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Los Angeles

"So Come All Ye Who Love Freedom":

Inclusive National Identity in Northern European Communities of Musical Practice

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction

of the requirements for the degree

Doctor of Philosophy in Ethnomusicology

by

Georgia Vance Broughton

2019

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

“So Come All Ye Who Love Freedom”:

Inclusive National Identity in Northern European Communities of Musical Practice

By

Georgia Vance Broughton

Doctor of Philosophy in Ethnomusicology

University of California, Los Angeles, 2019

Professor Helen Rees, Chair

This dissertation examines the current dynamic between traditional Scottish and traditional Norwegian folk music practices, considering how these very lively concurrent musical traditions are embodied and enacted differently in each location. Although they are regionally proximate, traditional folk music as an expression of geographically oriented identity is remarkably dissimilar between Scotland and Norway. This comparative study observes how these different approaches to presenting traditional music in contemporary settings have been actualized; how different strategies were informed by a particular set of historical and cultural phenomena; how the approaches inform and contribute to geographically situated identity, civic engagement, and inclusive national identity; how music educators in particular play a critical role in developing and facilitating these extended socio-musical ideologies; and what might be gained in terms of arts practice and policy for future situations.

This work is oriented by the model developed by Jean Lave and Etienne Wenger of "communities of practice" (CoP), and the subsequent writings, building on these concepts, of Ailbhe Kenny and her work addressing "Communities of Musical Practice" (CoMP). Fieldwork and discussions were organized around musicking communities with attention to both intra-CoMP behaviors as well as inter-CoMP dynamics. Additionally, theoretical models not commonly employed in ethnomusicological research, such as memetics, have been utilized to demonstrate ethnomusicology's multidisciplinary capacity for engaging creative approaches as well as the advantages to supplementing traditionally used anthropological models with newer, creative methods.

Research for this dissertation took place from July 2014 until December 2018 with intensive fieldwork and interviews from July 2017 until November 2018 at multiple research sites in Scotland, Norway, Finland, and Northern California.

The dissertation of Georgia Vance Broughton is approved.

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2019

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It takes a village to write a dissertation. There are more people to thank than there are pages in this document, and each one contributed in precious ways to this work. Thank you all. Below I name those who played a significant role in helping me reach this point.

For funding support, thank you to the UCLA Department of Ethnomusicology, the UCLA Herb Alpert School of Music, UCLA Graduate Division, and especially the UCLA Scandinavian Section.

There were many professors, teachers, and mentors who helped me get here. Step by step, page by page.

At College of the Canyons, thank you to Professor Jia-Yi Cheng-Levine, Professor José Martín, Professor Pierre Etienne, and Professor Daniel Glickman. I am so proud to have started this journey as a California Community College student.

At UCLA, thank you to Professor Chi Li and Professor Abhiman Kaushal for their kindness, Professor Thomas Gillespie for making me learn the names of all the trees of the UCLA campus, Professor Pat Wen and Professor Arne Lunde for the charming hours learning Norwegian, Professor Raymond Knapp and Professor Frank Heuser for their insightful mentoring through dissertation exams, Professor Peter Kazaras for his wit, and Dean Judi Smith for listening. Thank you, also, to David Bragger and Susan Platz for their wonderful leadership of the Old-Time Music Ensemble.

Thank you to my dissertation committee: to Professor Mark Kligman for the leadership and Star Wars; to Professor Raymond Knapp for his mentoring excellence and the best seminar ever; to Professor Timothy Tangherlini of the UCLA Scandinavian Section for all the years of hGIS research, the fairytale analyses, and the much-needed humor – I will always be so grateful

that I followed my heart and signed up for that Scandinavian Folklore class; and to Professor Helen Rees, my advisor and dissertation committee chair, for her support, guidance, and mentoring, and immense capacity for patience and level-headedness.

Thank you to my professional departmental mentors: Publications Director Kathleen Hood for her thoroughness, work-ethic, and the shared laughs; Assistant to the Chair Donna Armstrong for her clarity and heart; UCLA Ethnomusicology Archive Archivists Maureen Russell and Aaron Bittel for their determination, open-mindedness, and thoughtfulness; and Professor Supeena Insee Adler for her skill and grace as a teacher and leader.

Thank you to the friends I've found in this program, especially: Kevin Levine, Kristina Nielsen, John Widman, Ryan Koons, and Ganavya Doraiswany.

Thank you to all the administrative, technical, facilities, and stage professionals who touched my life and are frankly the people who keep the place going.

Thank you to the people who helped when so few could: UCLA Ombuds, UCLA CARE Advocate Jaclyn Wright, and UCLA Title IX. Thank you especially to Rachel Shimoni-Simons (LMFT) for all the emotional tools and hours spent healing with her insight and guidance.

Thank you to the critical Communities of Musical Practice who welcomed me into a whole new world in so many ways: Alasdair Fraser Week at Sabhal Mor Ostaig (aka The Skye Fiddle Family), thank you for the first dances, the first whiskies, and the verra big choons; to Valley of the Moon Scottish Fiddle School, thank you for the calm clarity of those classes in the redwood groves; to the North Atlantic Fiddle Convention workshop attendees for their willingness to look beyond and find unity in diversity, to the participants of the Pedagogies, Practices and the Future of Folk Music in Higher Education II conference for the community building, challenging the field, and focusing on what is most important – long live sauna songs!

Thank you to the families who made me feel like I was part of their family. To the Bullivant Family of Kyle of Lochalsh, thank you for hikes, the movies, the ferry runs, the mountain drives, the beach dips, the birthday cakes. To the Reid Family of Glasgow, thank you for embracing me in the middle of the moving melee, for running around the city from concert to concert, for the first Burns Night.

I got by with a little help from my friends, that's the only way it happened. Thank you with all of my heart to: Ellyn King, Chrysanthe Pantages, Sarah Saturnino, Nicole Andrews, Ann White, Emma Stansfield, Miranda Henne, and especially Stephanie Sybert for the incredible last-minute edit of the entire dissertation.

Thank you to my violin students and their families for the trust, support, and willingness to show up every day, every week, and try again: Genesis & Co, Cora & Co, Alexandra & Co, and Mary-Beth Macaluso.

Thank you to the people who always supported my life in music: Aunt Cathy & Co, the Snow Family, Cary and Mark Collons, Mark Robertson, and Mr. Warren Spaeth**.** And most especially thank you to Sharon Cooper and Tamara Chernyak for all those violin lessons, all those life lessons, and for sharing your talents and wisdom so profoundly. I see you in my fingers every time I play, and I hear you in my heart every time I sing.

And with everything I am, thank you to my family. To Momma and Papa for raising me to love music and want to explore the world, for all the after dinner tunes, for all the hugs – and when it got tough for always helping me remember I am the daughter of Vikings from the Cold North Sea. To Megan, my Closest Improbable, for being the best friend and greatest sister anyone could ever have, for all the nights you've helped me stay awake to write, for all the pages you helped me push through and edit, for all the moments when I needed a reality check, for

being willing to run around Europe with crazy itineraries and still find time to hug the lion statues in Oslo, and for all the teary, soulful tunes we now can share – *jeg elsker deg*.

And to Don, thank you – always – for your kindness and love, for finding the courage to leap and wanting to join the dance. Thank you for that first Cuillin Beast (and the second, third, and fourth) and for sitting in the front row at that concert. Thank you for waiting in the rain for an hour and a half, thank you for dancing all night, thank you for literally knocking me off my feet. Thank you for all the faith and hope it's taken to always find each other, to share all the adventures, to always remember what we really, truly know. Finishing this dissertation, that's for you. You'll say that finishing should be for me, or for the people I interviewed, or the communities I visited, and it is – but you always helped me remember who I am and remember what I have to share, and with that alone you saved me.

But tomorrow, and all the tomorrows, those are for you even more – I love you.

VITA

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

SETTING THE STAGE

On January 27, 2018, the SSE Hydro, a 10,000-seat performance venue in Glasgow, Scotland, was packed to the rafters for a once-in-a-lifetime concert. It was the world premiere of the orchestrated version of *Bothy Culture*, the second album by Martyn Bennett, a renowned pioneer of Celtic fusion music. *Bothy Culture* had made a tremendous splash in Celtic music circles when it was released in 1998: it was a wildly eclectic blend of Scottish traditional music, Punjabi, Turkish, Scandinavian, and Irish musical influences, and elements of the techno and hip-hop subcultures popular at the time. The GRIT orchestra, which takes its name from the title of Bennett's final album, had been reassembled for the evening – their first performance as an ensemble was in 2015 when they presented an orchestrated version of that album on the tenth anniversary of his death. Passing away prematurely from lymphoma at the age of 33, Martin Bennett possessed an inimitable creativity that remains awe-inspiring nearly a decade and a half after his passing, and a source of musical vision for many.

But the evening was not just an orchestral event – it included a massive assemblage of collaborating traditional musicians, vocalists, and even stunt bicyclists and aerial artists. In addition to the professional performance ensembles, the stage included young performers from the University of Glasgow and the Royal Conservatoire of Scotland. The event was not only a celebration of the life and work of a sorely missed musician, composer, and friend to many in the Scottish traditional community, but also an emblematic display of the capacious inclusivity contemporary Scottish traditional music and traditional music mindedness offers.

This was just one of hundreds of events programmed for the 25th annual Celtic

Connections festival in Glasgow, Scotland. With close to 300 performances featuring all together more than 2000 performers, all spread out over 2 1/2 weeks, the festival is one of the largest gatherings of traditional and traditionally inspired musicians in the world. One of the festival's principal goals in providing such a large forum for performance and discussion is to challenge long-standing ideas of what it means to be "traditional" and to offer new conceptions and visions for the contemporary traditional musician. Celtic Connections is just one of many events that are indicative of growing Scottish nationalism, one founded not on isolationism and othering, but on inclusivity, collaboration, and a forward-minded approach to musicking in the 21st century (Figure 1.1).

Figure 1.1: Celtic Connections Concert in the Royal Glasgow Concert Hall featuring Québécois bands Le Vent du Nord and De Temps Antan, and Scotland's Session A9 performing together as a transatlantic "supergroup." Glasgow, Scotland: January 28, 2017. (Photograph by Georgia

Broughton)

Six months later, at the height of nearly nightless Scandinavian summer, Norway's largest traditional musical gathering, Landskappleiken, is the focal point of traditional music activity in the year. An annual five-day festival and competition taking place during the last week of June, the 2018 event was attended by close to 1,000 active performers, including fiddlers, singers, accordionists, and dancers, and attracted an estimated 7,000 spectators.

Originally a competition only for *hardanger* fiddle (a national instrument of Norway), the competition has incorporated standard fiddle and even vocal traditions, and the event venue moves to a new location in Norway each year. While FolkOrg (the national organization for Norwegian folk music and dance) administers the festival, local organizations and folk music groups are in charge of the majority of festival arrangements. Performances and competitive awards are offered in many different categories, usually to accommodate the wide variety of regional traditions of music and dance about Norway.

But it is not just adult professionals on stage. The festival also administers junior-level competitions for those under the age of 18 and presents many classes and educational opportunities throughout the week, especially for young people. The week concludes with an all-inclusive dance presentation, culminating with all competitors on stage together clothed in *bunad*, traditional Norwegian dress that indicates through the stylized, detailed designs on the clothing where a performer comes from in Norway.

Although these are just two events, they are highly representative of the many I witnessed throughout my months of fieldwork, and they are emblematic of the ways traditional musicians, and especially traditional music teachers, are employing the inclusive, creative values of their craft to bolster these values in society. I was struck by how the balanced presentation of both

performance and education creates fresh ways to increase accessibility and relevance to new generations, strengthening the musical communities as a whole and clarifying their message and mission – even through divisive times. I was also curious to uncover what this balance means for sustainably fostering traditional music practice and engagement in the 21st-century.

What I found was an intricately interconnected network of musical, social, cultural, and emotional support – a traditional music ecosystem densely populated by like-minded individuals all exercising via musical creation their own unique perspectives and experiences in tandem with a powerfully cohesive set of shared values. These values were manifested in overt, primary expressions of what it means to be a traditional musician and member of this community, such as tune composition and performance collaboration, as well as implicit, secondary ones, such as a choice of residence near a particular musical community or the decision to not fly for a year and reduce a personal carbon footprint.

This dissertation is to serve as an ethnomusicological status report on the current work of traditional music teachers in Northern Europe, their methods and motivations in bestowing not only musical values but also latent sociocultural ones, and especially their contributions to and influences on the next generation of voters in 21st-century Europe. Most critically, the communities of musical practice (such as music festivals and educational summer intensives) that are constructed and maintained by these ecosystems of musical interaction are even better indicators of the vibrancy, long-ranging impacts traditional music activities have throughout society. While individual teachers can develop particular schools, repertories, and ensembles of followers, examining their teaching in isolation offers only a glimpse into these practices. The most effective course of examination is by studying how teachers and students alike participate, engage with, and inhabit these communities, sometimes several communities at once.

THESIS

My fieldwork and dissertation research indicate that traditional folk music practitioners, especially teachers, in Scotland and Norway are influencing via explicit and implicit means the current political dialogue in Europe, one that is bound to determine the civic structure, economic stability, and humanitarian climate of the region for many ensuing decades. The majority of musicians I met with and interviewed in both countries were principally in favor of cultivating a national inclusive identity in politics, demographics, and particularly in the arts, and participate in a variety of platforms (performance, teaching, seminars, informal music sessions, written articles, online, etc.) that advocate this belief through musical practice.

My goal was to examine the impact and scope these teachers and performers had within their communities (both geographic and practical) in terms of social dialogue, and to determine which approaches and platforms proved most efficacious. Studying the motivations of the musical artists with greater acuity and observing the methods by which they execute these priorities is an especially appropriate endeavor for the field of ethnomusicology, with its aptitude for multifaceted examination. From the onset, I also considered how these findings might be used as a blueprint for traditional musicians in other locations who have similar goals and aspirations to purposefully join in the contemporary social dialogue in a renewed and energetic capacity.

My choice to construct this research as a comparative study between Scotland and Norway had several statistical as well as artistic lines of reason. First, both countries are regionally proximate and have pronounced and identifiable expressions of independent political identity. Second, they have many commonalities in terms of demographics and political

inclinations, and have long-standing shared historical, economic, and cultural ties to one another. While there are many parallels in terms of traditional music and folklore practice, their expressions of musical identity are fundamentally different. Scotland has maintained a national musical identity embedded in patriotic nostalgia and nourished by an actively forward-thinking sense of independence. Norway, conversely, has danced along the edges of nationalist music movements for the past two centuries, and traditional music in contemporary settings is largely discussed and viewed with a decidedly regionalized mindset. This comparative study is to observe how these different approaches to presenting traditional music in contemporary settings have been actualized, how these different strategies were informed by particular historical and cultural phenomena, how the approaches inform and contribute to a sense of civic engagement and geographically situated identity, and what might be gained by understanding these methods in terms of arts practice and policy for future situations.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

In an attempt to do justice to the interdisciplinary nature of my research and the interconnected quality of the issues I encountered and examined, I have incorporated anthropology and social theory frequently engaged in ethnomusicology as well as folklore theory, biological theories such as memetics, and pedagogy/education studies.

The works of Émile Durkheim, Claude Lévi-Strauss, and Clifford Geertz provided a solid and standard anthropological foundation for my dissertation research. Contemporary traditional music practices in Northern Europe exhibit many elements Durkheim considers in *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*, such as (figuratively) ritual practices, intellectual and moral uniformity, and the maintenance of "collective representations . . . through space and over time"

as the "accumulation of generations" (1912:18). Given the implications of these accumulated social priorities, Lévi-Strauss's work on myth was also informative. Traditional music is not just a sequence of sonic occasions but a larger network of social, political, and cultural events – it is helpful to view them not as isolated incidents but rather as "bundles" of culture, and equally reasonable to assume that it is "only as bundles that these relations can be put to use and combined so as to produce meaning" (Lévi-Strauss 1955:431). Geertz in *The Interpretation of Cultures* upholds this perspective when asserting that "man is an animal suspended in webs of significance he himself has spun" (1973:5). It is accurate to state that the Northern European traditional music scenes are "a multiplicity of complex conceptual structures . . . superimposed or knotted into each other" (10), and based on my dissertation research, they are clearly "actor-oriented . . . symbolic system[s]" (17) wherein both teachers and student musicians share and contribute to "inherited conceptions" that work to "synthesize a people's ethos" (89).

Since my research addresses issues surrounding the intersection of artistic and political life, the creation of purposeful identity, and how musicians maneuver this juncture to support their selected priorities across a variety of platforms and geographic locations, Benedict Anderson's *Imagined Communities* has proved a grounding resource. Exploring the "imagined political community" and the nation's self-image as a community "always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship" (Anderson 1983:6-7) provides a critical lens for questioning many supposedly timeless and ancient Scottish and Norwegian traditions. Likewise, Hobsbawm and Ranger's *The Invention of Tradition* contributes to this concept of constructed community, arguing that the "ideology of nation, state or movement is not what has actually been preserved in popular memory, but what has been selected, written, pictured, popularized and institutionalized by those whose function it is to do so" (1983:13). Musicians can both lay claim

to this complicated obligation and play a powerful role in shaping, and even transforming, collective identity through performance practice.

Thomas Turino's work on identity and the semiotics theory of Charles S. Peirce aided in my decision to examine contemporary traditional music through a sociopolitical lens, rather than just a sonic one. As "direct feeling and experience" unhindered by linguistic challenges, music can function as a "powerful sign of identity" (Turino 1999:250), and it is through this "partially unique but largely shared social experience" (2014:188) of music making that practitioners offer meaning to a larger social dynamic. Similarly helpful for interpreting music's role as an "expressive culture" that nourishes a "rich environment for investigating the power dynamics of culture" is Henry Spiller's article "Interdisciplinary and Musical Exceptionalism," an exploration of the paradoxical nature of how "cultural behaviors simultaneously enact both stability and change" (2014:341). This emphasis on actioned, adaptive behavior and interconnectedness in these theories was particularly informative to my research.

Positioning music as cultural behavior within a larger web of social interaction and collective artistic expression, I also employ folklore theory, which is less often incorporated into ethnomusicology research. Traditional music is not only a sonic phenomenon but also a form of cultural storytelling, as stated by ethnologist Carl Wilhelm von Sydow, functioning as a "biology of tradition" (1948:11) and a communicative medium of common cultural property, creating a repository of value-laden knowledge specific to time and place. Folklorist Alan Dundes maintains that traditional folk cultural practices, as part of this biological structure, create a "socially sanctioned framework" for expressing and addressing "critical anxiety-producing problems" (e.g. independence, nationalism, regional politics, environmental concerns) that can nevertheless exist and flourish, serving as a "cherished artistic vehicle for communicating ethos

and worldview" (1978:9). Juha Pentikäinen's work examines how this worldview is developed, constructed, and reaffirmed via the "reciprocal relationships" between "active tradition bearers" (e.g teachers, storytellers) and "passive tradition receivers" (e.g. students, citizens), and how both are responsible for transmitting and perpetuating tradition and creating social behavior (1976:264).

Finally, I have found Jack Zipes's analysis of folklore and storytelling as evolutionary and adaptive features of social life to be indispensable (Zipes 2006). Employing Richard Dawkins's theory of memetics, Zipes has influenced how I have observed and studied cultural and musical details while conducting field research. As per Dawkins's definition, the meme is a unit of cultural transmission (e.g. tunes, ideas, catchphrases) that labors to self-replicate and spread, adapting to hosts and environments and exhibiting "fidelity, fecundity, and longevity," and "should be regarded as [a] living structure . . . not just metaphorically but technically" (Zipes 2006:5). The subsequent memetics work of Susan Blackmore (1999) and Dan Sperber and Deirdre (1986) supports my efforts to present cultural practices as living, adaptive features of human biologic life. Similar to the anthropological theorists mentioned above, this lens of examination is particularly well suited to examining densely interconnected behaviors while constructing a holistic viewpoint.

Communities of Musical Practice (COMP)

Initially, the most perplexing step of constructing the dissertation was choosing how to organize and present the data. Should I build it around human players or theoretical concepts? Issues or genres? I am sure that many dissertating students have faced similar dilemmas. However, upon reflection, if the whole crux of my fieldwork is the student-teacher nexus within

the intersection of pedagogy and politics, then would it not be more functional to observe these issues at the most manageable level, which is the learning environment itself? The student-teacher nexus as a unit is always a set of specifics, and nations as musical cultures are generally grander than I needed for effective analysis without making tenuous generalizations. Too small, too big: a Goldilocks Dilemma. But each *type* of community of practice geared towards learning traditional music – elementary, secondary, tertiary, traditional, professional – *these* can all be observed, tested, and analyzed with a combination of personal (individual), structural (policy), and cultural (collective) factors.

The most formative resource for this project by far has been *Communities of Musical Practice* by Ailbhe Kenny. Kenny, a lecturer at the University of Limerick, Ireland, defines a community of musical practice (COMP) as "a group of people who form a community of practice through shared music-making and/or musical interests" (Kenny 2016, 19), and the guiding question throughout her study is: How are communities of musical practice developed and sustained in practice? This network-centered framework enables us to more fully examine COMPs, since they are never detached, isolated groups but are always particularly situated and "exist within socio-cultural, political, geographical, and economic contexts" (Kenny 2016, 29). Kenny's study surveys three diverse COMPs in Ireland (jazz, choral, and online), and she employs three differing theoretical perspectives of inquiry – practice/Bourdieu; community/Wenger; and music(al)/Blacking, ingeniously triangulating them as a theoretical GPS in order to determine exactly where and how the locus of creativity is most fruitful, communicative, and engaging for participants. Based on her findings, she offers several guidelines for both facilitating learning and fostering community, in policy as well as in practice. Kenny's work is an encouraging demonstration of applying reflective processes to research data,

and of how this might benefit the field of ethnomusicology in both theoretical/philosophical ways as well as applied/practical ones.

Many of the communities I have become acquainted with during the course of my field research are communities that engage in multiple platforms of practice and communication – sometimes insular, sometimes public. Examining Communities of Music Practice (COMP) allows for a balanced range of observation. Additionally, framing a study in terms of COMPs allows for more effective observation of inter-COMP communications and the broader health of the musical ecosystem. Music and musical learning is sonically as well as socially significant to individuals and the communities in which they are situated. This interplay of musical and social communication can be witnessed in a variety of traditional music platforms that serve to reaffirm community values and structure – at local, regional, national, and global levels of interaction.

Additionally, applying this framework allowed me to neatly analyze group dynamics I witnessed but sometimes did not fully appreciate or understand until I witnessed these dynamics in contrast to those of another group. With regard to Scotland, the different education communities for learning traditional Scottish music sometimes appeared to be quite polarized in terms of theoretical vs. applied approaches. This dichotomous situation offers little in the way of providing a cohesive musical narrative for Scotland, as a music tradition or a place of musicking, and widens a chasm of dialogue between its music makers and its scholars. Scotland, like many other nations with visible, vibrant, well-documented, and well-funded folk music practices, has what is fundamentally a tradition of both oral and aural transmission. Systematized advanced study of the traditional music practices has grown in recent decades, especially in higher education forums, and while there is inherently a population overlap in terms of the participants who join in both practice and theory forums, there is also usually a division between how these

two communities communicate and discuss issues with one another. This was a situation I observed on several fieldwork occasions in several COMPs.

While it is perhaps self-evident that a polarized system of music education, caught in a continually dichotomous cycle of practice and theory, is a difficult situation whatever the context, the current political and social situation in contemporary Scotland would benefit enormously by finding methods to bridge this ideological gap. Although there is no shortage of interest in Scottish traditional music and increasing opportunities to engage in traditional music studies, inattention to this conceptual divide only robs the COMPs of their potential for fully manifesting Scotland's musical identity – and tragically, is perhaps how these music communities most seriously cheat themselves. In my own research as well as personal music study, I have experienced firsthand the benefits of setting aside sharp delineations of approach and witnessed how persistently collaborative (both intra and inter) efforts only serve to benefit the COMP at hand, be it a country, a university, or an individual classroom. If Scotland is serious about presenting a united front to the world – politically, socially, and artistically – then finding platforms to effectively reconcile these approaches in music education is imperative. Conversely, if Norway is content to maintain its regionalized presentations of folk music traditions, then determining to what extent these academic and performance COMPs engage and interact would be helpful for preserving this balance.

It is fair to ask whether these COMPs and their selected approaches for engaging in musical practice can or even should fully set aside these functional differences – perhaps it is the very nature of their dichotomous dance that edges the inquiries and interests in continuing these practices forward for subsequent generations. Orienting this dissertation around the framework

of Communities of Musical Practice and using the COMP as the functional unit of observation, one is able to ask these and other questions with greater freedom and insight.

Musicking

Christopher Small's concept of "musicking" was a fortunate discovery early in graduate school, both for its social inclusivity and for its verbal adaptability in speech. Music is clearly of great importance to individuals beyond the circle of those fortunate enough to have a musical instrument in their hands, and Small asserts that "[T]o music is to take part, in any capacity, in a musical performance, whether by performing, by listening, by rehearsing or practicing, by providing material for performances (what is called composing), or by dancing" (Small 1998, 9). Removing the object-based definition of music and replacing it with an action-based framework, the sociological dynamics of musicking rapidly become more inclusive and egalitarian. Additionally, if we consider music to be more than just the sonic features of tradition and expand our notion of it to include the physical, social, and cultural actions that accompany the tradition – "an encounter between human beings that takes place through the medium of sounds organized in specific ways" (Small, 1998, 10) – we allow an infinite array of observable social dynamics pertaining to power and identity to come into focus through an emotionally potent, active lens. The full complexity of a community's social structure can be dissected and studied with this all-inclusive definition, revealing the diversity of potential interactions.

By prioritizing actioned terminology and active vocabulary (e.g. "musicking" as a verb), my goal is to emphasize the engaged and fluid processes of reciprocal and egalitarian exchange I witnessed between many members of the Scottish and Norwegian musical communities I studied. It is my hope that through conscientious language choice, musical participation is

presented as an active, ever sensitive, constantly adapting practice instead of just a set of hierarchically defined exchanges.

Memetics

Another critical theoretical element of my research that guided fieldwork and should be mentioned here (although it is extensively examined in Chapter 3) is memetics. A theoretical model developed by British evolutionary biologist Richard Dawkins, memes are defined as discrete units of cultural phenomena that are in function and motive analogous to biological genes (Dawkins 1976). Their priorities are longevity and fecundity, and they seek opportunities and fertile environments wherein they replicate and propagate. In the case of memes, these fertile environments include nascent, impressionable artistic minds; communities of musical practice that have a professed set of values energetically cultivated via actioned behavior; and even, eventually, countries where political consternation has coincided with tools and forums to effectively address these frustrations widely and emphatically. Memetics theories apply most significantly to this dissertation in terms of their capacity to describe, reflect, and analyze behaviors and phenomena as components of cultural ecosystems. Instead of assessing behaviors as moments of valued exchange (as is customary in many anthropological models), memetics requires that we consider musical elements and musicking participants as integrated, engaged, and most especially active agents in this process of survival, relevance, and ultimately bio-cultural success. The emphasis is always on the place and significance this occurrence has in the larger, interconnected scheme, which can at any moment shift and reorganize.

Defining Inclusive and Inclusivity

One issue I encountered was how to most fittingly define inclusive and inclusivity for the purposes of this dissertation. The Merriam-Webster Dictionary defines inclusive (adjective) as: “1. comprehending stated limits or extremes; 2a. broad in orientation or scope; 2b. covering or intended to cover all items, costs, or services.” By extension, inclusivity (noun) is defined as: “the quality or state of being inclusive” (Merriam-Webster 2019). However, applying only these definitions to Communities of Musical Practice was too shapeless a result, and I felt the defining framework required more structure.

In order to address this need, I developed a rubric that helped assess – through demonstrated musicking actions by the COMPs – whether or not these COMPs could be considered as inclusive. Conveniently (and purposefully engineered to be so), this rubric spells out A-E-I-O-U. The rubric is structured yet flexibly incorporative to allow for differences between COMPs and their participants, such as location, ages, and other fundamental factors.

For the purposes of this dissertation, a Community of Musical Practice would need to demonstrate the following characteristics in order to qualify as inclusive:

Accessibility: Is the COMP currently exhibiting or prioritizing the development of accessibility? (e.g. addressing economic, racial, geographic barriers)

Egalitarianism: Is the COMP currently exhibiting or prioritizing the development of egalitarian frameworks? (e.g. student-teacher balanced curriculum development, participant-led initiatives)

Integration: Is the COMP currently exhibiting or prioritizing the development of integration measures? (e.g. musicking rather than simply learning notes, situating the COMP within the wider social milieu)

Open-mindedness: Is the COMP currently exhibiting or prioritizing the cultivation of open-mindedness? (e.g. forward thinking purpose, goals, content, practices)

Unifying: Is the COMP currently exhibiting or prioritizing the development of a unifying community purpose and atmosphere? (e.g. regular communal, shared activities and celebration/publicizing of these activities)

All of the Communities of Musical Practice reviewed in this dissertation display these characteristics. There are many COMPs that are not included in this dissertation simply due to limitations of time and space. However, it was abundantly clear that the majority of COMPs exhibit these characteristics, especially the largest and most influential (e.g. Celtic Connections, Scotland; Landskappleiken, Norway). These model COMPs have a profound effect on the wider social dialogue regarding traditional music and traditional music education. Assessing the presence and extent of these critical elements offers insight into how their messages and content are most successfully received and internalized by participants and audiences.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Traditional music practice, performance, and education are powerful vehicles for transmitting localized cultural knowledge and values.[1] The current heated sociopolitical climate in much of Northern Europe is ripe for adapting traditional music practices to address contemporary social issues and political purposes. As an ethnomusicologist, I am interested in exploring how political movements, cultural sentiment, and identity are manifested via

[1] In this dissertation, I adopt the wide-ranging interpretation of the terms "folk music" and "traditional music" found in Philip Bohlman's classic monograph *The Study of Folk Music in the Modern World*. Bohlman acknowledges the situatedness of any attempt at rigid definition, the ongoing blurring of genre boundaries, and the significance of late romantic and modern nationalist trends in the way people define and value traditions deemed to have originated from the non-elite inhabitants of specific locales (1988:xiii-xvi, 127-135).

traditional music activities, and as a professional violinist and violin teacher in classical and folk traditions, I am intrigued by issues of performance and pedagogy. My research explores the interactions between performers, students, and audience participants involved in traditional Scottish folk music and Norwegian folk music, as well as the characteristics and implications of location-specific identity frequently associated with Northern European folk musical heritages. My research was guided by the following questions:

1. How and to what extent are traditional music educators implicitly/explicitly imbuing musical teaching with cultural/political values?
2. How are traditional music students at all levels of education interpreting/recreating these musical/cultural/political values?
3. To what extent is Northern European traditional folk music employed as a platform for addressing political and environmental-political concerns?
4. Are particular COMPs more critical than others to this dialogue?
5. How is this significant considering shifting politics in contemporary Europe?

To address these questions, it was important to consider how the dynamics of the teacher/student relationship and embedded/outsider perspective offer directions for research:

1. How do music teachers perceive their place and role in their tradition and figurative carrying of the musical torch to the next generation?
2. How deeply are issues of identity and politics components of the teaching scene and mentality? Are they guiding the values of communities of practice and the future of traditional music?

3. How do new environments and non-traditional settings (e.g. summer intensives, university courses) influence the potential for collaboration and adaptation between communities of practice?
4. How do teachers accommodate and adjust their teaching to different settings and assemblages of students? And does the musical/cultural message adjust as well, or only the means by which it is imparted?

Additionally, considerations that were not the main focus of the dissertation but were recurring throughout my fieldwork included free speech and censorship, gender issues, minority issues, and environmental issues. I decided to remain observant and ask interviewees about these matters as they might have encountered them related to traditional music since the issues tangentially address inclusivity and collective identity.

PAST RESEARCH

In terms of existing research and study of these issues, the practice and teaching of traditional music and its contribution to creating a cultural and regional identity has been examined in several Northern European settings, notably by Jens Henrik Koudal in Denmark (1993), Chris Goertzen in Norway (1998), Tina K. Ramnarine in Finland (2003), Rachel Fleming in Ireland (2004), and Josephine Miller in Scotland (2007), among others. However, little comparative work has been undertaken, despite the noticeable commonalities between the dynamic folk music scenes in all these countries. Below I detail several of the most constructive topical ethnographic sources for my research and mention their strengths to provide examples of what I aim to develop in my own work.

Two standout monographs that I become acquainted with early in the research process are *The Fiddle Tradition of the Shetland Isles* by Peter Cooke (1986) and *The Ring of Dancers: Images of Faroese Culture* by Jonathan Wylie and David Margolin (1981). Both are comprehensive presentations on how the geography and complex sociological history of these island locales (namely physical independence and the necessity of self-sustainment) resulted in a markedly powerful sense of place and identity. The Shetlands and the Faroes are roughly equidistant from both Scotland and Norway, and these outlying islands have been used as political pawns for centuries, trading kings and overlords countless times. Residents, and musicians, have used this remoteness to their advantage, fiercely defending their individuality both politically and artistically, resulting in concentrated and well-maintained folk traditions.

Chris Goertzen's *Fiddling for Norway: Revival and Identity* (1997) is a remarkably comprehensive monograph that addresses both *hardingfele* and violin fiddling traditions. The core focus is on the revival of folk music practices in nationally supported and institutionalized folk music contexts. Goertzen examines the politics of reviving and participating in folk music practices, the implicit rules that guide who is permitted to partake in these practices, and traditional settings (concerts and dances) versus revival environments (competitions). Other conflicting dichotomies include local versus national identity and traditionalist aesthetics versus contemporary aesthetics. He also offers detailed aesthetic analyses of Norwegian fiddling music, with extensive comments pertaining to tuning, technique, performance practice, modes, melody, and regional styles, all of which I found particularly helpful when trying to find specific vocabulary to describe the musicking I witnessed during fieldwork.

Scholarship on traditional music and its political role in Ireland is exhaustive and has contributed to my research both in terms of content and in terms of showing just how much

further Scottish and Norwegian music scholarship has to go in terms of creating a similarly extensive corpus. Rachel Fleming's article "Resisting Cultural Standardization: Comhaltas Ceoltoiri Eireann and the Revitalization of Traditional Music in Ireland" (2004) deftly addresses tensions between local and national musical styles and value of state sponsorship in encouraging diversity in traditional music. Offering a critical analysis of Comhaltas Ceoltoiri Eireann (the Association of Musicians of Ireland) and its role in promoting Irish arts worldwide for the past half century, Fleming's investigation is fair yet unflinching and considers how these value-laden tensions are unavoidable and perhaps desirable for encouraging creativity and emotional investment. For a smorgasbord study on traditional music practices in contemporary contexts, the edited volume *Celtic Modern: Music at the Global Fringe* (Stokes and Bohlman 2003) offers an inspiring model for eclectic and illuminating research. The "Fringe" in the volume's title both serves as the geographic reference point around Ireland towards which all the studies are oriented and doubles as the guiding thread in the research: all the contributions examine less-studied practices and start from less predictable (ethnomusicologically speaking) perspectives.

Additionally, Matthew Gelbart's *The Invention of "Folk Music" and "Art Music": Emerging Categories from Ossian to Wagner* (2007) was an excellent resource for obtaining an in-depth understanding of when, how, and why the genre delineated as "folk music" came into being. The romantic creation of a primordial Scottish identity in the late 1700s, propagated by nationalist-driven works of questionable authenticity (e.g. James Macpherson's Ossianic cycle of Gaelic poetry), inspired German scholars and philosophers to seek out their own "authentic" traditions, searching for and collecting the practices of the rural commoners, as opposed to those of urban and/or aristocratic populations. This gave rise to the delineations of "folk music" and "art music" (it was in an essay addressing Ossian that 18th-century German philosopher Johann

Gottfried von Herder coined the term *Volkslied,* literally "folksong") and established a polarity of values that has since been contested and contentious. Although it was ultimately derided as a mostly fictionalized narrative, Germany looked to the example of Scotland's Ossianic nation construction, trying to emulate its "authentic" national identity. Such blinded convictions were further entrenched through the 19th century through a captivating array of artistic output, most notably the writings of Sir Walter Scott, firmly cementing the image of Scotland as a mythic, romantic nation in the minds of Europeans. Curiously, Gelbart asserts that while these musical categories have grown less strict and less relevant in an increasingly multicultural and interdisciplinary world, they have contributed greatly to our discussions of music, culture, and research. Conversely, Norway was relatively removed from these happenings as they occurred due to an array of political and socioeconomic factors, and experienced a late Romantic national musical blooming only at the end of the 1800s with the compositions of Edvard Grieg. While he felt a deep affinity for the traditional music of Norway, Grieg admitted his compositions were "in the spirit of" rather than authentic representations of folk music and were not intended for nationalist purposes (Weisethaunet 2011:59), an interesting distinction at a time when others were passing off obvious imitative works as authentic representations of the folk.

These ethnographic sources served as guiding examples as I conducted my own research and throughout dissertation construction. They offered holistic panoramas of traditional musical practices (both historically and in contemporary situations), along with their motivating factors and the multitude of performance approaches for maintaining and promoting these practices.

RESEARCH METHODS

I examined these issues by visiting settings where musicians and students are focused on craft, practice, and performance while engaged in technical, artistic, and cultural exchange. I was primarily engaged as a participant observer, documenting events and interviewing musicians, teachers, students, and even non-musician event attendees. The goal was to critically examine issues pertaining to pedagogy, musical character, cultural practice, and political/geographic identity. Due to my background as a violinist, my research initially concentrated on fiddling styles and traditions; however, it became clear that some reflection on other instruments, vocal practices, and even dance traditions would be necessary. Within the communities I observed, individuals frequently perform and/or teach several instruments/traditions, and a professional music practitioner might perform many roles within a community – as soloist, teacher, accompanist, etc. It is a highly collaborative, adaptive community. I also supplemented my fieldwork by locating and analyzing available commercial, non-commercial, and private recordings of the genres under study; collecting ephemera associated with the events I attended; and through internet and social media research.

While I examined dozens of communities of musical practice in Northern Europe, especially in Scotland, for the purposes of this dissertation, the ethnographic fieldwork "Interludes" spaced strategically throughout the work review environments and events I witnessed that are most strikingly representative of the musical phenomena under study. Though not every community or individual I visited and interviewed is extensively profiled in this dissertation, the issues that arose during interactions with them are thoroughly reflected in these selected ethnographic entries. These Interludes depict some of the most illustrative, poignant,

and memorable moments of my fieldwork.

Previous Fieldwork

Prior to beginning my designated fieldwork year, I had spent a total of more than fourteen weeks during 2014, 2015, and 2016 conducting research in Scotland, Northern California, and Norway. This figure does not include remote interviews for my M.A. paper, which I have referred to for this project. In particular, my extended summer fieldwork trip to Norway and Scotland during summer 2016 was especially constructive in focusing the presentation of my experience, priorities, and research for this dissertation. During these more than three cumulative months, I was working as both a research observer and a learning participant. This duality of experience allowed me to integrate myself into these musical communities and their participants, and to come to appreciate the activities of learning and practice in a much deeper capacity than if I had simply been documenting the experiences.

Beginning officially designated dissertation fieldwork only in summer 2017, I actively chose to remove myself as much as possible from directly participating, focusing instead on observation and collecting interviews. There had been challenges to the participant observer process (not the least of which was trying to balance a fiddle, a bow, a recorder, and a camera all at once), and while it was with a tinge of regret that I mostly set aside my violin, the ability to focus was welcome.

After completing qualifying examinations and defending my dissertation proposal in June 2017, I embarked on my fieldwork ventures that summer, with additional preparatory research in fall 2017, and fieldwork resuming in early 2018 lasting through summer 2018 (Figure 1.2).

Date	Location	Details
July/August 2014	Scotland, UK	Fiddle course, interviews, photos
August 2014	Santa Cruz, CA	Fiddle course, interviews, photos
July 2015	Scotland, UK	Fiddle course, interviews, photos
August/September 2015	Santa Cruz, CA	Fiddle course, interviews, photos
July 2016	Norway	Interviews, museums, photos
July/August 2016	Scotland, UK	Fiddle course, interviews, photos
August/September 2016	Santa Cruz, CA	Fiddle course, interviews, photos
January/February 2017	Scotland, UK	Music festival, interviews, photos
April 2017	Scotland, UK	Conference, interviews, photos
July 2017	Scotland, UK	Fiddle course, interviews, photos
October-December 2017	Fieldwork preparation	Los Angeles, CA
January-September 2018	Fieldwork year	Interviewees in Norway, Scotland, etc.
November/December 2018	Norway and Finland	Conference, interviews, photos

Figure 1.2: Table detailing fieldwork ventures with dates, locations, and content details.

Norway

Significant locations I visited for fieldwork in Norway included Norsk Folkemuseum (Oslo), Norsk Folkemusikksamling (Oslo), Edvard Grieg Museum (Bergen), Sverresborg Folk Museum (Trondheim), Oppdal Historical Society (Oppdal), and Oppdalsmuseet (Oppdal). My research also examined Røros Folk Music Festival (Røros), International Førde Folk Music Festival (Førde), and Landskappleiken, which changes location every year.

Everywhere I went, music and the arts were being promoted in full force. What was especially noticeable was that traditional music and arts were given the same amount of promotion and space as classical, rock, and pop music. Summer concert series featuring traditional music, including *hardingfele* fiddle (the national instrument of Norway) and yoiking (the singing tradition of the native Sami population), were presented at main performance venues in every location. Additionally, Norway has a growing number of summer education courses and music festivals that purposefully promote traditional music, in both customary contexts and

progressive contemporary fusion. Many of the individuals I interviewed are administrators and/or regular performers for these events.

I met with performers, teachers, artists, academics, and archivists whose work either addresses or incorporates Norwegian traditional folk music and art. A partial list of these individuals includes the following: Audun Kjus (Norsk Folkemuseum), Kyrre Kverndokk (University of Bergen), Tellef Kvifte (Telemark University), Hans-Hinrich Thedens (Norwegian National Library), and Ragnhild Knudsen (Universitetet i Sørøst-Norge). I also conferred with individuals from the folk bands Nordic Fiddler's Bloc and SVER. These individuals were very eager to discuss traditional music and arts in Norway, as well as the specifics of their own experiences. They were all in agreement that traditional music in Norway is an integral part of the larger cultural milieu and that the genre divisions in terms of performance contexts evident in other countries, such as the United States, are not major issues in Norway. While traditional music is generally well promoted, many interviewees were adamant that the Norwegian national government could be doing more to promote and fund traditional music endeavors.

