating particular knowledges as ‘excellent.’ To challenge the assumptions of the institution may be to challenge the dominant image in which some students recognize themselves so clearly. After all, performance discourses are legitimated at all stages of students’ higher education career, starting with recommended performance requirements for applicants, to
how students recognize themselves as ‘serious’ music students with particular ‘foundational skills,’ all the way to the ever-present competition and performance discourses which are present within the EUSM, such as those present with the example of the Golden Violin competition. Students who are seen (and see themselves) as ‘excellent’ or legitimate within the school of music precisely because of their beliefs and values surrounding what counts as legitimate musical knowledges might find it difficult to broaden these conceptions, especially when these additional knowledges are not perceived of as equally valued within their social arena.

**Molly Anderson and the Impact of Identity on Pedagogic Modalities.** Molly highlights the ways implicit assessment and observations played a role in how she shaped the Psychology of Music course pedagogically:

> So, in my own class, that kind of format of presentation and then activity, making connections . . . In an ideal world, I wouldn't have the presentation part. I kind of pivoted to that early on in the course because I became aware that in that class there were quite a few music performance students, and I didn't think they were doing the reading. And so, I thought, well, best thing I can do then is to summarize the reading for them and try and present it in a kind of engaging way. And I think I would try and do it a bit differently . . .

She describes how this impacted her class content as well as pacing and sequencing:

> I was aware, when I asked them to do things, I kind of observed that they were looking at those readings for the first time in the classroom, and sometimes I saw they had the wrong thing opened, you know. Not all of them, and it was very mixed. . . It was really a very diverse group, but I'm okay with that. I think in my next iteration of that course, I would try and find a much bigger variety of kinds of resources, so it's not so much reading. I think there are other kinds of resources I could make more use of. One of the
students made a suggestion of having the poster presentation [project] much earlier, I thought that was a really good idea and I probably would do that next time, maybe for their very first assignment. Just to create more of a sense of community.

Molly identifies that the development of a sense of community is a valuable outcome in her class, something interviews with Marcus and Nick corroborate. From Marcus’s comments above, this sense of community was integral to what counts as valuable music pedagogy, as opposed to the more ‘lecture-y’ format of the Western Musical Traditions class. Molly’s comments indicate that student engagement with the material was more important than the forms the pedagogy took.

I asked Marcus about how his sense of what a successful musician has shifted since he entered the program, to which he replied:

All of last year was more difficult, obviously, because we were online. But more exposure to actual students in person just really blew me away and seeing everyone's different perspective . . . Like, the fact that you can communicate with so many different people, I think has been really effective in that perspective. For me anyways, being able to see like, “oh, you know, that changes simply by talking to people.” Also, the way the courses are, specifically the music psych course where like, there's a lot of communication within groups and stuff within the peers, it really allows you to get a different perspective . . . a global perspective on the other people in your entourage.

Throughout the Psychology of Music course, Marcus was an active participant, often the first to respond to questions and often taking leadership roles when grouped with other students. Nick elucidates that community plays a central role in his education, explaining:
I'm a pretty social person. I try and, you know, I'm in school to also make friends and music. In the same level that I'm here to learn and get good grades, I'm also here equally to meet people and make friends. So, a lot of my time at the school is spent doing that.

Once again, community appears as an integral part of what is valued by students within the school of music—in this case, Nick highlights that being social is an integral part of his identity.

I asked Nick about the Psychology of Music course specifically, and he responded:

That's always a fun course, I enjoy that one. I really like her, how she frames it as, she'll go over the information that, you know, if we didn't read the reading, at least we have something to work off of [laughs]. But she frames everything as a really open discussion in groups and stuff and I actually quite like that too. Just because there's so many opinions from other people that I didn't personally get myself [in] reading it. Just hearing other people's perspectives. I think that's really good.

Nick highlights the social and community aspects of his life within the school of music and the value he places in building and maintaining relationships. Moreover, he confirms Molly’s assumptions that the shift to a more presentation and discussion-style format benefits students who may not be doing the readings ahead of time. In this way, we can see a departure from valuing competition and performance discourses and their code modalities and a shift towards discourses which foreground other characteristics of musical knowledge, particularly those which highlight the community and social aspects of music. The forms of regulation these knowledges appear to take are more weakly classified and framed as well. Susan explains that while Psychology of Music class offers space for communication beyond her violin studio, the connections may be slower to come to fruition:
Kyle: Have you found that you've been able to meet people through the Psychology [of music] class?

Susan: I haven’t . . . yes [laughs] I’ve become aware of more people, I guess I could say.

Kyle: Okay! You realize they ‘go here’ now? [both laugh]

Susan: Well, I know what they play now. Or, like, I know what faculty they’re in.

Given Susan’s previous responses about the problems with communication between and within departments, it seems that fostering community within the Psychology of Music class may prove valuable for building these connections, especially as it appears that Molly Anderson is actively working in her pedagogy to legitimate discourses outside of music performance and competition. Her response indicates that while the connections are slow, these discourses are valuable.

Identity Negotiation in Private Instruction. For many higher music education students, private instruction is considered the most important pedagogic interaction (Jones, 2017; Kingsbury, 1984). In this way, forms of communication upon this discourse may have a significant impact upon the maintenance and regulation of pedagogic identities. As explored previously, Marcus felt that his private instruction had a negative impact on how he constructed his identity as a musician. However, he highlights that this is not the case for all students:

There’s the other side where people are like “Actually do you know what? My private instructor is the reason I love music so much.” And it's cool to see both, how someone's experience with a teacher in music education can alter your experience with music.

One such student is Susan, who speaks very fondly of her experiences in her one-on-one instruction. I asked her about how she perceives the differences in her private lessons versus her other classes, to which she revealed:
Susan: Um, I mean, just because it's one-on-one, it's so much more personal in the private lessons. It's like, teacher plus, parent intervention, plus therapy all in one [laughs]. And, like, sometimes, just like, I'm hanging out with my friend. Like, it's such a close connection to my teacher. Yeah, really it feels like a parent, sometimes, like a music school parent. The difference between that and other classes or courses is that I don't have this personal connection with other teachers. But then also in terms of how she's actually teaching me is she's . . . My teacher is very sensitive to how her students think differently. So, it's very personalized in that sense, which you can't do in a big classroom. So, like, telling me maybe what my hand will feel like in this position, or like coming over and like putting her—if she’s trying to show you something with the bow—she'll put her hand on my arm, so I can feel like how much pressure she's actually putting.

So, that's also like, quite hands on, which doesn't really apply to other classes.

Previously, we had explored Nick’s experiences with private instruction and the support he felt. I include two snippets from his interview which highlight these points specifically:

I'm also a bit biased because I do guitar. So, a lot of my private instruction professors have been pretty chill, pretty supportive . . . because of course, at one time, guitar was like a new thing that's still not quite as respected as many other classical instruments too . . . And so, for private instruction so that can be like, at least for me playing guitar it can be like a plethora of different genres the plethora of different styles through the ages by different composers. And luckily, in my experience that hasn't been like, strict “you must play the classical canon in specific ways.” You know, all the professors have been very open about different genres in different cultures.
Nick explains that his identity as a guitar player has shifted as he internalized the values of his private instruction and studio classes related to being ‘faithful’ to himself and his interpretation and providing a ‘faithful’ or ‘convincing’ representation or reproduction of the music.

In summary, competition and performance discourses play a key role in the shaping and distributing of particular identities and consciousness within the Eastern Urban School of Music. However, while it is clear that these discourses are reproduced by agents within the EUSM, they are at the same time contested, as agents broaden their conceptions of what legitimate, excellent musical knowledge is and who is legitimate within this social arena. From the responses of interview participants, it is clear that while performance discourses remain one of (if not the) most important aspects of admission requirements, the EUSM is a space wherein there is tension surrounding the ‘legitimacy’ and ‘excellence’ of these musical knowledges which influence and shape the identities of agents.

From section I, we can see that competition and performance discourses legitimate specialized disciplinary skills and knowledges. We now turn to how interdisciplinarity impacts identity within the EUSM, through the example of the Faculty Program.

**Interdisciplinarity and Identity: Exploring the Faculty Program**

Throughout the study, findings suggested that interdisciplinarity was a characteristic of musical learning that students valued. I asked Molly her thoughts on this, to which she said:

Yeah, and I think that's another example of what students are demanding. I think students are changing, and ‘interdisciplinary’ is the way the world is going. It's the way we need to work in a complex world. And our students are coming out of secondary education where that is now beginning to be the way that they're learning—they're learning in ever more interdisciplinary ways. And then, so they get into a faculty of music which is
already, you know, a discipline, but within that they find these silos and they find
themselves parceled off into, you know, exactly that: silos. And, and I think they're
demanding and are interested in working in more interdisciplinary ways for sure.
That is actually one of the things that our alumni are also saying, is that you must embed
more interdisciplinary ways of working. One of the things I've been a bit surprised by has
been the old-fashioned idea that interdisciplinarity means being a ‘Jack of all trades but a
master of none’—that idea is alive and well in our faculty. So, there's a lot of pushback
against interdisciplinarity. And I've had a couple of doctoral students come and ask me—
I mean they want to do an interdisciplinary doctorate, which now exists, although it's . . .
you know, there's a lot of kind of uncertainty about what that actually means . . . I've had
students come and say, you know, with genuine worries and concerns that they want to
do an interdisciplinary doctorate but are they kind of scuppering their career trajectories
if they do that. And I've been so surprised by that because, I guess I spent a long time in a
culture where really, those conversations have happened already.