Additionally, I visited folk museums, folk archives, folk and/or community music centers, and folk music concerts to complement these interview experiences. These sites included Norsk Folkemuseum (Oslo), the Norsk Folkemusikksamling (Oslo), Detlistua (Trondheim), Sverresborg Folk Museum (Trondheim), and the Oppdal Historical Society (Oppdal). These visits were useful for understanding the historical and greater cultural context of Norwegian traditional folk music and also served as vibrant examples of how traditional music and arts are maintained through practice and demonstration to and with the public. Several of these locations have daily interactive exhibits of both music and dance, and museum attendees are encouraged to

join in these activities, shifting the experience from one of an audience member to that of an active participant.

Scotland

In Scotland, my main research locations were Sabhal Mòr Ostaig College (Isle of Skye), the University of Glasgow, the University of Edinburgh, Elphinstone Institute (University of Aberdeen), and the Royal Conservatoire of Scotland (Glasgow). Additional field sites included the World Pipe Band Championships (Glasgow), the Cowal Highland Gathering, and Sgoil Chiùil na Gàidhealtachd (the National Centre For Excellence in Traditional Music at Plockton High School). Fieldwork took me to most corners of the country (Figure 1.3).

The location where I have conducted the most fieldwork is also the first research site I visited in Scotland in summer 2014: the Alasdair Fraser Fiddle Week at Sabhal Mòr Ostaig College on the Isle of Skye. Sabhal Mòr Ostaig (SMO) has been a leading Gaelic institution since 1973, promoting the study of Scottish Gaelic, Scottish traditional music and song, and championing Scottish culture and heritage. The Alasdair Fraser Fiddle Week has been held there annually since 1986. With the exception of my final summer observing (2017), I balanced the roles of both researcher and course participant during each SMO Fiddle Week. My goal was to explore to what extent Scottish nationalism and political/environmental concerns have informed the traditional Scottish music education scene. Considering Sabhal Mòr Ostaig's role in the renaissance of Scottish heritage awareness, it was an ideal setting for meeting and collaborating with leading figures in the Scottish musical community.

Approximately 150 students ages 14 to adult (and inclusive of professional musicians) enroll in the course each summer, with most participants playing fiddle, cello, and guitar. The

first three classes daily were the instrument-specific, music-driven classes where students learned tunes that were performed at the end of the week. The fourth class was an elective: students could opt to take lessons in Scottish step dancing, Gaelic song, and traditional percussion styles. The number of students and range of playing levels and experience required four classrooms, all with different paces of instruction and learning. Students self-determined which class they participated in depending on their experience with their instrument and comfort level learning tunes by ear. Teaching was conducted in a traditional style where each tune is broken apart into smaller sections, played/explained by the teacher, mimicked back by the student, and repeated in a call and response format until the tune has been repeated sufficiently to be committed to memory. Written music and "cheat sheets" are highly frowned upon for tunes, but cellists and guitarists typically use written cue sheets in the form of chord charts at the final performance. The work of these classes culminated in a final concert featuring all of the participants inclusively, regardless of proficiency level. This event was promoted heavily by the college throughout the community before the course and was open to all members of the public.

The largest event I attended was by far Celtic Connections, Glasgow's annual traditional music festival held each January/February, which according to the 2018 publicity materials features close to two thousand artists in nearly three hundred events, all in the span of three weeks. The festival is a celebration of Scottish traditional music in its many incarnations – conventional Scottish traditional, informed by the traditions of neighboring countries, and inclusive showcase for the traditional music of Scotland's ethnic minorities. This experience was profoundly insightful both for the sheer number of musicians with whom I conversed and for the immense scope of traditional music enthusiasts gathered in one place (Figure 1.3).

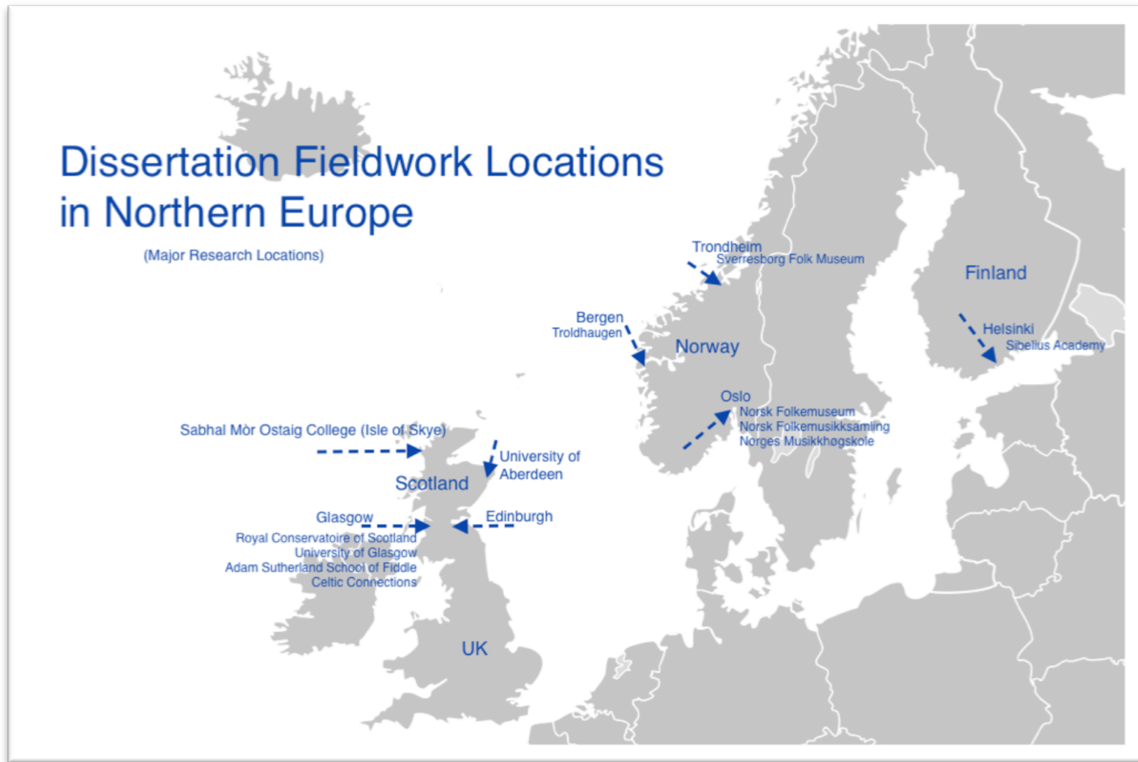

Figure 1.3: Map detailing major research locations in Northern Europe. (The *CIA World Factbook*, on which this map is based, is in the public domain.)

Conferences

In addition to performance and education intensives, several professional conferences during fieldwork proved beneficial for discussing ethnomusicological issues. In April 2017, I was invited to attend a workshop hosted by the North Atlantic Fiddle Convention (NAFCo) at the Elphinstone Institute at the University of Aberdeen. This event included over thirty scholars, researchers, and practitioners from many institutions throughout Europe and North America exploring the possibilities for utilizing computational folkloristics and historical GIS frameworks in music research. After documenting so many learning environments and communities of musical practice focused on performance, it was a refreshing opportunity to observe a scholastic

community addressing many of the same issues but from a decidedly academic standpoint (Figure 1.4).

Figure 1.4: Professor Ian Russell (center) introduces keynote speaker Professor Timothy Tangherlini at the North Atlantic Fiddle Convention workshop, hosted by the Elphinstone Institute. Aberdeen, Scotland: April 27, 2017. (Photograph by Georgia Broughton)

Additionally, quite late in the game (November 2018), I was afforded the opportunity to travel to Helsinki, Finland, for a research conference titled "Pedagogies, Practices and the Future of Folk Music in Higher Education" (PPFFHE). This conference was the second such event co-sponsored by the Sibelius Academy of Music and several leading higher education institutions in Northern Europe, including the Royal Conservatoire of Scotland (RCS in Glasgow, Scotland); the Norwegian Academy of Music (Norges musikkhøgskole in Oslo, Norway); the Royal College of Music in Stockholm *(*Kungliga Musikhögskolan in Stockholm, Sweden); and the Royal Danish Academy of Music (Det Kongelige Danske Musikkonservatorium in Copenhagen,

Denmark). The goals of both events were to facilitate international dialogue regarding traditional music education, pedagogy and teaching; to provide opportunities to scrutinize and workshop challenges in research and applied situations (tertiary education institutions); and eventually to compose a peer-reviewed publication, which is still in the works. While it became abundantly clear how much this dissertation would have benefitted from a three-pronged comparative approach (Scotland-Norway-Finland), my limited travel experience to Finland has precluded a fully fledged project. Above all, the conference reaffirmed what I was witnessing in both Scotland and Norway, in terms of inclusive education practice, both within and between institutions, and offers a compelling prospect for future research.

CHALLENGES

As mentioned above, I encountered some challenges throughout research – some expected, others frustrating, most illuminating. I summarize below the three most significant issues and explore how they influenced the course, focus, and scope of fieldwork. In addition, I address my own positionality in relation to my topic, in particular as someone of both Scottish and Norwegian ancestry.

Action vs. Thinking/Doing vs. Studying

Ethnomusicology is a field "not only born out of challenge, but challenged by itself" (Bohlman 1992: 119). The contestation of territory between practice and theory in the field of ethnomusicology and folklore has been a longstanding issue, and many researchers have remarked on the internal struggle of the discipline. Music scholar Charles Seeger notes this in an essay, bemoaning, "If students of folklore could actually agree upon the organization of an

applied branch of their discipline in the big world . . . they would have as much to learn as to teach. They would have to take fully into account the choice between pitting book-learning against home-learning" (Seeger 1977:342). Furthermore, the "ecological" perspective suggested recently by Huib Schippers and Catherine Grant (2016) is a creative and holistic way to move ethnomusicology forward, stepping into an increasingly functional place of multidisciplinary capacity in the 21st century. The examination of "forces of music sustainability [such as a capacity for interdisciplinary inquiry] through an ecological perspective may help identify and clarify the vibrancy, strengths, weaknesses of a music genre [or field of study], and the ways in which the factors in its vitality and viability interrelate" (2016:340).

The occurrence of well-conducted (from a classical standpoint) ethnomusicology research that lacks purpose and/or the intent of service troubled me throughout graduate school. Former rocker-turned-neuroscientist Dan Levitin speaks to this concern, stating that by attempting to treat musical study "scientifically" and by removing as many variables and angles of observation as possible, we potentially endanger our ability to grasp the significance of findings. Quoting the British philosopher Alan Watts, Levitin argues that "if you want to study a river, you don't take out a bucket full of water and stare at it on the shore. A river is not its water, and by taking the water out of the river, you lose the essential quality of river, which is its motion, its activity, its flow (Levitin 2007:144). It is useful to approach any line of study thoughtfully, methodically, theoretically, and sometimes scientifically, but when "things are so removed from music, it's not clear what we're learning," then we must ask what we are trying to achieve by so thoroughly dissociating ourselves from that which actually resonates. Considering that it is perhaps music's "semiotic indefiniteness [that] gives it a superior power to engage with our emotions," it is questionable why anyone would squander an opportunity to maximize this

profound social resource, “creative, active, imbued with agency,” by remaining content with strictly theoretical inquiry and gratification (Hesmondhalgh 2013:36).

Conversely, even though I made my action-driven purposefully minded research intentions clear to those I interviewed and observed, for some people I was simply too academic and to be treated with a fair amount of distrust. One interviewee, who should remain nameless, stated outright, “You scholars, you want to come and analyze everything – it’s so dispassionate, it’s a little suspicious.”

Witnessing many instances of this Action vs. Thought dichotomy throughout research, I did my best to maintain balance while staying attuned to making this research purposeful and informative not only to other ethnomusicologists but also to the many musical artists who participated, and to their communities as well.

Complications as a Participant Observer

My fieldwork was both aided and complicated by my efforts as a participant observer. The struggles in balancing a participant observer dynamic and insider/outsider methodologies have been remarked upon by many researchers (Hood 1960, Nettl 2005). Challenges arise particularly in the field of ethnomusicology, where the struggles have been remarked upon in part because of the very responsibilities and activities required of researchers in order to be effectively observing and discussing music and musical life.

Bimusicality, as developed, defined, and implemented by Mantle Hood at UCLA in the 1960s, is the work on the part of the researcher to learn and perform for oneself the music practice under study. The goal is to become as proficient, competent, and respectful as possible in examining and describing musical phenomena for more accurate, nuanced, and pertinent

analysis (Hood 1960). At the start of my graduate experience, I was excited at the prospect of not only having the opportunity to do this but also being expected to learn new musical practices and incorporate that holistic perspective into my research. However, the limitations of my Western classical violin training were quickly made apparent by how difficult I found learning by ear in a call and response format, which is traditional in many cultures. When I joined the UCLA Irish Ensemble in fall 2013, my first brush with aural music learning, I felt as out of my depth and sure I would drown as I did at the age of five learning to swim. It took an entire academic year of weekly classes and regular practice to attain a very modest sense of solidity learning and playing by ear. And then just a few weeks into summer 2014, I travelled to Scotland to participate in my first Scottish traditional music intensive, which at different moments felt both adventurous and brazen, given that I was still new to learning by ear and had now travelled around the world to learn an entirely new musical language, Scottish traditional fiddling, by ear – let alone the fact that I knew no one there. While there is a lot to be said for taking a leap and rising to the challenge, the simple technical aspects of learning a new musical tradition while also trying to stay afloat as a researcher were on occasion overwhelming, especially since I deeply wanted to achieve proficiency as well as shed my keen awareness that I was very much an outsider.

These first forays into bimusicality left me questioning many aspects of my prior training and musical experience while I was simultaneously attempting to observe and learn a new musical culture with fresh eyes and ears. The epistemological self-reflection, concurrent with my newness at the nascent fiddling work and the attendant internal running commentary, was in many ways a greater challenge than the external work of learning a wholly new music tradition. Due to these challenges, it was also difficult at the onset to engage in traditional music activities

that were not explicitly class education experiences (e.g. pub sessions). This meant I was encountering not only musical integration challenges but social ones as well.

And while it would have been naïve of me to think that this or any musical environment or community of musical practice would be free of politics such as I had encountered previously in my classical music training, I was at least somewhat hopeful that certain politicking and divisions would be absent. Like any other ecosystem, there are hierarchies, rankings, and the importance of social capital. What I did appreciate is that even though these mechanisms were still present, they were significantly mitigated (at least in the circles and environments I observed) by the constant reaffirmation of community values I encountered throughout traditional music and fiddling communities: inclusivity, equality, open-mindedness, and a deep sense of shared stewardship (rather than ownership) of the tradition. Although of course not perfectly implemented or practiced, the verbal, sonic, and communal reaffirmations of these values countered most opposing behavior.

Narrowing the Research Scope

While the focus of this dissertation is on pedagogy and education environments, almost everyone in the traditional music community performs many roles and functions. It is almost impossible to find someone whose role is strictly that of an educator in education environments. Individuals I met with participated in every facet and expression of music life, and include professional performing artists (both touring and stationed in Scotland and/or Norway), teachers at every level, professors, researchers, arts administrators, students, and amateurs. While I have worked to remain focused and selective in the course of fieldwork, and sometimes regrettably had to leave out vibrant and engaging aspects of the traditional music experience, almost every

single individual interview participant practices a variety of roles, most frequently as a performer as well as an educator. This overlap of duties is not necessarily a detriment to fieldwork, since the multiple roles many traditional musicians perform mutually support and inform their other work.

Personal Involvement

Additionally, I feel it is appropriate to disclose that I am of Scottish ancestry on my father's side of my family and Norwegian ancestry on my mother's side of my family. In the course of completing this dissertation research, I certainly felt fortunate to explore heritage aspects of my ancestry, and I am deeply grateful for this opportunity. While I do not have any political affiliations or motivations in writing this dissertation and made efforts to remain as detached and observant as possible while conducting fieldwork, it was difficult to refrain from identifying with the values of self-determination, inclusivity, and egalitarianism embodied by the many traditional music communities I became acquainted with and documented.

DISSERTATION OUTLINE

At the risk of over-compartmentalizing, I have divided this dissertation into a greater number of chapters than I typically found in the other similar dissertations I read in preparation for this project. This decision was made to keep the material as organized as possible, both for myself and for readers.

Chapter 2 provides interdisciplinary background information on traditional music in Scotland and Norway, addressing the geographic, historical, political, and sociological issues relating to the traditions. Traditional music plays an integral role in cultural identity and

maintenance, and the traditional methods of learning are an integral component of the tradition itself. This chapter also addresses the ways governments are involved in supporting and maintaining traditional music practices.

Chapter 3 covers the theoretical lenses employed throughout this dissertation, including conventional philosophical viewpoints as well as ones less commonly referred to in ethnomusicology research, such as memetics, folkloristics, epidemiology, etc. I engage these latter sources in an effort to demonstrate how incorporating newer, creative perspectives is especially useful and applicable when examining or newer, creative cultural phenomena.

Chapter 4 examines traditional music in primary/early education settings and how early music education is a particularly significant neurological moment in forming a set of musical/cultural values. Additionally, at this critical developmental juncture, how does this opportunity affect the wider COMP (e.g. parents, etc.)?

Chapter 5 addresses traditional music in secondary/adolescent education settings, paying close attention to how these traditional music opportunities and environments at this time of life mirror the transitional nature of adolescence. Furthermore, many traditional music education settings exist outside the bounds of institutionalized schooling, introducing young adults to new peers, environments, and teachers. How the decentralized geographies of these COMPs influence value construction is examined.

Chapter 6 investigates the role of tertiary/higher education institutions in codifying traditional music as an established genre of study. Additionally, I ask: how do these recognized, respected institutions collaborate across national boundaries to reaffirm inclusive political values? Most particularly, how does the dynamic of teachers modeling professional behavior for

pre-professional students in COMP reaffirm accepted behaviors in traditional music settings and potentially affect political sentiment?

Chapter 7 reviews competitions, festivals, and similarly loud, proud, public outward projections of identity and sentiment exercised via traditional music. Reflecting on the previous stages of traditional music COMPs, I ask: how are these cumulative presentations particularly well suited for introducing non-COMP members to traditional music? How do these COMPs speak more broadly/conclusively to other music and/or non-music communities?

The concluding chapter, Chapter 8, reflects on what each country is executing with particular acuity in terms of policy and application, as well as how they are effectively incorporating elements from other countries' education strategies. The macro-implications of this study (traditional music education in other locations and instances of political activity) as well as the micro-implications (interdisciplinary studies: neurobiology, bioacoustics, etc.) are considered, as is what traditional music education resilience means for politics in the 21st century.

I have also included several appendices to aid the reader. These include a glossary, a roster of all the dissertation interviewees, a list of the institutions mentioned in this dissertation with abbreviations, and lyrics for several of the unofficial national anthems used by Scotland and Norway.

CONTRIBUTIONS OF RESEARCH

This ethnomusicological research is important to me not only because I am a person of Scottish and Norwegian heritage, but also because I believe that ethnomusicology should strive to engage and be of service to citizens around the globe in the twenty-first century. In Northern

Europe right now, we have a critical moment in human history where the politics of the region will either continue a descent into further discordant restrictiveness and isolation or flourish into a new period of open-minded inclusivity and cooperation. As a remarkably multifaceted and interdisciplinary field of study, ethnomusicology has a particularly privileged opportunity to observe and inform this discussion. With these values in mind, I have endeavored to incorporate many different areas of theory and science, and to uncover parallels with related research. I believe that allowing the musicians and music participants to speak for themselves, free of projection, offers the most accurate reading of the situation.

I have either encountered or witnessed too much work that replicates tired tropes, safe assumptions, and confirmation biases, and all of this serves the needs of a small circle of scholars instead of allowing ethnomusicology to fully actualize its potential as a dynamic, adaptable field that is an accessible resource for many. I would like to challenge these issues in ethnomusicology and play a role in redirecting the discipline by developing work that is accurate in content, authentically representative, and a positive contribution to the lives of musicians, artists, and their audiences. I hope this synthesis of investigation and application will facilitate valuable and creative contributions to understanding Northern European musical identity and traditional music practice in the 21st century worldwide.

CHAPTER 2: NATIONALISM, REGIONALISM, AND MUSICAL ORIENTATIONS

INTERLUDE: A Roaring Start – Arriving In Scotland

My first trip to Scotland began with an unanticipated adrenaline rush, but looking back I wouldn't change it for the world. Nervous to be travelling solo for the first time and distracted by last-minute preparations, I confused the date of my airplane departure for one day earlier than actually scheduled – thank goodness it wasn't the other way around. Instead of a full day plus ninety minutes to get from Glasgow Airport to Queen Street Station in the middle of the city, I now only had ninety minutes to claim my luggage, clear customs, and somehow catch my train. This was critical, since missing my train would initiate a snowball effect of missing the ferry (there were no later crossings that day) and missing the bus (and no later buses). Getting stranded in the Highlands seemed an inauspicious way to start fieldwork. Calculating my odds of a successful transfer and counting the minutes until we landed, I peered out the window as we descended and immediately my preoccupations faded. There was Scotland, shimmering in uncharacteristic sunlight, the red sandstone architecture of the city framed by dense clouds on the horizon, and too many sheep to count in the bright emerald green fields far below.

Reasonably nervous that I would fail to make my train connection, it was with an extra dose of harried, jetlagged travelers' spirit that I walked up to the customs officer who, as expected, asked me in a thick Scottish brogue what I was doing in Scotland. "I'm attending a traditional music workshop on the Isle of Skye." "Oh, the one at the Gaelic college? "Yes, Sabhal Mor Ostaig, how did you know that?" "There've been lots of you coming through in the past few days, what instrument do you play? I drove by that college once, it's a great place. If you come back through Glasgow, you should go to this pub in the west end . . ."

With a population of just over five and a half million, Scotland isn't exactly a small country. So, I was surprised that the customs official would have any familiarity with my quest. But this exchange was repeated with customs and immigrations officials each time I entered or departed the country. My usual conversations I have with customs officials begin with some stone-cold stares, as if my violin case is assumed to actually be a gun. I was grateful this was a non-issue for this trip, but now with only 45 minutes to make the train, I explained my tight schedule. I was waived through with a smile, told "Good luck with the tunes!" and ushered straight onto a shuttle bus and went careening, traffic-free, to Queen Street Station.

Dating from mid 1800s, Glasgow Queen Street Station is one of Scotland's busiest – it services connecting lines all the way from London, and is also the main rail departure point to the Scottish Highlands. My route for the day, from Queen Street to the village of Mallaig on the Sound of Sleat, is consistently ranked as one of the most scenic rail routes in the world, and it even includes the famous Glenfinnan viaduct, featured prominently in the Harry Potter films. Fortunately, I arrived at Queen Street Station with just enough time to maneuver the ticketing systems and seating arrangements, which were completely foreign to me – I can't imagine a more adventurous and compelling introduction to the Scottish landscape. The five and a half hours from Glasgow to Mallaig was as far a world away as the fourteen-hour flight from Los Angeles to Glasgow had been. To finally see with my own eyes a storied country I had dreamt of visiting for so long nearly moved me to tears. Seven-foot stags silhouetted on the heathered slopes, mirrored lochs reflecting the blue sky, famous glens and historic battle sites marked by grey stone memorials, whitewashed slate roof houses at every stop – the adventure or fieldwork was off to a roaring start.

I also paid attention to the ongoing activities on the train, as well. Of course it was

packed with tourists, but I noticed a fair number of instrument cases and their owners boarding along the way. By the time the train arrived at Mallaig, many of us had bonded over our shared experience of traveling in Scotland and attending fiddle camp. I found a perch at the front of the ferry, and I looked out over the water – on the other side of the sound was Sabhal Mòr Ostaig, its bright white towers and glass walls gleaming like a beacon on the shore.

PLACE, SPACE, AND MUSICAL TASTE

The use of traditional music to reaffirm a sense of community and community values is well documented in many societies around the world. Music's "semiotic indefiniteness" is perhaps what gives it a "superior power to engage with our emotions" (Hesmondhalgh 2013:84). This capacity speaks to deeply seated biological needs to seek and construct community, creating "great potential for providing shared experiences that are corporeal, emotional, and full of potential meetings for the participants" and helping us envision how we might flourish together by establishing our communities and reaffirming our values. A tradition is by definition a process of collective agency, and actors (musicians and non-musicians alike) contribute purposefully to "reinterpret and revise a shared heritage of musical style, rather than [conceiving of] autonomous acts of creation" (Johansson and Berge 2014:33). Through music-oriented agency, community values are expressed and reaffirmed via finessed assemblages of sonic phenomena and maintained by invested practitioners. Geography, history, social ties, localized customs, etc., all influence this investment and engagement.

Before delving further into these musical issues, I will review non-musical phenomena that have shaped these traditions in Scotland and Norway and the Communities of Musical Practice (aka COMPs as defined by Ailbhe Kenny) that practice them. This context is necessary

for appreciating the scope and significance of the current political situation in both countries, as well as the greater European scene, and how music has been particularly utilized to emotionally fortify, politically codify, and culturally reaffirm values of self-determination and independence.

What's In A Name?

As I conducted research and interviewed musical participants, the issue of what is technically "Scandinavian" and what is technically "Nordic" came up with moderate frequency. Definitions that are functional in terms of descriptive clarity as well as cultural, historical, political, and musical commonalities would be the following:

- Scandinavia refers to Norway, Sweden, and Denmark – three constitutional monarchies.
- The Nordic region encompasses these three constitutional monarchies as well as Iceland, Finland, and by many considerations Estonia, as well – three parliamentary democracies that have never maintained modern monarchies originating from within those countries

Scotland, as part of the United Kingdom, is not typically included in Northern Europe but in the sub-region of Western Europe, along with countries such as France and Germany. This can be attributed to centuries of political ties, economics, and cultural exchange (Figure 2.1).

Figure 2.1 Map of Northern Europe, as considered for the purposes of this dissertation. (The *CIA World Factbook*, on which this map is based, is in the public domain)

However, Scotland remains decidedly liberal compared to the other constituent countries in the United Kingdom and increasingly vociferous in reaffirming a unique political perspective. In terms of cultural and political values reflected in voting patterns, Scotland appears to have more in common with its liberal Nordic neighbors than with the rest of the generally more conservative United Kingdom.[2] Traditional music education methods and intra-country cultural discussion I witnessed during fieldwork would confirm these sociopolitical values are being exchanged, supported, and transmuted through a lens of localized traditional musiking.

At some future point, the terms "Northern European," "Nordic," or "Scandinavian" might be more inclusively applied to countries that, though not historically included in those groups, are now considered so. This would be based on geographic proximity in tandem with political

[2] The Republic of Ireland, by many accounts, also fits into this mold of a liberal, more socially progressive Northern European country, and the generalized term in this dissertation title ("Northern Europe") could in many ways extend to Ireland as well. The sociopolitical and cultural parallels between Ireland and Scotland, especially in terms of cultural colonization, are of course enough material for another dissertation.

and cultural values traditionally implied by the labels "Northern European," "Nordic," or "Scandinavian." However, discourse on the issue has not reached that point, and a different term to describe these countries (Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Estonia – and possibly Scotland as well) that are unified by their sociocultural values, may perhaps make itself apparent in the future.

For now, I have made every effort to be purposefully specific when employing these terms. While it would be convenient to claim something is "Nordic" or "Scandinavian," the more accurate approach is of course by simply identifying musical phenomena by country.

A Note About Finland

Throughout the course of this dissertation, it became apparent that a study including all Scandinavian and Nordic countries would obviously be the most comprehensive and beneficial for examining this nexus of politics and traditional music. However, due to financial and time restrictions, I opted to concentrate on locations where I had preexisting contacts and preliminary research completed – which meant that Finland, unfortunately, was left out in the cold.

Finland has many demographic and cultural parallels with both Scotland and Norway. Populations are similar in size, governmental structures prioritize the welfare state, voting tendencies are skewed liberal, and all three countries have a history of being colonized. Caught between Sweden for half of its modern existence (until 1809) and the Russian Empire for the other half (1809-1917), Finland in many respects has had to expressively work through the trials of rejecting those colonialized identities while simultaneously constructing a unique cultural (and musical) self-image (Nordstrom 2000). This work can be seen in Finland's continued cultural nation-building, such as its commitment to political socialism and promotion of the Finnish

national language.[3]

As was described to me by several attendees of the "Pedagogies, Practices and the Future of Folk Music in Higher Education, II" (PPFFHE II) conference held in Helsinki, in November 2018, "Finland has no tradition of traditional music, we've had to make it up." However, this absence of historical continuity has shaped a critical imperative for artistic imagination in the present that has resulted in one of the most abundantly creative, innovative, boundary-less COMPs I encountered and which has been observed by others (Hill 2007, 2009a).

Unfortunately my realization of how pertinent the contemporary Finnish music scene would be to this study came regrettably late in the game. While I believe my study was significantly strengthened by the comparison between Scotland and Norway (as opposed to being merely a single-country project), it is very clear to me now how much stronger the study would be as a fully balanced triad between the three countries' COMPs.

Rallying Cries

Although not directly related to traditional music, it seems tangentially relevant to note that neither Norway nor Scotland have official national anthems. It is a curious parallel, since it signifies such different things for each country.

Technically, Scotland as a constituent nation within the United Kingdom has as its official anthem "God Save the Queen." However, Scotland as one of those internal nations does not have an official national anthem for itself. Nevertheless, Scotland has no less than four unofficial anthems: "Scotland the Brave," "Flower of Scotland, and "Freedom, Come All Ye,"

[3] For an excellent exploration of the creative processes and critical role music has played in Finnish nationalism and of "new" Finnish folk music, see Ramnarine 2003.

and “Scots Wha Hae,” each employed for different types of events and circumstances and sentiments (English 2003, “RSNO . . .” 2006).

Similarly, Norway has no official national anthem, but there is an acknowledged *de facto* one, “Ja, Vi Elsker Dette Landet” (“Yes, We Love This Country”), written by Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson, one of the most famous Norwegian authors of the 19th century, as well as several other unofficial ones: “Sønner af Norge” (“Sons of Norway”), “Norges Skaal” (“Norway’s Toast”), and “Mitt Lille Land” (“My Little Land”). Similar to Scotland, the unofficial anthems are each employed to evoke very different reactions in listeners, such as the “Mitt Lille Land” being sung at numerous prominent events after the July 2011 terrorist attacks in Norway (“Verdig . . .” 2011).

Since “music makes much stronger contributions to collective flourishing through sociable publicness than through deliberate publicness” (Hesmondhalgh 2013:144), any country that has composed and consistently maintained four mainstream anthems praising its geographic, political, and social values is clearly working to cement a mentality of independence and patriotic pride at every opportunity, and has recognized the “power of musicality to facilitate and energize meaning in communication” (Malloch and Trevarthen 2009:7).

LANDS BEFORE TIME

Scotland and Norway are high-latitude Northern European countries. They experience generally milder climates due to the Atlantic Gulf Stream and have greater and more dependable rainfall than other proximate countries. Moderately forested, and ruggedly punctuated by mountainous regions, the varied topographies due to latitude range and geography mean that Norway’s climatic regions range from Tundra to Warm Humid Continental Climate while

Scotland is mostly Temperate and Oceanic. Although there are significant examples of deforestation, habitat loss, and species extinction, both Scotland and Norway are considered to have great biodiversity of flora and fauna.

Speaking in terms of human history, there are many commonalities as well. Both Norway and Scotland have documented evidence of Pre-historic, Bronze Age, and Iron Age settlements. Extensive coastlines and hundreds of islands led to the development of numerous seafaring communities, and in both countries there are still villages accessible only by boat. Even with minimal arable land, they were largely agrarian societies throughout history and even now remain significantly rural and in the case of Norway forested (CIA 2019a, 2019b) (Figure 2.2).

Figure 2.2: Full of steep fjords and deeply forested slopes, evidence of the last Ice Age is apparent in Norway's landscape. This terrain led to numerous geographically isolated

communities and localized traditions and customs. View from the train from Trondheim to Oppdal, Norway: July 18, 2016. (Photograph by Georgia Broughton)

To varying degrees, both Scotland and Norway have experienced periods of rule by foreign kingdoms. This has resulted in being either wholly absorbed by the conquering country or experiencing varying degrees of self-regulation. Technically still acknowledged as kingdoms, although absorbed into an empire, they were functionally more akin to offshoots of those greater realms than equal players. Some would even term this colonialism.

The Kingdom of Norway was established in 872, merging several minor kingdoms, but the monarchy did not fully consolidate monarchical power or define borders approximate to modern ones until the reign of Olaf (1015-1028). From 1397 to 1523, Norway was part of the Kalmar Union (Norway, Denmark, Sweden), a personal union between the countries.[4] With the dissolution of the Kalmar Union in 1521, Norway was part of the Kingdom of Denmark-Norway from 1537 to 1814. The Kingdom was allied with France during the Napoleonic wars, as a result of which Denmark was forced to cede Norway to Sweden in 1804, forming a personal union until 1905. Independence sentiments were largely peaceful and galvanized by the Romantic nationalist movement, resulting in Norway gaining full independence in 1905 (Larsen 1948; Libæk and Stenersen 1999).

Across the North Sea, the Kingdom of Scotland existed as a sovereign entity from the mid 9th century (usually placed at 842) until 1707. In 1603, James VI, King of Scots, became King of England and King of Ireland (inheriting this throne from his cousin Elizabeth 1 of England), thus uniting the three kingdoms in a personal union. Scotland and the Kingdom of England subsequently entered into a political union in 1707, creating the Kingdom of Great

[4] A "personal union" arises when two sovereign states are linked together through the accidental fact that they have the same individual as a monarch, for example if the there are no remaining heirs within the country and the next closely related individual is already a monarch of another country.

Britain and Parliament of Great Britain. In 1801, the United Kingdom was created with a political union between the Kingdom of Great Britain and Kingdom of Ireland, further cementing Scotland's place as one of many players (Magnusson 2000). Scotland, while still technically a constituent nation of the United Kingdom, began concentrated political devolution in the 1990s, leading to the Scotland Act 1998, passed by the UK Parliament, effectively transferring oversight of laws specific to Scotland to the newly established devolved Scottish Parliament and Scottish Government (ibid).

Scotland, as part of the United Kingdom, has been a member of the European Union since 1973 and maintains six seats in European Parliament. Norwegian voters turned down EU membership in 1972 and 1994 referendums. Although not an EU country, Norway's membership in the European Free Trade Association (EFTA) and the European Economic Area (EEA) mean it does, however, abide by some economic and other regulations of the EU (Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2009)

Both countries are largely liberal in social and economic politics and are representative of a growing divide in Europe between countries that implement and practice more inclusive national political and social policies and those that currently seek to reaffirm exclusionary, purist national agendas. There are increasing sociopolitical efforts and legislation to challenge historically assumed cultural norms that harm, denigrate, or exclude sectors of the populace (Pittock 2013, Scottish National Party 2019, Ulstein 2019).

TRADITIONAL MUSIC AND DANCE PRACTICES

It would not be possible here to describe at great length the many instrumental and vocal genres historically and currently practiced in Scotland and Norway—for example, bagpiping in

Scotland and *kveding* (ballad singing) traditions in Norway. There are, however, several comprehensive works that do this for both countries (Ling 1997, Aksdal and Nyhus 1998, Dickson 2009), so here I concentrate on those genres with which I have interacted the most, namely those featuring fiddling.

Scottish Fiddling

Bowed string instruments have existed in Scotland for centuries. There are no conclusive answers about the origins of the modern Scottish fiddle; however, there are several theories that seem plausible. The earliest mentions of bowed instruments in Scotland include the *rebec* as well as the *croud* (Collinson 1977). The earliest fiddles, trying to approximate these instruments, would have been roughly hewn, and there are many firsthand accounts of screeching, scratching, and undesirable itinerant musicians (Alburger 1983). The arrival of the European *viol* in the early 1500s largely pushed the earlier bowed instruments to the margins, taking their place in the service of the aristocracy. Furthermore, the influence of court music from the European continent was strong in Scotland, mainly on the trendsetting aristocracy but in turn influencing other classes of society (Alburger 1983).

The modern Italian violin arrived sometime in the early 1700s, and as it did throughout much of the European continent, quickly supplanted almost all other bowed string instrument variants, reigning supreme to this day. It is surmised that the word "fiddle" as it was used in Scotland at the time (*fidheall*) is actually derived from "viol" (Thomson 1983). While there are no existing collections of Scottish music for the rebec or the croud, early transcriptions of Scottish fiddle music, especially from its 18th-century heyday, are numerous and even today are significant to musicians in terms of the wealth and variety of tunes they offer.

The instrument used for Scottish fiddling today is almost exactly the same as a modern classical violin. There are potential minor differences regarding the number of strings (some fiddlers prefer to add a fifth string), the frequent substitution of a lowered bridge to facilitate double stops (that is, playing multiple strings at a time), or upkeep (a majority of fiddlers I encountered had a markedly different sense of maintenance and safety than most classical musicians I know). Despite this, the instrument is structurally and sonically almost identical – what matters most is the attitude with which it is played (Figure 2.3).

Figure 2.3: The fiddles, a critical instrument in Scottish traditional musicking, play away at a music session at the Ben Nevis pub in Glasgow, Scotland, the last stop on the "Sunday Funday" tour (see Chapter 7). Fiddler Louise Bichan, center, got her start in early music programs in

Orkney and later moved to Glasgow becoming a professional musician and serious session attendee. August 3, 2014. (Photograph by Georgia Broughton)

Scottish traditional fiddlers were quick to recognize the performance potential of this instrument and especially its ability to capture and execute significant sonic identifiers and techniques. The Strathspey, a type of 4/4 reel dance, is arguably the most distinctive and geographically identifiable of the Scottish dance tunes. It is marked by the distinctive and repetitive occurrence of the "Scotch snap," a well-defined brusque short-long figure most commonly represented as a 16th note followed by a dotted 8th note. The physics of the violin, particularly the pressure connection of the bow to the string, which is so easily adjustable, means that violins are particularly well suited for playing this tune type. The rhythmic requirements and finessed articulations of the Strathspey are readily expressed on the violin with great clarity. In fact, a fiddle composer's success and notoriety could be in significant part determined by the quality of his or her Strathspeys.

Hardingfele and Norwegian Fiddling

The *hardingfele* is a glamorous musical and cultural symbol of Norway that has "played an intimate role in an esoteric communicative network that, within a society, involved non-musical, as well as musical, features" (Hopkins 1986:117). The instrument, like the fiddle and violin, has four strings that are either played with a bow or plucked. These strings can be readjusted to many different tunings, unlike the modern violin. While it can be tuned to the modern violin's conventional tuning of G-D-A-E (a sonic fifth apart, starting a fourth below middle C), *scordatura* tunings are common. The most common tuning is A-D-A-E, and another common tuning, A-E-A-C#, is known as *trollstilt* or "troll tuning." The tunings employed vary

according to technical convenience, traditional performance of a piece, and regional locations (Hopkins 1986).

The *hardingfele* also has an additional set of four sympathetic strings that resonate in harmony with the strings and notes being played with the bow. These resonant strings are a significant component of Norwegian musical aurality and are, according to Hopkins, “an essential feature; without resonance strings, a violin cannot be a Hardanger violin, nor can it transmit *hardingfele* music” (Hopkins 1986:120). The sympathetic strings, in addition to serving as remarkable and undeniable sonic features of the tradition, create continuity of sound and a resonant tonality (Figure 2.4).

Figure 2.4: *Hardingfele* performance at the Norsk Folkemuseum in Oslo. Demonstrations featuring localized traditions (in this case, from the Telemark region) are held throughout the day. Note the nine tuning pegs on each instrument (indicating the instrument’s five sympathetic strings, strung under the fingerboard which resonate when top strings are played) and the richly ornamented fingerboard, tailpiece, and body. July 21, 2016. (Photograph by Georgia Broughton)

Hardingfele music has traditionally not been associated with the prestigious elements of society, and this orally transmitted tradition was developed and sustained in the agrarian seafaring communities in the southwestern, mountainous regions of the country.[5] Traditionally the instrument was played solo, rather than as part of an ensemble, for social and cultural functions in rural areas (Goertzen 1997). Although the instrument is glamorous, and easily identifiable both visually and sonically, it is not the most common string instrument in Norway.

The fiddle, similar in almost every way to the Scottish fiddle except for the tunes and styles played on it, is far more common both geographically and in terms of the number of performers. The fiddle was historically more prominent in the east and northern part of Norway, while the *hardingfele* territory was primarily the southwest and west coast of the country. Both instruments have historical records in the country dating back to the 17th century, and have remained largely unchanged in terms of construction since then (Goertzen 1997).

While the heyday of legendary fiddlers and composers in Scotland was during the 18th century, the 19th and early 20th centuries were the prime time to be a Norwegian fiddler. Much has been written about this musical time in the country. What most writers and scholars and enthusiasts were concerned with were the lines of transmission and musical inheritance between players, tunes, and styles. In fact, Goertzen notes that there is "no clear dividing line between scholar and amateur or between researcher and performer in the world of Norwegian music" (Goertzen 1997:19).

While Norway and Norwegians do exhibit some nationalistic characteristics, especially when it comes to economic concerns (e.g. the country's EEC status, but not joining the EU

[5] For a comprehensive study of folk music in Norway (inclusive of Sami traditions) and the associated social, cultural, and political ramifications of music practices, see Aksdal and Nyhus 1998.

proper), being Norwegian "is associated more with a home and its immediate surroundings and with the country as a whole, thus assigning enormous value to what to them are the intimately linked concepts of family and place" (ibid.:9).

Language

It is impossible to discuss cultural and musical expression without addressing language and linguistics. The importance of identifying dialects was addressed by one of Norway's most famous linguists, Einar Haugen, who called the vocabulary of Telemark "one of the richest of all the rural dialects and one of the most conservative" (Hopkins 1986:216). The rules that are relevant to each locality produce "domains" of social (and musical) knowledge regarding appropriateness and authenticity.