Molly describes the tension which presented itself in the mission statement of the school of
music, particularly in balancing “a strong disciplinary identity with a bold and imaginative
connectivity to multiple disciplines and communities.” She articulates the present ‘pushback’ of
such discourses as some feel they may function to compromise ‘excellence’ within the
institution. This tension between discourses demonstrates a range of beliefs and values
surrounding ‘what counts as legitimate musical knowledge,’ which are differently distributed
within the social arena of the EUSM. And importantly, this differential distribution will
differently impact identities and consciousness.
Later in the interview, I asked Molly, “if you could change one thing about the School of Music, what would it be?” to which she responded:

If I could change . . . you know, I guess I would envisage a program that . . . was much more interdisciplinary and holistic, where the silos were more broken down. I would love to see at least a program available . . .

Kyle: I had talked to students and professors who have said that the faculty program was kind of designed with that in mind, in terms of, you don't have the strict performance requirements or program requirements . . .

Molly: Yeah. That is the thinking behind faculty program, for sure. And . . . I'm a bit reluctant to sort of say this on the record . . . but, I think the danger with any kind of program like that is that it needs to have an identity, okay? So, if you just say, “Okay, look, if you don't get into performance you can still come and be a student, and you can be in this program, and look you've got all of this flexibility.” Well, the flexibility doesn't necessarily exist because of timetabling issues. So, electives, in fact, are not so accessible because students still have commitments to ensembles and so on. But leave that aside. If its identity is a space where students who don't get into performance can still do a music degree and then they can just choose whatever they want to do, in my view, there's not enough of an identity there. And maybe the identity can be flexible and individualized, but I do think students need some structure and guidance for particular kinds of pathways that they might construct . . . So, it might be a place where an excellent performer actually chooses to go, rather than a performance degree . . . I'm really glad that we have that program, but I think it would be really good, for that or any other such program in other institutions . . . I think, and this ties into everything we've already said: thinking
about music students, how best we can prepare them for transitioning into careers and carving out their niche . . . For some students, a different kind of degree identity might be better. And I can imagine very expert performers for whom a traditional performance degree isn't the best place to be. They might flourish, with a very clear kind of pathway that allows them to develop in different kinds of ways.

Molly's response highlights an important consideration which has previously gone unexplored: that programs have their own identities as well, and that the faculty program in its current state may not maintain a sufficient identity for it to attract students. Her feedback also reveals another important consideration: traditional performance degrees may not be sufficiently able to develop students in ways that a more interdisciplinary program may be capable, based on student interest or niche. Such a program may be far more valuable than simply as “a space where students who don't get into performance can still do a music degree.” Her comments provoke deeper thinking into what is currently being offered, what still is not being offered, and who is or is not served by the current offerings. While the Faculty program appears at a surface level to embody these very aspects of interdisciplinarity which Molly espouses, she argues that a rethinking of the identity of the program may open doors and afford students something unique and valuable.

Findings from this study indicate that interdisciplinarity is valued by agents as ‘legitimate’ within the EUSM, from students, to faculty, and can even be seen in the official statements of value and vision statements which underpin the School of Music itself. However, there appears to be contestation among agents with regards to the extent to which interdisciplinarity leads to ‘excellence,’ as was made clear in my conversation with Professor Molly Anderson. Anderson notes that the weakened pedagogic identity of the Faculty Program may limit how agents perceive its ability to prepare students for an external market. Drawing
once again on Bernstein’s (2000) writing on pedagogic identities, the Faculty Program is ideally suited to meet cultural, economic, or technological change (p. 67), perhaps more so than performance pedagogic identities, which would appear better suited for maintaining grand narratives (p. 66). The extent to which either is suited for maintaining a competitive output (p. 68) or an identity which is valued within a market (p. 69) would depend on a host of external factors, which are beyond the scope of this study.

*Developing Citizens and Identity: Fostering Diversity within the Eastern Urban School of Music*

As we have explored in section I, discourses which focus on the development of citizens are legitimated by agents within the Eastern Urban School of Music; however, we revealed tension between these discourses and discourses of competition and performance. Eastern Urban University prepared a series of interviews and Q&As to mark the International Day Against Homophobia, Biphobia, and Transphobia, and interviewed a professor within the School of Music, asking about the benefits and potential risks of fostering and celebrating a more diverse community. The following response from the professor was published in the University’s journal of record on May 18, 2022:

I’ll start with the good news. I think the more diverse your curriculum is, and the more diverse your classroom, the better thinker you become . . .

We actually had a period in Music when we were talking about curriculum diversification which at times was very painful. The conversations we were having were very uncomfortable and it felt like people were being divided. But I think discomfort is a sign of health. You’re not going to get to a new awareness without that discomfort. Some people haven’t had to rethink their preconceptions. Then, all of a sudden, having it all be
dumped on them at once, it may feel like we are saying we want to cancel Western culture or that [everything] they’ve done during their career is worth nothing.

And that is part of the discomfort. But I think it’s a necessary stage to get through. This professor highlights the importance of tension points as a place of meeting, where discourses can collide and intersect. It should be noted that this professor chairs the EUSM Committee on Equity, Diversity, and Inclusion. Conversations such as the ones described by the professor above highlight some key places that pedagogic identities and legitimated knowledges are subject to morph and shift. It is interesting to highlight their comment “The conversations we were having were very uncomfortable and it felt like people were being divided”; it may be fair to suggest that people were already divided, and these conversations made such boundaries visible. In other words, these conversations brought to light the extent with which there was contestation surrounding what counts as ‘excellence’ within the social arena of the school of music and the nature of the differently distributed musical knowledges which afford it. Finally, the professor’s comment that “some people haven’t had to rethink their preconceptions” aligns closely with Molly’s comments about her students, whom she finds tend not to challenge their assumptions. This response makes visible the tensions brought up in the mission statement:

Our vision is for the School to be internationally recognized as a North American leader in shaping the future of musical culture and practice through a diverse and inclusive musical education that balances artistic and academic excellence, tradition and innovation, and a strong disciplinary identity with a bold and imaginative connectivity to multiple disciplines and communities.

Throughout this chapter, the ‘balance’ that the mission statement espouses could be more appropriately referred to as a ‘tension’ or ‘contestation.’ This is made evident through the
professor’s response—that those who have maintained a dominant image of value within the school of music feel less valued when a different image of value is presented and has revealed points of ‘division.’ But their comment also reveals something very exciting about the space of the school of music as a site for interrupting and rethinking how the EUSM serves to reproduce various pedagogic identities. As will be explored in the discussion in Chapter 6, the differential distribution of knowledge within the school of music may provide means to reimagine pedagogic practices which address the issues of contestation highlighted above.

Bernstein (2000) suggests that, of the three rules of the Pedagogic Device, it is the evaluative rules which demonstrate the forms of regulation upon pedagogic discourses and identities through an examination of the what and how of assessment. This will now be explored.

The Role of Assessment upon Identity Construction

From the above sections we have revealed the varying distributive and recontextualising rules which regulate what is considered legitimate knowledges and the forms of pedagogic discourse this takes. However, these distributive and recontextualising rules point to a range of potential legitimate realisations of pedagogic discourse. It is through the evaluative rules that particular pedagogic practices are constituted, and that a particular group may distribute a form of consciousness. Throughout this chapter, evaluative rules and their particular forms of recognition and realisation have been revealed. I wish to briefly address some of these and highlight their impact upon the construction and maintenance of identity and consciousness of agents within the Eastern Urban School of Music.

Assessing Jazz Improvisation and Musicianship I. While aspects of musicianship training are embedded within the structure of the Jazz Improvisation / Musicianship I course, I notice that there is rarely, if ever, a ‘test’ of any kind to assess these concepts explicitly.
However, according to the course outline, “The aural tradition of the music is emphasized through rhythmic/melodic dictation.” In fact, the only time students appear to be explicitly assessed is during the presentation of their two transcription performances. During the November 29, 2021 class, Professor Figaro addresses this requirement:

Figaro: So let's try some ear training, shall we? Everybody have a piece of paper?

His question returns a few “nopes” from the class.

Figaro: Okay. Or you could put it on your phone.

Marjane: I’ve got some sheets.

Figaro: This is not a test, this is just something that is supposed to be part of this course.

Student: So, it’s a quiz? [Students laugh]

Figaro: It's not for marks, you don’t have to feel put upon, but it's something we need to do.