Scottish Gaelic (traditionally spelled Gàidhlig) is a Celtic language native to the Gaels of Scotland. Gàidhlig is part of the Goidelic branch of the Celtic languages (along with Modern Irish and Manx) and developed from Middle Irish (Thomson 1983). Much of modern Scotland was once Gàidhlig-speaking, an area referred to as the *Gàidhealtachd*, and this can be seen in the prevalence of Gàidhlig place names. Approximately 60,000 people can speak Gàidhlig, with the highest percentages in the Outer Hebrides, also a stronghold for traditional music (Thomson 1983). Revival efforts are evident everywhere, and the Gaelic Language (Scotland) Act of 2005 established Bòrd na Gàidhlig, a language development body (Bòrd na Gàidhlig 2017). Gàidhlig is not an official language of the European Union or the United Kingdom.

Many of the Scottish Gaelic-speaking musicians I encountered affirmatively believe that, to varying degrees, speaking Scottish Gaelic is a political statement. Many referred to Scottish Gaelic as a "minority language" and view the revival of Scottish Gaelic as a method of

decolonizing the language. The weaponization of language has been discussed by many scholars, both as a form of cultural identity, and, when denied, as a form of cultural annihilation. The revitalized practice of speaking, writing, and living with Scottish Gaelic in recent times parallels the reappropriation of both historically traditional forms of music making as well as more modern constructions of traditional Scottish music representation, such as regiment bagpiping.

Norway has two officially recognized languages: Norwegian, spoken by the majority of the population, and Sámi, the language of the indigenous Sámi people who live mostly in the north. Norwegian also has two written forms: Bokmål (lit. "book tongue") and Nynorsk ("new Norwegian"). Bokmål developed from the Dano-Norwegian language that evolved under Danish rule (until 1814) and is used most often for official purposes. Nynorsk was developed in the mid 1800s, in part inspired by the National Romantic Movement (*Nasjonalromantikken*). The specific aim was to celebrate linguistic practices considered more authentically Norwegian, and Nynorsk was based upon spoken local Norwegian dialects. It is significantly more common in the western and southern regions of Norway, incidentally where the *hardingfele* is traditionally played.

There are also dozens of regional dialects used throughout the country, and while there are indications that individuals adjust linguistic patterns to suit their location, especially when travelling to urban locales like Oslo, it is generally perceived as rude to negatively comment on another person's accent. The potential slight is considered an affront not only to the other's experience but to their claimed identity by associating with that location via linguistic practice.

Dance

Dance can also be claimed as a form of musical expression by virtue of its percussive aspects and the almost inevitable involvement of music in its performance. Both Scotland and Norway maintain active social and competitive traditional dance heritages that are regularly featured alongside musical practices and performances.

Many of the traditional events I witnessed in Scotland had some type of dance component; the most animated and compelling were the *céilidhs*. These all inclusive dance parties feature traditional music, called dance sets, couple dancing, and frequently a lot of social merriment and imbibing. The term is derived from the Old Irish *céle*, meaning "companion," later becoming *céilidh*, which means "visit" in Gàidhlig. Both historically and in contemporary settings *cèilidhs* are held to celebrate significant life events (birth, marriage, etc.) and as a form of communal socialization (Emmerson 1972). Step dancing (popularized by the Irish Riverdance phenomenon) and Scottish Highland dance (frequently featured at Highland games) are usually considered more for show and competition than for socializing. All three of these dance types have markedly different steps, moves, patterns, and choreography (Emmerson 1972).

Folk dance in Norway is mainly for social purposes and has several forms. Traditionally speaking, instrumental folk music is considered to be in the service of dancing activity, although this is not strictly the case for contemporary composers and performers. Dances are customarily coupled set dances almost exclusively in either 2/4 or 3/4 time and serve significant social and celebratory functions within communities.

Bygdedans (lit. "village dance") is the regional, traditional dance of Norway, and *gammeldans* (lit. "old dance") are traditional dances derived from more continental dance forms, like the waltz, mazurka, and polska. Like the divided geographies of *hardingfele*/fiddle and

Bøkmal/Nynorsk, the dance geographies mirror the territories of fiddling and language. The areas of *bygdedans* correlate mainly with the regions where the *hardingfele* is dominant, and where the fiddle is the preferred string instrument *gammaldans* tends to be more prevalent (Goertzen 1997). For both, regional variation influences time signatures, pulse, and the character of choreography.

Another notable dance type is the halling (*hallingdansen*), a rural folk dance with courtship origins, performed by men. The dance is a quick-paced, high energy display of athletic acrobatics used to kick a hat off a pole traditionally held by a lady who is the object of the dancer's attentions and who decides whether or not the dancing meets her standards.

TUNE REPERTOIRES AND MUSICAL VALUES

One of the most efficacious methods of determining the musical elements and phenomena most important to communities of musical practice is to examine the repertories of popular tunes and the pieces most often cited in musical settings. There is great sonic clarity offered by the teaching, integration, and cultivation of these choices by both teachers and students to select, learn, and perform these tunes, readily indicating the presence and maintenance of social and musical values. While it is important to remember that "music lies not just in musical works but in the totality of a musical performance" (Small 1998:13), the prevalence of certain tunes speaks to their memetic and replicatory success, and volume of material available for review in archives, tune collections, media recordings, and performances programs allows for a substantial and stable analysis in determining what musical phenomena, trends, and sonic signifying details remain relevant and replicable within these communities.

Where this prospect of repertory analysis became most relevant and applicable to my research was when I was addressing the repertories specific to individual COMPs.

The construction and maintenance of tune repertories in Scotland and Norway are significant components of the traditional music education culture. Tune repertoires vary according to regional location, schools and lineages of practice, and specific instrumentation. However, there are many tunes in both countries that serve as a substantial collective shared repertory that is accessible and known to many players. For example, in Scotland a tune can start as a piping tune and become so popular through its compositional and melodic merits that it eventually becomes played on all instruments and in many musical settings. This tune adaptability concerning setting and instrumentation seems to have increased in recent decades, and can be attributed to increases in travel mobility, the proliferation of radio and television and the media recording industry, and the rise in popularity of traditional music courses, which simply for the sake of avoiding repeating tunes taught in recent years must be creative about musical offerings for each new session.

Teachers and educators in both the Scottish and Norwegian traditional music scenes pass on musical and social values to their students by a variety of means. These include the example they set as performers, the choices to participate in or support particular educational settings, and also the particular styles that they embody and demonstrate in their teaching. Additionally, collective communities of musical practice model behaviors as well, and the methods these communities use at an administrative and curriculum level to sustain environments conducive to accessible learning (such as demonstrating and embodying inclusivity) are profiled extensively in Chapters 4 through 7.

In addition to participant-observer fieldwork observations, I reviewed numerous printed

sources and archives to examine this repertory issues. Significant volumes that informed this dissertation research include: *The Fiddle Music of Scotland: A Comprehensive Annotated Collection of 365 Tunes with Historical Introduction* (James Hunter, 1979); *A History of Norwegian Music* (Nils Grinde, 1991); *Scottish Fiddle Music in the 18th Century: A Musical Collection and Historical Study* (David Johnson, 1984); *Ældre og nyere norske Fjeldmeoldier* (Ludvic Mathias Lindeman, 1983). There are also numerous online archives for both Scottish and Norwegian traditional music. The following were particularly informative to this dissertation: "The Fiddle Volumes" (*Feleverk*), co-administered by the Universitet i Oslo and Nasjonalbiblioteket (the National Norwegian Library) and featuring 3365 tunes, searchable by tune name, composer, geographic district, or by instrument (fiddle vs. *hardingfele*); the University of Edinburgh Celtic & Scottish Studies School of Scottish Studies Archives, established in 1951 to collect, archive, research and publish material relating to the cultural life, folklore and traditional arts of Scotland; and Tobar an Dualchais, a collaborative archival project (between Bòrd na Gàidhlig, the Royal Conservatoire of Scotland, Sabhal Mòr Ostaig, Scottish Funding Council, and the University of Edinburgh, among others) aiming to preserve, digitize, catalogue, and make available to the public over 40,000 tracks of Gaelic and Scots recordings.

Although there are thousands of tunes in both the Scottish and Norwegian fiddling traditions, all well catalogued, I found core repertories that are critical to the crowd-sourced cultural spirit of maintaining participation accessibility in the musical rituals of community-building. Essentially, if you are able to play any of these tunes, or join in for even just a part of them, you are able to walk into just about any traditional Scottish or Norwegian musicking situation as an active, contributing, instrument-based participant. While I go into detail in subsequent chapters regarding (1) each particular tune, (2) the context in which I first

encountered it, and (3) the role its recognizability plays in maintaining this sense of ritual and community maintenance, the general elements I recognize as contributing most distinctly to this community repertoire relevance include: (a) the presence of one or several of the above listed tune categories; (b) the "singability" or "danceability" (as was often describe by participants in musicking settings) of the tune, again referring to Dawkins' memetics concepts and the critical importance of replicability potentials; and (c) the direct relevance of the tune to the music community at hand, usually via a combination of factors, such as the tune being composed by a resident teacher or the tune being composed for the community itself.

From my observation, this central repertory is built upon four main categories of feature that inform the tunes:

1. Classic, longstanding tunes (a) written during the golden age of Scottish fiddling (1700s to the early 1800s) and the Norwegian *hardingfele*/fiddling heyday (mid 1700s to the mid 1800s) by luminaries who turned fiddling into more of an art form moving away from rustic traditions; and (b) definitively representational of a region or school of practice.
2. Tunes composed within recent memory, especially during the waves of traditional music revivals of the 1920s/1930s, the 1960s/1970s, and the late 1990s, that have become popular due to the composer's prolific output or to the tune/melody/lyric having content that speaks to intergenerational social concerns (memorializing historic battles, reiterating longstanding calls for Scotland's independence from the United Kingdom, immigration from Norway to the United States, etc.).
3. Tunes composed by the teachers I observed in the course of fieldwork, such as Adam Sutherland's "Road to Errogie" (Figure 2.5) or Alasdair Fraser's "The Referendum" (Figure 2.6), which relate to topical issues or places people have visited, leading to an

immediate emotional connection or identification with that teacher and their composition. Memetically speaking, Adam's "Road to Errogie" symbolizes much more than that tune alone. His ebullience, energy, creativity, free spiritedness, and penchant for storytelling can all be heard in the sonic features of the tune itself, but reciprocally all those characteristics are attached to the tune via association with him as a person. Similarly, Alasdair's "Referendum" is a direct, blatant association with an exciting, immediate political event. Specious arguments can be made that the meter or determined rhythm relate to political intent or patriotic drive, but more powerfully, playing that tune relates directly to Alasdair himself, who symbolizes and embodies these elements of self-determination and individuality via his life's work of nurturing and developing this community of players and enthusiasts.

Figure 2.5: Transcription of "The Road to Errogie," written by Scottish fiddler and teacher Adam Sutherland and wildly popular in contemporary musicking circles. (NB: All transcriptions in this

dissertation are from my own fieldwork, how I heard the tunes in performance, and how they were taught to me.)

Figure 2.6: Transcription of “The Referendum,” a tune written by Scottish fiddler and prolific teacher Alasdair Fraser in 2012 for the occasion of Scotland’s then First Minister Alex Salmond’s visit to the Sabhal Mòr Ostaig fiddle course.

4. Most enigmatically, the tunes that, for one reason or another, “take off” and become instantly popular on a large scale with students, assuming a steady place within the collective repertory. This could be due to (a) the compelling imagery/story of the tune (Figure 2.7: “The March of the Meeatoiteen Bull”), (b) accessibility in terms of performance difficulty (Figure 2.8: “MacKay’s Memoirs”), (c) easily recognizable via sonic identifiers, like certain particular intervals (Figure 2.9: “The Glory Reel”), or (d) a simple deeply emotive tune (sonically or story-wise) that might be aided by the three subcategories listed above (Figure 2.10: “The Dog and the Rabbit”). These are simple, straightforward tunes that speak directly and plainly to the soul without pretense or show.

Figure 2.7: Transcription of "The March of the Meeatoiteen Bull," taught to the SMO fiddle course by Irish fiddler Ciarán Ó Maonaigh in 2016.

Figure 2.8: Transcription of "MacKay's Memoirs," written by Scottish instrumentalist Martyn Bennett and taught to the SMO fiddle course by Adam Sutherland in 2014.

Figure 2.9: Transcription of "The Glory Reel," a popular tune in Donegal fiddling and taught to the SMO fiddle course by Irish fiddler Ciarán Ó Maonaigh in 2016.

Figure 2.10: Transcription of "The Dog and the Rabbit," composed by Scottish multi-instrumentalist Kris Drever and taught to the SMO fiddle course in 2016 by fiddler and vocalist Sarah von Racknitz. It was originally performed by Drever as a reel, but Sarah reinterpreted the piece, and it was performed at the final SMO concert as a slow march, with all students playing and eventually singing the tune onstage.

As mentioned above, in Norway there are traditionally distinct repertoires and customs associated with the *hardingfele* and the regular fiddle. Increasingly these traditional boundaries are transgressed in the name of artistic creativity, and what remains constant are the regional affiliations of the instruments and the tunes.

***Hardingfele* vs. Norwegian Fiddle**

While *hardingfele* and fiddle traditions in Norway both primarily serve dance traditions, the repertories themselves carry distinct sonic characteristics. Fiddle music generally is simpler in composition, easier to play in ensembles, and based on dance and music traditions absorbed from the European continent in the late 1600s and 1700s. These pieces generally appear in 3/4 and 4/4 time, and they are fairly audible extensions of continental European traditions and aesthetic sensibilities. *Hardingfele* traditions, however, showcase a lot of Norwegian sonic uniqueness, even quirkiness, and highlight the instrument's capacity to display regional and localized sonic specifics. Generally speaking, although *hardingfele* performance is used for dance, it is usually showier than fiddle music and claims a more equal role in the musicking process (Figure 2.11).

Figure 2.11: Transcription of a *ganger* tune, a very typical *bygdedans* tune-type, performed by a *hardingfele* performer at the Norsk Folkemuseum on July 20, 2016.

The goal in *hardingfele* tradition is to be as creative, and distinctive, and technically complex as possible while remaining artistically refined and aesthetically specific to location as possible. A real test of a performer's quality is how virtuosic and creative they can be while still clearly playing within the genre parameters. Additionally, while the fiddle traditions usually stick to meters more associated with continental dance forms (such as the waltz, with its emphasis on the first beat of the measure), *hardingfele* music is well known for its usage of uneven, lopsided meters (such as the 3-beat *springar* rhythm, identified by its heavy lilting emphasis on and the second beat and popular in Hallingdal, a *hardingfele* stronghold). This creates distinctive dance rhythms and musical patterns separate from continental customs.

These differences between the two traditions can also be observed in the written transcriptions and volumes of tunes available for both musical traditions. For fiddle traditions the emphasis is on the notes and clarity of the tunes while ornamentation is tasteful but secondary; for *hardingfele* transcriptions, the ornamental specifics (such as grace notes and double stops) are

critical pieces of sonic information, indicating where a piece or performer is from or what tradition or lineage of teaching they embody. In Norwegian fiddle traditions the written transcriptions reflect values of accessibility, and for the *hardingfele* repertoires, the transcriptions embody regional specificity and individual virtuosity. This curation of tunes by instrument, and by extension location, is also exhibited in media and sound recordings. Olav Luksengård Mjelva, a Norwegian musician who plays both fiddle and *hardingfele*, won the 2010 Spellemannprisen (the Norwegian equivalent to the Grammy Awards) in the Traditional music/Norwegian folk category, for his debut album titled *Fele/Hardingfele, Røros/Hallingdal*, which both in title and content reaffirms the localized geographic orientations of traditional music practices in Norway (Mjelva 2019).

Scottish Tune Transcriptions

Scottish traditional fiddling shares much in common with Norwegian music traditions (both fiddling and *hardingfele*), namely the emphasis on the purpose of music being for dancing. It has more in common with Norwegian fiddling traditions, especially in terms of accessibility. The strength and memetic power of the tune comes from its ability to be musicked by many people, in many different contexts, and at many different levels of familiarity. This is also reflected in the written transcription traditions. Usually, if a transcription includes ornamentation, it will be minimal. It is generally understood that each performance and incident of musicking involving the tune will serve a different purpose, environment, and set of circumstances. The primary intention is that the tune and musicking will be shared and experienced in the moment. The fact that Scottish fiddling tunes are generally transcribed in such a spartan manner usually means that there is automatically greater license to exercise creativity in terms of making it one's

own, but also makes it immediately more accessible to greater numbers of fiddlers, perpetually fresh in interpretation, and permissive, releasing the player from the constraints of duplicating the exact ornamentations of previous generations and players.

Comparative Tune Analysis: Scotland and Norway

As evidenced by both the repertoires I heard, witnessed, and learned myself visiting these different communities of musical practice as well as the numerous printed and archived collections of tunes accessed for background research, there are also significant differences that characterize the tune repertoires in Scotland and Norway, both classically and contemporarily. Naming patterns alone offer insight into the values of musical communities. Typically in Norway, in both the fiddle and *hardingfele* traditions, tunes are named according to the location of origin and the dance type, occasionally the name of composer combined with the dance type (e.g. "Halling fra Hallingdal," "Springdans fra Bø i Thelemarken," "Springdans fra Aamot I Østerdalen," "Nordfjordhallingen"). In Scotland, while both of these naming patterns occur, tunes are more frequently named after specific people, historic events, or social events (such as *cèilidhs* or weddings) that can offer emotional connection and significance to many participants and players via these shared cultural experiences (e.g. "The Ramnee *Cèilidh*," "Brenda Stubbert's Reel," "The Braes o' Killiecrankie," "Niel Gow's Lament For His Second Wife"). Emotional investment and a collective sense of stewardship for the tunes is not hemmed in by a tune's specific locality, and the emphasis in Scottish tradition is on how proficiently a tune can travel and be shared, again relating back to Richard Dawkins' concepts of memetics and cultural phenomena seeking the most efficacious means of reproduction. However, it needs to be stated that these are thematic generalizations; there are always exceptions to the rule.

Even with these helpful opportunities to examine traditional music phenomena and values through tune and tune repertoires, the concepts of musicking and memetics were engineered to examine behavior and offer enlightened reflection on these lived, actioned experiences. As Christopher Small notes, "So long as we view the created object, rather than the creative process, as the essential element of art, we are committed to the work of preservation of everything that the past has produced" (1996:92). While these tune repertoires are useful orientations, they are only one dimension of the traditional music experience in Scotland, Norway, and Northern Europe. The reason these repertoires exist is attributable to the values, motives, and efforts of living, actioned musicking agents and their communities of musical practices.

NATIONALISM VS. REGIONALISM

During my travels I was most struck by the distinctly different approaches of Norway and Scotland in representing their musical heritage. Norway promotes, presents, and celebrates its traditional music according to regional designations. Conversely, Scotland (both at home and in the diaspora) has worked to develop a unified national musical image. Sonic signifying details (e.g. grace notes, tune choice, and technical execution of musical elements), performance settings, and teaching methods are studied and analyzed almost entirely regionally in Norway and nationally in Scotland. The different geographic expressions of traditional music identity are indicative of different historical, economic, and cultural factors; however, these expressions are complementary rather than contradictory. The Communities of Musical Practice (COMPs) in both countries actively work to foster dialogues and exchange musical and cultural heritage, empowering both national-level COMPs and localized COMPs as well.

Promotion of traditional arts in Norway intensified in the second half of the 20th century. Several Norwegian individuals I interviewed in Norway suggested that this fierce musical regionalism could perhaps be a reaction against nationalist WWII Axis-aligned movements in Europe and those examples of traditional music being conscripted for political purposes (Kvifte 2016). Maintaining region-specific identity in order to preclude the formation of a nationalist music identity has thus far proved successful, and Norwegian traditional music and arts, while prominent in everyday life, do not typically appear to actively promote political ideals.

Meanwhile, in Scotland, regional differences are acknowledged, maintained, and celebrated, yet these identifying musical characteristics have not prevented musicians and politicians from uniting in times of political upheaval to use Scottish traditional music for rallying and promoting political agendas. In recent years, traditional music in Scotland has been integral both within organized political arenas and in informal settings for fostering and ingraining a national identity.

These differences can be attributed to many factors; however, there are three significant issues that researchers have largely overlooked that influence Scotland's noticeable readiness to nationalize traditional music and Norway's reluctance to abandon its regionalized traditional presentation:

1. Norway's remoteness from its foreign capital cities (Copenhagen, and later Stockholm) and gradual self-rule meant that nationalist movements were peaceful. Coupled with the traumatic example of fascist nationalism during the WWII occupation, Norway has little reason to abandon its stable, decentralized ensemble of regional music identities.
2. Unlike many European countries, including Norway, Scotland never had a Romantic nationalist composer. The traditional music of Scotland was never internally processed

and “sanitized” by a native composer for a primarily Western classical audience. Instead, traditional melodies and music elements were cherry-picked by foreign composers (e.g. Felix Mendelssohn), whose works were never intended as authentic representations of traditional Scottish music.

3. Traditional music practice (like many Scottish cultural practices) was restricted and/or forbidden with the Act of Proscription in 1746 (Thomson 1983, Magnusson 2000). By the mid-1800s, Scottish musical practice, for a variety of reasons, was back in vogue. However, it was now representative of:
    A. A mythical Scotland, romanticized by pseudo-historians and authors;
    B. The British Empire, especially in the case of martial bagpiping regiments.

Scotland had to seek other means of asserting independence and leaning into a political, economic, and cultural “othering” of itself, and Scottish citizens employed non-threatening means of negotiating an independent identity (Cadden 2003; Symon 2003). While the tide of political opinion and engagement has ebbed and flowed, the consistent readiness to promote Scottish distinctiveness – a self-othering – as a valid argument for independence can be seen in political structures and in artistic incarnations as well.

Traditional music plays an integral role in cultural identity and maintenance, and reclaiming traditional music practice, even after it has been mannerized, domesticated, and appropriated, is a powerful decolonizing artistic force – physically, mentally, and emotionally. Additionally, traditional methods of music learning (e.g. aural learning, pub sessions, community events) are an integral component of the tradition itself, and fostering those traditional methods concurrently supports the extended social and cultural health of the originating communities. The resurgence of traditional music education programs since the traditional music revival of the

1960s/70s, and especially since the 1990s, indicates a motivation on the part of Scottish citizens and the government to prioritize localized identity construction, accessible to all ages and allowing all degrees of involvement.

Scotland's Nationalism

Two skewing forces have significantly influenced Scotland's contemporary sense of musical identity. The first of these has been the internal influence of Sir Walter Scott and his romantic writings, which (although inaccurate reflections of Scottish society) propagated powerful myths about Scotland's history, society, and culture. The second has been the reciprocating external projections by foreign classical music composers who aimed to embody and personify the values and allure of Scotland that Sir Walter Scott conveyed in his written works. While both of these influences are far from authentically traditional, they have had a lasting impact not only on broad sonic associations with Scotland as a locale and source of musical inspiration, but also on Scotland's own self-perceptions and what it has embraced in an attempt to solidify its cultural identity – sonically, musically, nationally – and place within the greater European arena.

These two influences have perennially informed a centuries-long debate within Scotland pertaining to Scotland's authenticity as a "nation" as well as its viability as an independent political entity, separate from the United Kingdom, but indelibly linked with Europe. Artistic efforts in the 19th century clearly laid the foundation for this debate through powerful reconstructions of Scotland's sonic qualities. Scotland's image, along with the associated worldview from within, has been a "deliberate creation, although it was conceived by many

minds and carried out by many hands" (Herman 2001:vii), and while each plays their own part on the world stage, some actors cast longer shadows.

Social anthropologist Ernest Gellner claims that as a "theory of political legitimacy," nationalism demands "cultural homogeneity" in order to achieve success (2006:38), and is the "consequence of a new form of social organization, based on deeply internalized common education" (42). It is nationalism that begets nations, and it does so by conscripting historically inherited cultural wealth, selectively and sometimes radically, for a variety of means, including the invention of a "quite fictitious pristine purity" (54). While Durkheim addressed religious societies worshiping their own "camouflaged" images, Gellner asserts that in a nationalist situation, societies worship themselves "brazenly and openly, spreading the camouflage" and developing selective, distorting, and deceptive "amnesias." And with this pretext, nationalism is, "essentially, the general imposition of a high culture on society," which "conquers in the name of a putative folk culture. Its symbolism is drawn from the healthy, pristine, vigorous life of the peasants, of the *Volk*" (56). The nationalist representations are not in fact authentic, since they are prescribed and dictated from the top down instead of motivated from the bottom up.

This intentional rewriting of narrative is a critical feature, since the "ideology of nation, state or movement is not what has actually been preserved in popular memory, but what has been selected, written, pictured, popularized and institutionalized by those whose function it is to do so" (Hobsbawm 1983:13). Sir Walter Scott's role in curating this "history" of Scotland played a significant part in modeling Scotland's image, both as an exported impression and as an internalized identity.

Musical traditions and their associated musicking acts play an integral role in constructions of nationalism – they are visible, tangible, accessible, and repeatable elements of

an ideology and identity, supporting the assertion that "Music does far more than symbolize and articulate nationalism: music actually participates in the formation of nationalism" (Bohlman 2005:35). In the case of this dissertation, there is a duality of musical expression: the high art music compositions by various composers inspired by Sir Walter Scott's writings and the concurrent supposedly authentic folk music inspirations provided by Scotland, which at that time was an "othered," outlying, peripheral nation to Europe.

Musicologist Matthew Gelbart (2007) makes a critical study of Scotland's role in kickstarting the nationalist movements in Europe, the corresponding musical Romantic movement in the mid 19th century, delineating how internal artistic forces within Scotland were a principal galvanizing force. He stresses that both the ideas and terms "folk music" and "art music" came to exist only in relation to each other via a "mutual dependence" (2007:7) of polarized context and application. Folklore, as a concept and genre, had taken up residence in intellectual circles only toward the end of the Enlightenment, and a principal function of this distinction was to entrench delineations of the social strata. Until that time, the idea of the "noble savage" was reserved for non-European foreigners (often encountered though imperial means). This "othering" preserved not only societal demarcations, but also a rural, idealized past conceptually and literally bridging the primitive and civilized (ibid.:11).

Scotland and the "savage" Scottish Highlanders were the first to play this role of the primitive other within European society, "the crucible in which emerging ideas of folk music were tested." This was due to a variety of peculiar circumstantial confluences, not the least of which was the arrival of James Macpherson's Ossianic cycle of Gaelic poetry, *Fragments of Ancient Poetry, Collected in the Highlands of Scotland*, published in 1760. Although of dubious authenticity, the work captured the imaginations of Scottish, British, and European readers in its

vivid depictions of verifiable locations in Scotland, and helped cement the new vision of nature as inextricably linked with the figurative "past (i.e. primitive) state of humanity" (Gelbart 2007:66), whereas before it had simply been seen as provincial. So profound was this recasting of England's ornery northern cousin that the myth was accepted both within the United Kingdom and on the European continent.

It was in an essay addressing the effect of *Ossian* that German philosopher Johann Gottfried von Herder coined the influential term *Volkslied* (lit. "folksong"), an anthropological development that continues to influence to this day (ibid.:66). The simple etymological ramifications of this connection are astounding. Though von Herder collected materials and folk songs from all across Europe, his efforts were particularly galvanizing within his own country, redirecting the gaze of the most preeminent cultural circles back to Scotland and jumpstarting an entire movement of philosophy and arts throughout the continent. However, the social demarcations were still very much in place, and although traditional folk values and practices (such as music) were now deeply fascinating to continental intelligentsia, classical art music was still the highest aspiration of musical culture. The "folk" became an exotic intra-country other, and a clear "relationship of center to periphery" developed, which in the case of Scotland was aided by its literal position as a geographically peripheral nation and was in part why it remained the "*locus classicus* of the folk and folk music" (ibid:226).

As noted above, one of the individuals best known for capitalizing on this otherness was Scottish author Sir Walter Scott. With captivating, if nostalgic, writing, deeply imbued with both the landscape and cultural ethos of Scotland, he successfully produced national political and social legitimacy by combining official history and unofficial memory (Lincoln 2007:26). His works inspired citizens and fellow artists during his own time and have been so fervently

reimagined and reinterpreted over the past two centuries that it would not be an exaggeration to consider him the grandfather of modern Scotland.

Born in 1771 to a privileged family and raised in Edinburgh, Scott studied at the University of Edinburgh and went on to practice law (Bruce 2000:166). Since childhood, he had maintained deep interest in Scottish legends, stories, and oral traditions, and this early exposure set the stage for his later literary efforts. His novel *Waverley*, first published in 1814, is situated, rather tellingly, around the failed Second Jacobite Uprising in 1745 and features a lead character surrounded by both pro-Stuart and pro-Hanover loyalists who ultimately chooses a mediated, accommodating political future, not unlike Scott himself. A realist despite his fantastical literary inclinations, Scott anticipated that the most politically and economically secure future for Scotland involved strengthening its union with England, accommodating a “twin loyalty” without “betraying ideals which were inextricably bound up with the royal house of Stuart.” This sense of dignified yet melancholy reminiscing and his memorializing of a “turbulent, heroic history of an independent, noble, if primitive Scotland” run through most of his works (Reed 1980:3).

Ahead of his contemporaries, Scott understood the loss of this culture was tragic, and in his work he offered an antidote to modernity: a world and landscape of “heroic imagination, to balance the world of sober, and sometimes dismal, fact” (Herman 2001:248). On the cusp of the Industrial Revolution, his works were fables depicting the struggle of traditional community values against a cold, machine-driven modernity. Additionally, the rugged landscapes mentioned in Scott’s stories are frequently defined by localized specifics (historically, geographically, and socially) that unequivocally identify a place, and Scott was an early proponent of employing

such localized knowledge and one of the first to exploit its fictional potential (Reed 1980:4) (Figure 2.12).

Figure 2.12: Glens and green valleys are iconic sites in the Scottish highlands. Scotland's Post-Ice Age landscape, similar to Norway, is full of steep hills and rocky terrain. View from the train from Glasgow to Mallaig, Scotland: July 22, 2016. (Photograph by Georgia Broughton)

His novels were captivating combinations of cultural fidelity and historicized drama, and Scott managed to create another parallel Scotland – full of traditional values, courageous integrity, and honor, all of which could be experienced and embraced, emotionally and individually, by his readers. This new "national identity, based on the myth of the strong and noble Highlander" demonstrated that the "past does not have to die or vanish: it can live on, in a nation's memory, and help to nourish its posterity" (Herman 2001: 270).

Felix Bartholdy-Mendelssohn's Symphony No. 3 in A minor ("The Scottish Symphony"), Op. 56 (1829-1842), Gaetano Donizetti's *Lucia di Lammermoor* (1835), and Max Bruch's Scottish Fantasy for Solo Violin in E-flat major, Op. 46 (1880), were all inspired by Sir

Walter Scott's literary works and share a common preoccupation with "Scotland" and "Scottishness." Born in Hamburg, Lombardy, and Cologne, respectively, these composers were decidedly at the center of the European classical music scene, and there is little in these compositions that could be considered authentically "Scottish." Bruch's "Scottish Fantasy" employs genuinely authentic Scottish tunes but so heavily dresses them in Western classical orchestration that the movements are far detached from an authentic traditional rendering.[6]

Another ardent fan of this dramatic immediacy was Queen Victoria of England herself. Both Victoria and her husband Prince Albert shared a great love of the Scotland re-created in art music as well as the fictionalizations of Sir Walter Scott, and Albert, an architect as well as a musician, would encapsulate this fondness in one of the grandest expressions of the ties between the British royal family and Scotland, the royal Scottish residence of Balmoral. He designed the entire residence, from the "mock medieval, fairyland Scots baronial architecture, to the interior design, to the lifestyle they adopted while staying there." The royal couple patronized Highland games with their "patterns of loyal, be-kilted rustics," and often appeared in full highland dress while in residence. Due to the soaring popularity of Victoria at the time, this glamorized and sanitized version of Scottishness, shorn of the independence-driven activities from just a few generations prior, would quickly "crystallize across Scotland" (Kelly 2010:281). With the Queen's fanciful admiration and royal approval, Scottish pride and pride in Scotland suddenly became commendable and lucrative qualities.

This appropriation of Scottish identity and symbolism, by the Queen no less, has a particular irony to it. While Scott's "literary formation of national identity was used to cement the Union and the Empire at home" (Kelly 2010:282) and to great effect, the characteristics of his work inspired nationalist independence movements elsewhere. The authors, composers, and

[6] This is my own analysis as a classically trained professional violinist familiar with all of these compositions.

artists of continental Europe saw in Scott's works the example of effectively utilized folk inspiration for developing and solidifying independent cultural and national identity (Carlson 2015). His own land internally and very firmly colonized by England, Scott "inspired cultural and political nationalism everywhere except Scotland" (ibid), creating artistic independence but saving literal independence for a later date when Scotland might be more functionally empowered to capitalize on its cultural wealth.

In making Scotland's localized history, legends, and artistic practices exotically attractive yet acceptably presentable, Scott protected Scotland and Scottish customs from cultural extinction, as had been attempted by the English on numerous occasions, such as through the Act of Proscription in 1746. Although his presentations were not authentic in a historical sense, they were supported by their geographic groundedness, retained for their compelling drama, and reaffirmed at the highest circles of society. He inspired Scott/Scots fans at home and abroad and injected the concept of constructed nation-building into societal dialogue artfully and effectively, creating a cultural feedback loop with ramifications to this day.

The current Scottish Parliament and a majority of Scottish citizen are largely dissatisfied with the priorities and tactics displayed in recent years by the centralized British government and Westminster political arena (Ascherson 2015). After winning 56 seats in the British Parliament in the May 2015 General Election, the Scottish National Party has worked to retain the more liberal policies characteristic of the United Kingdom, such as the National Health Service, provisions for disadvantaged and disabled citizens, and an inclusive immigration policy. The situation came to a dramatic head with the June 2016 United Kingdom European Union Membership Referendum (also known as the "Brexit" vote), a general UK referendum vote when citizens voted on whether the UK should remain in the European Union or leave the 28-state

organization. While the United Kingdom as a whole voted to leave, all 32 districts in Scotland voted to remain part of the EU (BBC 2016). There were immediate calls for another Independence Referendum in Scotland (the first was in 2014), which would potentially allow Scotland to remain part of the European Union as an independent country, and pro-independence sentiment has increased greatly (Learmonth 2018). With the Brexit vote aftermath and the deadline for the United Kingdom leaving the EU repeatedly delayed due to inter- and intra-party fighting and a lack of resolution, Scotland's political future, immediate and longstanding, hangs in the balance.

Norway's Regionalism

Norway, compared to the other Scandinavian nations, and indeed other European nations in general, presents a distinctly decentralized and regionalized image of traditional musicality to the world. The reasons for Norway's traditional music milieu having such a particularly localized essence can largely be attributed to the political, economic, and sociological details of the country's history. Ola K. Berge, a lecturer at the Universitetet I Sørøst-Norge (University of Southeast Norway), states that "Local and regional differences that were arguably less visible (or even existing) 100 years ago, have become idiomatic and musically defining, as it has taken on a distinguishing role" (Berge 2018).

There is a deep sense of long-standing and sustained egalitarianism to every layer of the country's social fabric, "intertwined with remarkable compactness of culture" (Goertzen 1997:8). Longstanding local laws and social attitudes effectively prevented the emergence of a Norwegian-grown elite, and while some of these attitudes are "negative inheritances of a claustrophobic village mentality" (ibid), they have also protected the localized values (social and

musical) of traditions within Norwegian communities.[7] Unlike the farmers in neighboring countries, Norwegians actually owned the land they lived and worked on, and while they were beholden to a crown and government, they were not subject to feudal overlords. This is noteworthy, since Norwegian folk music is most closely associated with farm life (as opposed to urban activities), and acutely reflects everyday elements (Grinde 1991). Additionally the king, court, and cultural centers were for many centuries all far removed from the majority of the Norwegian population, so Norwegians were unable to construct a national history through the high arts, since the absence of a court or resident noble class meant that these were minimally practiced before the 20th century. Without a centralized nationalistic focus, either in politics or in the arts, being "Norwegian" was associated more with home and local community then with the country as a nation, "thus assigning enormous value to what to them are the intimately linked concepts of family and place" (ibid.:9). This sense of private ownership and of local belonging, effectively deepened by location-grounded identity, can be seen in traditional music practices today and in Norway's region-oriented music aesthetics.

This is not to say that at no point it its history has Norway experienced waves of widespread nationalist sentiment. The Norwegian romantic nationalism (*Nasjonalromantikken*) was similar to many other nationalist-guided movements in Europe in the mid to late 1800s (such as those in Italy, Germany, Finland, etc.). In Norway, this movement influenced developments in the arts, politics, and especially the curation of a national cultural ethos. Proponents of these identity-constructing activities included Peter Christen Asbjørnsen and Jørgen Moe (folk and fairytale collectors), Magnus Brostrup Landstad and Olea Crøger (collectors of folk songs from Telemark, still a hotbed of traditional music activity), Ivar Aasen (the linguist whose collections

[7] Hans-Hinrich Thedens, a traditional music performer and an employee at the *Norsk Folkemusikksamling*, described the situation as, "If you scrape on the surface of any Norwegian, you'll find a farmer" (Thedens 2018). The "hillbilly image" still persists.

and analyses laid the groundwork for the development of Nynorsk), Hans Gude and J. C. Dahl (the preeminent romantic landscape painters), and Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson and Henrik Ibsen (writers and playwrights still popular to this day), as well as musicians Ole Bull (a classical violinist), and composer Edvard Grieg, one of the most famous Norwegians of all time (Figure 2.13).

Figure 2.13: Edvard Grieg's composing cabin at Troldhaugen, where he completed many of his most famous works. Formerly Grieg's residence, this is now a living museum with his house, his tomb, a concert hall, and an exhibition room. Bergen, Norway: July 16, 2016. (Photograph by Georgia Broughton)

Edvard Grieg (1843-1907) was especially emblematic of the nationalistic Romantic movement that swept through Europe during the 1800s. As noted above, Grieg, although deeply inspired by the sonic wealth of his homeland, pointedly stated that his compositions were not direct transcriptions of folk music or supposed to be considered authentic representations.

Instead they were “reflections” on folk dances, “laying the groundwork for the national journey from peasant culture in the province of Telemark to works of national music,” which both the domestic and foreign public found captivatingly charming (Bohlman 2005:89). Although the actual incorporation of folk elements in his music is “remarkably idiosyncratic” (Weisethaunet 2011:59), his sudden rise to international fame “warmed the hearts of the Norwegian intelligentsia” who, since the parting of ways with the Danish in 1819 (and even while still part of a political union with Sweden), had devoted themselves to elevating native Norwegian culture through cultural efforts such as promoting Nynorsk (Hopkins 1986:246).

Additionally, during the early 20th century, national sentiment was high due to Norway’s having achieved complete independence from Sweden in 1905. The emergent nation had frequently been at odds with its more conservative eastern neighbor, and Norway was politically, economically, and socially better off for the separation. Church and school guidelines at the time stressed the “importance of teaching songs about the Norwegian homeland and countryside” to help establish the country’s national identity; as a result, songs of nationalist character made up a substantial part of the school song repertoire. One of the motivating factors for compulsory schooling was to educate young children in the new country’s state religion and system of values (Bjørnstad and Espeland 2017:102), underscoring the critical role that education directly plays in this process of “inculcating national identity” (Herbert and Kertz-Welzel 2012:8).

The double-edged sword of using music for nationalistic purposes has been recognized throughout history. Musical nationalism, as opposed to strictly political or economic nationalism, was part of more pluralistic attempts by the growing European bourgeoisies to assert certain values of freedom and equality; but, “given that nationalism seem so clearly linked to the massive intensification of killing and destruction witnessed in the last century and a half, and

given music's powerful links to nationalism, it is hard not to see the relations between music and nation as troubling" (Hesmondhalgh 2013:156). The 20th century in particular had no shortage of disturbing examples. The political, social, financial, and emotional costs of World War II only served to deepen anxieties about the consequences of unbridled nationalism coupled with pervasive fascism. The fresh spirit of Norwegian independence had been threatened during the German occupation (1940-1945), and after the war Norwegians were more than ready to mostly extract themselves from the complications of continental Europe and reaffirm their homegrown self-sufficient values. In skirting the possibility of its traditional music being conscripted for nationalistic purposes, Norway not only precluded the possibility of its beloved traditional music being drafted for questionable political purposes, but also effectively protected the musical biodiversity of a culturally, artistically, and sonically diverse country.

The inclination for many to cite geography as a reason for Norway's musical diversity acknowledges not only the sheer challenge of accessing many of these places due to their extraordinary isolation, but also the topographical natural features of the landscape. Territory is often seen as a "signifier" in discussions of geography and place-based thinking in music education, that "makes patent the borders constructed with the nominal aims of promoting peace or building common-sense, that is, establishing boundaries which make behavior and belonging (or lack thereof) self-evident" (Schmidt 2015:178). The geographic and topographic characteristics inspire compositional elements while simultaneously encouraging cultural diversity due to geographic remoteness.

Musicians as well as music scholars frequently refer to these geographically specific sonic distinctions as dialects, a potent analogy considering the many ways music and language mirror one another in terms of social function and cultural embodiment. Rocker-turned-

neuroscientist David Levitin asserts that at a neurological level, our appreciation for music is "intimately related to our ability to learn the underlying structure of the music we like – equivalent to grammar and spoken or signed languages – and to be able to make predictions about what will come next" (Levitin 2007:111). Music practice and education (formal or incidental) establishes and rewires neural circuitry in our brain, paralleling in many ways language practice, which makes thinking about music using linguistic terms not only tidy but appropriate, since "historically, and particularly evolutionarily, music has been involved in social activities" (ibid.:246). Music, however basic, may have been the activity that prepared our hominid ancestors for speech and for the "very cognitive, representational flexibility necessary to become humans" (ibid.:260).

Additionally, the practitioners of traditional music in Norway emphasize maintaining the customary oral and aural learning methods of their musical predecessors, interweaving the dialect analogy between music and language even further by ensuring practices stay associated with a location-specific vocabulary and worldview. Regional and local styles are reinforced by three general approaches: overall attributes of performance practice, distinct attachment to or noticeable preference for particular music and dance genres, and promoting tunes or versions of tunes specific to an area. Maintaining distinctive local and regional folk fiddle styles, "possessively and meticulously," is logical in a country were local identity is so important (Geortzen 1997:146). Organizations such as the National Fiddlers' Association, founded in 1923, were developed to protect the diversity of authentic sonic signifiers by entrusting that work to master fiddlers who were devoted to both performance and teaching of regionalized practices (ibid.).

There are many opportunities and environments in which to study and learn about

regionalized traditional Norwegian music, both formally and informally. The international folk music revival of the 1960s/1970s led to widespread interest in learning more about the traditional methods, techniques, and customs associated with Norwegian folk music. Additionally, Norway has encouraged many platforms for appreciating traditional music, wherein individual participants take an active role in these practices, supporting the view that preservation practice is anything but passive or static. Rather, it is an “active force controlled by those who are able” (Hopkins 1986:228).

The numerous Norwegian folk museums are constructed to offer both observational and participatory education experiences. Opportunities to walk through traditional buildings, create traditional handicrafts, and prepare traditional meals are all part of the folk museum day. Arts and music practices are also significant features, and there are regularly timed demonstrations of traditional music, song, and dance with guests frequently invited to join in. While the Norsk Folkmuseum in Oslo is the largest and best-known example, most localities maintain their own localized folk museums as well. A network of 80 folk high schools (*folkehøgskolene*) in Norway offers opportunities for the organized study and performance of traditional music practices, both for those with prior experience and for new recruits. Norway also has a wide variety of short-term courses at arts centers throughout the country (such as Raulandsakademiet) that accommodate students of all ages. The centers are almost always known for their dialect of geographically specific music curriculum.

This is not to say that there is a lack of opportunities for performing for a wide audience or even attaining national recognition for musical prowess. The largest and most famous traditional music competition in Norway, *Landskapleiken* (which usually translates as “National Fiddle Competition”), hosts over five hundred performers and thousands of attendees each

summer. This national fiddle festival is the grandest, longest, and most conservative (musically speaking) Norwegian folk music festival, and the festival's competition is the annual epicenter for most folk musicians, dancers, and music fans in Norway. The contest has suffered its own growing pains over the years due to this predisposition to delineate and divide in the name of maintaining genre boundaries.[8] Given the festival's general conservatism, the shadow of "Telemark imperialism" in the competition circuit is considerable, since the region produces the greatest number of *hardingfele* players. Another concern is that if musical communities tend to be insular in terms of practice and venture into a larger scene only for the sake of competing, like *Landskapleiken*, then the different musical dialects and practitioners meet only in an arena that is inherently competitive in nature. Often competitors must strike a balance between being traditionally authentic on the one hand and technically complex and showy enough to be worthy of a prize on the other (Goertzen 1997). However, the proliferation of recordings in the past two decades by both traditional as well as traditionally inspired cross-genre performers has worked to soften the edges of this dichotomy substantially.

SUPPORT FOR THE TRADITIONAL ARTS TODAY

Both Scotland and Norway have extensive organized arts funding (both governmental and non-governmental), and many traditional COMPs benefit directly from these opportunities. While the extent of the funding and organized systems of support was impressive to me as an American, many of the individuals I interviewed in both countries claimed their respective countries were not doing nearly enough to support the arts. Below are some of the most notable examples of organized artistic arts funding.

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[8] A good example of this was the 1980s *gammeldans* controversy (Goertzen 1998).

Creative Scotland (*Alba Chruthachail*) supports innovative practice across a multitude of artistic disciplines, including music and traditional music, which in turn contribute to the Programme for Government's four pillars: Investment in People and Infrastructure; Innovation; Inclusive Growth; and International Engagement. These endeavors have been largely successful, with impressive involvement statistics: in 2016 there were more registered enterprises in the Creative Industries (15,420) than in Sustainable Tourism (14,090), and considerably more than in the Energy (3,995) and Life Sciences (535) sectors (Creative Scotland 2017:2).

Their ten-year plan, "Unlocking Potential, Embracing Ambition," outlines five ambitions for Scottish creative industries for the period up to 2024 in order to ground their work:

1. Excellence and experimentation across the arts, screen and creative industries is recognized and valued;
2. Everyone can access and enjoy artistic and creative experiences;
3. Places and quality of life are transformed through imagination, ambition and an understanding of the potential of creativity;
4. Ideas are brought to life by a diverse, skilled and connected leadership and workforce
5. Scotland is a distinctive creative nation connected to the world. (ibid.:4)

Creative Scotland also has strategic objectives aligned with the Scottish Government's National Performance Outcomes, aiming to develop better ways of measuring the value placed on that work, its quality and its impact on society, and its contribution to an economy of inclusive growth (30). Of these sixteen endeavors, number 13 is: "We take pride in a strong, fair and inclusive national identity" (ibid.:37).

Considering the recent political changes and undetermined effects Brexit will have on the country, Creative Scotland has commissioned research to assess concerns for the future and to

map how Scottish artistic sectors currently benefit from EU membership. Issues raised include travel and free movement of people; connections, co-productions and international exchange; trade regulations and access to international markets; uncertainty about funding; staffing and job security; and loss of support for rural areas (Creative Scotland 2017:3). These efforts are crucial given the sheer number of musicians who will be affected. Su-a Lee, a cellist with the Scottish Symphony Orchestra, spoke about these fears in our interview and stated that, “It [Bexit] was like a pantomime of sorts – everyone around me is multicultural and still reeling from this . . . and we don't know how this will work in the future” (Lee 2018a).

The Norwegian Arts Council and The Cultural Fund (*Norsk Kulturråd*, often shortened to *Kulturrådet*) is the official arts council for Norway. Based in Oslo, this Norwegian state institution was created in 1965 as a result of a parliamentary decision in 1964 and is managed by a government appointed council. This fund supports projects in artistic fields, including music performance, and also administers a separate financial allocation for cultural research and development. In 2016, *Kulturrådet* handled nearly €139 million in state funds earmarked for arts and culture, and in 2017 they received 7221 applications for artist’s grants, awarding 894 grants that year (Kulturrådet 2019).

The responsibilities of *Kulturrådet* include managing the Norwegian culture fund, reviewing applications, and allocating funds to achieve cultural objectives consistent with the current Parliament’s priorities. The Council also serves as an advisory body for the public in cultural matters. In addition, the administration is the main contact point for the European Economic Area (EEA) Grants Culture, Creative Europe, and other international cultural cooperation efforts. Further initiatives include conferences, cultural experiments, and cutting-edge studies. The council also annually awards the Arts Council Norway Honorary Prize (*Norsk*

kulturråds ærespris) (Kulturrådet 2019).

In addition to demonstrating inclusive values via direct financial support for creative activities, Scotland and Norway each have numerous organizations working to promote cultural, ethnic, and gender diversity. BEMIS (Black and Ethnic Minority Infrastructure in Scotland) is the national umbrella body supporting the development of the Ethnic Minorities Voluntary Sector in Scotland. Established in 2001 to promote engagement with minority ethnic voluntary organizations, this group works to develop inclusion and integration of ethnic minority communities. Hands Up For Trad, an organization founded in 2002 to increase the profile and visibility of Scottish traditional music through information, education and advocacy, has conducted research into gender inequity in the creative sector, specifically the Scottish folk and traditional music scene (Hands Up for Trad 2019). *Kulturrådet*, mentioned above, administers a special travel grant (funded by the Norwegian Ministry of Culture and the Nordic Council of Ministers) titled "Inclusive Cultural Life in the Nordic Region," which aims to facilitate exchange of experience and knowledge in the region concerning practices, methods, and more inclusive cultural activities (Kulturrådet 2019).

CONCLUSION

Scotland's national cultural capital has been a work in progress many centuries long. Given the wealth of homegrown inspiration in the form of writers, philosophers, scientists, and artists, demonstrations of nation-building angling for independence are logical. In the midst of polarized discussion as to whether this patriotic pride is accurate or misplaced, Scotland's traditional music has helped the country retain its fundamental sense of uniqueness. Inspiring some of the most enduring artistic works in Western society and facilitating the cultural and

economic capitalization of its othering, Scottish traditional music practices offer a deeply emotive form of latent artistic expression, especially when presenting a largely unified front to the rest of the United Kingdom and the world.

Norway's diligent efforts to engender widespread and passionate interest in traditional music by recognizing the value of regional artistic knowledge embedded in localized cultural dynamics has ensured the fitness and sustainability of its musical ecosystem. The foundations for such a regionalist music focus were established throughout centuries of geographic and cultural seclusion and solidified with unfortunate examples close to home that demonstrated the consequences of rampant nationalism. Norway's contemporary traditional music scene offers a promising example of what transpires when a country prioritizes inclusive approaches to nurturing artistic and cultural diversity rather than succumbing to cultural homogeneity in the name of unified politics.

The remainder of the dissertation examines how the historical, economic, and sociocultural factors mentioned above have contributed to contemporary traditional music education environments in Scotland and Norway, and how Communities of Musical Practice in both countries (organized by education level) sustain tradition, reinforce ideals, and support each other, both internally and between countries. My fieldwork observations indicate that these national vs. regional outlooks contribute to traditional music teaching in both implicit and overt ways, influencing identity construction of this COMP as decidedly liberal and inclusive. As political and social life in 21st century Europe continues to grow increasingly divisive, these complementary approaches to maintaining traditional arts practices, musical identity, and community values are direct challenges to sectarianism and exclusionary politics.

CHAPTER 3: THEMES, MEMES, AND THE MEANING OF THINGS

INTRODUCTION

Before delving into fieldwork reviews and interview notes, I would like to more thoroughly address several theoretical models and concerns relevant both to this dissertation and to the field of ethnomusicology at large. Primarily, my disappointment is that the field has such great capaciousness for interdisciplinary theoretical consideration yet self-restricts in order to fulfill ideals of codified professional appropriateness. After examining how this has come to be, how it clearly has been a challenge for some time, and how efforts to adequately address this situation are relatively nascent, I offer alternatives and demonstrate how ethnomusicology might benefit from challenging its theoretical conventions. This dissertation and the work that it involved certainly benefited from looking farther afield.

Ethnomusicology frequently looks to a predictable cast of theorists to frame and support research and work. This can be fairly attributed to the discipline's foundations in anthropology as well as the social sciences. The theories and models of Karl Marx, Max Weber, Émile Durkheim, Claude Lévi-Strauss, and Pierre Bourdieu, among others, are so regularly invoked that is it is rare to not find one or several cited in ethnomusicological work. Factional infighting between different camps of theory adherents aside (e.g., functionalists vs. structuralists), the presence of these theorists and their works is largely taken as an indication of the professionalism of the work.

While these theorists all have a place in the canon and in the progression of Western philosophical thought, restricting ourselves to the "usual suspects" when employing theoretical concepts in order to be accepted or to avoid the fear of rejection by our peers is cause for

concern. Are we chorusing these theorists (and each other) because we actually believe the frameworks to be fully useful and engaged? Or is it because we crave validation and security? Throughout graduate school, many of my peers lamented that the theoretical frameworks they knew they were being guided to employ felt imposed, but due to conventions within the field, these students felt it was necessary, even obligatory, to integrate them into their work. Instead of being a tool to more closely examine fieldwork findings, the framework of the theorists and theories overwhelmed the work itself. In some instances, the fieldwork conclusions served as theoretical confirmations, sometimes painfully contrived and imposed, rather than revelatory for their own ethnomusicological merits.[9]

These approaches, while useful to an extent for structuring discussion, are in many instances essentially replications of Euro-centric, colonialist attitudes, and our crisis of disciplinary relevancy is a reflection of many systemic, entrenched dysfunctions of the larger social order. Restructuring our modes of theoretical approach will require a system reset not unlike the current debate between neoliberal capitalist ventures (top-down) and increasing calls for democratic socialist intervention (bottom-up). The former is essentially a pyramid hierarchical structure; the latter is an ecosystem of exchange with multiple safeguards protecting security and viability. Martin Stokes has commented on this phenomenon within the context of music and locality: "The bottom-up perspective has been broadened theoretically . . . Locality, as many investigators have stressed, is constructed, enacted, and rhetorically defended with an eye (and ear) on others, both near and far" (2004:50).

Ethnomusicology is a field "not only born out of challenge, but challenged by itself" (Bohlman 1992:119). Our discipline is our locality, and adhering to these strict theoretical

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[9] Here Martin Stokes' reflections on majority populations and indigeneity (which can also signify minorities) come to mind: "Dominant groups oppose . . . the construction of difference when it confronts their interest. Ethnicities are violently suppressed and excluded from the classification systems of the dominant group" (1994:8).

conventions is both limiting and shortsighted. Restricting the list of theoretical frameworks to an acceptable register of options inhibits the development of secure, confident, unforced creativity necessary for the complexities of a fieldwork-based discipline and can also impose needless perimeters on the scope of research. Similarly, if we want to grow as a discipline and reclaim some of the space lost to our existential conflict over our place in academia (and functionality in the 21st century), we will need to apply a newer, more progressive set of theoretical lenses to our work and selves.

Throughout my research, I have kept in mind biologist E. O. Wilson's concept of consilience – the harmonious combining of empirical and humanistic methodology in order to create a full, multidimensional picture of a situation/experiment/theory.[10] By comparing data and findings from independent fields and techniques of inquiry, a conclusion can be deemed most accurate and confident if supported by all of these divergent methods. That these methods at first glance seem irreconcilable is an immaterial point – the reality is that the unique perspectives and approaches serve as a system of co-facilitating checks and balances. Ethnomusicology, by nature of its creation and existence inhabiting a liminal space between preexistent disciplines, is predisposed to sustain this approach to observation and inquiry. However, much ethnomusicological work remains isolated by commitments to a particular theoretical party.

Several alternative theoretical approaches have been present for some time, certainly long enough for them to be employed within ethnomusicology already, yet ethnomusicologists have mostly neglected them. In particular, I would like to demonstrate the relevance of Richard Dawkins' memetics concepts to ethnomusicology contexts by using my own dissertation research on traditional music education communities in Northern Europe as an example.

[10] For example, evolutionary theory is supported by a convergence of evidence from multiple disciplines.

DICHOTOMIES

Reconnecting with some very antiquated, grounding classical philosophical concepts was helpful during the dissertation process. The Stoics (virtue-driven logicians) and Epicureans (pleasure-driven materialists) of Hellenistic Greece maintained long-standing, philosophical dialogues from wholly different points of view, largely without denigrating or dismissing the perspectives of the other camp. Similarly, the Ancient Greek words *epistêmê* (the implications of knowledge) and *technê* (knowledge in action) both mean "knowledge" – one is thoughtful, self-reflective, and contained, while the other is actioned, reactive, and empowered (Honderich 1995). The perceptiveness of the ancient philosophers to articulate these differences without ascribing superiority to one or the other signals an inclusivity of perspective and thought that would be useful in contemporary discussions.

The epistemology/ontology debate and the etic/emic parallax of modern times offer a continuation of this ancient Greek discussion, the latter pair of terms coined by linguist Kenneth Pike (Pike 1967) and frequently employed in anthropological study. "Etic" is an account by a supposedly neutral, external observer; "emic" is an account provided with an insider participant perspective. Like the Stoics and Epicureans, the terms are frequently considered at odds; however, they are complementary units necessary for a full perspective. One is thoughtful, self-reflective, contained; the other is actioned, reactive, and empowered.

Thought/Inner/Reflective	Action/Inter/Reflexive
Thinking	Being
epistêmê	*technê*
Stoic	Epicurean
epistemology	ontology
etic	emic
semiotics	memetics (see below)

Figure 3.1: Philosophical dichotomies, modern continuances, and contemporary scenarios.

Reconnecting to the idea that this dichotomy of insider/outsider behavior is what offers a full perspective, and has existed long before ethnomusicology research and debate, was a reassuring realization. If perhaps the momentum and contention between the two perspectives is what actually drives dialogue forward, then so be it. As long as it is managed with respect and acknowledgment that neither side is the ultimate arbiter and both are necessary for a complete picture, we can surely as researchers withstand the tribulations attendant upon maneuvering around this contrast. However, at present, it is clear that there is an imbalance in ethnomusicology favoring the epistemological/etic/thought-centric theoretical model. This would speak to why the discipline feels increasing languorous, with researchers struggling to reenergize their work amidst the comorbid struggles of research significance and the fate of the discipline.

NEW DIRECTIONS

The field of ethnomusicology is suffering from its longstanding identity crisis but also becoming increasingly aware of the critical need to redefine its struggling relevance. Individuals within the field have remarked upon this for decades (Seeger 1977, Supičić 1987, Bohlman 1992). Recent attempts to adjust the imbalance from cerebral, neutralized thought to applied, contextualized action, like semiotics, linguistics, and ecological theories, have been successful in moving the conversation forward, although they are complicated by their own limitations.

Semiotic principles are frequently employed to examine traditional folk music and the latent, signed significances of many musical practices indicating values, meanings, and implications. Turino states that "Peircean theory should be foundational for ethnomusicological training, research, analysis and praxis" (2014:185). He claims that Peircean theory is particularly suited for ethnomusicology ("the study of the dialectical interplay of music making and social

life”), because from a Peircean viewpoint, (1) a “sign” is every musical sound, performance or dance movement, and contextual feature that affects an actual perceiver, and (2) every perceiver is affected by signs in relation to their own personal history of experience, which is at once partially unique but largely shared social experience (2014:188).

Semiotics offers an admirable flexibility of application but is also complicated by this elasticity of context. In certain instances, this duality is attractive for its ability to simultaneously address multifaceted concepts without reducing them past meaning, such as Csikszentmihalyi’s “flow” (Csikszentmihalyi 1990) and Becker’s “trancing” and “deep listening” (Becker 2004). Interestingly (and confusingly), Stokes’ claim that music is a powerful sign of identity because it is a sign of “direct feeling and experience” unmediated by language (discussed later in this chapter) hints at music’s power being less attributable to its symbolic significances and stemming directly from its actioned, ontological consequences (Turino 1999:250).

Linguistics and music studies have shared a lengthy relationship. This is rational given both the primary parallels in terms of functions, units, and the purposes of music and language to communicate profound emotion and information as well as the secondary parallels of vocabulary and the methods we use to discuss each. On more than one occasion in dissertation fieldwork, a traditional music educator would implore the students to pay attention to what “dialect” they were speaking. Was it Highland Scottish? Northeast Scottish? Hebridean? Skye? Were we using the right grammar (usually referring to rhythmic patterns) and expanding our vocabularies (usually grace notes, ornaments, etc.) to convey our new fluency in the musical language?

Linguistic analysis models are also being newly applied in the realm of ethnomusicology studies. A recent statistical model examined correlations between language and the Scotch snap, a rhythmic figure found in instrumental and vocal music consisting of a division of a quarter note

in a 1:3 ratio, usually a sixteenth note followed by a dotted eighth note. Each note is articulated, and the sixteenth note is at the beginning of the beat (Figure 3.2).

Figure 3.2: The "Scotch Snap," featured on the downbeat of every measure in a classic Scottish strathspey, "King George IV." This is a rhythmic figure found in instrumental and vocal music consisting of a division of a quarter note in a 1:3 ratio, usually a sixteenth note followed by a dotted eighth note. Each note is articulated, and the sixteenth note is at the beginning of the beat. This musical figure is a staple of traditional Scottish music, although it is not exclusive to the genre.

This musical figure has long been a staple of traditional Scottish music and exists in musical notation in many songs of both English and Scottish origin starting in the late 1600s (Temperley and Temperley 2011:52). However, this particular rhythmic figure is almost totally absent from French and Italian compositions or traditional pieces from the same time onwards. Temperley and Temperley found it "very likely that correlations between speech and instrumental music are due in part to the mediating effect of vocal music and the text-setting factor" (52). Despite the chronological and geographical limits of the study, the researchers feel there is "convincing evidence that the difference in SS [Scottish snap] frequency between certain European musical styles can be attributed to differences between the corresponding languages" (62).

Efforts to align linguistic methods with musical situations are further considered in the work of Lawrence M. Zbikowski. This involved applying recent efforts in cognitive science (especially by cognitive linguists and cognitive psychologists) to problems confronted by music scholars, including the "problem of the relationship between music and language" (2012:125).

Building on the works of Aniruddh D. Patel (2008) and Judith Becker (2004), he argues for "fundamental change in conceptions of the communicative resources offered by language and music. This change has broad applicability to genres . . . and points the way to a methodological perspective that has profound implications for the empirical study of musical practice" (125). While he does not believe that full consilience (as described by E. O. Wilson) is possible, Zbikowski does see enormous promise in "cooperative ventures" between humanities scholars and science researchers, as long as "clearer formulations of the problems we wish to study, openness to the traditions of inquiry of our respective disciplines, and humility about what sort of results we might achieve" (129-130) are priorities for all.

These ecological issues were obvious in my fieldwork settings. All the environments I observed were traditional music ones, and the participants, even if they were skillful in other musical genres, were participating in traditional music activity, with groups displaying an astounding variance in age, proficiency, ethnicity, background, motives, and degrees of involvement. These differences, instead of being perceived as discordant, were considered by many participants to be a source of strength for the communities. This diversity of experience in population, perspectives, and views mimics the composition of a bio-diverse ecosystem. Likening a COMP to an ecosystem is a similar analogy to likening a musical tradition to a linguistic dialect. Ecological diversity offers resource stability, facilitates heightened opportunities for creativity, and provides communities and the individuals within to exercise resilience under duress (such as biological stress and cultural trauma).

Huib Shippers's *Facing the Music: Shaping Music Education from a Global Perspective* (2009) provides insight in terms not only of the diversity of music education environments throughout the globe, but also of how this diversity and breath of application can be utilized in

policy contexts, offering music educators a "powerful set of tools to plan, design, implement, and evaluate music education that is truly inclusive in terms of content and delivery" (Schippers 2009:167). Similarly, the "ecological" perspective laid out by Schippers and Grant (2016) is a creative and inclusive method to move ethnomusicology toward accepting a more functional place for multidisciplinary capacity in the 21st century. The examination of "forces of music sustainability [i.e. capacity for interdisciplinary inquiry] through an ecological perspective may help identify and clarify the vibrancy, strengths, weaknesses of a music genre [or field of study], and the ways in which the factors in its vitality and viability interrelate" (Schippers and Grant 2016:340). In the same vein that Schippers and Grant assert music cultures can be understood as ecosystems, by extension this model serves as an example for how the world music classroom as an environment may function as a type of ecological experiment. Treating a classroom (or any other COMP) and its inhabitants as an animated, active ecosystem of individuals with unique qualities to offer engenders respect and consideration for the intricacies of the entire social milieu.

POLITICAL PEDAGOGY

When examining the intersection of politics and traditional music education, the work of several education/political education theorists is especially applicable. Looking at the lineages of cultivated thought between several generations of these authors, it is astounding to witness the continuing efforts, especially in Scandinavian/Nordic countries, to protect education and classrooms as sites of equalizing, egalitarian social and psychological liberation. There is a direct theoretical connection with the past while constructing an engaging future.

The work of American pedagogy theorist John Dewey (1859-1952) is inextricably

intertwined with the humanist campaign during the Industrial Revolution for fair education practices and social justice. Dewey saw education and an educated populace as the best ways to secure a democracy and ultimately civil society. The success of the classroom was a result of engaged, adaptable teachers working with their students rather than imposing inalterable curriculums. He was a popular proponent of experiential (aka hands-on) learning and worked throughout his life to offer progressive solutions to the challenges arising in education contexts.[11] He criticized the education methods of the day that insisted on treating children as receptacles for facts and vocational skills rather than agents in a process of self-actualization and critical knowledge, to which in today's excess of standardized testing we have frankly come full circle (Dewey 1916, Dewey 1938, Martin 2003).

This galvanizing approach to addressing the axis of education and social justice carried into the mid 20th century, notably in the work of Brazilian political educator Paulo Freire. Freire's concept of *conscientização*[12] is especially relevant given recent discussions in Scotland surrounding maintaining a national identity while avoiding, as much as possible, the pitfalls of sectarianism: "The pedagogy of the oppressed . . . is a task for radicals; it cannot be carried out by sectarians" (Freire 2005:39). According to Freire, the process of liberation is as much a physical one as it is a mental one and is dependent on seeing the duality of oppressor/oppressed for what it is – a dehumanizing entrapment that tyrannizes both: "The pedagogy of the oppressed, animated by authentic, humanist (not humanitarian) generosity, presents itself as a pedagogy of humankind" (54). Revolutionary leadership (in both the literal as well as philosophical sense) is a critical component of this process and must guide by example and

[11] Incidentally, Dewey was also one to level criticism at the field of epistemology, its encumbrances being attributed to imprecise and inadequate vocabulary when describing concepts and phenomena.
[12] *Conscientização*, or critical consciousness, refers to learning to perceive social, political and economic contradictions, and to take action against the oppressive elements of reality.

genuine willingness to see both leaders and students as co-intentional enactors of the education (69). Addressing the "teacher-student contradiction" and the presence of the oppressed in their liberation will "be what it should be: not pseudo-participation, but committed involvement" (69).

Like Dewey, Freire is opposed to viewing students strictly as recipients of knowledge: "Liberating education consists in acts of cognition, not transferals of information" (79). Terming traditional pedagogical environments as "banking education," he states that this top-down approach to education "resists dialogue," whereas "problem-posing" education regards dialogue as "indispensable to the act of cognition which unveils reality." Banking education views students as needing assistance, inhibiting creativity and domesticating them. Problem-posing education asks them to be critical agents in the process of liberated thinking (83). Navigating past this duality is essential for liberating both thought and actors. The key is the process – the praxis – not the end product: "Education is thus constantly remade in the praxis. In order to be, it must become" (84). Words, acts, and dynamics between teachers and students are all sites of praxis.

Freire also has harsh words for those who seek to maintain the oppressive systems ("No one can be authentically human while he prevents others from being so" (85) and/or to conscript liberated efforts for inauthentic purposes. Manipulation, sloganizing, "depositing" (à la banking education), and regimentation can never be components of revolutionary praxis, because they are inherently components of the praxis of domination. In dominating, the dominator must deny true praxis and deny people the right to their own words and thoughts. Manipulation is essentially antidialogical action and an "instrument of conquest" (147). The antidote is maintaining the health and balance of the teacher-student praxis, made visible through cultural action. It is an instrument for "superseding the dominant alienated and alienating culture" and in this light,

"every authentic revolution is a cultural revolution" (180).

Author and social activist bell hooks was a student of Paulo Freire and a direct participant in this praxis of cultural revolution. Most often associated with intersectional feminist issues, her reflections on her own years of teaching disclose her focus on prioritizing that balance between critical thinking/thoughtful action as well as the teacher-student praxis: "[t]he professor must genuinely value everyone's presence" with "ongoing recognition that everyone influences the classroom dynamic, that everyone contributes. These contributions are resources" (hooks 1994:8). Recognizing the classroom as a communal place increases the likelihood of collective efforts to create and sustain a learning community, and therefore, "[t]he classroom remains the most radical space of possibility in the academy" (12).

hooks sees the objectification (and potential for deification) of the teacher within bourgeois educational structures as denigrating to aspirations of wholeness; it upholds the idea of a mind/body split (disassociation), promotes and supports compartmentalization (detachment), and reinforces the separation of public and private (dualism). Whereas intellectual pursuit was previously a humanistic quest uniting mind, body, and spirit, she now finds it to be "replaced with notions that being smart meant that one was inherently emotionally unstable and that the best in oneself emerged in one's academic [unstable] work" (16). Combating this requires intersectional efforts supporting classroom equality and discussion, and "making the classroom a democratic setting where everyone feels a responsibility to contribute is a central goal of transformative pedagogy" (39). Additionally, the emphasis must always tend toward action: "Theory is not inherently healing, liberatory, or revolutionary. It fulfills this function only when we ask that it do so and direct our theorizing towards this end" (61).

Her commitment to engaged pedagogy is an expression of her political activism. Since

teachers are rewarded for not opposing the banking system of most educational institutions (supported by political systems that benefit from this oppression), her choice to challenge the status quo in word and action for the sake of students and their actualization is commendable. Co-intentional engaged pedagogy compels teachers and students to be "constantly creative in the classroom," and the "lesson that allows us to move together within and beyond the classroom . . . is one of mutual engagement" (205).

COMMUNITIES OF MUSICAL PRACTICE

Reflecting on the work of the authors detailed above led to my recognition of the critical importance of the educational community, specifically how music traditions could be supported or undermined based on environmental factors and the crucial role individuals play in contributing to this shared space and praxis. One of the most challenging aspects of this dissertation process was deciding how to organize the material. I considered structuring options like theory, musical elements, geography, etc., but was frustrated by how these choices would essentially disconnect the chapters and observations. Choosing to orientate by each type of Community of Musical Practice enabled interdisciplinary discussions while still maintaining orderliness and also created a connecting line of thought throughout the whole dissertation.

I was introduced to the concept of Communities of Musical Practice (COMPs) through the work of ethnomusicologist Ailbhe Kenny in her book *Communities of Musical Practice* (2016). Kenny, in turn, was inspired by the work of Etienne Wenger and Jean Lace addressing Communities of Practice (sans the musical specification), and it should be noted that in both instances, the purpose of the CO(M)Ps is to be educative. A community of practice constitutes:
1. A group of people who share a concern or passion for something (e.g. traditional music,

politics activism, etc.) and learn how to do it better together by interacting regularly; and 2. The set of relations among these persons, activities, and with the world over time in relation to other tangential and overlapping communities of practice. Membership in communities of practices includes knowledge of "who is involved; what they do; what everyday life is like; how masters talk, walk, work, and generally conduct their lives; how people who are not part of the community and practice interact with it" (Lace and Wenger 1991:95). The functional link between learning and participation is set out using three foundational dimensions of activity: mutual engagement (domain), joint enterprise (process/community), and shared repertoire (practice) (Kenny 2016:11). The purposiveness of the group as a unit, as well as the group's observational capacities, lies in this multidimensional intersection of who/how, noun/verb, insider-outsider, epistemological/ontological – again, revisiting the necessary if sometimes trying role of the dichotomy in ethnographic research.

In this vein, COMP work is a contemporary echo of Freire's *conscientização* and Christopher Small's musicking – the meaning is found in action. Recognizing the dangers of myopic, self-confirming inquiry, it forsakes convenient compartmentalization for the purpose of generating a more complete portrait of musical phenomena. This dissertation's organization by COMPs facilitates examinations of praxis sites that are both individualized and communal, hopefully contributing to a greater mission of holistic observation and inclusive narrative.

SYNTHESIZING THEORIES

Throughout this dissertation fieldwork, I worked to be theoretically inclusive. Despite being committed to this ideal, I still struggled to juggle discussing all these viewpoints. Anthropology, semiotics, linguistics, decolonization theory, classical philosophy, modern

thought, ecological applications – all of these play a role and yet by themselves would be unsatisfactory. This pertains to both vocabularies employed as well as the functionality of the theoretical concepts, offering opportunity for this graduate education to be "constantly remade in the praxis" (Freire 2005:84). And like Freire's insistence that true liberation (for musicians, citizens – or ethnomusicologists) is found in the sustaining of the entwined balancing of verbal and actioned dialogues, this dissertation is witness to that struggle: "human activity consists of action and reflection: it is praxis; it is transformation of the world. And as praxis, it requires theory to illuminate it. Human activity is theory and practice; it is reflection and action. It cannot . . . be reduced to either verbalism or activism" (Freire 2005:125).

Above all, I worked to embody a purposiveness of consilience, and working with COMPs as a structuring element was formative in that goal. Likewise, the contemporary theoretical concept of memetics was useful for employing non-partisan, decolonialized, adaptable, and forward-thinking vocabularies when addressing traditional music phenomena.

MEMES AND MEMETICS

Memetics is a newer field and one that has an especially exciting potential to deconstruct how units of cultural expression gain popularity, stay relevant, and become a functional unit of culture and communication in emotional, psychological, verbal ways. Additionally, memetics is an incorporative approach and capable of addressing the needs of many of the disciplines mentioned above: musicology, linguistics, biology, etc. As an interdisciplinary operative, its potential for ethnomusicology applications is particularly promising.

Memes

The term "meme" is a neologism coined by British evolutionary theorist Richard Dawkins[13] and first appears in his book *The Selfish Gene*, published in 1976. From the Greek *mimeme* meaning "imitated thing" (in turn from *mimos*, literally, "to mime"[14]), a meme is defined as a discrete unit, idea, or element that is culturally relevant/related to issues at hand, self-replicating and/or transmissible, and almost unquestionably successful in its goal of replication. Very accessible examples of memes could be tunes, ideas, phrases, fashions, traditional crafts, etc. In order to serve as a meme, a unit of transmission must exhibit longevity, fecundity, and the copying fidelity exhibited by genes – all of these can all be seen in units of cultural transmission. The concept of the meme, therefore, might be applied to just about anything that can successfully qualify in all three categories. Subsequent theorists (such as Susan Blackmore 1999), Aaron Lynch 1996, and Dan Sperber and Deirdre Wilson 1986) have furthered this work in the realm of communications, language, and relevancy.

Dawkins' theorizing on cultural replications has its roots in Darwinist evolutionary theory. He claims that "Darwin's 'survival of the fittest' is really a special case of the more general law '*survival of the stable*'" (1976:13). Everything – organisms, animals, plants, ecosystems, and planetary bodies – is trying to achieve and maintain stability. Recognizing our existence, experiences, and attempts at stability are the composites of innumerable thoughts and events, Dawkins calls us "survival machines," an accumulation of genetic units all vying to replicate with "apparent purposiveness" (53).

That purposiveness to evolve and replicate can be seen in other, apparently non-sentient

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[13] Although Dawkins' work rocketed the concept into mainstream discussion, he notes in *The Selfish Gene* (1976) that his work was inspired and preceded by the pioneering efforts of several others, notably geneticist L. L. Cavalli-Sforza (see Cavalli-Sforza 1981).

[14] This same Greek root can be seen in the modern French *même* ("same") and the modern English "memory."

phenomena. Dawkins asserts that “cultural transmission is analogous to genetic transmission in that, although basically conservative, it can give rise to a form of evolution” (203). An example of this would be spoken language that “seems to ‘evolve’ by genetic means, and at a rate which is orders of magnitude faster than genetic evolution” (203). Other evolutionists might say these adaptive phenomena could be attributed to a “biological advantage”; however, Dawkins finds that “Frequently the evolutionary preconception in terms of which such theories are framed is implicitly group-selectionist” (205). He argues that Darwinism is too broad a theory to be confined only to discussion of the unit of the biological gene. The conversation should be expanded to what the gene actually does: replicate, survive, and thrive.

If we begin to look for new replicators, they are “staring us in the face” (206). Paralleling the primordial genetic soup that gave rise to early creatures on earth millions of years ago, the “new soup,” according to Dawkins, is human culture. As genes propagate themselves in the gene pool by leaping from body to body, memes propagate themselves in the meme pool by leaping from brain to brain via a process that can be called imitation (206). Fertile memes pitched to fertile minds can figuratively parasitize the brain, rendering it a medium for the meme’s propagation the same way a virus parasitizes the genetic mechanism of a host cell (207). Additionally, repetition of the meme leads to increased mental accessibility and recall of the meme and its values/meanings, mirroring the increased myelination of neural pathways in the brain when a thought/idea/fear is accessed repeatedly, making it more easily and quickly accessible in the future.

This theoretical model is decidedly ontological, emphasizing what a phenomenon is (its composition, its structure, how it functions, what role it plays for its hosts/practitioners) instead of what it “means” (always variable definitions according to perspective). As an example,

Dawkins chooses to examine a nice, uncomplicated, amenable case: the concept of god. "What is it about the idea of a god which gives it stability and penetrance in the cultural environment? The survival value of the god meme in the meme pool results from its great psychological appeal. It provides a superficially plausible answer to deep and troubling questions about existence" (207). There are also secondary characteristics and implications. Memes can reinforce each other (e.g. hell and god), self-perpetuating due to the deep psychological impact each concept has on the other. Memes and genes often reinforce one another, but they sometimes run into opposition (e.g. celibacy, apparently not an inherited gene but highly successful in the meme pool).

In this way, the facile transmissibility of memes rings parallel to epidemiology concerns. Like a newfound virus, memes can spread rapidly and if unchecked, their power is pervasive. This also gives new meaning to the notion of ideas "that spread like wildfire" or "ear worms," which might be hummed days on end without a logically justifiable reason. If genetics is the study of our physical biological evolution, through the smallest unit of transmissible information possible, the gene, then memetics is the study of our sociocultural biological evolution, observing how the simplest, most basic elements of cultural exchange are sometimes the most tenacious and asking why these ideas and phenomena are the most successful.

As a field, memetics inhabits a liminal space between disciplines, mirroring ethnomusicology's space in the humanities. There are parallels between memetics and epigenetics, neuroplasticity, and social inclusivity, and even the emphasis on discrete units co-existing and co-supporting mimics recent trends to prioritize diversity over the stagnant policies of multiculturalism (Eriksen 2013). There are many other musical traditions and political-musical intersections that might be aided by similar multifaceted studies.

Although Dawkins probably had no idea that his work would eventually be used to

describe seemingly endless assortments of cat videos, misattributed aphorisms, and pop touchstones, it is ironic that the word “meme” itself is now solidly a meme of its own. In the realm of academia, memetics structures offer a contextually flexible theoretical model for observation and analysis – one with apparent longevity, fecundity, and copying fidelity.

Once Upon A Time: Applied Memetics

In order to demonstrate the viability of memetics structures, please consider a unit of transmission we are all likely to have been offered and in turn shared – the fairytale. Jack Zipes, an anthropologist and folklorist, employs memetics approaches when addressing the evolution of fairytales and folklore, citing these cultural practices as “serving a social function within the development of social codes, norms, and values” (Zipes 2006:14). In this work there are significant parallels to music/ethnomusicological studies.

An excellent diagramming of how memetics can be used when examining fairytales and folkloric issues would be in the example of the fairytale “Cinderella.” This basic story structure, with its characters, plot, and lessons of virtue exists in nearly every culture. Despite time, geography, language, and religion, this basic story concept exists and persists (Zipes 2006). What are the basic tenets and values of the story that are so valuable to humanity that it can exist in all these different cultures and settings regardless of the unique details and social imperatives of that culture? Additionally, what is it about the story that allows it to travel through time and history largely unchanged, widely recognizable, and still featuring prominently in our storytelling? Integrity, hard work, hopefulness, kindness, and truthfulness – these values are relevant, desirable, stabilizing, and most importantly replicable. They are also reinforced by widespread religious norms.

Above all, the story frame is adaptive. It can adjust to the morals and mores of the time and place in which it is being most recently recreated. Disney's *Cinderella* of 1950 was a significantly different reconfiguration of the story than the 2015 live-action film, and both of these versions were unquestionably new reincarnations of the French 17th-century version by Charles Perrault, which itself was also essentially a retelling of more ancient folk versions (Zipes 2006).

If we are going to attempt to have some kind of organized methodical version of examining cultural phenomena as a living interactive expression of biological success, then why not focus on the components that are shown to be most constant, regardless of time, location, or other variables? If applying memetics structures is viable in related disciplines, then it is reasonable to imagine it would be equally applicable in ethnomusicology.

MEMES AND ETHNOMUSICOLOGY

At present, ethnomusicologists have not noticeably utilized memetics theoretics in research. However, Western musicology has some standout examples, notably by musicologist Steven Jan (2007). There are examples of memetics approaches within the field of ethnomusicology; however, they are not explicitly identified as such, nor do they employ memetics terminologies. Laura Risk's article on "the chop" (Risk 2013) is one such example. Conveniently for the purposes of demonstration, this is an article that addresses a technique prevalent in many traditional fiddling communities, including Scottish and Scandinavian/Nordic traditional fiddling.

The chop, or chopping as it is known in its verbal form, is an instrumental technique invented and pioneered in the 1960s by Richard Green, a bluegrass fiddler, and popularized by

cross-genre instrumentalist Darol Anger from the 1980s onward. It is executed by dropping the bow at the low, heavy end vertically onto the strings (making a crunchy, strikingly percussive sound) and followed immediately by lifting the bow up off the strings and repositioning the bow in a slightly horizontal motion (making a softer second "backbeat" sound). It mimics older, simpler styles of offbeat percussive technique but ultimately mimics the muted beat typically heard from bluegrass mandolin players in accompaniment.

Risk traces the chop's historical and geographic diffusion through several fields and communities while also examining the circumstances, motivations, and implications that musicians would choose to adopt, adapt, or reject the technique. She highlights the technique's innovative capacity for reinvention as what aids most prominently in its diffusion, and asks us to consider not only conventional geographic and regional factors, but also the impact of generational trends, gesturing at its fecundity. Risk states that the "diffusion trajectory of a musical innovation depends on the innovation itself, on the sites of transmission, and on the interplay of the lived and imagined musical world within which musicians play, work, and study" (428). Additionally, the accessibility of the technique makes it inclusive to all learning levels and even to those who are unfamiliar with the tunes being played. The power structure is not top-down – there is exchange and interplay, reversal of roles, and the sequence of exchange is not explicitly linear. It is a multidimensional spectrum, and (echoing Freire's sociopolitical work) all parts of the process are engaged and active.

This emphasis on the importance of the technique itself – as a unit, idea, and sonic phenomenon, instead of just charting its popularity and/or diffusion or role in the exchange of value – suggests Risk recognizes the memetic potential of the chop, whether or not she identifies it explicitly by this term.