Three exercises followed: the first dealt with chord and extension identification, the second was interval identification, and the third was an exercise where Figaro improvised over jazz tunes and students were asked to identify the tune he was playing.

These ear training exercises are common in jazz musicianship training which foreground both the aural nature of jazz education, and also the relatively weak framing principles which organize the class sequencing and pacing. Figaro is not keeping track of student responses or grading their performance, once again demonstrating a competence model of education. What is interesting is that this exercise, more so than an evaluation, appears to function more as a tacit regulation on behaviour, showing students how they should think about musicianship and the exercises they should do outside of the class. Interestingly, Figaro once again focuses upon community and collaboration, encouraging students to get together and practice these exercises.
in a group format. This passage demonstrates the principles of communication which distribute a particular legitimate message of what forms of jazz knowledge and assessment look like. The assessment is very weakly sequenced, and while students are not graded based upon their ability to recognize or realize an answer, such assessment highlights to the students their own deficiencies, playing a role in how students construct their pedagogic identities.

Assessing Psychology of Music. Assessment for the Psychology of Music course took a variety of forms throughout the semester. All assessments were included in the course outline that students were given at the beginning of the semester, and despite the different forms that assessments took, they all used the same assessment grading structure. The forms they took were:

- Assignment 1: Critical listening journal.
- Assignment 2: Critical review of a research paper.
- Assignment 3: Poster presentation.
- Assignment 4: Open-book online exam.

For all of these assignments, students had choice on the topics they would explore. For assignments 1 and 3, students selected the music they wished. For assignment 2, students selected the research paper they wished to examine. For the final exam, students were given options for which questions they wished to answer. These forms of assessment highlight the code modalities which correspond to what Bernstein (2000) terms a ‘competence model’ of discourse, where “pedagogic discourse issues in the form of projects, themes, ranges of experience, a group base, in which the acquirers apparently have a great measure of control over selection, sequence and pace” (p. 45). In this way, assessment discourses demonstrate relatively weak classification and framing. One may begin to see the relationship between Professor Molly Anderson’s stated beliefs and values and the ways in which course assessment is shaped by these values. It is
through the examination of Professor Anderson’s form of evaluation that the modalities of pedagogic practice become visible.

While both the Jazz Improvisation / Musicianship I and Psychology of Music classes demonstrate relatively weak principles of communication, these two examples highlight significant range in potential forms of assessment. On the one hand, while the Jazz Improvisation / Musicianship I assessment is weakly framed, the form of assessment still demands students produce a particular message, even if the realisation of a ‘deficient’ message is visible only to the student. In the Psychology of Music course, the principles of framing are stronger, however, students have more autonomy to realize a range of potential messages. These two examples reveal that within the EUSM, there exist a range of pedagogic identities which are regulated through the transmission of various principles of communication. And importantly, these various pedagogic identities emerge from beliefs and values surrounding what counts as legitimate, excellent musical knowledge.

**Chapter Summary: Growing Pains**

What becomes clear from the study findings is that there is significant tension and contestation about what agents within the EUSM consider ‘legitimate’ and ‘excellent’ musical knowledges, and the pedagogic identities of ‘legitimate’ and ‘excellent’ agents within this social arena. This chapter examined the ways forms of knowledge and thus pedagogic identities are differently distributed amongst agents through the categories of competition and performance, international reputation, interdisciplinarity, and the development of citizens.

Findings from the study indicate that there appears to be a multi-faceted identity to the Eastern Urban School of Music. Depending on the perspective of the viewer, a very different face of the EUSM may emerge: you may see artistic excellence or academic excellence
highlighted, you may see tradition or innovation valued, and you may see the maintenance of
strong disciplinary identities or a desire to push for interdisciplinarity. It seems that the space of
the Eastern Urban School of Music presents an interesting opportunity for the development of
different pedagogic identities, some of whose values and beliefs surrounding excellence align
and some whose may not. During our very first meeting, Professor Molly Anderson suggested
that Eastern Urban was so interesting in part because in many ways it was a ‘typical’ school of
music, and in many ways, it was also different, due to the opportunities it affords for creativity
and innovation. I asked her about what she meant during our interview, to which she responded:

For sure, it bears the hallmarks of a traditional conservatoire-style institution and indeed
has partnerships with other traditional . . . You know, students go and do exchanges with
places like Mozarteum in Austria . . . like-minded institutions. That's for sure. At the
same time there's this community of people—it's stuffed full of creative and interesting
people who are experts in their fields. And there's also, it's an environment, I mean we
have to remember it's part of Eastern Urban University, which itself is stuffed full of
creative and interesting people. And it's an environment that is both bureaucratic, and yet
. . . there are innovative opportunities for students. There's a will for looking at how we
can develop different ways of developing different kinds of skills. There's, there's a real
will to think about pedagogy, and that's put into practice in different kinds of ways.

Molly’s description of EUSM aligned with the study findings, revealing a wide range of beliefs
and values surrounding what counts as excellent, legitimate musical knowledge. She continued:
I definitely think it's, it's just a special kind of institution. It's full of creative, and
dynamic people, full of expertise. And I think that the discussions that happen around the
direction, and the curriculum, and how we should prepare students . . . Of course, there
are conflicting opinions and perspectives. For me, that's really good. Like, I like that, that's the excitement of being in an institution where actually, people care deeply about their students . . . that's articulated through different perspectives and different ideologies . . . in a way I think that's what makes it a really exciting and dynamic place to be.

These conflicting opinions and perspectives point to a range of values which are reflected in the identities of agents, both through whom is accepted within the school of music and the regulation upon their identity throughout their program of study. Chapter 6 will present conclusions and explore future directions of study and considerations for programs to meet the needs of students.
CHAPTER VI

DISCUSSION AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS FOR RESEARCH

Okay. So here we go . . . we gonna go down? Let’s go down for this one. [He sings the melody to “Nardis” with a slower tempo] We have lots of opportunity for space . . . ‘The Final Frontier . . . its five-year mission’ . . . Okay. [Counts off the tune] - Professor Figaro

This chapter synthesises the collected data and themes and then uses this synthesis to look forward and examine possible future directions for pedagogic practices, both for the Eastern Urban School of Music and beyond. Now that we have explored and analyzed the data using the sociological lens of Bernstein’s (2000) theory of the Pedagogic Device, I turn now to examine how these data may be used to promote an educational system where students’ pedagogic rights might best be met. While the nature of this qualitative case study may arguably not be readily generalizable to other school of music contexts (Flyvbjerg, 2011; Yin, 2014), I propose that these findings may offer a space through which agents may consider institutional reform by engaging with and rethinking curricular content and program requirements. I wish to frame the discussion of emergent themes and future considerations through the concept of the ‘space’ of the Eastern Urban School of Music.

The Final Frontier: Space and the Eastern Urban School of Music

Study findings highlighted the importance of the space of the school of music in shaping and negotiating the identities and consciousness of agents. It became clear through the data analysis that space, both physical and imagined, was itself negotiated by agents. From the very beginning, physical space constraints were made visible; COVID-19-related policies were front-and-center, and various instructors and professors declined to be observed on the basis that they did not feel there was sufficient space in their classrooms for a researcher. During the “Crazy
Frog” episode in the Psychology of Music class (see Chapter 5), Susan highlighted that the classroom space impacted her emotional responses, saying:

Yeah, I think I wouldn’t have had the same reaction if I was listening in a room by myself. But, because I was with my friends, I was laughing harder.

Marcus similarly noted the importance of the physical space of the school of music for communicating and connecting with others, highlighting a difference between this semester in-person and the last year online:

All of last year was more difficult, obviously, because we were online. But more exposure to actual students in person just really blew me away and seeing everyone's different perspective . . . Like, the fact that you can communicate with so many different people, I think has been really effective in that perspective. For me anyways, being able to see like, “oh, you know, that changes simply by talking to people.” Also, the way the courses are, specifically the music psych course where like, there's a lot of communication within groups and stuff within the peers, it really allows you to get a different perspective . . . a global perspective on the other people in your entourage.

There are many more examples presented in Chapter 5 which point to the importance of and negotiation of space within the school of music. Specifically, this study highlighted the importance of the Eastern Urban School of Music as a space where multiple competing sets of values and beliefs around the nature of excellence interact and, at times, clash. Responses from interview participants revealed the varied ways in which students’ interactions within the EUSM offered new perspectives which reflected different systems of values, and the ways that faculty and administrators conceptualized and interacted within this space. While this project initially undertook the task of exploring the forms of regulation upon pedagogic discourses with the goal
of revealing a pedagogic ‘ruler of consciousness,’ (Bernstein, 2000, p. 28), it became clear that at any given time there were multiple dominant voices present within the school of music which were simultaneously distributing and producing various pedagogic discourses. Following the initial rationale of this study, findings suggest that discourses which are distributed within various departments are at the same time reproducing various ‘message systems’; however, agents’ discourses and practices highlight the permeability of the boundaries which specialise these knowledges. In other words, this differential distribution of knowledges may be a primary contributor to the different responses from agents regarding the nature of the knowledges and how the distribution of these knowledges impacts their pedagogic identities within the space of the EUSM. Thus, within the higher music education space in which this study unfolded, it might not be a single dominant ideology which was reproduced, but rather multiple competing ideologies which distributed different identities and consciousness within this social space.