MEMES AND THIS DISSERTATION

I would like to diagram three different components of traditional music practice within the frame of memetics. While there are many possibilities for such memetics work, the three options I am most interested in exploring when examining aspects of Scottish and Norwegian traditional music are, from micro to macro:

- *Musical elements*, such as tunes, techniques, or styles that have experienced cycles of popularity (examples: Martyn Bennett's *Bothy Culture*; the Scotch snap)
- *Values*, both musical and social, exhibited either explicitly in discussion or subliminally via instruction that reflect both the specific needs of time and place as well as persistent enduring characteristics of the musical culture (examples: pub session playing etiquette; regionalist views vs. nationalist views; Norwegian self-sufficiency)
- *Sentiments*, which are values in action that unite the praxis of leaders/students and verbalism/activism (examples: the movement in favor of Scotland Independence, which experiences predictable waves of enthusiasm; the "Law of Jante," an informal but widely accepted code of collectivist conduct prioritizing conformity and humility[15])

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[15] *Janteloven*, the "Law of Jante," is a set of ten tacitly accepted laws in the town of Jante, a fictional locale in Denmark. The term first appeared in the novel *En flyktning krysser sitt spor* (A Fugitive Crosses His Tracks) by Dano-Norwegian author Aksel Sandemose, published in 1933. This was such an acute satirical reflection on pan-Nordic social values that although not every person in those countries has read this novel, *Janteloven* and its associated meanings are established and ubiquitous in the greater societal vernacular. This is a significant supporting meme in the memeplex of pan-Nordic values and present in some form in all the Scandinavian/Nordic countries:

1. *Du skal ikke tro at du er noe.* (You shall not presume that you are anyone [of significance].)
2. *Du skal ikke tro at du er like saa meget som oss*. (You shall not presume that you art as good as us.)
3. *Du skal ikke tro at du er klokere en oss*. (You shall not presume that you are wiser than us.)
4. *Du skal ikke innbille deg du er bedre enn oss*. (You shall not imagine that you are better than us.)
5. *Du skal ikke tro du vet mere enn oss*. (You shall not presume that you are more knowledgeable than us.)
6. *Du skal ikke tro du er mere enn oss*. (You shall not presume that you are more than us [in any capacity].)
7. *Du skal ikke tro at du duger til noe*. (You shall not presume that you are good at [for] anything.
8. *Du skal ikke le av oss*. (You shall not laugh at us.)

Instead of looking at just when and where these occur, I am more interested in the why and how – why these particular music phenomena and social values find favor at a given time and how these sentiments find political and emotional footholds so thoroughly.

The contemporary traditional music scenes in Scotland and Norway are incredibly detailed *memeplexes* (ecosystems of memes) of ideas, values, and applications, all interwoven through practice and entangled by the circumstances of time and place. Memetics asks us to question how many of our "choices" are actually our own. If an idea, value, tune, etc., is inherently compelling, rewarding, or catchy, how can we trust that we are actually in charge of the decision-making process to determine whether we are inspired, in line with, or entertained by any of them? By recognizing that these issues are in fact extensively interconnected and interdependent with other avenues of study, we empower and encourage more holistic views and deeper inquiries.

CONCLUSIONS

If we want to be taken seriously as a discipline – one that can engage, empower and support the music communities and practices that are studied through the lens of ethnomusicology in the 21st century – then it is imperative we move the field forward by supporting research and dialogue that are informed by newer theories, fresh views, and intersectional voices. Otherwise, we risk not only the increased frustration of those trying to interact with a discipline questionably limited by convention but the potential irrelevance of the field due to its inability to address contemporary sociocultural needs.

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9. *Du skal ikke tro at noen bryr seg om deg*. (You shall not imagine that anyone cares about you.)
10. *Du skal ikke tro at du kan lære oss noe*. (You shall not presume you can teach us anything.) (Sandemose 1933)

These reflections are not to denigrate, merely to observe and pointedly assess where weaknesses exist. I am also not advocating for an erasure of previous theoretical work or the work of those who have employed established theoretical concepts. I am merely stating that ethnomusicology would benefit from the expanded theoretical possibilities offered by recent theorists and from theoretical models not conventionally employed.

The field of ethnomusicology is inherently interdisciplinary and incorporative. From its earliest days it was characterized by its problematic positioning between anthropology and musicology. It has great capacity to develop new modes of inquiry, offer fresh insights, and foster forward-thinking discussions about musicking. It is reasonable that newer, creative theoretical projections are most useful and applicable for newer, creative cultural phenomena. Even "ancient" musical traditions are still technically being practiced and re-envisioned within contemporary environments, so, why are we still relying on aged theory and dated methods to observe and describe current phenomena?

Memetics in particular offers a promising new horizon in applied theoretical models. Ethnomusicology already has the vernacular of description and interdisciplinary predilections to mirror memetics structures. This preparedness on the part of the discipline, joined with the theory's scientific relevance and its contextual flexibility, might be the very ticket out of our present quandary of disciplinary malaise.

Ethnomusicology would benefit from employing new modes of theoretical inquiry. Looking at adaptive fields with adaptive methods can lead to new insights not necessarily offered via old frameworks. There are increasing calls for this and examples in published literature that advocate for this viewpoint and prove its usefulness. We need to make more concerted efforts to re-guide the discipline instead of remaining satisfied with token gestures. At the same time, it is

important to recognize that this is part of an ongoing process and a perennial contestation between dichotomies. While this is not inherently distracting, the ever-present threat of criticism from those within the discipline and systemic pushback means we will have to remain focused and concerted in our efforts to incorporate livelier, more inclusive, and multidimensional theoretical models.

In the words of Paulo Freire, we should be striving "to begin always anew, to make, to reconstruct, and to not spoil, to refuse to bureaucratize the mind, to understand and to live life as a process-live to become" (hooks 1994, preface). Consilience, education, and dialogue "cannot exist . . . in the absence of a profound love for the world and for people. . . . No matter where the oppressed are found, the act of love is commitment to their cause – the cause of liberation. And this commitment, because it is loving, is dialogical. . . . Nor yet can dialogue exist without hope" (91). Research and humanistic inquiry are fundamentally hopeful – hopeful for clarity, understanding, and a shared sense of responsibility in the world. This dissertation and its supporting fieldwork hopefully present a particularly useful case study for engaging this dialogue and alternative theoretical models.

CHAPTER 4: EARLY EDUCATION COMMUNITIES OF MUSICAL PRACTICE

INTRODUCTION

This chapter examines traditional Scottish and Norwegian early education Communities of Musical Practice (COMPs) and their participants. Early education environments provide particularly integral junctures for music and cultural transmission. During my research, I considered both teacher/student interactions and the mechanics of learning a new musical tradition as well as the effects these activities have on the extended COMPs (inclusive of parents, familial units, etc.). How is early music education significant in forming a set of musical/cultural values? What are the characteristic approaches and techniques of these particular COMPs? How does the opportunity of learning traditional music at this age reverberate throughout the wider COMPs and influence other types of learning environments (e.g. universities)?

Early music education settings relating to traditional music in Scotland and Norway offer a critical opportunity to consider issues of both musicking and memetics. The only way these youngest members of society can be involved in these musicking environments is by depending on the engagement of other groups (parents, families, etc.) in the activities, requiring their participation and interest, or at least approval as demonstrated via support. The programs are important to the children because of the sense of community, participation, and ownership they offer, but they are also important to the parents, who know that their children are receiving an education that has in turn been shown to improve performance in other academic areas, such as in mathematics and language. Christopher Small reminds us that "the emotion that is aroused is not the reason for taking part in the ritual. Rather, it is a sign that the ritual is doing its work, that it is 'taking,' that the participant feels at one with the relationships that the ritual has created"

(Small 1998:96). This creates a ripple effect sustaining the musiking practice due to this reciprocating feedback loop of engagement, approval, and social structure. Immediately, the parallel to an ecosystem becomes apparent. Additionally, like a meme preoccupied with its longevity, fecundity, and relevance (its potential to replicate), early music education settings display these characteristics as well. The process of early music education becomes one where the continuity and community of traditions is valued as much as the tradition itself but for reasons specific to young people and their caretakers, and memetically speaking these values enhance the concept of early education's importance within the community.

For instance, there is increasing evidence that music education in the early, formative years of life has a lasting impact on a child's health and development, neurologically, socially, and even in terms of academic success. Previous research addressing the developmental and neurological impacts of music education in young people is well documented (Forgeard, Winner, Norton and Schlaug 2008; Curtis and Fallin 2014; Winner 2019). However, most studies focus almost entirely on Western classical music and teaching approaches practiced in the Western classical tradition. There is also increasing evidence that life experiences, such as music education, have a serious impact on emotional health and wellbeing, and the ramifications of this presence or absence can be seen into adulthood (Schlaug, Forgeard, Zhu, Norton and Winner 2009).

Traditional music education in primary school settings provides these benefits as well as offering immediate, hands-on applications of music/cultural identity. The community building offered by these musical opportunities extends far beyond the elementary classroom to include parents, neighbors, etc., and early music education is only truly feasible where there is a healthy and extensive interconnected web of support between parents, educators, and community

sustenance. Even though it is the children who are directly experiencing music education, these experiences have a reciprocal impact on parents and teachers, and frequently serve to reaffirm a sense of identity and purposefulness.

Fiddler Louise Bichan, whom I first met in summer 2014, attributes this sense of community and excitement to what engaged her as a young person: “It was really what got me started” (Bichan 2018). She began playing fiddle at age seven as a student of Douglas Montgomery in Orkney, Scotland, who remains a celebrated and active fiddle teacher to this day. The sense of community as well as her teacher’s gusto simply “made it a cool thing to do” (ibid.). Bichan took private lessons, participated in ensemble classes, and as a teen began teaching in the program herself. Her choice to enroll in the Glasgow School of Art pursuing a photography degree (she is also well known for her award-winning album cover photography for Scottish musicians and ensembles) was in part so she could live in an area that would offer an abundance of musical opportunities.[16] Her musical interests led her to pursue studies at the Berklee College of Music in Boston, Massachusetts, and she graduated in May 2019 with a performance degree.

Traditional music learning and practice are attractive to communities for several reasons. Traditional music of course still has its logical associations with the folk and folk traditions, already giving it a subconscious advantage simply in terms of nomenclature. But there are also practical advantages. Instruments typically cost less, group lessons are frequently the norm at most levels of study, and learning is typically conducted by ear, removing the need for sheet music, music stands, etc. It also typically requires fewer resources and less financial outlay than a Western classical music education. While there are always exceptions, due to financial realities

[16] Rather fortuitously, our initial meeting was on a unforgettable “Sunday Funday” tour (see Chapter 7) of Glasgow’s traditional music pub sessions – unforgettable for the music, newfound friends, seemingly endless drams of single malt whisky supplied by the music-loving barkeeps, and the roaring hangovers the next day.

as well as social stereotyping, classical music education is still considered elitist by many and a tangible reality for few. This makes traditional music more accessible and immediate than other early education options, if there are any.

Unfortunately, Scotland, like many countries today, deals with arts underfunding at all levels of schooling. The reduction of music programs in public schools continues to distress local community members as well as the country's music community at large (Music Industries Association 2019). The Musicians' Union (MU) of the United Kingdom released a nationwide report in November 2018 revealing that families with a total household income of less than £28,000 are half as likely to have a child learning an instrument as those with a total household income of £48,000 or more. Cost is currently the greatest barrier to music education, with 41% of those from lower-income families saying lessons are too great a cost for their household budgets (Musicians' Union 2018a). Cost remains a factor even for those benefiting from subsidies, and obtaining an instrument is still the single greatest challenge financially.

This disparity exists despite similar levels of interest from both groups of children, and the Musicians' Union has called on the national government to review its offering of music education in schools. Horace Trubridge, General Secretary at the Musicians' Union, has said, "With certain children priced out of learning musical instruments, we may well only be hearing the songs and sounds of the affluent in years to come. Those from poorer backgrounds will, unfairly, be increasingly under-represented within the industry" (Musicians' Union 2018c). Petitions for constituents to contact their local Members of Parliament (MPs) accompanied the publishing of the report, and the MU also developed a "Let Every Child Learn Music" Facebook Frame (to be superimposed on one's Facebook Profile picture) in order to highlight access to music lessons in schools (Musicians' Union 2018b).

Similarly, Norway has conducted studies recently to assess the aims and content of music activities and teaching in early educational environments. Compared to other Scandinavian countries, the Norwegian curriculum "shows a more explicit attention to the aesthetic qualities of music," and the recent emphasis on arts programs in schools has been termed *Skapende Læring* ("Creative Learning") (Holgersen 2008). Implementing supportive and effective early childhood music education will depend on successfully communicating and agreeing on shared cultural values and economic priorities. However, the major challenge is that policymakers and educational institutions seem unaware of this, and there "seems to be an increasing gap between expectations for music education on all levels and the educational practice as experienced by the participants" (ibid.).

Despite the difficulties in some cases, protecting the artistic budget remains a priority for some politicians and many constituents in both Scotland and Norway. By increasing access to early education traditional music opportunities, facilitating projects that are available at little or no cost for participants and their parents, and prioritizing funding and publicity for these endeavors, both Scotland and Norway are demonstrating a commitment to instilling long lasting valuation of traditional music and community building. The commitment to prioritizing music as immeasurably beneficial to children, in combination with the visible benefits of fostering such a musical community, makes both the music itself and the music practice valuable and meaningful to the students and their extended social community as well.

ADDRESSING AN IMBALANCE

Due to restrictions of time, legality, and the need to focus on specific aspects of traditional music teaching for the purposes of this dissertation, I did not conduct as much

fieldwork or as many interviews with COMP participants involved in primary and early educational settings as I would have liked. A study thoroughly addressing in measurable ways the impacts of early life music education, especially any potential political components, could potentially produce a whole host of ethical issues regarding the human rights of research subjects. Although my University of California, Los Angeles Institutional Review Board Human Research Subject clearance did not permit me to interview individuals under the age of 18, I was still able to observe many group teaching events, where the students were usually of mixed ages. Based on what I did observe and have learned through complementary research, I can say that a multi-country study examining solely the neurological and social effects of traditional music education during primary school years would be an absolutely fascinating research project.

My decision to focus mostly on tertiary education COMPs (Chapter 6) was at first a matter of resigning myself to the fact that they were the environments most accessible to this kind of research, but then I quickly realized how helpful this was in focusing my research scope and questions. Although 16 and 17-year-olds were permitted to vote in the 2014 Scottish repentance referendum (a special exception made for that specific event), the official voting age in Scotland and Norway is 18 (BBC 2013). Although young musicians might grow up in households where the culture and practice of musical performance and associated social values have great impact on their political upbringing, the age at which individuals begin to put their values into practice through voting is the same as when they would be entering or considering higher education.

LEARNING BY EAR, KNOWING BY HEART

This is also an appropriate juncture to discuss the importance of aural, non-written learning methodologies. Learning "by ear" – focusing on aural methods of transmission and education – is an integral part of traditional music practices in many musical cultures, including the Scottish and Norwegian traditional music milieux. As with most traditional music cultures around the world, an emphasis on learning by ear and an absence of printed sheet music is as much a part of the music tradition as the notes themselves. The very method of transmission is as critical as what is being transmitted. Very often throughout fieldwork, I encountered the opinion, from both teachers and students, that if you hadn't learned it [the music] by ear, then you hadn't really learned it.

Even if you were brand new, what was important was the willingness to jump in, head first, without fear, and try to pick up as much as you could. The details, groove, flavor, and identifying musical signatures mission were expected to come with time and patience and dedication. There was a faith that as long as you were listening and engaged, you wouldn't be able to help but absorb those musical indicators at some point.

This is one of those instances of the experience being inclusive until it's not. While I never actually saw anyone being raked over the coals for depending on sheet music when they were out of their depth, it was definitely frowned upon and certainly perceived as inauthentic. My own training as a classical violinist and my dependence on written sheet music was a significant physical and emotional handicap when I started learning tunes by ear as part of the UCLA Irish Ensemble in 2013. It took the better part of a year with regular, laborious, thrown-in-the-deep-end efforts and seemingly endless patience of the part of the ensemble leader

to get me to a place where I could unravel my classical habits and feel a sense of ease while learning and playing by ear.[17]

This is in direct contrast to many Western classical teaching norms that emphasize technique and conformity. Even the Suzuki method, which is renowned worldwide for its emphasis on the whole child, is an intensely detaileds structureds and regimented technique. So since there is generally no pressure to be achieving rigid technical benchmarks, or prioritizing conformity (e.g. as required for a section violinist in a symphonic orchestra) over enthusiasm, the multiplicities of individuality and freedom of expression in traditional music learning are feasibly infinite.

It is an established truism in traditional circles that you learn better by ear anyway than by depending on sheet music. The music is integrated differently into the brain systems that process and store audiosensory information. Incidentally, playing music, instead of just listening to it, doubles down on this integration, which is reaffirmed each time the music is practiced or performed. This of course gives weight to the wisdom that "practice makes permanent." Traditional musicians and their students are dealing with audiosensory information that can become quickly and deeply integrated into neurological and biophysical systems becoming part of the body. This type of internalization means that traditional musicians and their students are not just active participants, but are also physically engaged tradition bearers with the music and cultural knowledge deeply embedded at sensory, practical, and biological levels.

The issue of legacy is an important one in traditional music circles, and teachers and their students form genealogies of musicians. Learning a tune from a particular teacher by ear means you learned that tune with a whole host of other details and particularities attendant to that

[17] Fortunately, all of this took place before my first fieldwork trip to Scotland in 2014, and for this dutiful instruction, I will be forever grateful to Kevin Levine.

transmitter. It indicates not only one's own musical lineage, so to speak, but all the identifying musical specifics associated with the teacher.

What I witnessed in teachers working with beginning students, of all ages but especially those who were of a younger age, was special consideration of that fine balance between encouraging versus overwhelming them, especially in the case of learning by ear. The emphasis was on each incremental tangible success, despite the inherent struggles of learning a new instrument, rather than stressing all the things left to be improved.

Below are reviews and analyses of COMPs that facilitate and support traditional music education for primary/elementary aged participants. While I observed, researched, and became acquainted with all of these COMPs, the degrees of observation and involvement varied between sites (see above) for legal and logistical reasons. I have organized these COMPs into the categories of group endeavors, shared spaces, and individual teachers – offering meso-, macro-, and micro-views of these interconnected settings within the Scottish and Norwegian traditional music ecosystems.

THE SOUTHSIDE FIDDLERS

Self-starting, community-initiated music education endeavors are in no short supply in Scotland. Louise Hunter, a fiddler whose own music education began early in life and who is a graduate of the Royal Conservatoire of Scotland's Traditional Music course, started The Southside Fiddlers in 2002 (The Southside Fiddlers 2019). Historically a working-class, hard-scrabble neighborhood, "Southside" refers to Glasgow's districts below the River Clyde, although these socio-economic stereotypes do not hold as much weight today. Her first class was a modest-sized gathering of local elementary/middle school aged children, and over the years,

The Southside Fiddlers has grown to approximately 100 youths who participate as part of this COMP. Fiddlers learn Scottish traditional music, and participation includes a wide range of activities, including group classes, individual lessons, performances, day trips, camps, and even international festivals. In addition to providing social and travel activities that might otherwise be unavailable to participants, preparation for exams and competitions (as part of school curricula) is also a priority. Hunter says that while the main mission has always been "to provide high quality, affordable fiddle lessons to children and young people in Glasgow," more importantly this project was to provide opportunities to "socialize with other young musicians . . . and to help young people love their music and feel part of the vibrant music scene in Glasgow" (Hands Up for Trad 2015). In 2015, The Southside Fiddlers were recognized for this work as the 32nd recipients of Hands Up for Trad's Business Limelight Award, a monthly initiative that recognizes outstanding contributions made by businesses and organizations that contribute, shape and influence the arts and cultural sector in Scotland today.

GOVAN'S "FLEDGLING" PIPE BAND AND THE GREATER GLASGOW POLICE PIPE BAND

The rise in education programs throughout Scotland working to promote traditional music is encouraging when considering the future of one of Scotland's calling-card national emblems, the Great Highland Bagpipes. The Govan Schools Pipes & Drums Association, operating since 2014, gives bagpiping and drumming tuition to pupils in Govan, a working-class, multi-racial, largely immigrant, southside district in Glasgow, recognized by the Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation as one of significant deprivation ("Every School Needs a Pipe Band: Fair Play for Pipes" 2015).

The choice to address this socioeconomic situation through music tuition was multifold: "It has been proven that Pipe bands give young people skills for life; they promote teamwork, commitment, self-esteem, a sense of discipline and dress, fun and friendship and can even lead to employment opportunities" (Govan Schools Pipes & Drums Association 2019). Pipe bands throughout Scotland are a source of pride, focus, and shared honor for communities, and looking a fair way ahead, considering the young age of many current participants, "communities are stronger because community bands need new members to survive and to flourish" (Govan Schools Pipes & Drums Association 2019). Tom McInally, a deacon of the Govan Weavers (a local charitable organization that supports the project), states: "The whole point of this exercise was to regenerate a community, and as with anything you generate from the bottom up, so we started with the youngest – primary school people" ("Every School Needs a Pipe Band: Fair Play for Pipes" 2015).

In this piping program, members of the Greater Glasgow Police Scotland Pipe Band provide weekly piping and drumming tutoring to approximately 150 pupils at Pirie Park, Riverside, St. Constantine's and St. Savour's Primary Schools (all in Govan), culminating in a friendly end-of-term competition performance by all the schools ("Tradition Gets Piping Hot in Govan" 2014). This tutoring is significant because The Greater Glasgow Police Scotland Pipe Band (a unification of the formerly named Strathclyde Police Pipe Band[18] and the City of Glasgow Police Pipe Band before restructuring in 2013) is one of the world's most famous and competitively successful bands in the world, including a record ten Grade One World Championship wins (the highest award level possible) over an 11-year span from 1980 to 1991. The Greater Glasgow Police Scotland Pipe Band continues to compete at the top end of Grade

[18] Incidentally, this was the first pipe band I ever heard, and I have fond memories of pretend-marching around the living room, listening to the LPs that my father would regularly play.

One and has enjoyed significant success since its unification. The band consists of a mixture of serving and retired police officers combined with players from the wider community. The young students in the Govan pipe band program are receiving instruction from some of the most experienced and successful pipers in the world, benefiting from their mentoring and worldly experience – all for free (Govan Schools Pipes & Drums Association 2019).

In addition to tutoring, students enthusiastically take part in parades, community holiday activities and charity events, and competitions. The Govan program was so well received and successful that within months, some pupils had progressed so rapidly that they were able to enter as a quartet of pipers into the Scottish Schools Pipe Band Championships (Scottish School Pipes and Drums Trust 2018). Some of these were the youngest program participants, who are often fondly known as the "fledgling" pipe band and called the Wee Govan Pipers (in Scottish Gaelic, *Pìobairean Beaga Bhaile Ghobhainn*), and the looks on their faces after their performance, before they had even learned if they had placed high, were priceless.

Children participating in the program have responded positively to both the musical and performance aspects of piping, and parents consistently report considering this school-based activity to be a community-building endeavor. "It's good to learn something of traditional Scottish heritage," says Minhua Eunice Ma, a mother of one of the participants ("Every School Needs a Pipe Band" 2014). Christine Beveridge, another parent, remarks on the performance aspect of the program, saying, "It's impressive to be able to stand up in front of everybody and do that at the age of nine or ten" ("Every School Needs a Pipe Band" 2014).

This progress is not only evident and touching to participants and their parents, but is also remarked on by the tutors. According to Iain Watson, one of the program's piping tutors, and a former World Championships winner as a member of the Strathclyde Police Pipe Band, "I've

won world championships and felt emotional, but today was just – to see what they've done in such a short time – absolutely amazing, [starting to cry] I'm sorry. . . . This is what it's all about, and these kids have proved it today" ("Reduced to Tears" 2015). Reflecting on the wider community influence this project has, he continues: "And this is just the start. That's what Govan Schools band means. It's not just a pipe band – it's the community coming together as one regardless of your ethnic background or religious background – it's coming together and playing the Scottish national instrument."

INTERLUDE: Living, Breathing Heritage

The network of outdoor heritage folk museums in Norway remains unlike any other cultural experience I encountered. In summer 2016, I visited three major sites in this network: the Norsk Folkemuseum in Oslo, the Sverresborg Trøndelag Museum just outside Trondheim, and Oppdalmuseet in the central mountainous region of Trøndelag. Each was a carefully curated depiction of cultural life in Norway, organized to highlight the regional specificity of social and historical phenomena related to that region. For instance, in each museum location, the Telemark area of the park would have dark, sod-roofed log cabin houses, the Hallingdal area would have stately stave churches with compact conical turrets and tar stained roof shingles, the faux city town square offered a glimpse of Oslo urban life at the turn of the 20th century, a country on the edge of its nascent independence.

Performances featuring music and dance traditions as well as demonstrations of heritage crafts are regularly scheduled throughout the day. On July 21, 2016 at the Norsk Folkemuseum a large crowd of attendees, clearly from many countries and all walks of life, gathered in the afternoon to watch the demonstration of Telemark *hardingfele* fiddling and couples dance

traditions. Performing in front of a traditional Telemark residence, all three artists began by playing on the *hardingfele*. It was a spritely springar tune characteristic of the region, in a major key and an uneven loping 3/4 meter. For this rural couples dance (bygdedans), the partners lean into the uneven meter and let its momentum inform the circular dance steps. The first pass through the tune was all in unison; the second time, two of the performers harmonized while the third stayed on the main melody. After this initial musical demonstration, two of the artists set aside their instruments and demonstrated how another Telemark tune type, the gangar, was also traditionally used for couples dancing in the Telemark region. Although not explicitly flirtatious, dancing was traditionally one of the few ways in Norway that members of opposite sexes could socialize with communal approval. These kinds of tunes, in addition to being socializing opportunities, also showcase the harmonic and resonance opportunities offered by the *hardingfele's* sympathetic strings and creative scordatura tunings.

Finally the performers asked everyone in the audience interested, of all ages but especially young people, to participate in a group line dance accompanied by the shrill, double-stopped tones of the *hardingfele*. I excitedly joined this newly formed ensemble; following one of the dancers, we all joined hands together and wound our way in circuitous step patterns around the historic buildings, returning to the *hardingfele* player and wrapping around the musician in a circle. As the tune ended, the audience broke into applause, sharing in the communal musical experience and embarking on the next round of explorations of the folk museum.

NORSK FOLKEMUSEUM

The *Norsk Folkemuseum* (lit. Norwegian Museum of Cultural History) in Bygdøy, Oslo,

is Norway's largest museum of cultural history. The museum was founded in 1894 by director Hans Aall at a time marked by a strong social current of nationalist fervor and a desire for greater independence from Sweden (Norway gained full independence in 1905). This open-air museum (*friluftsmuseet*), the first such museum in the world, has 160 buildings collected from around the country representing the regions in Norway and demonstrating differences between town and country, and among social classes; it mostly spans the period from 1500 to the present.[19] There are also exhibitions, documentation projects, and permanent indoor displays covering folk art, folk costumes, toys and Sámi culture (Norsk Folkemuseum 2019) (Figure 4.1).

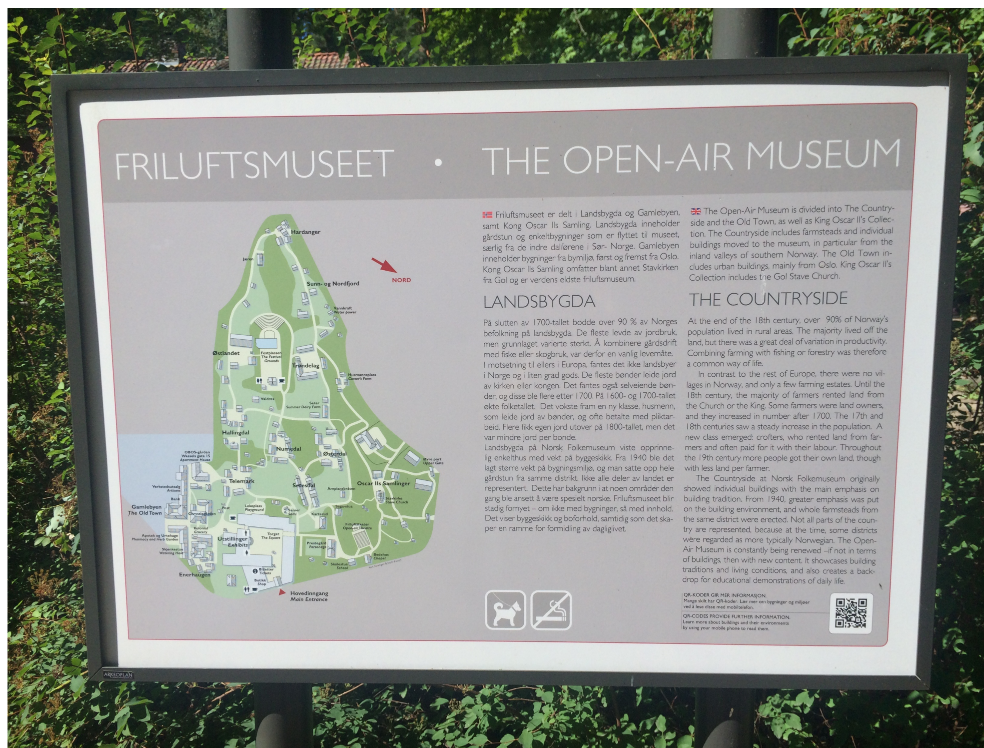

Figure 4.1: A park map for the open-air heritage park of the Norsk Folkemuseum in Oslo. Mirroring the musicological ideology and identifying practices in Norway, even the cultural parks display regional priorities. This can be observed at many folk museums in the country. Bygdøy, Oslo, Norway: July 20, 2016. (Photograph by Georgia Broughton)

[19] However, the museum's most impressive structure, the Gol Stave Church, dates from 1200 and is one of five medieval buildings at the museum.

Furthermore, the museum organizes a variety of temporary exhibitions and audience programs all year round. It was constructed to offer both wide-ranging observational and participatory experiences in arts and folk practices, such as food preparation and handicrafts (including the making of *brikkevev,* traditional card-woven ribbons) throughout the museum day. But most engaging are the regularly scheduled demonstrations of regional traditional music, song, and dance, with guests frequently invited to join in. The museum is visited by throngs of Norwegian citizens and foreign tourists alike and is a popular field trip destination for school-age children (Figure 4.2).

Figure 4.2: Traditional dancing and *hardingfele* music at the Norsk Folkemuseum in Oslo. This cultural demonstration is located in the Telemark region of the museum's open-air heritage park. Bygdøy, Oslo, Norway: July 20, 2016. (Photograph by Georgia Broughton)

The Norsk Folkemuseum is also the main location for the cultural archives institution Norwegian Ethnological Research (NEG). Established in 1946 to collect, manage, disseminate and research accounts from the history of daily life, this project serves as a national resource for the collection of oral history and personal memories (Norwegian Ethnological Research 2019). The NEG collections consist of an ongoing series of qualitative questionnaires; networks of individuals respond to questions from the archive on various themes and topics addressing daily cultural life. The respondents answer from their own experience, knowledge, and memory. NEG is an accredited NGO working with UNESCO's Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage, and the questionnaire responses are included in Norway's addition to UNESCO's Memory of the World Programme (Norwegian Ethnological Research 2019).

Audun Kjus is the Lead Curator (Førstekonservator) at the Norsk Folkemuseum and a supervisor for NEG.[20] His doctoral thesis examined the intersection of folklore, legal issues, and warrants. The interconnectedness of music performance with everyday life is of great interest to him ("these issues concern me a lot"), and his work was framed by finding and examining the "value and the dignity of everyday life" within traditional cultural activities. Like many scholars, he feels that government support has become more difficult to secure in recent years for research of this nature, stating that the "value in support decreases each year . . . it's a screw that slowly tightening" (Kjus 2018).

Norsk Folkemuseum is just one example of a typical folk museum in Norway. In the 1930s, Norway began a campaign of preserving and presenting regional history by purchasing and moving historically significant buildings (houses, barns, churches, etc.), relocating them to open-air museums. This was explicitly for the purpose of promoting Norwegian arts and culture

[20] He is also an Irish music enthusiast, and the first time he and I met in July 2014 was at pub session in Oslo where he was playing.

and reaffirming a celebration of national identity within the context of regional distinctiveness. A building from my family's farm in Oppdal (which is still owned by the Detlie family) is on display at the Sverresborg Trøndelag Folkmuseum in Trondheim, Norway (Figure 4.3).

Figure 4.3: The reconstructed Detlie House (Detlistua) from Oppdal at the Sverresborg Trøndelag Folk Museum. In the 1930s, Norway began moving historic buildings and dwellings to open-air museums to create environments where visitors could learn about the traditions and history of Norway. Trondheim, Norway: July 18, 2016. (Photograph by Georgia Broughton)

HIGHLAND FOLK MUSEUM

The Highland Folk Museum is an open-air heritage museum (mainland Britain's first) in Newtonmore, Scotland, deep in the center of the country. Displaying over 30 furnished historical buildings (some built from scratch onsite, others moved there from other locations), the museum is an interactive, immersive experience of how Scottish Highland people lived and worked from the 1700s up until the mid 20th century (Highland Folk Museum 2019).

Founded in 1935 by Dr. Isabel F. Grant (1887-1983), who was inspired by European folk

museums (such as the Norsk Folkemuseum), the Highland Folk Museum was initially situated on the Island of Iona in the Inner Hebrides, a hotbed of traditional Gaelic culture. Originally the Museum (which she called *Am Fasgadh,* Gaelic for “The Shelter”) was for the purpose of housing her collected cultural artifacts, representative of the quickly disappearing ways of Highland life. In 1943, seeking a larger campus and expanding the museum’s goal to be not only representative but also immersive, Dr. Grant bought the present site and opened the museum to the public a year later (ibid.). This living history approach offers visitors palpable insight to the living and working conditions of the Highland people in the past.

Every summer, the museum hosts its “Heritage In Action Days,” a series of weekends with regular demonstrations and activities across the museum, including handicrafts, music, and dance. Like the Norsk Folkemuseum, the museum is also a popular destination for school trips for elementary-age children.

ANNBJØRG LIEN

Annbjørg Lien (b.1971) is one of Norway’s best known and most successful contemporary *hardingfele* performers. While her background is in traditional Norwegian music, she does cross musical genres and has collaborated with musicians from all over the world, making her a top performer of world music as well as Norwegian folk music. She has the courage to “bring folk music into new musical landscapes” (Annbjørg Lien 2019).

Lien was raised in a musical family and studied *hardingfele* with her father in addition to classical violin at the Ålesund Music School. She later studied privately with several other fiddlers, including Hauk Buen of Telemark. She is a six-time winner of the first prize for traditional folk music at *Landskappleiken* (Norway’s National Contest for Traditional Music)

and has also won first prize for dance music in many other competitions, both domestic and international (ibid.).

She has made countless radio and television appearances, premiered new compositions for *hardingfele*, and even collaborated with such traditional music luminaries as The Chieftains. In addition to her extensive solo performances, she is a member of Bukkene Bruse, a Norwegian traditional folk music ensemble that performed at the closing ceremony of the Olympic Winter Games in Lillehammer in 1994. Lien is also a member of the international fiddle band String Sisters, a supergroup comprising six of the world's leading female fiddlers, which premiered at the 1998 Celtic Connections Festival in Glasgow. She has actively toured performing Norwegian music for 25 years, travelling extensively abroad and collaborating with folk musicians from many different countries, leading to her firm conviction that "music is truly an international language" (ibid).

Annbjørg Lien is also much in demand as a teacher, and she states that her encounters with students are "as intense and personal as her concerts." Offering master classes all around the world, she was a 2007 teacher at Valley of the Moon Fiddle Camp in Santa Cruz, California (Annbjørg Lien 2019).

SIGRID MOLDESTAD

Sigrid Moldestad (b.1972) is a Norwegian folk singer, musician, and composer. She plays both *hardingfele* and fiddle, balancing traditional and contemporary styles and taking inspiration from the landscape, Scandinavian literature, and other traditional genres such as American bluegrass and Celtic folk. She began playing at the age of 10 in her hometown of Breim in Nordfjord, a region with historied and vibrant folk music traditions, and learning from some of

the great music masters in the region. While studying as a youngster, she learned side by side with many musicians who were later her collaborators (Moldestad 2019).

Moldestad is a two-time winner of the Norwegian equivalent of a Grammy (*Spellemannprisen*) in the Folk Music category (the first time as part of a fiddle trio, the second time as a soloist), and in 2010 she received a Norwegian Folk Music Grammy (*Folkelarmprisen*, a separate awards ceremony) for solo vocal work. While a proud caretaker of Norwegian folk music, Sigrid Moldestad constantly works to introduce newness and innovation to her music. These qualities led her to be named 2010 Folk Musician of the Year in Norway, and she is one of Norway's most sought-after folk music artists for performance and composition. She also produces conferences, galas, and events promoting traditional music and musicians and for several years even worked as a journalist for NRK Radio (*Norsk rikskringkasting*), the Norwegian Broadcasting Corporation (a government-owned radio and television public broadcasting company, and the largest media organization in Norway) (ibid.).

It was in a recent NKR documentary, Sigrid Moldestad shared her thoughts on teaching and encouraging the next generation of fiddle players ("Sigrid . . ." 2018). There had been recent lamenting in Breim that younger people were uninterested in pursuing musical activity, leaving many worrying about the future of whether Norwegian folk music, if nobody wants to play fiddle anymore. Sigrid Moldestad, as someone who benefited early on from the supportive musical community of Breim, is one to take on the challenge: *"Eg kjenner på eit ansvar. . . . Det er ein tradisjon eg skal forvalte – Korleis skal eg klare det?"* ("I know that it's a responsibility. . . . It's a tradition I have to manage – how can I do it?"). She is determined to save the music she loves from dying out.

Putting that concern into action, she is currently renovating the former home of a Breim

musical figure and a personal mentor, Peder Råd, with the goal of turning it into an artistic community center where youth can learn, perform, and share in the musical traditions ("Sigrid . . ." 2018). The goal had been to finish the project in one year, "*då er det kjekt medgode naboar*" ("to respect the neighbors"), but like most construction projects, this one was greatly delayed with winter approaching. With extensive communal efforts and assistance from local entities, the construction was largely finished in time to hold a celebratory christening of the building at Yuletide. As Moldestad said, "*Eg blir litt rørt når ho . . . det har skjedd noko dei siste månadene . . . det blir spennande å sjå*" ("I get a little touched when . . . at what has happened over the last few months. . . . It will be exciting to see"). Tellingly, the premiere performance featured an ensemble of primary-school-age fiddlers who, while they might have been too young to appreciate the regenerating implications of this project, all seemed to be excited to be participating in this inaugural event.

Reflecting on the community-building experience this has been for her and for her primary audience of younger musicians, Moldestad says:

> *Det må vere at det held fram, og at livet i veggene lever vidare – og at nokon har fått inspirasjon i historiene som har vore her, till noko nytt. Ting må aldri stoppe opp men alltid gå vidara. Musikken skal vidare, og kva form han tek, får samtida bestemme. Er det sterkt nok, så lever det vidare. Det trur ein jo på.*
>
> It must be that it [the music] succeeds and that life in the walls lives on – and that someone has been inspired by the stories that have been here, to something new. Things must never stop, but always go further. The music should go on, and what

form it takes is for [us] now to decide. If it is strong enough, then it lives on. This is what I think of. (“Sigrid . . .” 2018)

CONCLUSION

Early education settings play an integral role in facilitating appreciation for and engagement with traditional music practices. In both Scotland and Norway, these experiences are available through a combination of individual teaching opportunities, group experiences, and collectively maintained spaces. Both the immediate developmental age-appropriate needs of the young participants as well as the localized needs of the communities are prioritized. These essentials are attended to while still maximizing accessibility, relevance, and emotional appeal to prospective participants. These COMPs – which emphasize accessibility, equality, inclusivity, and open-mindedness – are a critical stepping-stone to participating in traditional music activities and communities later in life.

CHAPTER 5: SECONDARY, TRANSITIONAL, AND DIASPORA COMMUNITIES OF MUSICAL PRACTICE

INTRODUCTION

This chapter addresses environments for learning Scottish and Norwegian traditional music in settings that are secondary education, age-inclusive, and/or diaspora communities. The choice to include all these together is due to the fundamental parallels between them of serving transitional music education needs: between adolescence and adulthood, spanning diverse age groups, and bridging homeland and migrant communities.

How do these transitional Communities of Musical Practice (COMPs) contribute to the identity construction and sustainment of values? What differentiates these COMPs from other settings (elementary, tertiary) and defines their place in the progression of traditional music education? Additionally, how do non-geographically fixed COMPs (like the North Atlantic Fiddle Convention) contribute to the proliferation and sustainment of these cultural practices?

Musicking concepts are especially important when discussing secondary, transitional, and diasporic traditional music education communities, since they are "an important component of our understanding of ourselves and our relationships with other people and other creatures with which we share our planet," and according to Small, this is "a political matter in the widest sense" (Small 1998:13). Small's concepts are principally constructed to demonstrate how musicking as an action and participatory gesture provides orientation and direction in society and the world at large, and how the "act of musicking, in its totality, itself provides us with a language by means of which we can come to understand and articulate those relationships and through them to understand the relationships of our lives" (Small 1988:14). In terms of memetic

models, these communities acutely demonstrate through a process of positive reinforcement or evidenced elimination which issues, concepts, musical elements, and cultural values are most potent and relevant to the communities. The challenges, stresses, and reflections attendant to transitions, be it between childhood and adulthood or between a homeland and an immigrant community, mean that only the most relevant, sustainable, and emotionally vibrant components of the musical tradition will survive and thrive.

Adaptability is a critical component if a musical tradition is to be maintained and sustained. While the fundamental elements that characterize a tradition and make it identifiable and unique among traditions are important, these elements are always embodied and performed by new generations of musicians in contemporary social, economic, and political situations. The traditions must find renewed or fresh meaning for participants. Referring back to the memetic fairytale analysis by Jack Zipes detailed in Chapter 3 of this dissertation, the music tradition will need to have enough attractive and relatable material at its elemental core substantiating it in order to make it relevant and pertinent to new practitioners. Similarly, as a tradition can be analyzed at the level of a meme, an environment can be analyzed at the level of a memeplex, a collection or ecosystem of memes. Treating music education environments as ecosystems of behavior and phenomena allows us to consider activities from many perspectives and with a fuller perspective. For instance, many traditional music education courses engage in regular, inclusive celebratory activities with local residents, many of whom have participated in these activities annually for decades (Figure 5.1).

Figure 5.1: The Ardvasar *Cèilidh*. Course participants engage in extracurricular community events, such as hosting a *cèilidh* in the local village hall (and street). Here students can be seen dancing raucously to "Road to Errogie," a tune composed by fiddle teacher Adam Sutherland, one of the musicians playing in the center of the group. Alasdair Fraser Fiddle Week, Sabhal Mòr Ostaig College. Isle of Skye, Scotland, UK: July 27, 2016. (Photograph by Georgia Broughton)

All of the COMPs addressed in this chapter exhibit this capacity for adaptability – in their principles, structure, and actioned activity. They exemplify adaptability from the *epistêmê*/epistemology/thinking perspective as well as the technê/ontology/doing perspective. These environments serve as critical connecting sites of musical, cultural, and emotional exchange and transition, and are the center of a constantly renegotiated praxis in music education between what was and what will be.

MUSIC AND DIASPORA

The effects of cultural and music diaspora, while not the focus of this dissertation, should still be briefly addressed. Considering these issues in terms of the musical communities that practice them (and viewing extended musical communities as bioacoustic ecosystems) and framing them with the lens of memetics or a similarly holistic viewpoint, we can avoid the limiting structures that require us to think of behavior and actions in terms of a single dimension or direction of musical energy and instead consider all the multiplicities of behaviors, their outcomes, and their consequences.

The confluence of these issues within the role of traditional music practices has been examined countless times by ethnomusicologists (e.g., Nettl 2005, Levi and Scheding 2010). There are also notable recent examples addressing music, diaspora, and Northern European communities (Basu 2007, Cooper 2009, Spencer 2010).

Although the focus of this dissertation is on localized COMPs in Scotland and Norway, it is important to discuss diasporic music communities of musical practice related to traditional Scottish and Norwegian music. This is most importantly because the diasporic communities play an integral role in sustaining widespread enthusiasm for these musical practices, which in turn makes a positive contribution to reciprocal enthusiasm in both Scotland and Norway. These diaspora communities also are critical for traditional music performers and educators in terms of career sustainment, viable income, and maintaining devoted fan bases for their work.

There are many thriving diaspora music communities promoting traditional Scottish and Norwegian music, many of which I encountered throughout fieldwork. Due to the extensive history of emigration from the British Isles and Northern Europe to America, particularly in the mid to late 1800s, there are many diasporic communities of musical practice in the United States.

Two that I became familiar with during my dissertation research were the San Francisco Scottish Fiddlers and the Hardanger Fiddling Association of America.

Additionally, an absolutely critical diaspora community in terms of traditional music practice would be the Cape Breton fiddle and music community. Cape Breton is a particularly important example of a diaspora community contributing to the arts practice of a home country, so to speak, since it was here that traditional Scottish step dancing was kept alive even when it was lost in Scotland. After generations of separation, dance practitioners were able to return to Scotland, having continued the traditional dance practices, and revitalize the dance tradition in Scotland that had been lost in practice but retained in memory (Melin 2015).

Many of these research sites, such as the North Atlantic Fiddle Convention, also serve to reaffirm traditional music practices and related education discussions in the diaspora. These organizations were formed with motivations beyond simply facilitating attainment of a new musical skill. The development and sustaining of community, across generations and continents, was always at the forefront.

REVIEW OF TRANSITIONAL COMPs

To reiterate, many of the COMPs profiled below cater to youth and young adults with moderate musical performance/education experience. However, there are several that capably meet the needs of many ages and playing levels. One characterizing element of this particular collection of COMPs is the greater proficiency with using social media to promote and disperse news related to their projects and activities. This is sensible, given the wide geographic range of the participants for many of these COMPs, and serves as an additional example of how these COMPs prioritize adaptability and accessibility.

Scottish Schools Pipes and Drums Trust

The Scottish Schools Pipes and Drums Trust (SSPDT) was formed with the belief that pipe bands are more than just a musical pastime. They contribute to the development of life skills, teamwork attributes, collective and individual achievement, and even "resilience and perseverance, self-confidence, camaraderie and a sense of discipline" (Scottish Schools Pipes and Drums Trust 2019). The Trust works to advance arts, heritage, and cultural education opportunities and considers their encouragement of young people to play the pipes and drums as a form of community development (ibid.).

Much of SSPDT's work and vision builds on a program that began in 2007 in Prestonpans, Scotland. From those initial efforts, senior and junior youth bands now perform regularly for their communities, have achieved a wide range of Scottish Qualifications Authority examination successes, travel widely, and compete regularly. In many ways these young students function as social and cultural ambassadors for their communities.

As of now, 2500 young people in middle and secondary schools are learning the pipes and drums in 190 of Scotland's state schools with SSPDT's assistance. Facilitating accessibility is a priority, and SSPDT works to provide either free tuition or significantly reduced tuition via cash grants, instrument loans, and intramural funding from outside organizations such as Fèis Rois (see below).

Sgoil Lionacleit Pipe Band

The Sgoil Lionacleit Pipe Band is composed of pipers and drummers between 12 and 17 years old from throughout the Uist islands in the Outer Hebrides on Scotland's west coast. Like the Isle of Skye (the site of much of my fieldwork), Uist is part of the Outer Hebrides and is a

stronghold of Gaelic culture and tradition. The greatest concentration of Scottish Gaelic speakers lives on the Outer Hebrides. This pipe band was the 2017 winner of the Scottish Schools Pipe Band Championships Freestyle Competition and has repeatedly placed in the top ranks of their class division at the World Pipe Band Championships (Sgoil Lionacleit Pipe Band 2018).

They also consider themselves as serving as ambassadors for Uist as well as Scottish musical culture, and traveled to New York City to perform at the 20th Anniversary New York Tartan Week on Saturday, April 7, 2018. This would have been an ambitious plan for any school-aged group, but Sgoil Lionacleit Pipe Band is from a small rural state school, and the opportunity to travel internationally is rare and expensive. Many of the young musicians had never previously traveled outside the United Kingdom. The entire endeavor was completely crowd-funded in less than two months, and BBC Alba commissioned a documentary that followed the band as they prepared, fundraised, and embarked on the trip, giving them a wide base of support in Scotland.

Taking along a contingent of local highland dancers, their focus was "to share our pipe music and dance, Hebridean and Gaelic culture with a huge international audience," and they performed at several events for attendees in addition to participating in the traditional event parade. While in New York, they also explored the history of emigration from the Hebrides to the United States. Committed to hard work, cooperation, and a shared mission and vision, the group issued a statement reflecting on this event, reporting that the experience encouraged "a sense of self-worth and pride in our cultural roots and music" (ibid.).

Fèis Rois

Fèis Rois is widely recognized as a national leader in the arts, especially in music

education, enabling people of all ages to access and participate in traditional arts through a diverse program of activities across Scotland. Based in Dingwall, the organization aims to give young people and lifelong learners opportunities to experience and engage with traditional music and Scottish Gaelic culture in ways that support social skills and community development (Fèis Rois 2019a).

One of the key activities in the Fèis Rois program are the *fèisean*. These events, which are a cross between a short-term music school and a music festival, bring people together to learn and share traditional music skills, as well as exploring a range of other art forms (such as dancing) and even Scottish Gaelic language. These *fèisean* are held year round but especially during the summer months, and activities are supported in both the formal and informal education sectors. *Fèisean*, while traditional music education contexts, are not historically traditional learning environments; they are a measure developed in contemporary times to address diminishing opportunities for young people to learn traditional arts practices. The originators of the early *fèisean* were concerned that the traditional music practices (including song and dance) of the Scottish Highlands and Islands were disappearing due to limited opportunities for children and youth to learn, perform, and share the art forms.

By the late 1980s, more and more *fèisean* activities started to emerge and gain popularity across the Scottish Highlands and Islands.[21] While these efforts began as contained, local, grassroots and volunteer run, it became clear that *fèisean* teachers and planners would benefit from organized support, leading to the establishment in 1991 of Fèisean nan Gàidheal (Fèisean of Scotland), the independent umbrella association of the *Fèis* movement. This membership organization offers grant-aid, teacher training, event insurance, and instrument loans, as well as

[21] This goes for other music education environments in Scotland as well. Sabhal Mòr Ostaig was founded only a few years prior to the start of Fèis Rois, and the Alasdair Fraser Fiddle Week was first held there in 1986.

ensuring that all Fèis Rois (and guest artist) teachers have been screened and approved to teach young people. There are currently more than 40 *fèisean* projects across Scotland.

Approximately 50 young people attended the first residential Fèis Rois event in 1986, and over 30 years later, 9,345 individuals have participated in Fèis Rois activities. While many *fèisean* groups are still localized and volunteer-run, Fèis Rois is unique within the *fèisean* movement, with a full-time staff that works year-round and collaborates well beyond the local community of the Ross & Cromarty District Council. This commitment to full-time, year-round efforts means that Fèis Rois consistently supports thousands of young people in learning traditional arts and also can provides opportunities to encourage cross-genre collaboration and innovative contemporary practices. Many participants from the early Fèis Rois workshops, such as fiddler Louise MacKenzie, have gone on to have successful careers in the Scottish music industry and return regularly to teach the next generation of young musicians in Fèis Rois.[22] She states, "I was very fortunate in being able to go to the very first *fèis* in 1986 up in Ullapool and it was an incredibly inspiring time just for me to be there and be part of this great adventure. . . . It's also been the most incredible journey for me in the fact that I've gone on to do performing, teaching, tutoring – I'm still a *fèis* tutor, it's lovely for me to give back to Fèis Rois and say a huge thank you after thirty years of being involved with the organization" (Fèis Rois 2016).

Youth Music Initiative

The Scottish Government's Youth Music Initiative (YMI) program helps develop and deliver traditional music and arts experiences in primary and secondary schools across Scotland, offering bespoke projects based on the requirements of individual schools and local authorities.

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[22] Louise MacKenzie also participated in the original Alasdair Fraser Fiddle Week on the Isle of Skye and has taught there for many years, included every summer I conducted fieldwork there.

YMI is administered by Creative Scotland (see Chapter 2) and aims to "enable young people to achieve their potential in or through music making" (Creative Scotland 2019a). Via YMI funding, music projects have been sponsored in 19 out of Scotland's 32 political districts (called authorities), significantly contributing to the Scottish Government's commitment that "every school pupil in Scotland should be offered a year of free music tuition by the time they leave primary school." States John Somerville, a YMI tutor, "YMI breaks down any social barriers, providing a safe, fun, collaborative environment that engages every child no matter what their family and living circumstances" (Creative Scotland 2019b).

These projects also extend to technological applications and engagement. The Fun Folk App was launched in 2016 as a collaborative endeavor between Creative Scotland's Youth Music Initiative, Lanarkshire Council, Highland Council, The City of Edinburgh Council, Celtic Connections, and Fèis Rois. Through interactive activities, animations, and films, the Fun Folk App introduces children aged five and under to Scottish traditional music, song, stories, and even *cèilidh* dancing. Notably, the app presents material in English, Scots Gaelic, and Scots language. A team of research artists worked with over 400 children in nursery schools across four Scottish local authority areas to develop this project, and award-winning animators brought the results to life. Professional musicians from bands including Treacherous Orchestra and The Shee recorded music and stories. Although the product was always designed for young people, at every step of development it was treated as a serious professional endeavor, supported as such, and considered to be a vital development link in sustaining traditional music education (Fèis Rois 2019c).

Highland Youth Arts Hub

The Highland Youth Arts Hub (HYAH) was founded in 2014, when thirteen youth and

arts organizations formed a consortium[23] to develop arts opportunities with and for young people throughout the Highlands. Funded by Creative Scotland from 2014 to 2016, HYAH engaged 5765 young people under the age of 25 in creative activities and created 252 paid freelance work opportunities for musicians and artists (Highland Youth Arts Hub 2019).

HYAB aims to increase access to youth arts activities across the region and across a range of art forms including music and dance. With a tagline of "Developing Creativity Across the Highlands," the HYAH mission is actualized through three methods all encouraging age-appropriate agency, self-sufficiency, and creative initiative:

1. Facilitating connections between young people, organizations & practitioners
2. Supporting a regional youth forum that informs the direction of the HYAH
3. Offering schemes that allow young people to take control of their own arts development

HYAH was set up to support the National Youth Arts Strategy "Time to Shine," a venture supported by Creative Scotland and centering around three key themes: Participation (creating and sustaining engagement), Progression (nurturing potential and talent), and Provision (developing infrastructure and support) (ibid.).

In 2017, the HYAH issued a 10-year Youth Arts Strategy with five core aims: access, collaboration, innovation, place, and sustainability. In 2018, HYAH capitalized on these priorities via several major projects, including a partnership with Historic Environment Scotland to enable young people to work with artists at sites across the Highlands, and "HYAHLive!," a participatory festival, in collaboration with the National Trust for Scotland (NTS), for young people in the Highlands. Taking place across six sites as part of Scotland's Year of Young People 2018, the festival was held over five days and culminated with events at Culloden

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[23] This consortium included the Eden Court Theatre, Fèisean nan Gàidheal, Fèis Rois, Highland Council, Highland Print Studio, High Life Highland, Moniack Mhòr, North Lands Creative, Plan B Creative, Room 13, Skye Dance, University of the Highlands & Islands, and Youth Highland.

Battlefield on August 18, 2018 (Highland Youth Arts Hub 2018).

Sgoil Chiùil na Gàidhealtachd

Since starting in May 2000, the National Centre of Excellence in Traditional Music (NCETM) at Plockton High School, also known as Sgoil Chiùil na Gàidhealtachd, remains the first and only accredited secondary school in Scotland with a diploma offered in traditional music. Sgoil Chiùil na Gàidhealtachd was originally financed by The Highland Council in partnership with the Scottish Government's Department of Education & Lifelong Learning. In 2007, the Council assumed full responsibility for the funding, and it remains a source of pride for the school that all student places at the school continue to be fully funded (Sgoil Chiùil na Gàidhealtachd 2019a).

Plockton was chosen from among 32 candidate submissions in 1999 to the Scottish government, and the choice of location was purposeful. On the west coast of Ross-shire just opposite the Isle of Skye, Plockton is at the center of a community renowned for its support of traditional music and Gaelic culture (both Sabhal Mòr Ostaig and Fèis Rois are part of this community).

The school offers top class tuition and thorough pre-professional training and experience in traditional music, covering individual lessons, ensembles, workshops, master classes, and community performances. It has established itself as a nexus of creative musical activity, drawing young students from all around the country to develop their skills and maximize their creative potential. In addition to a full academic curriculum, students learn traditional music instruments and singing (both live and in the studio), composing and arranging, stagecraft, music technology, the history and context of traditional music, and the "many other diverse skills which

go to make up a modern professional musician" (Sgoil Chiùil na Gàidhealtachd 2019a). Although specializing in traditional music, the mission of the school has always been to fully prepare students to be well rounded, self-sufficient, and prepared for the task of 21st-century musicianship, as indicated by Dougie Pincock, the Director of NCETM: "We don't consider ourselves merely a hothouse for professional musicians. Many of our leavers have followed other career paths, but what's important to us is that they take their music with them wherever they go in life. After all, that's how any tradition survives and thrives" (Sgoil Chiùil na Gàidhealtachd 2019b).

The education project is unique in that it concentrates specifically on one genre of music, unlike many other musical centers in Scotland. Many people have regarded the sustainment of Scottish traditional music as "testament to the huge growth in popularity and intrinsic importance and value of Scotland's native musical culture" (Sgoil Chiùil na Gàidhealtachd 2019c). Even with this exceptional commitment to traditional music study, the school is purposefully not strictly vocational. Commendably realistic and cognizant of the fact that there are still sustainable career opportunities for traditional music, the school offers a balanced curriculum working between students' academic necessities and musical commitments, while providing access to some of the best traditional music teachers and mentors in the country. All pupils study two artistic disciplines and receive an hour of instruction in each of these disciplines each week.

Much emphasis is put on developing curriculum, lessons, and post-graduation goals that are tailored to each student. Crucially, students are involved in their own learning, often playing a key role in selecting specific materials for learning. Music teaching is carried out without written music, and given the strong emphasis on oral tradition in Scottish traditional music, students are encouraged to develop aural and memorization skills at every stage. In addition to

these music performance studies, theory, harmony, and composition, and accompaniment are all compulsory components of each student's learning. The goal is not only to prepare students for their futures as individuals but also to drive home the importance of knowing how to competently contribute to ensemble and collaborative work.

Modules addressing the history and contexts of Scottish traditional music frame this performance curriculum. Tutors ensure that students are aware of the background of the music they learn and play, offering students a deeper understanding that "they are part of a living and dynamic tradition which in addition to drawing from the past is constantly being refreshed" (Sgoil Chiùil na Gàidhealtachd 2019d).

The primary NCETM fiddle teacher, Iain MacFarlane, is one of the most sought-after fiddlers in Scotland. Iain grew up surrounded by traditional music and influenced by renowned teachers such as his father Charlie, Donald Riddell, Fearchar MacRae, and Evan MacRae. Iain has participated in many diverse projects involving, drama, dance, radio, and television. Best known for his role in the dynamic traditional music ensemble Blazin' Fiddles, Iain is a graduate of the Royal Scottish Conservatoire Traditional Music course, is an in-demand session player, and teaches regularly for groups such as *Fèisean* (Sgoil Chiùil na Gàidhealtachd 2019e).

Folkehøgskole

Folkehøgskole, while very much a standard and predictable stage in Norwegian academic life, are not commonly found in the United States. Literally translated as "folk high schools," and not to be confused with American high schools and the role of secondary education, Scandinavian *folkehøgskole* are diploma-conferring institutions attended between secondary school and tertiary education. This network of 77 institutions throughout Norway offers a diverse

array of course studies to familiarize students with potential degree and career options; individual institutions are usually known and attended based on the strength of individual programs. Very often this includes Norwegian language and culture, traditional music, and vocational training, and while most courses are taught in Norwegian, there are many *folkehøgskole* that offer courses taught in English in order to allow non-Norwegians the chance to learn about Norway in Norway immersively ("What Is a Folk High School?" 2019).

To encourage learning over performance, these schools have no grades, no rigid curricula, and no exams. Practice and application of concepts are the priorities, and classes are kept small (usually between 10 and 20 students) so that students are able to practice what they learn, not merely immerse themselves in theory. Most students attend folk high schools immediately after graduating from high school (in the Norwegian education system, high school corresponds to the two final years of American high school). While most folk high school students attend directly after completing secondary school and are between 18 and 25 years of age, there is definitely age inclusivity; some schools accept 16-year-olds, and no *folkehøgskole* have upper age limits.

Folkehøgskole are generally grouped into two groups: religious and liberal (to revisit the issue of dichotomy interplay, see Chapter 3). The core principles and worldview of the liberal *folkehøgskole* are linked to established humanistic values common in Norwegian culture and in globally recognized human rights. Even with these distinctions, both liberal and religious *folkehøgskole* welcome students with different beliefs (ibid).

ALASDAIR FRASER FIDDLE WEEK AT SABHAL MÒR OSTAIG COLLEGE

My first fieldwork venture took place in July 2014, when I attended the Alasdair Fraser Fiddle Camp at Sabhal Mòr Ostaig College (SMO) on the Isle of Skye. This weeklong course, founded in 1986, offered instruction in fiddle performance, accompaniment, dance, song, and also offered extra-curricular opportunities related to Scottish culture. Having never travelled solo internationally or to Scotland previously, I found the experience a veritable drop-kick into the world of fiddle camps, and even though I was most certainly in the deep end and still learning by ear, the memories from the week and the formative burgeoning experiences from this time have had a profound effect on the direction and tone of my research, even to this day.

When choosing a location for his fiddle course, renowned fiddler Alasdair Fraser (born 1955) understood the importance of finding a site that would be supported by the local community. Sabhal Mòr Ostaig College played a seminal role in the late 20th-century renaissance of Scottish language and music awareness. Founded in 1973, the college has been a leading Gàidhlig (Scots Gaelic) institution, supporting the study of the Gàidhlig language, Scottish traditional music, and the general safeguarding of Scottish culture and heritage. The institution is one of thirteen that make up the University of the Highlands and Islands (*Oilthigh na Gàidhealtachd agus nan Eilean*), all offering Gàidhlig-related degrees, facilitating collaborative research, and maintaining award-winning summer and distance Gàidhlig language courses (Sabhal Mòr Ostaig 2019).

In addition to Alasdair Fraser and Natalie Haas (who serves as lead cello coach and was an early Valley of the Moon attendee, see below), there are several other tutors who are present every summer: Louise MacKenzie (beginning fiddle), Christine Primrose (voice), and Màiri Britton (dance). Each summer, there are three fiddle tutors (including Alasdair) who teach the

main classes. The fiddle tutors working with Alasdair Fraser in the four summers between 2014 and 2017 are listed below:

- July 2014: Patsy Reid and Adam Sutherland (both from Scotland).
- July 2015: Chris Stone (Australia) and Ciarán Ó Maonaigh, from Donegal in the north of the Republic of Ireland, a location well known for its distinctive musical qualities and with strong historical ties to Scotland. Ciarán's wife, Caitlín Nic Gabhann, has toured internationally and was one of the dance teachers.
- July 2016: Adam Sutherland and Ciarán Ó Maonaigh, with Caitlín Nic Gabhann returning.
- July 2017: Lauren MacColl and Mike Vass (both from Scotland and well known for their creative work rooted in traditional music while looking to new compositional horizons). Innes Watson, also from Scotland, taught the guitar/accompaniment class.

All of these tutors are internationally recognized performing and recording artists renowned for the committed collaborative energy and the distinctiveness of their playing through technique and stylistic choices. In July 2014, the course had approximately 120 students enrolled; due to its popularity, by July 2017 that had grown to an enrollment of approximately 150 students, ages 14 to adult. About 70% of participants were fiddlers, with the remaining 30% cellists. These were the official instrument designations for course registration, but other instruments represented informally and outside course instruction included guitar, banjo, mandolin, and double bass.

A regular class schedule was held on all but the first and final dates. Four classes were scheduled each day, two in the morning and two in the afternoon. The first three classes of the day were the instrument-specific, repertoire-centered classes where students learned the tunes to

be performed at the end of the week in the final concert. The fourth class was an elective, and students had the option to take lessons in Scottish step dancing, Gàidhlig song, guitar accompaniment in the Scottish style, or traditional percussion styles. The number of students and range of playing levels and experience necessitated four different classrooms, each with different paces of instruction and learning. Inclusivity in learning pace and style is very much a part of Alasdair's teaching philosophy, and all his summer camps are set up this way. Students self-determined which instrument class they would participate in, depending on comfort level and experience with their instrument, and were even encouraged to try a few and move around from class to class throughout the day. Music teachers rotated through the classrooms for each of the three tune-focused music classes, emphasizing the central, orienting role the students play in this dynamic (Figure 5.2).

Figure 5.2: Alasdair Fraser (seated onstage) teaching a tune to the fast-learning class at the Alasdair Fraser Fiddle Week, Sabhal Mòr Ostaig College. Isle of Skye, Scotland, UK: July 25, 2016. (Photograph by Georgia Broughton)

Teaching was conducted in a traditional aural, unwritten style. Each tune was played and given context/history/musical lineage by the teacher, subdivided into smaller sections, mimicked back by the students, and repeated in a call and response format until the tune had been ingrained a suitable number of times to be reliably committed to memory. Written music for tunes was not particularly in the spirit of the environment, but cellists and guitarists frequently used written cues in the form of chord charts, especially for the final concert. The work of these classes culminated in a final concert at the end of the week on the SMO main campus featuring all of the participants inclusively, regardless of proficiency level. Each time I attended the week, I saw that

the college promoted this event to the surrounding locals on the Isle of Skye before the course, and that it was open to all members of the public. The concert always sold out days ahead of the event (Figure 5.3). With already 150 course already participants onstage, the space was packed. Readying for such an event always took a great deal of coordination and cooperation (Figure 5.4).

Figure 5.3: Advertisements for the Alasdair Fraser Fiddle Week concert at Sabhal Mòr Ostaig College are posted all throughout the community. Isle of Skye, Scotland, UK: July 28, 2016. (Photograph by Georgia Broughton)

Figure 5.4: A bird's eye view, just prior to the start of the concert at Alasdair Fraser Fiddle Week, Sabhal Mòr Ostaig College. The concert is always sold old with the space at capacity, and some attendees watch from the floor above. Isle of Skye, Scotland, UK: July 28, 2017 (Photograph by Georgia Broughton)

Throughout the week, an extraordinary level of camaraderie and a sense of musical and emotional family were cultivated by the teachers, especially by Alasdair Fraser. Even before he taught a single tune, he expressed these sentiments at the introductory orientation. His priority as the leader of this course was to help each participant feel welcome, engaged, and vital to this community, that each of us would "feel and heed the groove," in a communal sense in addition to freeing ourselves, musically as well as personally. The term "groove" might seem a bit out of place in a traditional music setting, but it is very much a part of the vernacular at Alasdair's

camps.[24] It would be best described as an intersection of enthusiasm meeting the musical version of Csikszentmihalyi's concept of "flow," a state of being characterized by heightened concentration co-existent with an optimal balance of challenge and skill level in relation to the activity, time/place, and the immediate feedback (Csikszentmihalyi 1990). Alasdair would frequently support this concept of "groove" by extending the set of analogies. He would ask us to be specific and intentional as to what musical "language" we were trying to speak (e.g. Lowland Scots, Skye, Donegal) or to jump into that musical river we're all swimming in, to paraphrase. The emphasis was always on focusing intentionality, with the assumption that we were all onboard to enthusiastically be trying things that were new or not perfectly comfortable. The expectation was that we would be spending the week stretching the boundaries of our experience and were in a supportive environment to be getting creative (Figure 5.5).

[24] Tommie Smith, parent to a fiddle camp participant and director of *The Groove Is Not Trivial*, a documentary on Alasdair Fraser and his fiddling communities (date?), very purposefully choose to include the word "groove" in the title.

Figure 5.5: Ciarán Ó Maonaigh (seated in black shirt at center right) teaching a class outside to enjoy the rare full sunshine. Alasdair Fraser Fiddle Week, Sabhal Mòr Ostaig College, Isle of Skye, Scotland, UK: July 28, 2017. (Photograph by Georgia Broughton)

While visiting the festival/school, I balanced the roles of both researcher and course participant. First, I interviewed fiddling teachers, covering their personal musical paths, teaching approach, perspective on traditional vs. adaptive practices, and their outlook on Scottish musical legacy and the future of the genre. Second, I myself attended the festival as a student participant and recipient of these teaching techniques, attitudes, and perspectives. I also interviewed other participants and students who were receptive to sharing their thoughts and experiences regarding Scottish traditional music. My goal was to explore to what extent Scottish nationalism and political/environmental concerns have informed the traditional Scottish music scene.

At the initial welcome orientation in July 2014, Alasdair Fraser made explicit reference to the current political climate in Scotland, namely the upcoming Scottish Independence Referendum (which was to be held on September 18, 2014), and to the parallels between setting ourselves free from rigid, oppressive classical music techniques and from rigid, oppressive political structures (Figure 5.6).

Figure 5.6: The introductory afternoon of the 30th Annual Alasdair Fraser Fiddle Week at Sabhal Mòr Ostaig College, with all participants engaging in extended call and response exercises to home in on the "groove" of the group. Isle of Skye, Scotland: July 23, 2016. (Photograph by Georgia Broughton)

While not everyone in the program was a Scottish citizen or even of voting age, most attendees were willing to talk about these upcoming events and the sentiments surrounding them. Whether they agreed or not, independence sentiment was front and center on the musical menu that week. The first song we learned at the welcome orientation and one that featured

prominently at the final concert was "Freedom Come-All-Ye," one of Scotland's four de facto national anthems.[25] Written by Scottish author and poet Hamish Henderson[26] (aka Seamas MacEanraig) in 1960, this is an anti-imperial, anti-colonial, left-wing protest song that expresses hopes for a more just and inclusive future. This is well demonstrated by the following excerpt from the second stanza:

> Original (in Scots):
> Nae mair will our bonnie callants
> Merch tae war when oor braggarts crousely craw . . .
> Broken faimlies in lands we've hairriet
> Will curse "Scotland the Brave" nae mair, nae mair
>
> English translation:
> No more will our fine young men
> March to war at the behest of jingoists and imperialists . . .
> Broken families in lands we've helped to oppress
> Will never again have reason to curse the sound of advancing Scots
> (Scottish Poetry Library 2019)

Extracurricular events throughout the week were scheduled to foster this spirit of musical family, nurture this sense of musical liberation, and address the finer points of what independence would mean for Scotland politically and economically. These included a presentation on the future of Scotland's monetary currency; a neuroscience lecture on creativity, self-determination, and artistic independence; and many late-night debates moderated by Alasdair Fraser and held in the dormitory common room. These types of political activities were not new to the fiddle camp. In past years, Alex Salmond, the First Minister of Scotland from 2007 until 2014, had visited the SMO Fiddle week and discussed these issues with participants (Sabhal Mòr Ostaig 2011).

Of course, the 2014 Independence Referendum ended with 55% of the voting population

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[25] For full lyrics, see Appendix D.
[26] Henderson was a leading figure in the folk revival of the 1960s and was a renowned folksong collector in addition to his work as an author and poet. When American ethnomusicologist Alan Lomax visited Scotland in 1951, Henderson served as an artistic guide (*The Scotsman* 2002).

voting to stay part of the United Kingdom. During July 2015, political discussion at Sabhal Mòr Ostaig was understandably subdued, and extracurricular activities did not center on independence or political issues explicitly. Discussion surrounding these issues was reserved for informal social hours and gatherings, and there was a general despondency over politics in the United Kingdom more generally.

As noted above, in 2014, just seven weeks before the Scottish independence referendum, Alasdair had chosen to teach us a nationalistic tune titled "Freedom Come All Ye," which essentially became a part of the collective repertoire of this community. By summer 2015, still fresh from the defeat of the Scottish Independence campaign, there was little room for such passion and patriotic nationalism. Considering the heavy skewing among participants towards liberal social values, with many of them actively discussing the merits of independence for Scotland the summer before, the emotional temperature of the community was understandably subdued. Alasdair opened the introductory meeting with a tempered, soulful, but unquestionably mournful Scottish air, which he taught us with mirrored solemnity.

By July 2016, the "Brexit" referendum vote deciding whether the United Kingdom would leave the European Union had been held a month before. That political debacle had cast an especially dark pall over the Edinburgh-Westminster relationship, re-galvanizing political discussions at Sabhal Mòr Ostaig in spite of the looming consequences if the United Kingdom were to leave the European Union. However, extracurricular activities and events in the community did not reflect this political angst. If anything, the events served to reaffirm a sense of solidarity and musicking-induced joyousness (Figure 5.7).

Figure 5.7: The Tarskavaig *Cèilidh*, undeterred by rain, or sleet, or snow. Every year from 1986 until 2014, a *cèilidh* is held in the Tarskavaig town hall on the Wednesday evening of the weeklong fiddle course. This event reinforced connection between the college, local residents, and the fiddle course students. Mairi Britton, the long-time SMO Fiddle Week dancing instructor, is in the center of the shot, organizing the dancers as they move about the room executing their newly learned steps. July 30, 2016. (Photograph by Georgia Broughton)

INTERLUDE: Joining The Party

One of the most important aspects of the course is community involvement, and there were several scheduled events throughout the week that facilitated these goals and values, two of which involved some travel.

For the first, a boat had been scheduled to ferry approximately thirty students from Armadale back across the Sound of Sleat. But instead of heading to Mallaig, we headed to the peninsula of Knoydart directly east on the mainland. Passing from the sound into Loch Nevis, we landed at Inverie, one of the most remote villages in all of Scotland. The village is accessible only by boat or by a seventeen-mile hike over land. With barely a dozen operational vehicles and

just over a hundred residents, the town is also the location of the remotest pub in all of Scotland, The Old Forge. Annually, students from the course hold a traditional music session in the pub (Scotland has a very liberal sense of age restrictions in bars). The brightly lit white-walled rooms echo with the sounds of tunes and cozy chatter as students play sessions standards and pieces newly learned that week or even that morning during class time.

The second event was the Tarskavaig *Cèilidh*, which required a drive over the peninsula of Sleat on a single-track road from the college to the petite community of Tarskavaig. The only way to get there is to walk the six miles, which I should stress is not in a straight line but actually up and down hills so steep it would've simply been easier to roll, or to catch a ride with someone you've only met just days ago. Luckily, I happened to jump into the packed car where none other than Alasdair Fraser himself was driving. I squeezed into the backseat with only just enough time for a momentary pause to wonder where the seatbelts were, and we were suddenly tearing off through the boggy pastures, winding around the hillsides, passing our fellow students and trying to avoid the ever-present livestock who seemed to assert a persistent and inconvenient ownership of the road. Last to leave but one of the first to arrive, we parked in time to watch the sun setting over a feisty and threateningly stormy ocean, a fitting opening to the evening's festivities.

The Tarskavaig Townhall, where the event was to take place, measured approximately twenty-five by fifty feet. Somehow, this space was going to fit in excess of one hundred fifty people dancing, playing, and singing into the wee hours. As students begin trickling in, community members, who have traditionally also participated in this event for the past twenty-eight years, were arriving as well, bringing baked goods and beverages for the evening. Many of these locals have been attending as long as the camp has been taking place, and Alasdair welcomed them warmly.

Some people were impatient to start playing and began pulling out instruments and joining in small groups, playing standard *cèilidh* tunes ("The High Drive" and "Brenda Stubbert's") that had either been taught over the years or learned by jumping in and grasping at notes (Figure 5.8, Figure 5.9).

Figure 5.8: Transcription of "The High Drive," written by piper Gordon Duncan. This is a popular Scottish *cèilidh* tune and was very much a part of the standart repertory in several COMPS I observed.

Figure 5.9: Transcription of “Brenda Stubbert’s Reel.” Named after the well-known Cape Breton fiddler, Brenda Stubbert, this tune was written for her by Jerry Holland, another Cape Breton musician. This tune is a popular *cèilidh* tune in Scotland and this makes great sense given the long-standing cultural ties between the two locations due to immigration in the 1800s.

At every opportunity, the connection to community was profoundly evident. The dependable tune choices, the capacity to withstand the elements united – all of these activities underwrote an intense, deeply rooted sense of belonging. The ability to create space, share the notes, and join in – musicking, but most importantly, together – was paramount.

Once the tunes start growing, it quickly became apparent that in order to dance we would all have to move outside. It seemed no challenge to anyone that it had already started raining. Barely lit by the flood light lamps outside, we kicked up reels as the rain lashed down in our faces, and those brave enough to take their fiddles outside were unconcerned by either the wet or the cold.

ADAM SUTHERLAND SCHOOL OF FIDDLE

Adam Sutherland, an early participant and now a teacher for several summers at Alasdair Fraser Week at Sabhal Mòr Ostaig, has gone on to have a successful and diverse professional career as a traditional musician. In his late thirties at the time of writing, he is an in-demand performer, regularly collaborating and producing a prolific number of tune compositions, and he is also a member of such popular and sometimes genre-defiant bands as the Treacherous Orchestra, the Peatbog Fairies, and Session A9 (Adam Sutherland School of Fiddle 2019).

His early start participating in *fèisean* and other education opportunities has led him to teach in many programs and on several continents, and Adam has many years of experience working with fiddlers of all ages and abilities. In March 2016, he convened the inaugural Adam Sutherland School of Fiddle event, which was held at Sloan's, a historic pub and event venue in the center of Glasgow. Since then, he has scheduled courses regularly several times throughout the year, and they are held both in the city and farther afield, such as Dalmoak and Oban (ibid.). Due to a fortunate convergence of dates, I was lucky enough to be able to attend both the North Atlantic Fiddle Convention Workshop in Aberdeen and an Adam Sutherland School of Fiddle workshop in mid April 2017.

These two-day courses are geared toward intermediate and advanced fiddle players, usually teenagers and adults. Like many other contemporary fiddling courses, cellos and violas are welcome. While all tunes and classes are taught by ear, sheet music is provided at the end of the course acknowledging the brief amount of time participants have to learn the tunes together. Classes focus not just on learning traditional well-loved tunes by ear, but also the broader aspects of music (like harmony and rhythm) and the experience of tune writing. Participants are invited to get compositionally creative in front of their peers, and there are also moments of co-

compositional collaboration facilitated by Adam (Figure 5.10).

Figure 5.10: First class of the morning at the Adam Sutherland School of Fiddle. Adam is teaching in a traditional call and response format, without sheet music and making accommodations for questions and artistic tangents. Glasgow, Scotland: April 22, 2017. (Photograph by Georgia Broughton)

Both days of the course offer several classes for learning tunes, breakout sessions, and visits from guest artists. Throughout the day, even in the middle of class, if it is clear an issue is of interest to the group, Adam will sit with it and facilitate conversation and dialogue with participants. I witnessed such discussion address everything from memorization challenges to self-actualization through composition. The workshop concluded with an evening concert featuring Adam and guest artists, usually well-known performers and teachers in their own right. These workshops are "above all, fun and aim to provide a shot in the arm of enthusiasm, joy, and

confidence in one's playing" (Adam Sutherland 2019).

Adam feels that above all it is his role to "help people with their own journeys," and all he can do is "share my world – share, and troubleshoot" (Sutherland 2018). He is essentially teaching autonomy, something he claims he witnessed and admired as a young boy when he was a student of Alasdair Fraser, and he has actively prioritized this philosophy in his own teaching career. His convictions and commitment to this mission are firm, and he states, "Never disregard your own decisions . . . everyone walks their own path, walk your own musical journey" (ibid.).

CEÒLAS

Ceòlas Uist, founded in 1996, is a music and dance summer school (primarily) featuring courses and tuition by some of the country's most preeminent teachers in piping, fiddling, singing, dancing, and Gaelic language. Like several other COMPs listed above, it is set within the Gaelic-speaking community of South Uist. Being situated in this location facilitates the exploration of vital links between Scottish traditional music, language, and geographically centered identity and practice. In addition to class tuition, Ceòlas also provides more traditional cultural opportunities, such as *cèilidhs*. While the program began as a weeklong summer school, Ceòlas is working to develop similar opportunities throughout the year offering a range of events (like concerts, *cèilidhs*, symposiums, etc.), as well as working with other people in the community to enhance and encourage our language and culture (Ceòlas 2019).

THE NORDIC FIDDLERS BLOC SUMMER FIDDLE CAMP

The Nordic Fiddlers Bloc (NFB) is a Northern European fiddle trio founded in 2009 with members from three countries: Olav Luksengård Mjelva (Norway), Anders Hall (Sweden) and

Kevin Henderson (Shetland Islands). Each performer is considered a leading expert in their respective tradition, and with a dedicated focus on the rich fiddle music traditions where they each started, their unique collective sound playfully combines elements, harmonies, and rhythms from each tradition. They perform, teach, and tour internationally and represent many different fiddle styles found throughout the Nordic region (Nordic Fiddlers Bloc 2019a).

I was lucky enough to meet Anders Hall in 2015 when he was a teacher at Valley of the Moon Fiddling School in Santa Cruz, California, as part of another pan-Nordic ensemble, SVER. He, as well as several other SVER band members, commented on the lack of similarly constructed fiddle camps and learning opportunities in Scandinavia (I was told repeatedly that "There's really nothing like this"), and it seems that the experience of teaching at VOM and witnessing the community built there led to some interesting developments.

In summer 2018, The Nordic Fiddlers Bloc hosted their first NFB Fiddle Camp, which was held in Røros, Norway (which also happens to be the location of the Røros Folk Festival, one of the biggest music festivals in Norway), and had 50 participants. In the spirit of shared responsibility and representation, the August 2019 five-day camp will be in Anders's hometown of Järvsö, Sweden. This fiddle camp offers an intensive daily timetable of three instrumental lessons with Olav, Anders, and Kevin, workshops, activities, communal living, and late night jam sessions, all very similar to the Valley of the Moon set-up. The tuition is organized to accommodate several levels of learning (intermediate, higher intermediate and advanced), and like many similar camp intensives, all learning will be done by ear. Olav also teaches one *hardingfele* fiddle class lesson each day (Nordic Fiddlers Bloc 2019b).

COMPs IN THE DIASPORA

Although this dissertation focuses on traditions in Scotland and Norway and sites of artistic/political exchange, and concentrates on how things have manifested in those two countries, it is necessary to discuss how each of these locations has been influenced by the cultural and artistic feedback loop of immigration and diaspora. Examining musical diaspora communities offers the opportunity for this reflection and for considering how the same elements that strengthen musical tradition through generations and sociopolitical transitions are witnessed two-fold in communities removed from the original initiating nexus of musical activity.

Hardanger Fiddle Association of America[27]

Norwegian immigration to the United States started in earnest in the mid-1800s and reached its zenith in the 1880s. While those in Norway were struggling deeply due to a variety of social, economic, and agricultural factors, the newly transported Norwegian Americans were working hard to preserve the cultural and artist traditions that made the voyage with them. House performances by both amateurs and even professionals venturing from Norway were regular occurrences, and these led to concerts and competitions similar to those found in the homeland. The first *kappleik* (fiddle and dance competition) in North America was held 1912 in Stoughton, Wisconsin, and this was such a popular event that it resulted in the creation of the Hardanger Violinist Forbundet af Amerika (The Hardanger Violinist Association of America). The Forbundet was disbanded at the onset of WWII, which led to several decades of diminished popularity and a drop in the number of proponents of Hardanger fiddling in North America (Hardanger Fiddle Association of America 2019a).

[27] The phrase "Hardanger fiddle" is synonymous with *hardingfele*, and is how English speakers in the United States usually refer to the instrument. "Hardanger" is usually capitalized since it refers to a region in the southeast of Norway, where the instrument and its traditions originated.

The Hardanger Fiddle Association of America (HFAA) represents a rekindling of these endeavors. Founded in 1983 with a mission to popularize Norwegian traditional music and capitalize on renewed interest in the United States, this non-profit organization is dedicated to "inspiring, strengthening and energizing the Hardanger fiddle music and dance community in North America," and offers a variety of educational opportunities (ibid. 2019a).

There are regularly scheduled Hardanger fiddle and dance workshops, which are taught by ear, cater to all learning levels, and are purposely wide-ranging. In a real move of inclusivity, the HFAA states on its website that the organization "does not set any gender limitations or experience prerequisites for our dance classes. All are welcome" (Hardanger Fiddle Association of America 2019b). In a cultural tradition that is usually defined by these gender norms, this indicates an actioned commitment to inclusivity and diversity. There is even an instrument loan program (with separate categories for youth and adult recipients) to facilitate instruction and education for those who might be unable to obtain an instrument on their own. Aside from the fact that there are few Hardanger fiddle makers to begin with, and none registered in North America, a basic model Hardanger fiddle costs approximately $5,000 USD at the time of writing, due to the intricate construction involved and the limited number of makers. This loan program fills a significant need. The HFAA facilitates the performance experience as well as the community of support, and the organization also has a journal publication (titled, cheekily, *Soundpost*), email groups, and scholarships available for all ages (ibid.).