Moreover, while systems of belief which served to strengthen the boundaries of specialized, disciplinary forms of knowledge were still present within the EUSM, there appeared to be a shift in agents’ voices, demanding weakened boundaries and a shift towards ‘interdisciplinary’ ways of thinking and sharing knowledge.

This tension offers a unique consideration for the program direction within schools of music. How might a school of music work to develop a strong identity for their programs, when at the same time there is a call for redressing issues of division and siloing within and between programs? If the identity of a program is not tied to the specialisation of its knowledges, from where does it come? We will now explore this question more deeply by recalling Bernstein’s (2000) writing on ‘retrospective identities’ which was explored in Chapter 3.
Retrospective Identities and the Consideration of Inputs and Outputs

Bernstein’s conception of pedagogic identity offers a unique opportunity for agents within a school of music to hold a mirror up to their own programs. From the study findings, it appeared that the reputation of the institution and its agents was tied closely to the reified ‘pedigree’ of its pedagogic discourses. Bernstein (2000) describes such program identities as “retrospective,” explaining:

Retrospective identities (or R.I.) are shaped by national religious, cultural, grand narratives of the past. These narratives are appropriately recontextualized to stabilise that past in the future. An important feature of the resources that construct R.I. is that the discourse does not enter into an exchange relation with the economy. The bias, focus, and management here leads to a tight control over discursive inputs of education, that is its contents, not over its outputs. R.I.s are formed by hierarchically ordered, strongly bounded, explicitly stratified, and sequenced discourses and practices. What is foregrounded in the construction of the R.I. is the collective social base as revealed by the recontextualised grand narrative of the past. The individual careers [are] of less interest. What is at stake here is stabilising the past and projecting it into the future. (pp. 66–67, original emphasis)

While it would not be possible to characterize the varying systems of value of the EUSM in an absolute sense, such an identity closely resembles the content and pedagogic practices of traditional schools of music which are modeled after the European conservatories (see Chapter 2). The controls over discursive inputs appeared to more closely align with discourses and practices that were present within the Western Musical Traditions, the Theory and Analysis II and, to some extent, the Renaissance Modal Counterpoint classes that were observed throughout
the data collection process. However, while study findings suggest that a retrospective pedagogic identity aligns with these particular classroom settings, that is not to say that the discourses which underpin such an identity were not present within a jazz education context. As we explored in Chapter 2, the jazz tradition which serves as the foundation for the Jazz Improvisation and Musicianship I course legitimated and reproduced a particular cultural narrative as well (DeVeaux, 1991). We might recognize remnants of such reified traditions in the Pre-bop transcription assignment that Professor Figaro assigned, or in the ear-training quiz that was part of the class structure but did not really serve as a form of assessment. What is important to note, however, is that while these discourses distributed and legitimated certain musical knowledges, students were not assessed on their recognition and realisation of the inputs but, as highlighted by Figaro, on their outputs.

In many ways, the tacit ideological contestation which was present within the EUSM is, I suggest, a product of the differential valuing of inputs and outputs by agents. For someone whose values align with a retrospective identity, the best and most excellent knowledges might relate to a reified tradition, one which is legitimated both within and outside of the school of music by expert knowers. In this case, the best pedagogies might be those which can, using as efficient means as possible, ensure that students can demonstrate adequate understanding of these knowledges. These beliefs point to a retrospective identity which is focused, as Bernstein (2000) highlights above, on specific inputs which stabilise a particular past. On one hand, Bernstein judiciously suggests that such identities do not “enter into an exchange relation with the economy” (p. 66). Such an identity would run counter to the stated values of the EUSM as highlighted by their official statements as well as the goals of the administration. In this case, the rationale for the inclusion of these knowledges is not to prepare graduates so much as it is to
stabilise a cultural past into the future, protecting the legitimacy of certain agents and the
institution by pointing to its past. The courses which serve this identity through the reproduction
of its values are legitimated not because of their exchange value, rather, because of a reified
narrative that legitimates the ‘greatness’ of the institution and its agents. Such greatness may be
established through connecting faculty to famous lineages of composers (see Kingsbury, 1984)
or by maintaining a reified set of Great Masters to ‘worship’ (see DeVeaux, 1991, or Nettl, 1992).

Institutions and their agents might benefit from considering the rationales for the
development and maintenance of retrospective identities. Who is served by the reproduction of
these pedagogic discourses within their educative space? How are they distributed? How are they
assessed? My aim in posing these questions is not to do away with the specialised knowledges
and skills which have historically enjoyed a central and legitimated position in North American
music education programmes and which have recently become the central focus of Social Realist
scholarship (see Moore, 2013 for one rationale of ‘powerful’ musical knowledge), but to suggest
that there may be opportunities to rethink curricula to shift this retrospective identity. Creative
pedagogues may imagine a way to bring these knowledges into an exchange relation with
markets, effectively connecting these knowledges to a refocused pedagogic output.

It may be difficult for a school of music to rethink the retrospective identities which exist
within their walls, as those values are the very means through which many faculty and
administrators are seen as valued and legitimated experts, both within and outside of the school
of music (see Prouty, 2002 for an examination of communication among agents in academic and
non-academic jazz contexts). However, as was previously made clear in Chapter 5, findings
suggest that students are changing and are beginning, more and more, to demand an education
which prepares them for an exchange relation to the market. In other words, as neoliberal market controls continue to shift to see students as consumers instead of products, faculty and administration within schools of music will have to be adaptable to meet the needs of a student body—one which is thinking and valuing differently.

There is perhaps no more real example of pedagogic outputs than the graduates and alumni of the school of music: what skills they have developed, and how they are being used to interact within their practices and careers outside of the classroom. While contestation abounds about which knowledges are the most excellent within the EUSM, there is little debate that the best pedagogic discourses are those which produce the most excellent graduates. But what are the characteristics of these excellent graduates? Professor Molly Anderson, for example, discusses what she believes are important characteristics of excellence for students and alumni:

What is excellence? I mean that is the question to try and unpack. I think for music students that means—well, for almost any students really, but—I think it's much, much more complex and more multifaceted than being an expert instrumentalist or singer or performer, or sound recording engineer, or whatever you're very, very specific interest is. I think it means being flexible and versatile. Having critical thinking skills . . . I mean, probably put the critical thinking skills at the very top of the list. Because from those flows almost everything else. So, if you're a critical thinker, you can recognize opportunities and think through the challenges and the solutions in order to respond to those opportunities. You can work in interdisciplinary ways. You can understand the ethical dimensions of your professional practice, you can understand how to develop effective communication skills. So, I think all of that is part of what an excellent graduate would look like. Of course, we're a faculty of music, and some musical expertise is part
of excellence and that's what I think people feel threatened by sometimes—that if you start talking in this more sort of holistic way, they think you're saying the musical expertise doesn't matter.

Kyle: Right.

Molly: So, the musical expertise does matter! It's a thing! [laughs] It does matter. And it’s maybe the core of the student’s skill set, but on its own, it is not enough to send the graduate into the world.

Molly Anderson’s comments painted a picture of a school of music which focused both on the development of specialized musical skills, grounded in a program which was focused on preparing graduates to meet a market with a different set of values than those reproduced through a retrospective identity within the school of music. In this imagined pedagogic space, these disciplinary skills are embedded into a curriculum which is focused on the outputs of students within a market. As Molly highlights, these are an important part of a student’s excellent music education. However, by themselves, she suggests that these specialized, disciplinary musical knowledges are not sufficient.

Embracing the Tension

What became clear throughout the data collection process was the significant tension between ideologies of agents within the space of the Eastern Urban School of Music. In fact, it may be this very tension which creates a space which is so vibrant and dynamic, offering opportunities to think creatively. Recalling a comment from my interview with Molly Anderson that was presented in Chapter 5:

And I think that the discussions that happen around, you know, the direction, and the curriculum and how we should prepare students . . . Of course, there are conflicting
opinions and perspectives. For me, that's really good. Like, I like that, that's the excitement of being in an institution where actually, people care deeply about their students and . . . Okay, that's articulated through different perspectives and different ideologies . . . but in a way, I think that's what makes it a really exciting and dynamic place to be.

This tension was similarly described by an EUSM professor during a series of interviews and Q&As to mark the International Day Against Homophobia, Biphobia, and Transphobia which was published in the University's journal of record on May 18, 2022:

We actually had a period in Music when we were talking about curriculum diversification which at times was very painful. The conversations we were having were very uncomfortable and it felt like people were being divided. But I think discomfort is a sign of health. You’re not going to get to a new awareness without that discomfort. Some people haven’t had to rethink their preconceptions. Then, all of a sudden, having it all be dumped on them at once, it may feel like we are saying we want to cancel Western culture or that [everything] they’ve done during their career is worth nothing.

And that is part of the discomfort. But I think it’s a necessary stage to get through. These comments demonstrate the importance of the school of music as a space in which to engage with this tension between ideologies. Namely, Perkins (2013) describes the tensions between different institutional ‘learning cultures’ which foreground performance practices or “other stuff” (p. 204), She highlighted that the specialization which has offered musical knowledges a place at the institutional table may be at odds with the goals of the institution in preparing students for their profession. I propose that it is within these tension points that creative thinking and solutions might be fostered and made possible, offering a unique
opportunity for all agents of the school of music to engage meaningfully and rethink their own values and beliefs about what and who is considered ‘excellent.’

However, these tension points are made possible only if differing values and beliefs have the space in which to interact. Students and faculty described varying degrees of division and siloing between departments, their agents, and their knowledges. In other words, while the Eastern Urban School of Music is a space where agents have the potential to engage with these tension points, at times, agents were not afforded a space in which to engage. This may be caused by the fears noted above: agents may feel that this engagement may lead to a shift in the values of identities, whether their own identity becomes less valued, or fears that the excellence of students would be compromised. If a school of music does not offer this space, then I argue they risk limiting the learning opportunities of students. Perkins (2013) describes the potential impact this might have:

Given that the conservatoire is an educational institution, and one with responsibility to all learners who pass through it, it has both a democratic and pedagogical imperative to ensure that all learners have access to meaningful and relevant learning opportunities. (p. 209)

Faculty and administration might consider how and in what ways programming and curriculum may afford spaces for these tension points and learning opportunities, and how current programming may be limiting these spaces, and thus potentially their pedagogical imperative. Following Bernstein’s (2000) three message systems of pedagogy, curriculum designers might consider how they might use curriculum (what they teach), pedagogy (how they teach it), and evaluation (how it is assessed), to afford these spaces for the interaction of the various ideologies which exist within the unique institution that is the school of music.
Including Embedding Supports within the Core Curriculum

Throughout my time collecting data at the Eastern Urban School of Music with the COVID-19 pandemic still very much front-and-centre, health and wellness discourses were very present. Bulletin boards included information for support services, students were receiving multiple emails daily about services available to them (five per day, Nick joked during our interview), and the university implemented masking and tracking policies which were in line with Eastern Urban University policy and municipal guidelines. These discourses were supplemented by a relatively recent shift within broader music education pedagogy to focus on health and wellness within the field of performance musicianship exploring anxiety, physical injury, and other forms of therapy, discourses which were also increasingly present within the EUSM, especially within research spaces that would be termed ‘interdisciplinary.’

However, interview data pointed to a disconnection between the supports available and students’ access to them. Nick explained that the barrage of emails related to health and wellness made keeping track difficult and Marcus spoke about his negative views towards his own performance music education due to injuries sustained through his practice. On a broad scale, Professor Molly Anderson suggested that this translated into other aspects of the school of music, including supports for students with diverse socioeconomic profiles: these supports might be readily available, but they were not embedded within the core curriculum and were not easily accessible to students. These supports were ‘add-on,’ she suggested, not embedded.

I suggest that agents within the school of music strongly consider how and in what ways such supports may be embedded within a core curriculum in order to meet the needs of students. This may more easily be said than done; North American schools of music and conservatories have been modelled after European and American conservatories of the past (see Chapter 2), and
their structures and frameworks may not be conducive to embedding these support discourses for a number of reasons. For one, private instructors have historically enjoyed relative autonomy with respect to what and how they teach in one-on-one lessons, and often they teach what and how they were taught—after all, such pedagogic practices led them to be valued and legitimated experts within their field! (Jones, 2017; Kingsbury, 1984) They may expect students to pick up these practices elsewhere, or vice-versa: other teachers may assume students are getting this education within their private instruction. The school of music may not wish to demand private instructors include these discourses within their lessons for fear of being accused of unnecessary oversight. However, as Susan and Marcus both pointed out, private instruction is the space where these discourses might have the most impact. As Molly further pointed out, performance students are often singularly focused on competition and performance and so private instruction may be one of the vital pedagogic spaces for these discourses to be embedded if they are to be effectively acquired by students, especially if these students do not engage readily outside of this bubble.

I argue that this consideration extends beyond health and wellness discourses and includes those of equity, inclusion, and diversity as well. Molly describes this issue, explaining:

And potentially, we have students who—the other thing that's changing is that the university is trying very hard to be more inclusive and to think more about equity, diversity, inclusion and to diversify the socioeconomic profile of the student body, and that sort of thing. So, to put it really bluntly, we might be, and I don't know this for a fact, but I think I do know that retention is an issue for some students from particular backgrounds. And I worry that we maybe are succeeding in attracting some students, but when they get into the institution, what they expected it might be, or what they expected
in terms of the support they would get, or the community that they would be part of, they're kind of . . . that's where the problem is. So, it's like, “okay we'll open our doors and let you in, but once you're here, you've got to be just like us, and if you're not like us, then you'll have to take the exit.” So that's putting it really crudely and I'm not saying that anyone is sort of explicitly setting out to do that but I'm very worried that that is in fact what is happening in some cases. . . . And the university has support in place; like, for example for Black students there's some bespoke targeted support systems. But I don't know whether it's enough, I don't know if whether sort of tacking on those kinds of supports is enough. I think maybe we have some deeper thinking to do about programs, and the values that underpin those programs.

Molly’s comments bring to the fore the importance of embedding discourses instead of simply including them as an ‘add-on.’ These support systems may not be redressing issues of diversity and inclusion if they are not accessible to the groups they are designed for. In fact, it might be worth considering who benefits from these supports, if not the students they are explicitly designed to aid. I am not suggesting that there was any underlying nefarious purpose on the part of the EUSM administration, rather, to point out that unless these support systems are re-imagined as a part of the core curriculum, they may not only be missed by students who need them, but their presence may serve to inhibit other programs which may more meaningfully meet these needs.

Adaptation and Student Voice in a Post-Pandemic Music Education Institution

Music education at all levels required rapid adaptability to meet the challenges of the COVID-19 pandemic (Zavitz et al., in press). This meant rethinking curricular structures and pedagogic practices which have, in some cases, largely gone unchanged for centuries. One of the
few benefits to this shift has been affirming what many music educators and scholars have argued for decades: that schools of music and conservatories are capable of changing at a fundamental level if stakeholders and those in dominant positions feel it is necessary or worthwhile to do so.

Study findings indicate that student voice is becoming a much louder presence within the ‘acoustic’ of the school of music. Students are, to a larger extent than ever before, expecting schools of music to address issues of equity, diversity, and inclusion, and to provide supports for health and wellness. Moreover, many music students are beginning to demand that their education be directly tied to preparing for a career. Molly describes this shift:

So, I think there's some big discussions that have to take place and will take place, inevitably, because I think students will demand that it takes place, because students are changing. Students don't stay the same as they were in, you know, a hundred years ago; they’re products of their time and they will demand change. So, it won't happen overnight, but it is happening, there is change.

Students might consider how the administration and faculty are working to meet these needs. Drawing upon the considerations posed above, students might ask how and in what ways the supports that are made available to them are accessible and embedded within their core curricula. It might be through increased communication between administrators, faculty, and students that conversations concerning what students needs are and how to best address them might lead meaningful change to occur.

**Communication, Connectivity, and Collaboration**

Throughout the data collection process, both within classroom observations and interviews, agents remarked on the importance and value they placed upon communication, both
between and within department groups. Professor Figaro highlighted this when sharing his beliefs with the class regarding what he perceived as the benefits of weakened categorization, both between jazz and Western classical music and within jazz ‘genres’ (see Chapter 5). Susan, when asked what one thing she would change about her music department, responded that she wished for more interaction between classical and jazz students, as well as more interaction with various agents in the classical department. During Nick’s interview he shared that, as a guitar player within the Faculty program, he felt there were relatively weak boundaries in his area of study, which he appreciated. ‘Communication and Connectivity’ and ‘Collaboration’ were stated as core values by the Eastern Urban School of Music, and while these were celebrated by agents, it seemed that there is more room to foster this.

Susan revealed that physical space might also contribute to this sense of boundary. The establishment of different practice wings might foster a sense of division between instruments, as she and her colleagues in strings might not see other instrumentalists. Interestingly, she also highlighted that there was some division that took place within her orchestra rehearsal as well:

So, the other way that people interact is in orchestra. But, you know, the strings are all in the same area, and the winds are all in the same area. So, they never really talk to each other in rehearsal. And it's really coming back to the thing of not teaching students how to play in orchestra. It's not encouraged, this communication between sections. So, it doesn't feel like we're playing as a whole group. It feels like we're playing as like, some violins in the orchestra. [laughs] . . . Yeah. And then the only time we've maybe encountered voice, jazz, or piano students is in classes. But then if there isn't a lot of group work in the classes the personal connections just aren't made.
Susan’s comments highlight the importance of communication and collaboration within classes as a space to build the connections between students that she and the other respondents value. Marcus and Nick both revealed that part of the reason they enjoyed the Psychology of Music course was precisely because of the collaborative, team-building aspects of the class structure. In contrast, Marcus highlighted that he did not appreciate the Western Musical Traditions course precisely because of its ‘lecture-y’ format which featured very strong framing relations, and very strict pacing and sequencing. Instructors might consider reimagining their classrooms as spaces for fostering the communication, connectivity, and collaboration that are celebrated as core values within the Eastern Urban School of Music.