Valley of the Moon Scottish Fiddle School

The Valley of the Moon Scottish Fiddle School (VOM) takes place at YMCA Camp Campbell in the mountains just north of Santa Cruz, CA, and celebrates its thirty-sixth year in

2019 (Valley of the Moon Fiddle School 2019). It is sponsored by Scottish Fiddlers of California (SFC), a non-profit corporation that aims to promote understanding and appreciation of Scottish traditional music (Scottish Fiddlers of California 2019). Alasdair Fraser started this camp two years prior to the camp at Sabhal Mòr Ostaig College. I attended and conducted fieldwork at this site for three consecutive summers. In addition to Alasdair, the main fiddle teachers were:

- August 2014: Jeremy Kittel (USA), Caoimhín Ó Raghallaigh (Ireland)
- August 2015: Caoimhín Ó Raghallaigh (Ireland), Anders Hall (Sweden)
- August 2016: Jeremy Kittel (USA), Pascal Gemme (Québecois)

Supporting these fiddle tutors were approximately fourteen other faculty representing various instruments (guitar, harp, voice, percussion, etc.), including the inimitable Natalie Haas as lead cello instructor (Figure 5.11).

Figure 5.11: Connection to nature and respect for natural environment are integral parts of the camp, and most classes are conducted outdoors at the Valley of the Moon Fiddling School. Boulder Creek, CA: August 26, 2014. (Photograph by Georgia Broughton)

All three years, VOM was substantially larger than the SMO course, with 220-250 participants and twice as many faculty instructors. The ratio of fiddle to cello was the same as SMO. All levels of proficiency and experience were present, with five fiddle classes of various learning speeds,[28] and two cello classes. As at SMO, faculty rotated between the teaching locations. Five classes were scheduled daily (three for instruments, two for electives), and due to the more favorable climatic conditions of California compared to Scotland, many VOM classes were held outdoors in the aged redwood groves. Electives again included dancing, singing, and percussion. These were not exclusively Scottish; they encompassed several European musical traditions, including Irish, Scandinavian, Québécois, and Spanish. Teaching was similarly conducted in a traditional style of learning by ear, call and response repetition, and memorization. As at SMO, written music and cheat sheets were not permitted when learning, but chord charts for cellists and guitarists were eventually permitted for the final concert. Throughout the week, however, notes and helpful hints could be found giving helpful reminders about what had been explored and addressed in class (Figure 5.12).

[28] VOM conscientiously chooses to designate classes by learning speed (Fast, Moderate, Slow) instead of by learning level (e.g. "advanced"), in an effort to employ language as an equalizing, inclusive tool.

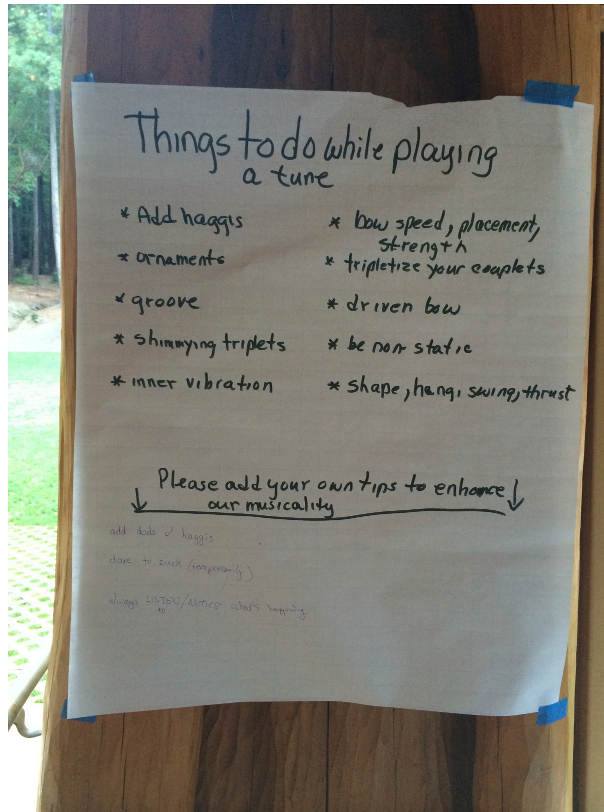

Figure 5.12: Pre-concert reminders for musicians at the Valley of the Moon Fiddle School. Notice the non-music cultural references ("add haggis") and COMP specific terminology, e.g. "groove" and "shape, hang, swing, thrust." Boulder Creek, CA: August 25, 2014. (Photograph by Georgia Broughton)

The cumulative work is always the final concert extravaganza at the Santa Cruz Civic Auditorium on the final Friday of the camp, featuring all participants inclusively, regardless of learning pace. This event is always promoted extensively in town before the camp and is open to all members of the public. Preparations for the concert are intense and require highly coordinated efforts (Figure 5.13).

Figure 5.13: Final dress rehearsal before the concert at Valley of the Moon Fiddling School. Boulder Creek, CA: September 2, 2016. (Photograph by Georgia Broughton)

At the Valley of the Moon School in California, the geographic and social distance from the frontlines of Scottish politics meant that approaches to addressing Scottish national identity and the question of the referendum were lessened. No extracurricular activities promoting or discussing the upcoming Referendum (in 2014) and associated politics (2015, 2016) were scheduled; however, they were generally pervasive topics of conversation. Teachers referred to the potential for Scottish independence and the Brexit vote obliquely in classes. While many participants had very strong feelings on both sides of the issue, conversations frequently gave

way to strictly musical endeavors.

Evening and leisure activities were devoted to cultivating and instilling values of community, and for encouraging the application of tunes and skills learned in classes via active participation in late-night sessions and playing for dances. Musicians would break off into small ensembles of between two and six individuals, playing tunes for hours outside and beyond those learned in class, frequently playing many of the most popular, well-known Scottish traditional tunes in order to signal to those considering joining in that they would be welcome. There were traditional social dances every evening, including Scottish traditional and American barn dancing. The significant number of dancers and musicians required a dance master every evening to call the dances and lead, a task that usually began with a designated elder and then throughout the week would usually shift to younger members wanting to try the responsibility. There were many such examples throughout the week of individuals from different age groups interacting and exchanging experiences to strengthen both the viability of the traditions as well as the social fabric of the community.

This multigenerational component has significantly contributed to the experience of Carley Williams, a fiddler who has been attending Valley of the Moon since she was eleven years old. She now attends with a young daughter of her own and was happy to reflect on the unique social environment Valley of the Moon offers: "Over the years, the small group of 'teens' I grew up with at VOM have mostly gone on to be professional musicians, each of them forging new paths – moving to new places, finding new spaces in the traditions or connections between them, just forging our ways into society – and we had the courage to do this because of this amazing community supporting us, encouraging us, questioning us, challenging us to dig deeper, and cheering us on, every step of the way. And we took the energy, the buzz, the openness, the

inclusivity, the faith in making these leaps, and tried to feed that out into the world in our own ways" (Williams 2019).

INTERLUDE: CÈILIDH TUNES

Though I was present for the late-night tunes that first summer (2014) at Sabhal Mòr Ostaig, a single week was simply not enough time for me to fully learn or aurally absorb all of them, especially since I was very new to learning by ear. I expressed this disappointment to some of the other more experienced attendees as well as my desire to be as prepared as possible for the Valley of the Moon Fiddle School in Santa Cruz, California, another event run by Alasdair Fraser which I would be attending less than a month later. Fortunately, several of the most active course participants were happy to lend me a hand in preparing for the late night sessions. They put together a list of the most often played tunes in the standard Scottish traditional music repertory and even added a few favorites among the SMO/VOM crowd. By the time I was done sourcing some of the most frequently played session tunes, effectively a microcosm of the Scottish traditional session scene, I had over twenty tunes to learn.

Though it was technically untraditional, my friends fully endorsed my looking up written sheet music online in order to speed up the tune learning process. They did stress, however, that if the tunes were not memorized and/or practiced by jumping into a session, (essentially learning by ear but speeding up the process with a jumpstart) then the tunes weren't properly learned – they would never truly sit comfortably or freely in my fingers. At some point, I would need to make the jump and swim in the uncomfortable waters of being a beginner again, trusting that the supportive environment and fellow players who had all shared this experience would catch me.

It has taken me several years to gain any kind of confidence when approaching a session

situation where I might play the fiddle. The critical element of the experience, even more than preparing untraditionally by learning the notes beforehand, has been the welcoming, inclusive attitude demonstrated by so many session participants. The point in these situations is never to be perfect – the point is to play, and play together. The community understands this, even facilitates this rocky process of gaining confidence in a public setting, and the philosophy in these COMPs is that the musicking, in order to be authentic, must include all experiences and perspectives as long as the players are considerate and contributing to the groove.

CONCLUSION

While at first it might seem too wide a net to cast for a single chapter, examining secondary, transitional, and diasporic COMPs alongside one another offers insights into the elemental and functional strengths of these environments. They all exemplify musical, cultural, and emotional liminalities on different frontiers – navigating the passage from childhood to adulthood, negotiating between generations, and traversing the geographic boundaries that create and support diaspora communities. By placing a premium on prioritizing accessibility, promoting inclusivity, and welcoming new participants, these Scottish and Norwegian COMPs are investing not only in the future of their traditions but also in their own futures and sustainability. The process is symbiotic, and the musically actioned synergy produces fertile terrain for subsequent tiers of COMPs to grow and thrive.

CHAPTER 6: TERTIARY AND HIGHER EDUCATION COMMUNITIES OF MUSICAL PRACTICE

INTRODUCTION

The majority of my fieldwork and research was spent observing and interviewing individuals who participate in tertiary Communities of Musical Practice (COMPs). This was for several practical reasons. The first reason relates to human research subjects clearances and the challenges associated with obtaining permission to work with youth and adolescents under the age of 18. This challenge simply was not a problem for higher education settings. The second reason was that many of the ethnomusicological issues I was examining (or at least planned to examine at the outset of fieldwork, since everything changes) were being directly addressed through both academic and performance contexts in these institutions of higher education.

How do these tertiary education communities differ from previous tiers of traditional music COMPs? Since they are historically non-traditional settings for traditional music education, what do they offer that makes them unique and/or critical COMPs? How does the dynamic of adult professionals teaching young adult pre-professionals affect notions of belonging, inclusivity, and by extension related political sentiment? Additionally, how do these established, respected institutions collaborate across national boundaries to reaffirm inclusive political values?

These institutions are important locations for considering ethnomusicological issues for two reasons: one, they are working with young adults and nascent professional musicians at the time of life when these individuals are becoming fully aware of their capacity as political individuals; and two, these institutions reflect to society at the highest level of education the

codified and institutionalized societal values relating to traditional music and cultural practices. Traditional music in higher education settings represents an affirmative acceptance of these practices as valid cultural expressions (Cruz and Stake 2012, Illeris 2012, Vist 2015) rendering them sites of a "making and consuming [of] expressive culture," a "systematic microcosm," where "cultural behaviors simultaneously enact both stability and change" (Spiller 2014:341).

Tertiary music education settings provide an integrated and advanced experience in terms of determining what musical elements, social behaviors, and cultural values will be sustained and maintained. These are contemporary settings that develop the "music specialists" who, as Small notes, in times past were "socially necessary for the central part they played in the rituals of the community" (Small 1998:39). These multidimensional musicking communities, focused on professionalism and preparation for working life as a musician or scholar, solidify a working community of peers and ecosystem of interaction. While these environments have an immediate responsibility to their students as professional initiates, these communities are also actively shaping the gatekeepers of the culture's future, creating the values of the future while both protecting and enacting, while simultaneously engaged in a process of creation and constructive conservation. Memetically speaking, these tertiary communities inhabit a critical nexus point in the music ecosystem, and the fact they are able to serve dualistic yet complementary functions speaks to their strengths as sites of musicking. Young musicians are entrusted with inherited knowledge while becoming active leaders and stewards. Musical stewardship is thus a dynamic role bestowing responsibility and direction alongside the cultivation of the traditional music repertoire.

As in many previous examples in earlier chapters, these COMPs navigate and balance several dichotomies of existence and dualities of purpose simultaneously. For example, the

Royal Conservatoire of Scotland is the only institution in the United Kingdom offering a B.M. in Traditional Scottish Music. The program's location in Glasgow, a major urban area (not a rural, cultural stronghold) indicates its importance to mainstream Scottish culture, and the program's rarity among the higher education institutions indicates its relevance to this community. Additionally, higher education institutions are prioritizing collaboration and mutual support. This includes curriculum development, departmental reviews, and performance opportunities. These partnerships also include exchange programs and degrees, sometimes with each semester held at a different academy.

SABHAL MÒR OSTAIG (ISLE OF SKYE)

Sabhal Mòr Ostaig College on the Isle of Skye (SMO) was the site of my very first fieldwork venture as well as where many of the most memorable research events occurred.[29] When I first traveled to Scotland in July 2014, it was on a lark, last minute, and with no idea that this would be the formative experience that would guide the course of my graduate research. With no previous experience traveling and expecting a one-week fiddle course in the highlands, I only realized once I was there that I'd hit the jackpot. This musical event and location were quite seriously a major focal point in Scottish highland life and musical culture in Scotland.

This environment, committed to cultural stewardship and contemporary appreciation, is where I found myself for the Alasdair Fraser Fiddle Week in summer 2014. Held at this location since its first year in 1986, the music camp holds the honor of being the only one taught by Alasdair Fraser in all of the United Kingdom, and every year, students from Scotland, the UK, and overseas attend the camp to learn Scottish traditional music in this setting (Sabhal Mòr

[29] In addition to many research memories, there were many personal ones as well – years of birthdays (July 26), and this is also where I met my fiancé in summer 2016. I would like to stress that he was never a research participant.

Ostaig 2019b). While this location and COMP are profiled extensively in Chapter 5, I would like to address the ways in which the College as a COMP (rather than the music camp as a stand-alone event) contributes to the musical/artistic community.

Founded in 1973, Sabhal Mòr Ostaig literally means "old farm steadings at Ostaig," referring to the original farm grounds the college was built upon and the forested area in Sleat at the southeastern point of the Isle of Skye.[30] The institution was initially constructed as simply a Gaelic library, but the long-term goal was to create a Gaelic-speaking college providing vocational education, both to accommodate Gaelic speakers in this remote, rural environment, and to provide a growing number of Gaelic enthusiasts (riding a late wave of the 1960s/1970s folk revival) the opportunity to learn Gaelic (Sabhal Mòr Ostaig 2019c). In just a few decades, Sabhal Mòr Ostaig has achieved and surpassed these goals and played a seminal role in the late 20th-century renaissance of Scottish language and music awareness. A leading Gàidhlig institution, championing the study of the Gàidhlig language, Scottish traditional music, and the safeguarding of Scottish culture and heritage, the college is part of a larger network of similarly minded institutions, the University of the Highlands and Islands (*Oilthigh na Gàidhealtachd agus nan Eilean*).

Working to promote Gaelic as a strong and vibrant spoken language in the 21st century, the college is a completely Gaelic environment, with a Language Policy in effect to ensure everyone uses and speaks Gaelic at all times to the best of their ability (Sabhal Mòr Ostaig 2019d). Not only are classes are taught in Gaelic, but the total experience, as well from finding books in the library to ordering food in the canteen, is expected to be at least attempted in Gaelic. There is a Gaelic Development Officer who works closely with the students to help achieve

[30] It is important to remember that until 1995 and the completion of the Skye Bridge, the only way to travel to the island was via ferry; the main port to the mainland was approximately two miles from the college.

Language Policy goals, and the college is "proud to have such a strong and progressive Language Plan which aims to create a place that protects our language and a place in which people feel comfortable and confident to speak Gaelic all the time" (Sabhal Mòr Ostaig 2019c). The mission is to create and work as a team to protect this Gaelic-speaking environment, and the policy has been influential in developing language awareness in the Scottish Highlands. While it is startling at first for those not expecting it (such as this author), the necessary adjustment to living life in Gaelic takes place faster than expected.

Heather Clyne, whom I first met in July 2014 at the SMO Alasdair Fraser Fiddle Week, obtained a degree from SMO in Gaelic Language and Gaelic Culture, several years before participating in the weeklong music course. She says that attending SMO was "a little bit like getting glasses" and provided her with a newly expanded sense of identity as a Scotswoman (Clyne 2018). She returns to SMO regularly for the fiddle courses (six summers in a row at the time of writing) and considers the college to be a haven of a community.

The college serves as a cultural steward in more than just linguistic ways, and Sabhal Mòr Ostaig's library holds notable antiquarian collections of early printed Gaelic materials. Their Special Collections (the MacCormaig Collection, Celtica Collection, Rankin Collection and Sabhal Mòr Ostaig Collection) currently total approximately 4500 volumes, with some books dating from the 17th century (Sabhal Mòr Ostaig 2019e). These items cover Gaelic, Celtic Studies, and Highland social history and include rare and unique items. The rarity and historical significance of these materials make the College's collections an important part of the nation's documentary record and a valuable resource for researchers nationally and internationally.

ROYAL CONSERVATOIRE OF SCOTLAND

The Royal Conservatoire of Scotland (RCS), formally known as the Royal Scottish Academy of Music and Drama), established its traditional music degree program in 1995. RCS remains the first and only institution in the United Kingdom that offers a Bachelor of Music degree dedicated solely to traditional and folk music (Royal Conservatoire of Scotland 2019a). Working alongside a network of professional partnerships such as the National Piping Centre to ensure students receive a full, well-rounded education experience, RCS is a unique and progressive institution and is well regarded by peer institutions and attendees alike.[31]

Course participants explore Scotland's unique and dynamic musical traditions via a tripartite framework of conceptual, critical, and creative examination, balancing a solid foundation in contemporary and eclectic performance practice with realizing their own distinctively personal voices as artists. Displaying the breadth of Scottish traditional music activity, the program offers the following principal studies: accordion, cello, fiddle, flute/whistle, Gaelic song, Scots song, guitar, percussion (pipe band snare drum, drums, bodhran), piano, and Scottish harp (Royal Conservatoire of Scotland 2019b).

Students work closely with the world's top solo and collaborative traditional music teachers and performers to "consolidate . . . performance technique, repertoire, and personal style as a traditional musician, interwoven with development as a critical, creative, entrepreneurial and/or teaching artist" (RCS 2019b). This includes balancing both established parameters of folk and traditional music and utilizing the shared technical vocabulary that links folk to classical and jazz genres. Students receive weekly 90-minute principal study lessons, participate in instrument performance classes that focus on discipline-specific performance skills with tutor and peer

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[31] The Royal Conservatoire of Scotland was ranked in the QS World Rankings World Top 10 for performing arts education category in 2016, 2017, and 2018 (Royal Conservatoire of Scotland 2019b).

feedback, and engage in folk ensemble sessions, which are considered the primary arena for developing contemporary traditional repertoire and musicianship in group contexts. These can take form in a variety of settings such as informal pub sessions, pipe quartets, appearances at professional *cèilidhs*, or orchestrated and produced performances.

The program is engineered so that students are deeply engaged in learning outside the classroom as well. External learning opportunities include an Isle of Skye residency; touring, teaching and work placements in Scotland and overseas; and appearances at high-profile events, including Glasgow's renowned Celtic Connections festival, Piping Live!, international occasions of state and a range of UK, European, and North American festivals (Royal Conservatoire of Scotland 2019b). The intention of the degree (and RCS as a whole) is to maintain a firm, secure, vibrant role in contemporary settings for traditional music and traditional musicians. The emphasis on creative individual development means the curriculum is relevant to aspiring musicians from around the world, and the RCS Traditional program has welcomed students from Japan, Hong Kong, New Zealand, Australia, USA, Canada, the Netherlands, Germany, England, Northern Ireland, and the Republic of Ireland.

Since the 2014/2015 academic year, the RCS Traditional Music program has undergone extensive revisions and adjustments to its curriculum in order to better suit the needs of students in the 21st century. The program is structured to offer the most practical preparation for students once they enter professional settings. Joshua Dickson, the Head of the RCS Traditional Music Course since 2008, is deeply invested in this process. In our interview, he stated that "there's no room for one monolithic perspective [in the RCS Trad program]" and that now there is "greater creative freedom and understanding that the students are actively innovating rather than serving as vessels for knowledge" (Dickson 2018a). The goal for the curriculum overhaul was to create a

more robust practical experience and increased performance scope for students, placing greater emphasis on how they could personally contribute. Dickson believes that it's important to "get ahead of the curve" and be guided by a new sense of self-determination and stresses the importance of developing critical reflective methods. Regarding the increased popularity of Scottish traditional music in recent years, he has concerns about guaranteeing the longevity of the genre and sees the revitalized curriculum as a method of addressing that. Projects such as the "Pedagogies, Practices and the Future of Folk Music in Higher Education, II" (PPFFHE II) Conference, a collaboration with the Sibelius Academy, have introduced new options and possibilities and have carried over into the RCS Trad Course, to which Dickson states affirmatively that "the future seems very Scandinavian here in the UK" (Dickson 2018a).

Curriculum of study

In the first year, students consolidate and enhance performance technique, repertoire, and personal style in the principal study instrument, interwoven with their development as a creative artist, able to connect and engage critically with personal experiences as a traditional musician.[32] Acknowledging the realities of constructing an identity as a musician and creating a platform for engaging with the contemporary world, studies such as music theory, digital literacy, and website design are featured in the first year. Simultaneously, students broaden collaborative musical experience in both discipline-specific and cross-disciplinary groundwork of practical supporting studies, including group singing, folk ensembles, and studio recording. These consolidated skills are displayed in the programming, performing, and calling of a traditional *cèilidh*, the year's culminating event.

[32] All information in this subsection is taken from the RCS Traditional Music Course website.

In the second year, students continue extending knowledge and practical skills as soloists and collaborative traditional musicians through broadened explorations of technique, repertoire, and style related to the chosen instrument. Students are also encouraged to access a wide array of elective opportunities in their department, RCS, and beyond. Emphasis is given to context by exploring historical and social concepts and addressing relationships between practice, perception, and context. Further attention is given to solo and collaborative compositions, arrangements, and performance skills, and to expanding entrepreneurial skillsets by discussion of licensing issues, intellectual property rights, marketing, and digital music distribution.

The third year is for developing a solid well-defined musical persona through fluent, articulated knowledge and expertise informed by the principal study, a merging of critical artistry in research, and written reflection. Students develop these skills by teaching traditional music to others in a range of environments. Critical vocational issues are covered in greater detail, such as self-assessed taxation, contract negotiation, creative arts funding, and the realities of formal work placement. Continuing from year two, students pursue elective opportunities in the department, in RCS, and even further afield, nurturing distinct artistic specializations in traditional, folk, or broader arts contexts.

The RCS Trad music program also offers a fourth, Honours, year, which is an opportunity to showcase a synthesis of critical, technical, and creative development as a traditional musician. In addition to engaging in an extensive personalized project rooted in tradition, balanced by innovation, and contributing independent and unique work to the field, students continue taking advantage of elective opportunities focused intently on their projected post-RCS activities. The Honours year is student-specific rather than curriculum-centered;

culminating in a themed final public recital, it aims to help each student achieve a distinct musical identity and voice within acceptably established parameters of tradition and origination.

It is important to note that while students specializing in the various instruments have substantial interaction and overlap in terms of curriculum, there are some differences that address the needs of different disciplines. For instance, the piping degree specialization follows the same structure and contextual curriculum as the main Traditional Music program; however, the range of performance tuition is "specifically dedicated to the well-rounded and in-depth development of the contemporary exponent of the Scottish Highland Bagpipe – in both folk and competition contexts" (Royal Conservatoire of Scotland 2019b). This includes core curriculum elements dedicated to solo piping, *piobaireachd*, and pipe band activities.

The RCS Traditional Music program is not only dedicated to cultivating well-rounded traditional musicians capable of engaging themselves and their art in contemporary contexts, but is also intent on nurturing an environment where students feel supported to attend to their personal health and the health of the musical community. There are several opportunities to participate in this kind of engagement. "Technique and Healthy Practice" workshops address technical, postural, and anatomical aspects of individual performance practices (e.g. wrist issues among fiddlers, vocal control and development among singers, emotional well-being, and effective, safe practice strategies) and link them explicitly to physical and mental safety issues. These include considering techniques in related genres in order to inform personal artistic choices and development, and to protect the physical and mental wellbeing of students throughout their degrees and careers. "InterPlay for Folk Musicians" are elective sessions that develop creative musicianship through the construction of a secure, non-judgmental community and space where it is safe and accepted to "take risks and transgress 'comfort zones' without fear

of penalty or disapproval." These sessions are considered a "laboratory for the making sense of traditional/folk parameters of performance and the individual artist's ultimate control over them" (Royal Conservatoire of Scotland 2019b). This is also the perfect place to experiment with the improvisatory and variational practices typically found in Scottish traditional music, and these sessions serve as a skill foundation for revealing personalized creativity built of this liberated community of musical practice. "Sang Scuil" ("Song School") is a singing group involving numerous students whose backgrounds lie primarily in study of the various different instruments. This is the primary curriculum opportunity for becoming acquainted with Scots and Scottish Gaelic language as well as the associated song traditions. Students develop vocal musicianship as well as interdisciplinary collaborative music-making skills, building a shared canon of traditional Scottish song repertoire and developing language skills through actioned performance. This study culminates in a major public performance in a Glasgow city center venue.

Wallace Calvert is a cellist in the Traditional Music Course at the Royal Conservatoire of Scotland. He began playing classical cello at seven years of age, participating in local gatherings and competitions in Northumberland, and eventually specializing in traditional music. He applied specifically to the RCS because of its singular traditional music program, joining in 2015 as one of 17 students and the only cellist in his year. In our interview, he cited the flexible curriculum, with its capacity for specialization, as the main feature that drew him to the program. He also stated that the Trad course's transition from a Bachelor of Arts to Bachelor of Music and the subsequent shift from mainly academic to an academic/practical balance have been particularly important in his development as a nascent young professional musician. The balance of academics and practical work in the RCS Trad program means that the research and ethnographic work provide a sense of place and orientation, and the performance classes are

directly informing students how to apply this sense of place and space. Practical classes also include how independent freelance musicians address taxes as well as healthy techniques and performance and practice. The program, in terms of curriculum composition as well as music/social environment, is purposefully holistic, broadminded, and inclusive.

Wallace commented that the RCS program also prepares students for real life as musicians, since they are essentially working with prominent representatives in the music fields who are also touring and performing for a significant portion of the year. The relationships that continue outside class are also significant to the extended community of the RCS Trad music program. The time afforded by pub sessions and professional ventures creates an extended community and helps develop a socially integrated rapport among students and teachers. These sessions are not only repertoire building, but are also socially collaborative, while encouraging musical-professional independence. Fostering these intergenerational musical relationships in a variety of education and performance settings is integral to the health of the traditional music community at large.

There's so much still in development, especially when it comes to communication between faculty and students, and Wallace mentioned that this is probably due to the course being only 22 years old. Simply due to the scheduling struggles encountered, he also feels that since things are still expanding, the RCS would benefit most from adding faculty to the program.

Wallace says that although there are different folk scenes, everybody wants to see the lines blurred, and people are going about it in different ways. When asked about the role of Scottish traditional music in contributing to recent political causes, he states that although he is not overly active in political demonstration, he knows there are many ways to be involved. His very choice to join the RCS Traditional Music program has political ramifications, whether or

not that movement and its messages are made explicitly political; he says, "I'm already part of a movement" (Calvert 2018).

THE ELPHINSTONE INSTITUTE

In April 2017, I was invited to attend a North Atlantic Fiddle Convention (NAFCo) workshop hosted by Elphinstone Institute.[33] The Elphinstone Institute, headquartered at the University of Aberdeen, produces internationally relevant research in areas of folklore and ethnomusicology, aiming to "explore the meaning and function of narrative, custom and belief, vernacular performance traditions, music and song, and occupational lore in everyday life" (Elphinstone Institute 2019b). Ongoing research is centered on the analysis of cultural practices (language, music, etc.) in the North and Northeast of Scotland, with an additional focus on related cultures in Europe and North America (e.g. Cape Breton in Newfoundland, Canada). The Institute's research strengths include music, ballads and songs (Scots and Gaelic), immigrant narrative, and contemporary performance. Institute staff and university graduate students research and write on many subjects and geographic areas, publishing in refereed journals and producing monographs, with all participants undertaking original and innovative field research and contributing to the Elphinstone Institute Archives.

The Institute runs its own publications series; in addition, it recently issued *Taking Part in Music*, the first book from the re-launched Aberdeen University Press. Publications from the Institute's own series address a wide array of ethnomusicological concerns. The most recent, *Routes and Roots*, brings a modern, inclusive interpretation to issues relating to space, place, belonging, identity, and the transformative dynamics of change and movement. Topics include the interrelatedness of fiddle and dance traditions transformed by globalization, as well as

[33] "Elphinstone" is pronounced "El-fin-stun."

“complementary processes of self-conscious localization” (Elphinstone Institute 2019c), the interplay of dance and music in performance, and the intrinsic natures of performance styles meeting moments of cultural transmission. A slightly older publication, *Driving the Bow*, was the direct result of the 2006 North Atlantic Fiddle Convention, the conference theme being “Connecting Cultures.” Moving beyond the boundaries of nationality, ethnicity, and community, this event also considered issues related to connecting cultures of transmission (e.g. academic vs. performance). This conference and the subsequent publication studied the world of 21st-century Scottish fiddle and associated dance traditions as well as the concurrent contributions of scholars (and performer-scholars) to understanding the tradition’s complexities. Covering a range of issues (cultural politics, authenticity, contesting forces of continuity and change), the conference volume acknowledges rhythm as the defining feature of different fiddle styles throughout Scotland (incidentally this is also the general train of thought in Scandinavian traditions), and bowing is found to contribute essential meaning to the music (Elphinstone Institute 2019c).

The Elphinstone Institute’s dedicated work in fostering collaboration – in terms of disciplines, geographic areas, and issues of study – is timely and relevant in a country where there are so many opportunities to find difference and division. This is a community and collection of “new insights in the field of international folk music”; moreover, they believe that these ethnomusicological studies represent the “diversity of current research, and deserve to be read widely by scholars and enthusiasts alike” (Elphinstone Institute 2019c).

Professor Ian Russell was the director of the first North Atlantic Fiddling Convention conference in 2001. The former director of the Elphinstone Institute, a member of the British Forum for Ethnomusicology, and Professor Emeritus at the University of Aberdeen, he conducted intensive fieldwork on traditional Scottish song in the 1970s and was particularly

interested in what ordinary people were doing with culture. "Northeast culture should be proclaimed far and wide," he says, and he feels that efforts to understand musical cultures can be best achieved through situating one in another. He notes that "A lot of ethnographers are only recently aware of the history, [attached to the musical practices themselves]; music is only half the deal" (Russell 2018).

Professor Russell goes on to note that with these issues in mind, the conference was initially (jokingly) titled NAFCo. It was essentially the product of a timely grant, the collaborative efforts of his peers and fellow researchers, and "a good moment in time" due to increased calls for Scotland's devolution from the United Kingdom. Professor Russell also strove to find new ways of reconciling the sometimes remote world of the university with the immediately thriving one of traditional cultural expression. This becomes even more imperative in achieving real egalitarianism possible through education, and for himself he is "pretty horrified by the UK politics at home and nationalistic trends." While he claims to have strong political views but not be a fervent party member, he feels that expressions of nationalism are "symptomatic and a distraction," because the real issue is a loss of identity both as a group and as an individual in terms of cultural expression.

Citing his reasons for focusing on individuals ("Scottish, Irish, is not what it's really about – there's more to do with people"), he feels it is important to remember that whatever the cultural or music expressions might be, it is "people who are moving expression," and it is these artistic expressions – articulated in order to convey sentiment and perhaps render empathy as effectively as possible – that have persisted through the centuries. While he holds strong views and has been cautious, given recent political circumstances, in sharing them, Professor Russell

claims he has never in a professional context or field "been challenged for empathy" when discussing these political issues (Russell 2018).

INTERLUDE: The Unexpected Session

The NAFCo conference workshop of April 2017, like so many others, was a balanced setting of presentation and performance. The first day concluded with a session including all participants at a pub called The Blue Lantern, well known for its traditional music sessions throughout the year. It always seems to be hreatening to rain in Aberdeen, although it was never the torrential showers I experienced on the west coast of Scotland. Making my way through the gray cobblestone streets (Aberdeen is known as the granite city of Scotland, and with good reason) I eventually arrived at The Blue Lantern and headed up the narrow flight of stairs to the second story where the session was about to start. People already had many pints of beer in front of them, and instruments were in motion or waiting expectantly on laps.

Once everyone had arrived, the conference organizer, Professor Ian Russell, gave a short speech and a directive; we would be going around the room sharing tunes one at a time, each doing our best to represent our own personal music experiences and the traditions that most effectively characterized that experience. This was generally a surprise to everyone, since it is not at all typical session protocol. Usually for sessions somebody gets the music going, a second person joins in, and before long the tunes are swinging. Not everyone has to join in, and not everyone has to be an audience member. The degree of participation is voluntary, and this capacity for self-determination aids in the mutual respect participants share. The format that had just been put forward was not completely foreign to us as professionals who regularly make

formal presentations, so there were general acknowledgments of acquiescing, albeit with some curiosity to see how it would go.

It was without a doubt the most awkward session experience I have ever encountered – even compared with situations in which I have been point-blank asked to play a tune and then frozen speechless.

While everyone was keen to offer what they could musically and wanting to make it work, it was palpably clear that this was a contrived environment without any of the freedom and spontaneity so critical to the energy and success of a traditional music session. The only thing that saved it was when individuals actively chose to play tunes that were part of a very standard dependable canon of frequently played Scottish session tunes, such as "Jenny Dang the Weaver" (see Appendix A), or chose songs that while perhaps less often performed had very easy choruses both in terms of notes and lyrics, such as "South Australia." The next morning during the first assembly of the day, a roundtable to talk about the previous night's session, this issue of the contrived circumstances and framework of the session was the primary topic of discussion. It was agreed on vigorously that spontaneity and freedom of exchange were critical elements in the classic session experience – anything else was a gesture or approximation.

NORTH ATLANTIC FIDDLE CONVENTION 2018

Established in 2001 to develop new audiences for traditional music and dance, the North Atlantic Fiddle Convention (NAFCo) is a unique forum of cultural exchange for artists, academics, and enthusiasts alike.[34] Although the fiddle has been a hugely popular instrument across Europe and North America for over 300 years, studies of the instrument and its related

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[34] According to the NAFCo Constitution "North Atlantic" refers to the "region of geographic, political, and cultural entities that have borders with or access to the North Atlantic Ocean" (NAFCo 2011).

dance forms "tend to be scattered" across specialist books, theses, and articles (NAFCo 2018a). The North Atlantic Fiddle Convention's aim is to unify these reflective narratives by bringing together scholars and performers in a space where experience and expertise can cooperatively develop understanding and conversation about fiddle traditions. Both a reflection of current research and traditions and a purposefully progressive space, NAFCo seeks to encourage new research and also offers performers a chance to reflect on this work and consider how it might inform their own artistic practices.

Formally the aims and objectives of NAFCo are to "promote the study and performance of fiddle traditions and associated dance in all its aspects" (NAFCo 2011). This is accomplished by regular conventions with academic proceedings, artistic performances, and educational workshops; the publication of conference proceedings; participating in external publications, including broadcasting, film, and radio; the encouragement of interchange between scholarship, performance, and teaching; the fostering of national and international exchanges; cooperating with regional cultural development programs; and collaborating with other organizations or individuals sharing similar goals aims (NAFCo 2011).

The North Atlantic Fiddle Convention is a formally constituted organization based at the Elphinstone Institute at the University of Aberdeen. The founder and current president of the North Atlantic Fiddle Convention is Emeritus Professor Ian Russell of the Elphinstone Institute, and the Elphinstone Institute keeps all of the minutes, reports, and documentation for NAFCo. (NAFCo 2011). The 2018 Festival Director, Carley Williams, is a Ph.D. candidate at the University of Aberdeen and also a longtime attendee and teacher at the Valley of the Moon Fiddle School in Santa Cruz, California.

NAFCo in 2018

With over 150 events across Aberdeen and Aberdeenshire in Northeastern Scotland and more than 75 local and international musicians participating, the North Atlantic Fiddle Convention of July 2018 was an exceptional assembly of traditional music enthusiasts (NAFCo 2018c). Held over July 11–15, 2018, the event brought together some of the world's top performers, educators, scholars, and students to perform and discuss the rich diversity of fiddle and dance styles that have developed around the North Atlantic seaboard. Both a festival showcasing the fiddle and dance styles from around the North Atlantic seaboard and an international academic symposium featuring some of the world's top experts working on fiddle-related research, the conference was an excellent example of a COMP navigating the epistemology/ontology dichotomy and working to include as many contributors as possible.

The theme for 2018 was "Dialects and Dialogues: Fiddling and Dancing across Oceans and Continents," and the fiddle's versatility and adaptability – in terms of timbre, repertoire, composition, performance context, and function – were on full display. NAFCo 2018 celebrated this musical vitality by focusing on an exploration of this sharing of cultures, traditions and heritages. The convention highlighted the ways in which the fiddle, fiddle music, and associated dance styles "transcend boundaries of all kinds – geographical, political, and cultural – creating new traditions and fresh musical insights" (NAFCo 2018d).

While the focus of past symposiums has been the countries surrounding the northern part of the North Atlantic (i.e. the United Kingdom, Ireland, Scandinavia, Canada, and the United States), the 2018 conference included mainland Europe, Central and South America, and West Africa, with the aim of broadening discussions and explorations of fiddle performance contexts. The conference featured four keynote speakers to discuss fiddling in different parts of the world:

Jacqueline Codgell DjeDje on West African fiddle playing, Mark Slobin on klezmer fiddle, Heather Sparling on Cape Breton fiddle and dance, and Maurice Henderson on fiddling and dance in Shetland and Greenland.

For learners and non-playing audience members, there was an extensive and varied program of presentations, discussions, fiddle (and dance) workshops offered by local and international tutors, and a two-day fiddle camp for youth led by Scottish fiddler Patsy Reid (a 2014 Sabhal Mor Ostaig Fiddle Week instructor, see Chapter 5). The conference also featured traditional *cèilidhs*, film screenings, and pub sessions, busking trails, and concert performances by the instructors and presenters (NAFCo 2018a) (Figure 6.1).

Figure 6.1: Evening pub session music workshop for the North Atlantic Fiddle Convention workshop, hosted by the Elphinstone Institute, University of Aberdeen. Aberdeen: Scotland: April 27, 2017. (Photograph by Georgia Broughton)

There was a diverse array of symposium presenters, and the conference was fresh with new, innovative projects. Conference presentations ranged from "The Revival of the Fiddle in Galicia: 'Artivism,' Sustainability, and Social Transformation in Transnational Contexts" to "The Big Fiddle: Why the Viola is an Instrument in its Own Right" (NAFCo 2018e). In addition, fiddler Laura Risk and dancer Nic Gareiss (both Valley of the Moon instructors) curated a conference-wide "performance as research" session with the intent of connecting academic and musical performance modes of learning. There was also an ethnographic film series, which featured, among others, *The Groove Is Not Trivial*, a documentary on Alasdair Fraser and his fiddling communities, directed by Tommie Smith, parent to a fiddle camp participant (NAFCo 2019f).

NORGES MUSIKKHØGSKOLE

Norges Musikkhøgskole (the Norwegian Academy of Music) is located in Majorstua, Oslo, and is one of the oldest and largest institutions in Norway affording higher degrees in music performance. Founded in 1973, Norges Musikkhøgskole (NMH) has in recent years striven to address diversifying needs and the demand for programs and opportunities in genres outside the classical realm. A university college that educates 750 students annually in a wide range of genres and presents 400 performance events a year, NMH is the country's largest music environment. Norway's premier music teachers and performers in classical, jazz, and folk music educate the next generation of professionals – performers, composers, music technologists, music educators and music therapists (Norges Musikkhøgskole 2019a) (Figure 6.2).

Figure 6.2: The front entrance of the Norges musikkhøgskole (Norwegian Academy of Music). Oslo, Norway: December 1, 2018. (Photograph by Georgia Broughton)

The institution is well known for its degree options in Nordic Folk Music, offering instrumental and vocal skills in traditional Norwegian music at bachelor's, master's, and doctoral levels. This department prioritizes the idea that traditional music is very much for our times – appreciating the old "captivating" folk music traditions that continue to inspire while also bringing them into contemporary contexts as a source for current music-making (Norges Musikkhøgskole 2019b). One such opportunity for this is via the creation of folk music arrangements for new contexts, drawing on the expressive and stylistic elements through traditional music practices. Students, as part of the program curriculum, have extensive involvement with the folk music scene in Oslo and further afield. Although still in the program, the students (and their teachers) are considered themselves to be part of the folk music

community.

The main purpose of the Bachelor of Music Folk Music program is to provide instrumental and vocal skills in traditional Norwegian music, with old traditions introduced through a balance of solo study, forum lessons, ensemble rehearsal, playing for folk dancing, and also the folk dancing itself – all centered on the interplay of performance, communication, and interpretation (Norges Musikkhøgskole 2019c). Mutual peer feedback is a significant component of the course, and regular guest teachers contribute to the learning environment. Additionally, students are encouraged to take advantage of opportunities for performance innovation and cross-genre exploration in ensembles, performances, and project research.

In graduate studies, the college offers the "Nordic Master: The Composing Musician (NoCom)," a concentration in the Master of Music Performance degree program. This composition-focused degree is a unique collaborative offered as a joint study program by Norges Musikkhøgskole, The Academy of Music and Drama at the University of Gothenburg (HSM), Rhythmic Music Conservatory in Copenhagen (RMC), and the Sibelius Academy in Helsinki (Norges Musikkhøgskole 2019d). Students in this program spend one semester at each of these locations, taking advantage of the expertise of each institution, gaining access to a Scandinavian network of contacts in the music profession, and – through action and engaged praxis – collaborating with like-minded peers of different nationalities and developing an inter-country community of musical colleagues.

UNIVERSITETET I SØRØST-NORGE (USN)

Universitetet I Sørøst-Norge **(**University of South-Eastern Norway) was granted full

university status on May 4, 2018.[35] A federation of eight tertiary education campuses in southeast Norway (Drammen, Vestfold, Kongsberg, Ringerike, Bø, Notodden, Porsgrunn and Rauland), with nearly 18,000 students and 1600 staff, USN aims to have a regional foundation presence while offering world-class education (Universitetet i Sørøst-Norge 2019a).