Summary

The purpose of this study was to understand the nature of musical knowledges within the North American school of music, the forms of regulation which serve to distribute and maintain these knowledges, and the impacts these knowledges have on the regulation of identities and consciousness of agents. In so doing, the agents within a school of music may be able to examine their own practices and ask how their beliefs and values play a role in their pedagogic discourses, and how these might be refocused to meet students’ needs. I include a brief summary of some points of consideration for faculty, administration, and students when examining their own discourses and practices:

• Consider the rationales for pedagogic inputs and outputs:
  o Who benefits from this knowledge being included in the curriculum?
  o Who benefits from the pacing, sequencing, and assessment of this knowledge?
  o How and in what ways do the pedagogic outputs enter into exchange relations with the economy?
• Consider how and in ways programming and curriculum may afford space for the emergence of tension points:
  o Which competing values are introduced and negotiated? How and in what ways?
• Consider who benefits from the supports made available by the School of Music:
  o Are these supports ‘add-on,’ or embedded directly into the curriculum?
  o Are all faculty and administration included in the process of embedding these supports? Why or why not?
  o How and in what ways are private instructors prepared to address this within one-on-one instruction and studio classes?
  o Are these supports reaching the students they are designed to? Why or why not?
  o How might these supports be reimagined in order to better meet students’ needs?
• Consider reimagining classrooms as important spaces for fostering communication, connectivity, and collaboration.

Future Directions for Research

This study offers a unique look into a North American School of Music which is at the same time quite similar to many institutions and yet unique. Themes emerged from an analysis of data which used Bernstein’s (2000) theory of the Pedagogic Device to explore the nature of legitimate musical knowledges, their forms of regulation, and their impacts upon the identities and consciousness of agents within the Eastern Urban School of Music. These themes emerged from a single semester in the Fall of 2021, from a single case. While I trust (or at least, hope) that the data analysis provided sufficient depth, I have no doubt that further case studies would produce more, different, and equally unique results, offering room for further understanding and the transferability of findings.
There is no doubt that every North American School of Music has its own unique strengths and challenges, and an examination of any such program would provide fascinating and exclusive insights into their own particular pedagogic discourses. I would venture that many schools of music are considering the facets and challenges of curricula and pedagogy discussed within this study already. The Eastern Urban School of Music generously opened their doors for this study and I sincerely hope that more studies will follow, as we continue to more completely understand and reimagine the very special space that we call the School of Music.
References


Gandre, J. (2002). *And then there were seven: An historical case study of the seven independent American conservatories of music that survived the twentieth century.* (Publication No: 3028657) [Doctoral dissertation, University of Nebraska-Lincoln]. ProQuest.


[https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511481918](https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511481918)


Available at:
https://docs.google.com/document/d/1clGjGABB2h2qbduTgfqribHmog9B6P0NvMgVuiHZCl8/edit


Memorial University of Newfoundland.


https://doi.org/10.1080/14613800802280134


Letter of Information and Consent – Virtual interviews

Exploring Musical Knowledge in the Canadian Multiple Department School of Music.

Principal Investigator: Dr. Ruth Wright, PhD
Professor, Music Education
University of Western Ontario

Co-investigator: Kyle Zavitz
PhD candidate, Music Education
University of Western Ontario

You are being invited to participate in this research study about the nature of musical knowledges within classical and jazz departments within a Canadian school of music. The purpose of this study is to examine the social and pedagogic practices which construct and regulate discourses within the school of music. We wish to understand your experiences of this as an agent within the Eastern Urban School of Music (student, faculty, and/or administration).

Only if you consent to participate after reading this Letter of Information will the interview continue. You will also be asked for consent to record the interview, and to use unidentified quotations. You may still participate if you do not wish for the interview to be recorded and notes will be taken by hand. Similarly, if you do not wish for quotations to be used this will be noted and none of your responses will be quoted. We would like to use unidentified quotations in future presentations and publications. If you do not wish to be quoted you may still participate in this research.

You may not directly benefit from participating in this study but information gathered may provide benefits to society as a whole which include understanding how knowledge is regulated within departments and how agents’ identities and experiences are influenced by pedagogic practices.

You will not be compensated for your participation in this research. Your participation in this phase of the study is voluntary. You may decide not to take part in this study. Even if you consent to participate you have the right to not answer individual questions or to withdraw from the study at any time. If you are a student and choose not to participate or to leave the study at
any time it will have no effect on your academic standing. We will provide any new information
that is learned during the study that might affect your decision to stay in the study. If you decide
to withdraw from the study, you have the right to request withdrawal of information collected
about you.

Your privacy will be respected. As you indicated that you might be interviewed and have
provided your email, this will be stored electronically with a numerical identifier only. While we
do our best to protect your information there is no guarantee that we will be able to do so. The
researcher will keep any personal information about you in a secure Western-approved location
for 7 years. A list linking your study number with your name will be kept by the researcher in a
secure place, separate from your study file.

Dr. Ruth Wright and Kyle Zavitz will have access to the data. Representatives of Western
University’s Non-Medical Research Ethics Board may require access to your study-related
records to monitor the conduct of the research. The data collected in this study will be kept for 7
years in a secure Western University approved location, after which time it will be destroyed
through digital removal in accordance with Western’s Disposal Guidelines and Best Practices.

If the results of the study are published, your name will not be used.

If you have questions about this research study please contact the Principal Investigator Dr. Ruth
Wright at [Redacted] or [Redacted]

If you have any questions about your rights as a research participant or the conduct of this study,
you may contact The Office of Human Research Ethics [Redacted], email:
[Redacted].
Verbal Consent

Do you confirm that the Letter of Information has been read to you and have had all questions answered to your satisfaction?

YES □ NO □

Do you agree to participate in this research?

YES □ NO □

Do you agree to your interview being recorded?

YES □ NO □

Do you consent to the use of unidentified quotes obtained during the study in the dissemination of this research?

YES □ NO □

Your responses have been noted by the interviewer.

Date: _____________________ Signature of Interviewer: _____________________

Thank you

This letter is yours to keep for future reference.
Letter of Information and Consent – Observations

Exploring Musical Knowledge in the Canadian Multiple Department School of Music.

Principal Investigator: Dr. Ruth Wright, PhD
Professor, Music Education
University of Western Ontario

Co-investigator: Kyle Zavitz
PhD candidate, Music Education
University of Western Ontario

You are being invited to participate in this research study about the nature of musical knowledges within classical and jazz departments within a Canadian school of music because you are an agent within the Schulich School of Music (instructor or student). The purpose of this study is to examine the social and pedagogic practices which construct and regulate discourses within the school of music. We wish to observe your practice and discourse within the classroom and ensemble setting.

Observations will take place within the Fall semester of the 2021-2022 school year and will continue until the semester ends in December. No observations of a classroom or ensemble will exceed 12 weeks.

Only if you consent to participate after reading this Letter of Information will observations of your practice and discourse be recorded. You will also be asked for consent to use unidentified quotations. We would like to use unidentified quotations in future presentations and publications. You may still participate if you do not wish for your quotes to be used; if you do not wish quotations to be used this will be noted.

You may not directly benefit from participating in this study but information gathered may provide benefits to society as a whole which include understanding how knowledge is regulated within departments and how agents’ identities and experiences are influenced by pedagogic practices.
You will not be compensated for your participation in this research. Your participation in this phase of the study is voluntary. You may decide not to take part in this study. Even if you consent to participate you have the right to withdraw from the study at any time. If you are a student and choose not to participate or to leave the study at any time it will have no effect on your academic standing. We will provide any new information that is learned during the study that might affect your decision to stay in the study. If you decide to withdraw from the study, you have the right to request withdrawal of information collected about you.

Your privacy will be respected. Your name will be stored electronically with a numerical identifier only. While we do our best to protect your information there is no guarantee that we will be able to do so. The researcher will keep any personal information about you in a secure Western-approved location for 7 years. A list linking your study number with your name will be kept by the researcher in a secure place, separate from your study file.

Dr. Ruth Wright and Kyle Zavitz will have access to the data. Representatives of Western University’s Non-Medical Research Ethics Board may require access to your study-related records to monitor the conduct of the research. The data collected in this study will be kept for 7 years in a secure Western University approved location, after which time it will be destroyed through digital removal in accordance with Western’s Disposal Guidelines and Best Practices.

If the results of the study are published, your name will not be used.

If you have questions about this research study please contact the Principal Investigator Dr. Ruth Wright at __________________ or __________________

If you have any questions about your rights as a research participant or the conduct of this study, you may contact The Office of Human Research Ethics __________________, email: __________________.
Written Consent

Do you confirm that you have read the Letter of Information and have had all questions answered to your satisfaction?

YES ☐ NO ☐

Do you agree to participate in this research?

YES ☐ NO ☐

Do you consent to the use of unidentified quotes obtained during the study in the dissemination of this research?

YES ☐ NO ☐

Date: _______________________ Signature of Participant: _____________________
APPENDIX C: SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW GUIDE

Students
- Understanding social relations between students/teachers, teachers/administration, students/administration
- Understanding differences in social relations between home education and school education (home music vs school music)?
- Musical identity formation in school and community institutions
- Similarities and differences between forms of control in school music and nonschool music (ie performances, clubs, etc)
- Similarities and differences between school practices (coding between/within musical practices)
- Relations of students to the school curriculum
- How students recognise/realise pedagogic discourses
- Tensions between students in different departmental groups

Example questions for students
1. What kinds of genres/subgenres of music within [classical / jazz] are foregrounded within the curriculum in your department?
   a. How and in what ways is the [classical / jazz] music you played prior to entering the faculty different from within the faculty?
2. In what ways would you describe the difference between “good” and “bad” [classical / jazz] music.
3. I’d like to know your thoughts on what you think makes a successful [classical / jazz] musician?
   a. How has your thinking about what makes a successful musician changed since you entered into the program?
   b. How and in what ways do you feel your program prepares you or does not prepare students for this?
   c. How and in what ways do you feel your idea and the administration’s idea of a successful graduate may differ?
4. Can you tell me about how you feel classical students are perceived by jazz students? How you feel jazz students are perceived by classical students?
5. Can you tell me about HOW music is taught within your department?
   a. How would you describe effective [classical / jazz] music pedagogy?
6. How has your time within the department of music shaped how you think about music?
7. How has your time within the department of music shaped how you think about yourself as a musician? As a non-musician?
8. If you could change one thing about your music department, what would it be?
9. Can you tell me more about what extent you feel the classical and jazz departments communicate?
10. Can you tell me more about how the social aspects of [classical / jazz] performance? How are they similar, and how do they differ?
11. To what extent do you feel you are excluded from the [other] department? To what extent do you feel students in the other department are excluded from yours?
12. Can you talk about your Major practical study? What are you exploring with your teacher?
   a. How does this curriculum / pedagogy line up with or deviate from your other classes?
13. Can you talk at all about what a “top student” looks like within your department?
14. How and in what ways do you think the university creates boundaries between the two departments?
15. Can you tell me about the practice facilities within the department?

Teachers
   o Understanding social relations between students/teachers, teachers/administration, students/administration
   o Understanding teacher’s pedagogical rationales, philosophies, means/ends.
   o Similarities and differences between forms of control in school music and nonschool music (ie performances, clubs, etc)
   o Similarities and differences between pedagogic practices (coding between musical practices)
   o Pedagogic work that might improve educational outcomes for students
   o Tensions between different departmental groups
   o Tensions between teachers and administration
   o Relations of teachers to the administrative agenda / produced materials.
   o Challenges associated with teaching a diverse student clientele.
   o Curricular planning: knowledge selection and organisation in order to meet student needs;
   o Extent to which professors use their own work as curricular material (extent to which they produce/reproduce knowledge).

Potential questions for teachers
1. What are the characteristics of an ideal student for you?
   a. As a major practical student, if you are an MPS instructor
   b. Within a lecture/seminar format
   c. Within a rehearsal format
2. What do you consider to be an ideal graduate of the program? What skills/competences do they have?
3. What are some misconceptions you feel entering undergraduate students have about this program and/or its content?
4. What is your musical background? How did you come to this position?
   a. How do you feel your experiences have impacted what you value / how you teach?
5. How and in what ways do you feel the learning process changes when you are in a lecture space versus a rehearsal / practical space?
a. Which do you find is more advantageous to student learning and why?

6. Can you tell me about the program structure at the faculty?
   a. What courses do you feel should be implemented / removed?
   b. What course content do you feel should be included / removed?

7. How did you come to develop your curricula?
   a. Formal course curricula
   b. Informal practical agendas (lesson plans with students, ensembles, etc)
   c. Have you included any materials that you yourself have published?

Administration
   o Understanding social relations between students/teachers, teachers/administration, students/administration
   o Understanding administrative rationale, means/ends, long term goals
   o Similarities and differences between communication practices (classical/jazz faculties)
   o Tensions between different departmental groups
   o Tensions between teachers and administration
   o Relations of teachers to the administrative agenda.

Potential questions for administration

1. What are the characteristics of an ideal student for you?
2. What do you consider to be an ideal graduate of the program? What skills/competences do they have?
3. How did you come to your position?
4. Can you describe the nature of communication between the classical and jazz departments?
   a. Does administration serve as a middle-man between departments?
5. How and in what ways does this faculty succeed in facilitating student learning and positive student experience?
6. What are some misconceptions you feel entering undergraduate students have about this program and/or its content?
7. How and in what ways do you feel faculty and administration could better facilitate student learning and experience?
   a. Specific to program requirements
   b. Outside of program requirements
APPENDIX D: EMAIL RECRUITMENT SCRIPT FOR SCHOOLS OF MUSIC

Dear [Dean], [Head of Performance], etc.

My name is Kyle Zavitz, and I am a PhD candidate in Music Education at the University of Western Ontario and I am interested in conducting my dissertation research at the [Faculty / department] of Music. My research involves conducting a case study. The 'case' is a Department/Faculty of Music in which the fund of musical knowledge includes both Jazz and Classical programs of study. Your Department/Faculty has been identified as such, thus meeting the desired criterion. I am exploring social and pedagogic practices of a Classical and Jazz Faculty of Music to understand the nature of musical knowledge within the departments, how these knowledges are legitimated and specialised within pedagogic discourses, and the effects this has on student identity and experience. My research is supervised by Dr. Ruth Wright and Dr. Paul Woodford.

The proposed data collection period will last a total of 5 months, from August until December 2021. I plan to conduct document analysis, observations, and interviews. My proposed on-site research timeline is:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Activity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>August 2021</td>
<td>Enculturation period: identify classes, ensembles for observation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Begin preliminary document analysis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Establish rapport with faculty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September 2021</td>
<td>Enculturation period: Establish rapport with faculty and students.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Continue document analysis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Seek consent from participants for interviews.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October 2021</td>
<td>Field observations and interviews</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 2021</td>
<td>Field observations and interviews</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 2021</td>
<td>Field observations and interviews</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In order to conduct this research, what I will require from the Faculty of Music includes:

- Access to non-confidential documents for analysis (program requirements, curricula, timetables, policy documents, etc)
- With the permission of instructors, access to attend lectures, ensemble rehearsals, recitals, etc for observation (in-person and/or virtually, according to university policy and COVID-19 guidelines)
- Avenues to recruit participants for interviews (flyers, in-class recruitment script, etc) Interviews will include students, faculty, and administration and will be focused on experiences within the faculty of music.

While I hope to develop rapport with persons within the faculty of music I do not wish to interrupt or impede the work within the faculty of music and will work to remain as unobtrusive as is possible throughout this process.
If you have any questions about this work, the research process, or other clarification of any kind, you can contact Dr. Ruth Wright and/or myself.

Thank you for your consideration, and I look forward to hearing from you.

Best,

Kyle Zavitz  
PhD Candidate, Music Education  
University of Western Ontario

Dr. Ruth Wright  
Professor  
University of Western Ontario
APPENDIX E: RECRUITMENT FLYER

PARTICIPANTS NEEDED FOR
RESEARCH IN MUSIC SCHOOL EXPERIENCES

We are looking for volunteers to take part in a study of their experiences within the school of music. Participants must currently be students enrolled in the Eastern Urban School of Music, or faculty/administration employed by the Eastern Urban School of Music.

If you are interested and agree to participate you would be asked to partake in one-on-one virtual interviews.

Your participation would involve one session, with the possibility for future sessions. Each session will be about 60 minutes long.

You will receive no financial remuneration for your time.

For more information about this study, or to volunteer for this study,

Please contact:

Kyle Zavitz

PhD Candidate

Don Wright Faculty of Music
Subject Line: Invitation to participate in research

Hello,

You are being invited to participate in a study that Dr. Ruth Wright is conducting with PhD candidate Kyle Zavitz. The purpose of this study is to examine the nature of musical knowledge within a Canadian school of music. This includes the experiences of participants and the social and pedagogic practices within the school of music. This study involves participation in a one-on-one interview conducted virtually (via Zoom) with the possibility for future interviews, lasting no more than an hour. No compensation will be provided for your participation in this research.

Two reminder emails will be sent to you at weekly intervals from the date of this email.

If you would like to participate in this study please read the attached letter of information and respond to this email indicating your interest.

Thank you,

Ruth Wright
University of Western Ontario, Don Wright Faculty of Music

Kyle Zavitz
Co-investigator
Hello, my name is Kyle Zavitz and I am a PhD candidate from the Don Wright Faculty of Music at Western University. I am studying the nature of musical knowledge within schools of music that include both jazz and classical departments and am recruiting participants who are enrolled in the Eastern Urban School of Music.

This research will hopefully lead to a better understanding of both ‘what’ we teach and ‘how’ we teach it and the ways that our social and pedagogic practices have an impact on the experiences and identities of those within the school of music.

If you volunteer as a participant in this study, you will be asked to partake in one-on-one interviews, where you will be asked about your experiences in the school of music.

The session(s) should take approximately one hour of your time, with the potential for future interviews.

If you are interested in participating, please contact me at [insert contact information] if you are interested in participating or if you would like more information.

Thank you.

Kyle
CURRICULUM VITAE – KYLE ZAVITZ

ACADEMIC DEGREES

Doctor of Philosophy, Music Education                                                  September 2018 – Present
Don Wright Faculty of Music, University of Western Ontario

· Dissertation title: Exploring Musical Knowledge in the Canadian Multiple-Department
  School of Music
· Supervisor: Dr. Ruth Wright
· ABD status. Expected doctoral completion date: December 2022
· Completed milestone: Dissertation proposal defense (January 2021)

Masters of Music (Performance -Jazz)                                                September 2015 – June 2017
Desautels Faculty of Music, University of Manitoba

· Private instruction in jazz piano with Will Bonness
· Completed degree thesis entitled "Jazz Pianists: A Comparative Analysis of Style and
  Approach"

Honours Bachelor of Music: Exchange (Performance – Jazz piano) October 2011 – June 2012
Kunstuniversitat Graz, Austria
· Exchange year, studied for one year at the jazz campus of the KUG
· Private instruction in jazz piano with Olaf Polziehn

Honours Bachelor of Music (Performance – Jazz/Latin Piano)          September 2009 – May 2013
Carleton University
· Performed a wide range of musical styles (jazz & ‘Latin,’ Western art, popular & alternative)
· Completed graduate project: Demo-CD of original works, April 2013

TEACHING / RESEARCH EXPERIENCE

University of Western Ontario                                                                 January 2022 – May 2022
Graduate Student Appointment: Course - Introduction to Jazz MUS 2702B

· Redesigned and taught MUS 2702B: Introduction to Jazz
· Taught with hybrid format following COVID-19 protocols, via Zoom and in-person
· Duties included lecturing, marking, and supervising graduate teaching assistant for class of fifty
· Designed course with explicit focus on social issues related to jazz (including race / racism,
  gender, sexuality, reified boundaries) and their intersections within history and tradition of jazz
· Co-ordinated four guest lectures with experts in the field of jazz and jazz education to offer
  multiple perspectives and expertise on topics related to jazz
University of Western Ontario  
Graduate Teaching Assistant  
September 2018 – Present

- Philosophy of Music Education. Supervised by Dr. Paul Woodford
- Music Education in Community. Supervised by Dr. Cathy Benedict
- Progressive Pedagogies of Music Education. Supervised by Dr. Ruth Wright
- Instrumental Ensemble Techniques. Supervised by Dr. Colleen Richardson
- Western University Jazz Ensemble. Supervised by Dr. Kevin Watson
- Beginner Guitar. Supervised by PhD candidate Patrick Feely
- Responsible for a wide range of duties including lecturing on topics, marking assignments and presentations, rehearsing with a band, and facilitating discussions

University of Western Ontario  
Research Assistant  
February 2020 – May 2021

- Co-authored report “Everything is Connected: A Landscape of Music Education” (aka The National Study) alongside Drs. Adam Con (University of Victoria) and Betty Anne Younker (University of Western Ontario) for the Coalition for Music Education
- Work directly overseen by Dr. Adam Con
- Supervised by Dr. Betty Anne Younker
- Conducted data collection and descriptive analysis
- Prepared and presented at numerous conferences
- Corresponded with key provincial contacts in music education across Canada

University of Manitoba  
Sessional Instructor  
September 2017 – May 2018

- Developed curricula for and taught four courses at the Desautels Faculty of Music – Jazz Theory I, Jazz Musicianship I, Jazz Musicianship III and Acoustics of Music
- Directed a jazz ensemble for the 2017-2018 year
- Directed the Introduction to Jazz seminar for annual Desautels Faculty of Music Open House
- Proctored Graduate Theory diagnostic test
- Lectured and assisted with the Desautels Faculty of Music Mini-Jazz Camp

University of Manitoba  
Teaching Assistant  
September 2016 – May 2017

- Lectured and assessed class weekly for Classical musicianship I-II under Professor Karla Dawe
- Lectured and assessed class weekly for Jazz musicianship courses I – IV under Professor Will Bonness

University of Manitoba  
Assistant Lecturer  
September 2015 – January 2016

- Substitute lecturer for professor Will Bonness with Keyboard skills I – IV labs
· Lectured on course material, working with students as a group and one-on-one
· Administered tests on course material

Carleton University                             September 2012 – May 2013; September 2013 – January 2016
Research Assistant

· Supervised by Dr. James Wright
· Works culminated into publication “They Shot, He Scored: The Life and Music of Eldon Rathburn” (McGill Queen’s UP, 2019)
· Granted by the Canadian Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC)
· Transcribed and edited from original handwritten copies of scores
· Managed and organize project’s web space and online content

PUBLICATIONS


CONFERENCES / PRESENTATIONS / GUEST LECTURES

Coalition for Music Education National Music Education Policy Summit          October 14-16, 2022
University of Toronto, Scarborough Campus (UTSC)
Delegate

· Participated in a series of working sessions to develop a strategic plan for action and national advocacy agenda
· Hosted by Drs. Eric Favaro, Lynn Tucker, and Patrick Schmidt

M9641a “Philosophical and Historical Inquiry in Music Education”          March 14, 2022
Western University, London ON (virtual lecture) by request of Dr. Paul Woodford
Guest Presenter

· Presented to first and second year PhD students in Music Education on finding research topics, navigating theoretical frameworks and selecting appropriate methodologies for research projects / studies

M9640a “Theories of Music Education”                           September 16, 2021
Western University, London ON (virtual lecture) by request of Dr. Cathy Benedict
Guest Presenter

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Presented first year PhD students in Music Education an introduction to theories of education sociology with a focus on the theories of Pierre Bourdieu and Basil Bernstein

M9586L “Music Education as a Global Phenomenon”
Western University, London ON (virtual lecture) by request of Dr. Paul Woodford
**Guest Presenter**

Presented on the state of the field of music education within the context of Canada alongside Dr. Betty Anne Younker to class of graduate students.

**International Symposium on the Sociology of Music Education (ISSME)**
Inland Norway University of Applied Sciences (virtual conference)
**Paper Presenter**

· Paper title: “Examining the suitability of Social Realist perspectives of knowledge within the North American multiple-department school of music”

**Western University Music Education Student’s Association (MESA)**
Western University, London ON (virtual conference)
**Presenter**

Presented on dissertation topic and career trajectory to undergraduate students interested in pursuing academia

**Ontario Music Educators’ Association (OMEA)**
(virtual conference)
**Presenter**

· Presentation title: “The National Study: A 2020 Landscape of Music Education in Canada”
· Presented alongside Dr. Eric Favaro (Coalition Canada) and Dr. Lynn Tucker (University of Toronto)

**Saskatchewan Music Conference (SMC)**
(virtual conference)
**Presenter**

· Presentation title: “The National Study: A 2020 Landscape of Music Education in Canada”
· Presented alongside Dr. Eric Favaro (Coalition Canada) and Dr. Lynn Tucker (University of Toronto)

**International Society for the Philosophy of Music Education (ISPME)**
Western University, London ON
**Paper session chair**
AWARDS/HONOURS/SCHOLARSHIPS

· 2021 Ontario Graduate Scholarship
· 2020 Ontario Graduate Scholarship
· 2019 Ontario Graduate Scholarship
· 2018 University of Western Ontario Graduate Research Scholarship
· 2018 Don Wright Graduate Entrance Scholarship
· 2017 Desautels Faculty of Music M. Mus Medal for Highest Standing
· 2017 Featured in Winnipeg's dig! Magazine, Jan-Feb edition
· 2016 Desautels School of Music Graduate Jazz Award
· 2013 Highest Honours; Carleton University Bachelor of Music Honours
· 2013 Carleton University Deans' Honor List
· 2013 Banff Centre for the Arts – Music Residency Scholarship
· 2011 Carleton University Deans' Honor List
· 2011-2012 Lester Bowles Pearson Scholarship
· 2010 Honorarium; Composition of piece for National Arts Centre String Quartet
· 2008-2009 Carleton University Entrance Scholarship