The Rauland campus is the main location for traditional music education. Rauland is a village midway between Oslo and Bergen, right in the center of *hardingfele* folk music culture. In fact, the Department of Norwegian Folk Culture at Rauland has national responsibility for higher education in traditional folk music and folk art. The Rauland student community hosts both national and international students, expert teachers, and celebrated guest lecturers (Universitetet i Sørøst-Norge 2019b).

USN offers both one-year and single-semester exchange programs. The one-year program consists of two modules. The first covers teaching methods, including hands-on experience with music and dance, lectures, seminars, field study, papers, individual and group projects, and presentations. The second focuses on performance, with each student developing a recital program under the individual mentoring of a faculty member and featuring traditional song or instrumental music. Additionally, students in the program actively participate in cultural events at the school and in the village, such as concerts/pub nights, exhibitions, the film club, and dances. Students also participate in festivals and seminars both at home and abroad that are organized by the department (Universitetet i Sørøst-Norge 2019b).

Jørgen Andrisson Kvam, a first-year student in the program who plays *hardingfele*, says of the program's community,

I think the best thing about studying Norwegian folk music at Rauland is the fact

[35] Previous to this date, the eight independent campuses were considered affiliated but independent.

that students get to dive into a specific field or subject, and that we have a wide selection of different teachers and students at the campus. Students get to choose which subjects they want to work with. They also acquire basic skills and knowledge about other subjects. Everybody is welcome at campus Rauland. But novices and intermediates are able to develop and get better at what they are doing. All students are welcomed by a professional and highly competent teaching staff. And they let us be creative in many ways. Being able to choose our own subjects, we can for example make our own music and our own records. And all students can work together on projects, even those who are not in the same year. I like it here at campus Rauland. The student environment is good. Everybody has respect for each other's field of study. Most of us have in fact interests in the other fields of study at the campus. So the acceptance for different interest results in a warm and welcoming student community. The group of students studying at Campus Rauland today consists of people from all parts of Norway. It also consists of many international students. The internationals are here to learn about Norwegian culture, and luckily for us Norwegians they also like to share their culture with us, so that we get to learn a lot about them. That's a big reason why our student community is so great. (Universitetet i Sørøst-Norge 2018)

Mats Johansson is one such international participant. A Swedish citizen living and working in Norway for several years, he was introduced to traditional fiddling by his grandfather at the age of 13. He attended his first fiddling workshop in Sweden at the age of sixteen, and

although he was “not prepared to be just a fiddler,” he gradually became aware of the fact that folk music could be studied in serious academic environments. This led to a master’s degree at the University of Bergen and a doctoral degree at the University of Oslo. He now teaches at the Universitetet I Sørøst-Norge concentrating his research and work on folk music pedagogies.
He is intrigued by the adaptive nature of traditional music to reform and sustain itself to cultural, social, and economic shifts in society: “It’s how you play, like language, it’s not the notes or words, it’s how you say it . . . It’s the whole working together, mutually engaged in the discourse” (Johansson 2018). Although he is interested but not active in politics, recent events in Europe have led him to consider how politics affects research work and music in rather immediate ways: “I have strong interest in feelings for local and regional folk culture and will be sad if it disappears” (ibid.).

INTERLUDE: The Lay Of The Land

While preparing for my first trip to Finland in November 2018 to attend the PPFFHE II conference, I experienced all the same jitters and apprehensions as right before my first trip to Scotland four years prior. While I knew I would be eventually joining an ensemble of like-minded scholars and performers, I would first have to deal with the Finnish language. Although citizens of the Scandinavian countries are extremely well educated, and English is a required secondary or tertiary language in many places, my heritage as a Northern European meant that I blended in reasonably well. In both Norway and in turn Finland, people always spoke to me first in the local language. When arriving in Helsinki jetlagged, freezing, sonically isolated, and in the pitch black (by November Helsinki, nearly as far north as the Arctic Circle, has only five and a half hours of solid daylight), I found it at different turns flattering and frustrating that people

would think I could understand more than *hei* ("hello") and *kiitos* ("thank you").

Waking up the next day, again in the pitch black, I made the most of a few spare hours to wind my way through the streets grey block buildings, take in the crisp Baltic air, and admire the juxtaposed Orthodox and Lutheran architecture of downtown Helsinki, clearly a city managing many views, but not at odds with itself. The train ride I caught from the city to the town of Järvenpää, slightly less than an hour north, was my first introduction to the Finnish countryside. The village of Järvenpää, which sits on the edge of Lake Tuusulanjärvi, was historically a hotspot for artists, composers, and literary luminaries in the late 1800s and early 1900s, at the zenith of Finland's romantic nationalism efforts.

SIBELIUS ACADEMY (SibA)

The Sibelius Academy (SibA) in Helsinki, Finland, is the country's premier institution for musical higher education. The Folk Music Department offers bachelor's and master's degrees in music,[36] and major subjects include vocal studies, *kantele* (a string zither), violin, accordion, keyboard, guitar, mandolin, wind instruments, harmonica, percussion, bass, and other instrument studies. While the focus is generally Finnish folk music studies, in the spirit of the school's philosophy of open-minded collaboration, music from other folk cultures is also included in the curriculum (Hill 2007, 2009b). Departmental faculty members are premier performers and teachers from both Finland and abroad (Sibelius Academy 2019) (Figure 6.3).

[36] Doctoral degrees (Licentiate of Music and Doctor of Music) are available directly though the Sibelius Academy rather than through the department. Doctoral students choose from three programs: Arts, Research, or the Applied Study Program.

Figure 6.3: Entrance to the Sibelius-Akatemia (The Sibelius Academy). Helsinki, Finland: December 1, 2018. (Photograph by Georgia Broughton)

Like Norges Musikkhøgskole and the Royal Conservatoire of Scotland, the majority of study in the department focuses on musicianship, acknowledging that the elements of tradition are critical while balancing this with the imperative to create, explore, and "make music of your own and to work within other fields of music and art" (Sibelius Academy 2019). Students are encouraged to consider specializing in teaching or research and also invited to take courses and study modules from other departments. Regular performance opportunities are a critical part of the curriculum, numbering approximately twenty each year. Every spring, the department organizes "Taigajuhla," an open concert series with both departmental bachelor's and master's candidates demonstrating their proficiency. Additionally, the Folk Music Department offers engagement and resources to the larger musical community, regularly releasing recordings, learning materials, and academic essays featuring the department's work.

In terms of inter-institution collaboration and community, the Folk Music Department

hosts two international masters programs: Glomas (Nordic Master of Global Music) and NoFo (Nordic Master in Folk Music).

PEDAGOGIES, PRACTICES AND THE FUTURE OF FOLK MUSIC IN HIGHER EDUCATION II (PPFFHE II)

In January 2018, the Celtic Connections festival in Glasgow, Scotland (mentioned in Chapter 2, reviewed in Chapter 7) hosted a conference specifically to address many of the issues I set out to explore with this dissertation. Titled "Pedagogies, Practices and the Future of Folk Music in Higher Education," the three-day conference brought together teachers, researchers, and performers in a cross-disciplinary arena to examine developments in folk and traditional music education in the past two decades. Using this as the foundation for considering international issues pertaining to the significance of traditional music education, participants from multiple countries sought to foster cross-cultural dialogue and insights regarding traditional music education in the contemporary world.

A follow-up conference was held in November 2018 in Helsinki, hosted by the folk music department of the Sibelius Academy. From November 28 to 30, 2018, I attended the "Pedagogies, Practices and the Future of Folk Music in Higher Education, II" (PPFFHE II) held at the Kallio-Kuninkala estate in Järvenpää, Finland. This event, hosted by the Sibelius Academy and taking place at their music education center on the shore of Lake Tuusulanjärvi, was a truly inspiring experience. Many of the participants at the Finnish conference had been present at the Scottish one, as well. The goals of both events were to facilitate international dialogue regarding traditional music education, pedagogy and teaching; to provide opportunities to scrutinize and workshop challenges in research and applied situations (at tertiary education institutions); and

eventually to compile a peer-reviewed publication, which is still in the works.

While the first event was considerably larger (approx. 200 participants) than the second (approximately fifty participants), both were largely successful in reaching these goals. The difference in participant numbers was simply due to accessibility (Glasgow vs. rural Finland) and facility capacity. Participants in the Finnish conference came from ten countries and included independent researchers/performers, a few North American professors/academics, and a few students (mainly from the Sibelius Academy), but were mostly professors from the following institutions: the Sibelius Academy (Sibelius-Akatemia, aka SibA, in Helsinki, Finland); the Royal Conservatoire of Scotland (RCS, in Glasgow, Scotland); the Norwegian Academy of Music (Norges musikkhøgskole, in Oslo, Norway); the Royal College of Music in Stockholm *(*Kungliga Musikhögskolan in Stockholm, Sweden); and the Royal Danish Academy of Music (Det Kongelige Danske Musikkonservatorium, in Copenhagen, Denmark).

While the conference was purposely constructed to offer a balanced schedule of academic and performance presentations, one commonality among many speakers that stood out was the emphasis on curriculum, specifically curricular reforms to more adequately address the needs of students, with discussions of how to do that through a balance of theoretical models and real-life applications. Lori Watson, the first recipient of a Ph.D. in Artistic Research and Ethnomusicology from the Royal Conservatoire of Scotland and the University of St. Andrews in 2013 (Watson 2019), offered an update to a presentation she gave at PPFFHE I in Glasgow ("The New Traditional School in Scotland: Perspectives on Innovation and Artistry"), and RCS Trad Program director Joshua Dickson gave insights into the recent RCS curriculum revisions that have proved critical to its renewed sense of purpose and efficiency in addressing the needs

of 21st-century traditional music students ("The Impact of Traditional Music Practices on the Culture of Assessment in Scotland's National Conservatoire") (Figure 6.4, Figure 6.5).

Figure 6.4: Lori Watson, the first recipient of a Ph.D. in Artistic Research and Ethnomusicology from the Royal Conservatoire of Scotland and the University of St. Andrews in 2013, presents "The New Traditional School in Scotland: Perspectives on Innovation and Artistry" at the Pedagogies, Practices and the Future of Folk Music in Higher Education conference. Järvenpää, Finland: November 29, 2018. (Photograph by Georgia Broughton)

Figure 6.5: Joshua Dickson, head of the RCS Traditional Music Program, presents "The Impact of Traditional Music Practices on the Culture of Assessment in Scotland's National Conservatoire" at the Pedagogies, Practices and the Future of Folk Music in Higher Education conference. Järvenpää, Finland: November 29, 2018. (Photograph by Georgia Broughton)

Several of the presenters had actually developed their own graphical representations of how theory applied in their given educational situations. Liz Doherty (Ulster University) presented "The TradLABB: Proposing a New Paradigm Mapping the Life-long Learning Journey of the Irish Traditional Musician," and Susanne Rosenberg and Sven Ahlbäck (both from the Royal College of Music, Stockholm) presented "Heartbeat and Breath, Finding Methods for Describing the Swedish Folk Singing Style and Methods for Teaching" and "Folk Music Theory – A Contradiction? Folk Music Theory from the Perspective of Higher Music

Education at Kungliga Musikhögskolan,” respectively. Many of these models were constructed due to concerns similar to those I expressed in chapter 3, namely that the current academic emphasis on one-dimensional or outdated theoretical models does a disservice to the needs of students and educational institutions in contemporary environments (Figure 6.6).

Figure 6.6: Susanne Rosenberg, from Kungliga Musikhögskolan (Royal College of Music in Stockholm presents “Heartbeat and Breath, Finding Methods for Describing the Swedish Folk Singing Style and Methods for Teaching.” In Järvenpää, Finland: November 30, 2018. (Photograph by Georgia Broughton)

The Finland conference was aided in its focus by being in a more rural, secluded environment, and many participants indicated their deep appreciation of this and how they felt this benefitted both individual and group work. Conference participants expressed their surprise and relief that the conference proceedings were characterized by a refreshing supportiveness,

constructive dialogue, academic respect, and mutual trust. The competitiveness and myopia found at many other academic conferences were almost entirely absent.

The final session of the conference was actually a collective workshop assessing the two conferences – what went well, what could be improved, and how to proceed with publication and future conferences. While the most tangible goal was to be a peer-reviewed publication, Dr. Joshua Dickson and Dr. Kristina Illmonen (the two co-hosts from RCS and SibA) have always intended for these conferences to be the first of many in an ongoing discussion and exchange. In this assessment session, ideas were put forward regarding how to manage planning of these future conferences, one suggestion being a hosting rotation among Scotland, Finland, Sweden, Norway, and Denmark. Another was for the conference to be held at Celtic Connections every second year (since the festival organizers were deeply impressed by the discussions and want to support research in addition to performance), and to rotate among the Nordic locations every other year.

INTERLUDE: Firsts In Finland – Sauna Songs

One of the optional cultural activities scheduled at the PPFFHE program was the traditional sauna at the edge of the frozen lake, a five-minute walk from the art center (although it felt a lot longer in the dark and below freezing temperatures). Having never experienced a sauna and determined to make the most of these few days in Finland, I certainly wasn't going to miss the chance for such a traditional experience. And it turns out I was in fine company. I estimate that about half of the conference participants had never previously experienced sauna culture, but for many, especially the Finns, it was simply a part of regular life. One of the conference administrators, a wonderful Finnish composer and Sibelius Academy affiliate named

Päivi Hirvonen introduced the first-timers to the experience. With Päivi leading the way to the small wooden building on the edge of the lake, we unpeeled our layers in the anteroom as Päivi took charge. After she troubleshot a shut flue and cleared the heat room of smoke, the stones started to heat, the water we tossed on them hissed, and the dark room lined with spruce benches begin to sweat.

While some of us stripped as discreetly as possible under our towels, others were just as happy to freely shed their clothes in the building anteroom, and we all found ourselves in that little dark room lit only by the fire alternately discussing the health benefits of sauna culture and singing traditional Finnish songs, of course some of us only humming along. I really can't describe how daunting it was to be sitting next to work colleagues, all of us effectively naked, whom I met only twelve hours prior. But what was impressed upon me was how freely everyone was willing to accept each other, of all genders, all nationalities, all levels of previous sauna experiences or lack thereof welcomed. While it could be said that one element of this acceptance is attributable to the tradition of bringing wine and beer with you into the sauna, I'd say that that doesn't nearly explain the newly fostered camaraderie among so many different people, so many newly made acquaintances.

The conversations about music, traditional Finnish culture, the conference, and more carried on for hours, always with new voices, since the heat would eventually lead some to take a break and cool off in the other room for a while, where there were plenty of others waiting for a turn in the heat. Saunas are traditionally constructed next to lakes, and the sauna-ing concludes by jumping into the lake fully naked to increase circulation and maximize health benefits. While this was initially on the table, we learned the hard way that the lake was so frozen it would have taken Viking strength and an ax that none of us felt inclined to wield that evening. Needless to

say, the frigid walk back made up for this, and many of us reflected on the multiple and immediate means of musical community-building the sauna experience had offered.

INTERLUDE: A Federation of Tunes

Like many of the other locations I visited, evening tunes and music sessions at PPFFHE II were just as much a part of the event as the lectures and formal presentations. Again, the fact that there were so many people from different countries, schools, and traditions might have been challenging, but participants actively found ways to move beyond these initial boundaries and find spheres of communal musical experience. Even though there are not many shared repertories of tunes between the Finnish, Swedish, Norwegian, Swiss, Estonian and Scottish traditions that were represented in the evenings of music making, participants were happy enough to actively teach and learn tunes on the fly. Like so many other sessions I observed, both spontaneous as well as in more professional settings, one person would tentatively offer a tune waiting to see who would join in, others listened to see what notes they could pick up, and most eventually joined in wholeheartedly, offering what they could, be it chords, percussive strumming, or simply enthusiastic foot-tapping. Some simply stood around the musicians, observing and adding their attention and quiet support as active audience members. There were also those in the room who were having completely separate discussions – everything ranging from European politics to gender discrimination in university settings – but their presence added weight to the communal presence that was shared. This was musicking in the most incorporative sense of the word. Everyone in the room, from the person who first played the tune to the person who had just walked in the door returning from a sauna trip, was participating in the process of creating the musical community.

CONCLUSION

Tertiary institutions of traditional music education are proving to be vibrant locations of musical innovation. These COMPs are adapting to meet the times by focusing on providing relevant experiences and improving communication, both internally as well as between institutions. One of their greatest strengths is recognizing the fluidity between the institutions of education and those seeking education. Prioritizing transparency, egalitarianism, and mutual respect reinforces this emphasis on holistic approach, something accentuated by the enthusiastic communal musicking built into so many of the activities.

CHAPTER 7: INTO THE SPOTLIGHT –
COMPETITIONS, FESTIVALS, & MEDIA INDUSTRY

INTRODUCTION

There are many Communities of Musical Practice that can be considered educational, although they are not necessarily institutions of education. Competitions, festivals, and musical organizations, and even pub sessions (including in the diaspora) are all educative to the community at large, and these loud, proud, public outward projections of cultural identity can serve many citizens and many purposes compactly and inclusively. Festivals and large-scale concerts are some of the most effective ways that traditional music performers and educators make visible and broadcast their art and values. Although they are not strictly education environments (but offer tuition opportunities to varying degrees), these festivals and competitions are a critical link and serve a crucial role in maintaining visibility and appreciation for traditional music that is both latently inspirational and actively aspirational.

How are these COMPs a culmination of the three previous (primary/elementary, secondary/transitional, tertiary/pre-professional) educative stages? How do these COMPs speak more broadly/conclusively to other music and/or non-music communities? What role do these COMPs play in contributing to broader social dialogues regarding politics and constructions of national identity?

Scotland, Norway, and other Northern European nations have many celebrated and visible traditional music activities at a national level. Even if the music and music practices executed at these events are in and of themselves indicative of regional identities, the design, promotion, and gatherings are reflections of national values. Such visible, public displays of

traditional music identity in action are hard to miss. By prioritizing and promoting traditional music in such organized, publicized, and popular forums, Scotland and Norway make these traditions accessible and appealing to a wide range of audiences simultaneously.

Public settings of traditional music education offer by far the most glamorous and compelling opportunities for musicking in these communities and provide perhaps the most immediate visibility. In addition to being an accumulation of all the learning, priorities, and values of the previous three tiers of education communities of musical practice, the grandeur of public presentations allows for all these accumulated knowledges and values to be reflected back to society with profound validation and celebration. What they also offer in terms of musicking components, especially, is the freedom to participate in a spectrum of participation. There are so many diverse avenues for engaged and contributing involvement. Returning to Christopher Small's musicking model "Any performance . . . should be judged finally on its success in bringing into existence for as long as it lasts a set of relationships that those taking part feel to be ideal and in enabling those taking part to explore, affirm, and celebrate those relationships" (Small 1998:49). Celtic Connections, for instance, offers over two thousand performances in an almost two-week span. Although Small describes such events, and especially competitions, as a "thoroughly contemporary affair" (1998:30), just consider how many tens of thousands of attendees this single festival signifies, the subsequent large-scale validation and emotive response from this involvement, and the cascading actions taken afterward by both performers and audiences. All these participants are playing a critical role in maintaining the ritual of traditional concert-going and are also validating the tradition's memetic properties relating to replicability and longevity. The numbers of participants indicate how measurably successful these musical ecosystems are, which in turn validates the choice of parents to place their children

in traditional music programs, for communities to foster music education programs that allow students to travel and see the world, and for universities to choose to offer and develop traditional music degree programs. The cycle strategically propels itself while maintaining core values learned from years of promotion and community-based support such as artistic inclusion, clarified identity, mutualistic reinforcement, and, from this place of strength, a sense of emboldened creativity while reimagining traditional realities.

The meaningfulness of these gatherings is deeply rooted in commitment to a sense of space and place – geographically and also as a community, perhaps one spread across continents. Dr. Mairi McFadyen, a Scottish ethnologist whose work addresses Scottish cultural politics, geopoetics, and the aesthetics and poetics of traditional arts work states, "Our ability – collectively or as individuals – to enact any kind of political change is intimately tied to our ability to make sense of the world around us . . . We must *dig where we stand*; our own personal roots, as well as our place in history and culture, is where we must start" (McFadyen2018a). As for how music (and extended cultural traditions) augment political discussion, "All politics *on its own* can do is to react or cope with the current situation. The artist articulates, expresses and thinks confidently about who we are and who we could be. Ours can be a bardic politics, resourced by poetry, music, art. When you get *politics* and *poetics* coming together, you get a *live, lasting culture,* and a country connected to the world" (ibid.).

With the exception of Celtic Connections and the Scots Trad Awards, which are both held in the frigid cold of winter, festival season typically runs from early June until late August. These events can be strictly performance or a combination of performance, competition, and educational outreach.[37] Outside those concentrated three months, there are extensive

[37] The fact that these are both in Scotland makes sense, given that the geography of Norway means that even Oslo in the far south of the country has only a few hours of daylight during the winter months,

opportunities for traditional music performers beyond Scotland, especially where there are diasporic communities. Cape Breton, Nova Scotia, and Victoria, Australia, are two notable examples.

While some festivals began very much as gatherings of musicians for musicians, they have found new life and meaning by redefining their scope and role as cultural conduits for both practitioners and observers. By extension, there is social cachet in participating, either as a performer or as an observer. Events that cater not to a single age bracket but to entire family and community structures offer multifaceted confirmations of values, for instance to youth for the initial inspirational encouragement to pursue traditional music education and also to parents via the secondary ramifications of shaping and influencing communities through traditional music. In these settings, I witnessed the music as a common cause to unite around, always something that could be shared and experienced, even if one was not directly performing, singing, or dancing. Simply being witness to it, active or not, was a contribution to the music practice.

INTERLUDE: Pressed for Time – Celtic Connections Musicking

The Celtic Connections festival in Glasgow is spread out over two and a half weeks, over a dozen venues, and over three hundred concerts. With events held throughout the day and all over the city, being a Celtic Connections concert attendee felt similar to descriptions I have read of the Victorian social season in London over one hundred years ago. A week into the 2017 festival, my friends and I, many of whom I had first met at the Sabhal Mor Ostaig fiddle course two and a half years prior, thought we had the hang of things. Since we previously had only been able to see each other once a year during the summer fiddle course, reuniting in January was a wonderful opportunity to continue all of the tunes, escapades, and sense of musical community.

For this particular concert, a recital by the renowned Scottish Fiddler Duncan Chisholm and friends, we had gathered in the lobby of the Royal Glasgow Concert Hall. As usual it was pissing rain outside, and everyone was relieved to be indoors for a while. Attending nearly two dozen events over the course of the festival, we had become proficient and confident in our ability to keep our itineraries and tickets straight. Or so we thought.

We began to notice that even with the approaching concert time, we were the only people standing in the lobby. Waiting another ten minutes, we were sure people would turn up soon. After another five minutes, I turned to one of my friends and asked, "Are you sure this is where they're performing?"

"Well, I thought so – didn't it say on the ticket?"

Another friend piped up, "It doesn't say it on the ticket."

We checked the festival program, a booklet over ninety pages detailing all of the performances, performers, and venues featured in the festival. I finally found the page.

"Guys – it says it's at City Halls."

"What?!"

"Oh sh-"

"Run!"

We had been fifteen minutes early, but we were now nearly late for the event that was taking place a quarter of a mile away. Dashing through the rainy city, slipping on the slick cobblestones, and taking advantage of Glasgow's very liberal sense of traffic and street crossing regulations, we arrived out of breath and just in time – we could still blend into the crowd that was ascending the brightly illuminated steps of Glasgow City Halls. Historically a market space, the retrofitted venue now regularly hosts musical performances of the highest caliber and is

actually a complex of several different performance spaces. That evening we only just made it in time; hundreds of attendees were flooding the lobby of one of Glasgow's oldest and most distinguished venues to participate in these traditional music events. Once we were inside, it was a task to find a way through the labyrinthine building, but once we did, both the tunes and the beer were more delicious than any in recent memory.

CELTIC CONNECTIONS

Out of all the events I attended during the course of fieldwork, the most impressive by far was Celtic Connections, Glasgow's annual traditional music festival, held each January since 1993. With 2100 artists, 300 events, 20 venues, 3 weeks, and innumerable attendees as of 2019, Celtic Connections is the largest winter music festival of its kind and the premier celebration of Celtic music (Celtic Connections 2019c). Featuring genres such as folk, Americana, world, indie, jazz, and fusion, in addition to Scottish Traditional and Gaelic music, the festival is a celebration of contemporary Scottish traditional music, a forum for appreciating traditional music from neighboring countries, and a platform for showcasing the traditional music of Scotland's ethnic minorities. The festival is renowned for its strong spirit of collaboration, bringing together imaginative groupings and co-performances of different ensembles to create one-of-a-kind performance experiences. The musical camaraderie continues into the early hours at the late-night Festival Club, where artists from the evening's multiple concerts gather in more informal performances to a slightly hipper vibe than the Glasgow Royal Concert Hall affords (Figure 7.1). At this venue in particular I observed how these musicking communities encompass far more than just the musicians themselves. The audience members in the club – and there were too many for them to all be traditional musicians – seemed to know all the tunes, the notes, and the

performers well enough to sing along, dance in time, and call out jocularly encouraging sentiments to the individuals onstage. These people might not be regular *cèilidh* attendees or they might even only have been getting their traditional music fill once a year at the Celtic Connections late-night Festival Club. Regardless, they were as great a contributor to the room's energy and the evening's music as the professional performers onstage.

Figure 7.1: The afterhours Celtic Connection Festival Club Session. Performers from Scottish traditional group Session A9. Glasgow, Scotland: January 28, 2017. (Photograph by Georgia Broughton)

Celtic Connections is about more than just performance, and in addition to the concerts, competitions, and *cèilidhs*, there are art exhibitions, education workshops, panel discussions, and free events relating to traditional music. Many of these are purposely constructed to discuss

issues relating to diversity in Scottish traditional music, and the 2017 festival hosted a panel tilted "Combined by our Humanity, Enhanced by our Diversity – Why an Inclusive National Identity Matters," which explored how the Scottish government is working in tandem with arts organizations (like Celtic Connections) to promote these values. The experience of attending Celtic Connections was profoundly illuminating, both for the sheer number of musicians with whom I conversed and also for the immense scope of traditional music enthusiasts gathered in one place (Figure 7.2).

Figure 7.2: The 20th Anniversary Concert of Phil Cunningham's "Highland and Islands Suite" featuring performers from both the classical and traditional music programs at the Royal Conservatoire of Scotland in Glasgow. Glasgow, Scotland: January 22, 2017. (Photograph by Georgia Broughton)

Artistic Director of Celtic Connections Donald Shaw is an experienced performer himself. A founding member of Celtic supergroup Capercaillie, Shaw is well aware of the significance of the event: “So it’s a real statement of where traditional music is at today, which is really strong. You know, folk music can’t exist if it stays as it is. It has to change and experiment and find new ways to express itself all the time . . . We’ve brought in great artists from around the world. They go back and say ‘you have to play at this festival.’ And that’s a great advert for Glasgow, as well. Glasgow has always been a great city for musical appreciation but the audiences [at this festival] are fantastic” (STV News 2019).

The festival has expanded in recent years to engage with local campaigns and stage events throughout the year. In 2012, Celtic Connections conducted performances on the Isle of Skye as part of the “Year of Scotland’s Islands,” and travelled to Chicago for the “Year of Creative Scotland” to program various musical performances throughout the Ryder Cup. In 2014, as part of “Homecoming Scotland,” the festival staged a special one-time collaboration in the SSE Hydro, a large-scale venue in Glasgow. This concert was part of the busiest weekend ever for Celtic Connections, in which 25,000 music fans attended performances in the space of 48 hours. The festival also programmed a number of public, outdoor performances for “Culture 2014,” and was part of the larger “Glasgow 2014” campaign that was launched in tandem with Glasgow’s hosting of the Commonwealth Games. In 2015, these efforts were rewarded when the festival won the “Art and Culture Award” at the Inspiring City Awards ceremony. Organized by the *Herald* and Glasgow Chamber of Commerce in association with “People Make Glasgow,” the awards were created to “celebrate the people and organizations that make Glasgow great” (Celtic Connections 2019d).

One core priority of the Celtic Connections festival rests on the firm belief in the importance of encouraging Scottish children to enjoy their cultural heritage. One of the key aspects of the festival is the successful and award-winning Education Programme comprising children's workshops, youth-focused concerts, and tutorials dedicated to fostering an awareness and appreciation of traditional Scottish music. Throughout the festival, pupils and teachers from the community are given the opportunity to attend one of several free concerts for schools at the Glasgow Royal Concert Hall, the city's premiere performance venue. These concerts feature performances by professionals from a range of genres, offering many children the opportunity to enjoy their first experiences of live music. Since 1999, over 200,000 children from all over Scotland (70% of them from schools in Glasgow) have benefited from this program. In addition to the concerts, a series of introductory music workshops are held in schools, with professional musicians introducing a variety of traditional instruments and musical customs. These include Scots song, storytelling, stepdance, and instrumental tuition featuring Celtic instruments such as tin whistle, *bodhrán* (Gaelic hand drum), fiddle and *clarsach* (Gaelic harp). The festival makes particular note that these workshops are "delivered free of charge, and are completely inclusive, involving young people with special needs and those who have English as a second language" (Celtic Connections 2019c). These outreach events continue during the year, ensuring the sustained development of awareness of Scottish music traditions in schools.

In addition to these events as part of the festival's education program, the performance program has educational workshops. None other than Alasdair Fraser and Natalie Haas host one of the largest and most popular workshops. Spanning a full weekend, the workshop is in many ways a mini-version of one of their music camps and reflects their principles of open-minded creativity and inclusivity of experience. The workshop concludes with a mini-concert, informal

and relaxed in nature, on the main steps inside the Glasgow Royal Concert Hall (Figure 7.3).

Figure 7.3: Final presentation for Alasdair Fraser and Natalie Haas Fiddle Workshop at Celtic Connections. Natalie is at the center, at the foot of the stairs, facing away from the camera wearing black. Glasgow, Scotland: January 29, 2017. (Photograph by Georgia Broughton)

In addition, the festival may include educational events for academic purposes. As noted in the last chapter, in January 2018 Celtic Connections hosted just such a conference, titled “Pedagogies, Practices and the Future of Folk Music in Higher Education” (for more information of this event, see Chapter 6).

CELTIC COLOURS

For nine days each October, the Celtic Colours festival on Cape Breton Island in Canada brings people come from all over the world to celebrate the island's rich artistic culture. The "colours" in the festival name is a clever double entendre, alluding to the striking autumn colors of deciduous trees at this time of year and symbolizing the many traditions and experiences featured at the festival. Concerts, dances, workshops, even community suppers, and many other events are hosted as part of the festival, which seeks to "promote, celebrate and develop Cape Breton's living Celtic culture and hospitality by producing an international festival during the fall colours that builds relationships across Cape Breton Island and beyond" (Celtic Colours 2019b).

Cape Breton Island is a unique site of diasporic music and culture. The festival reflects both the Aboriginal Mi'kmaq people of the area as well as the waves of 19th-century settlers from Scotland, Ireland, France, and other European locations who all affected the area's development during the Industrial Revolution. These immigrants maintained cultural traditions with a notable degree of authenticity, due in part to the island's isolation and subsequent lack of outside influences (Melin 2015).

One aspect that makes Celtic Colours unique among festivals is that the festival is not contained within a single location on Cape Breton Island. Communities all around Cape Breton Island host concerts and workshops, the very same communities where these cultural traditions have been remembered, nurtured, and kept alive for over two centuries. The contexts for the origins of the music are celebrated through each community's contribution to the island's living culture. In many communities, the parish hall or community center has hosted musical events for

generations, and all venues share in common the prominent place they hold in their communities (Celtic Colours 2019b).

In addition to the packed performance schedule, the festival has other branches to the program to suit the needs and interests of all participants. These include the "Learning Opportunities" series that hosts a variety of workshops, presentations, demonstrations, and lectures on Celtic history, music, dance, and community heritage. The "Participatory Events" series allows spectators to immerse themselves in the action and join in dancing and music sessions, with many attendees perhaps joining in for the first time. "Outdoor Events" offers guided walks, hikes, and boat tours that introduce attendees to the stunning scenery of Cape Breton Island in the autumn. The "Visual Arts" series hosts exhibitions, demonstrations, and workshops celebrating the wide variety of fine art and visual heritage found in "Cape Breton. In addition, attendees are encouraged to attend the "Community Meals" series for a home-cooked meal hosted by a Cape Breton resident, or to visit the local Farmers' Markets for locally grown produce, honey, and handmade food stuffs.

The Late Night Festival Club is one of the most popular features of the Celtic Colours Festival. Similar to the Celtic Connections Festival Club, this one opens as the evening concerts are ending, offering an opportunity for Festival artists to gather and musick in a more informal setting or to squeeze in a session with friends and colleagues. The Festival Club is held at the Gaelic College (Colaisde Na Gàidhlig) in St. Ann's, and performance is by invitation only, depending on artist availability on any given night (ibid.).

RIKSSCENEN, OSLO

Literally translating as "National Stage," though more functionally translated as

"Kingdom's Stage," Riksscenen is the Norwegian hub for traditional music and dance. Part of the new, eclectic music community and the creative crossroads of Schous Kulturbryggeri in the Grünerløkka area of Oslo, a neighborhood characterized by the presence of many artists and creators, Riksscenen is a new and comprehensive national venue for presenting all kinds of folk music and folk dance, including Norwegian, Sámi, and many different music and dance traditions from around the world.

The new venue is engineered to host all kinds of events – intimate acoustic concerts, fully produced stage shows, and modern dance productions, as well as social events such as traditional dances. The three venue spaces within the arena can be arranged to suit the needs of any type of events, and there are designated rehearsal and seminar rooms, as well as a central recording studio. Several of the music educators and performing artists I met and worked with regularly performed at this venue. Riksscenen regularly hosts events featuring students from the Norges Musikkhøgskole Folk Music program, according to publicity materials on both websites.

FOLKORG

FolkOrg is a Norwegian nationwide, politically neutral independent organization with open membership. This organization was initiated in 2009 as a co-effort between the National Group for Fiddlers (*Landslaget for Spelemenn*) founded in 1923 and the Norwegian Folk Music and Dance Association (*Norsk Folkemusikk og Danselag*) founded in 1987. Today, the organization has approximately 5000 individual members, with 150 local fiddling and dance teams. The purpose of the organization is to champion folk music and folk dance in Norway by strengthening their role and circumstances in society (FolkOrg 2019a).

In addition to serving as a co-supporter of many artistic ventures in the country (including

Riksscenen), FolkOrg leads several informational endeavors and publications. *Folkemussik* (and the online version, *Folkemusikk.no*) is a magazine for folk music and folk dance in Norway. The magazine is owned by FolkOrg, and both the magazine and online magazine have a common, independent editor to abide by ethical publishing practices (FolkOrg 2019a).

FolkOrg also helped to create: *Kulturfordel* **(**Cultural Advantage), a new app produced by the Norwegian Music Council (Norsk Musikkråd); Etnisk musikklubb, which offers rebates or CD purchase; and other cultural discounts available to members (FolkOrg 2019b).

NORSK FOLKEMUSIKKSAMLING (NASJONALBIBLIOTEKET)

Originally founded in 1951 as the Norwegian Folk Music Institute (*Norsk Folkemusikkinstitutt*), the Norwegian Folk Music Archive (*Norsk Folkemusikksamling*), a branch of the Norwegian National Library (*Nasjonalbiblioteket*), is the country's main repository of recorded information pertaining to traditional folk music culture (Norsk Folkemusikksamling 2019a). The archive's mission is to help increase knowledge of and interest in Norwegian folk music and to serve as a source for researchers and performers as well as the general public. The archive is open to the public, with special protections for copyrighted material by private owners, performers, and their families) and holds 2000 hours of music, interviews, and video recordings. They actively collect, register, conduct research and distribute materials related to Norwegian traditional music and dance (Norsk Folkemusikksamling 2019b).

On my visit to this location in July 2016, I found exhaustive volumes of *hardingfele* tunes and Norwegian ballads. As was told to me by Kyrre Kverndokk (who now works at the University of Bergen, but at the time of this visit had recently completed a project-based tenure at the Norsk Folkemusikksamling) these had recently been published after much ethnographic

research by the individuals involved in order to present the most organized, thoroughly analyzed collection available for traditional folk music researchers and enthusiasts (Kverndokk 2016). These newly issued editions indicate concentrated efforts to sustain traditional folk music and fiddling practices in contemporary contexts (Figure 7.4).

Figure 7.4: Newly issued volumes of *hardingfele* tunes, revised and organized by Norsk Folkemusikksamling affiliated researchers. Norsk Folkemusikksamling, Oslo, Norway: July 21, 2016. (Photograph by Georgia Broughton)

LANDSKAPPLEIKEN

Landskappleiken (literally "country competition") is an annual five-day festival and competition held in the last week of June. Attended by approximately 1000 performers (fiddlers, singers, accordionists and dancers) and an additional 5000 to 7000 spectators annually, this

festival is one of the largest and most diverse in Norway. The location of the festival venue moves each year to a new locale in Norway, democratizing attendance feasibility in a country that spans over 1000 miles from north to south. FolkOrg, the national organization for Norwegian folk music and dance (see above), heads the festival and shares the organizational duties, with different assemblies of local organizations in charge of arrangements.

The first Landskappleik was held in Bergen in 1896; originally, it was a competition for the *hardingfele*. In 1924, the festival was opened to fiddlers playing the standard fiddle; however, very few participated. This is due to the fact that in Norway there are distinct regions where either *hardingfele* or fiddle is the primary instrument. Bergen is decidedly *hardingfele* territory. Landskappleiken was not held in a standard fiddle region until 1954, when the town of Lom in Gudbrandsdal (mountainous central Norway) hosted the event, and since then, standard fiddle has been on equal footing with the Hardanger fiddle. Much later, *kveding*, a traditional Norwegian folk singing style, became a feature at Landskappleiken. This was in 1958 in Notodden (in Telemark, southern Norway), and it was not until 1995 (when the festival was held in Førde, western Norway) that class rankings were introduced for vocal folk music, as there had always been for fiddling (Landskappleiken 2019b).

FØRDEFESTIVALEN

The Førde Traditional and World Music Festival, founded in 1990, is the largest festival for traditional and world music in Scandinavia (Førdefestivalen 2019a). Featuring nearly 100 acts in 30 venues and 300 artists from all over the world, this event is always held in the first week of July and attracts over 28,000 visitors annually. In addition to this main event, the organization arranges concerts and other artistic events throughout the year, presenting both

traditional and jazz music at a top level. The festival is regarded as one of the most significant in Norway, receives extensive coverage by national and international media, and obtains grants from the National Arts Council, the Førde region, and the Sogn og Fjordane municipality. The festival has been rated among the 25 best world music festivals worldwide by the international music magazine *Songlines*, included on the Guardian's top 10 register of small town festivals in Europe, and even appears on National Geographic's top list of festivals in Europe, the only Norwegian festival to be included (Førdefestivalen 2019b).

Førde is a small town about 100 miles north of Bergen, situated in idyllic surroundings in the coastal fjord region of Norway's western coast. This setting, although remote, draws performers and audiences from around the world. The festival program offers a wide variety of concerts, workshops, exhibitions, children's events, and social dance evenings. The main festival arena is the culture center, "Førdehuset" (The Førde House), which has four concert halls with varying capacities, from 170 to 2500 seats. Festival events also take place in local hotels, museums, arts centers, and on outdoor stages, meaning that altogether the festival has about 20 performance venues. With a full-time staff of only six people during the year, it takes over 300 volunteers to put the festival together, coordinate musicians arriving from 25 countries, and organize 90 concerts, workshops and other festival events each year (Førdefestivalen 2019b).

The festival issues an orienting theme each year, which in its three decades has ranged from European Minorities (1998) to Music along the Silk Road (2001). Recent themes show an increased awareness of the interconnectivity music festivals offer as well as a self-reflectivity in performance and action: 2009, World Voices; 2010, FREEDOM and Oppression; 2011, Women's World; 2012, Coexistence; 2013, Music & Nature; 2014, Local-global for 25 Years!;

2015, World ConneXions; 2016, Flight!; 2017, Nordic Sounds! 2018, The Dance in the Music – the Music in the Dance! (Førdefestival 2019b).

HANDS UP FOR TRAD

Hands Up for Trad was formed in 2002 to increase the profile and visibility of Scottish traditional music through efforts devoted to information, education and advocacy (Hands Up For Trad 2019a). The group's primary goal is to promote musical excellence and support the talented developing individuals and groups within the Scottish traditional music scene through several key projects.

Established in 2003, the MG ALBA Scottish Traditional Music Awards (frequently just called the Scots Trad Music Awards) are an annual showcase celebrating the achievements of Scotland's leading musicians and recognizing artists within Scotland's music community who produce creative, high-caliber work. Organized by Hands Up For Trad and held every December, these awards highlight Scotland's traditional music in all its forms and offer a public and high-profile opportunity to bring the music and music industry to the forefront of public attention. The general public is included in both the nominating and voting stages, and the Awards attract over 100,000 votes from all over the world (Hands Up For Trad 2019b). The Scots Trad Music Awards are considered the "Oscars"[38] for traditional music in Scotland, and the winners are announced at a celebratory gala and awards ceremony. From its inception, the event has continued to grow in popularity and public regard, attracting television coverage by the Gaelic channel in 2007 and major sponsorship from MG ALBA in 2008.

Iseabail Mactaggart, MG ALBA's Director of Strategy and Partnership, says, "The

[38] This is similar to *Spellemannprisen* (Norwegian Grammy) and *Folkelarmprisen* (Norwegian Folk Music Grammy) in Norway – see Chapter 4.

richness and innovation of Scotland's traditional music scene is wonderfully represented by each of these winners. We at MG ALBA are proud of the partnership with Hands up for Trad – these awards recognise all of Scotland's rich cultural tapestry, with Gaelic and Scots and all of Scotland's diverse musical traditions so superbly represented" (Hands Up for Trad 2018).

A focal point of the annual traditional music calendar, the Scots Trad Music Awards are broadcast each year on BBC ALBA and also available online via BBC iPlayer. Hands Up for Trad also presents the Scottish Traditional Music Hall of Fame Award. Initially launched at the Scottish Traditional Music Awards in December 2005, the annual award acknowledges and recognizes musicians and industry individuals who, "by their dedication and hard work, have supported and influenced the development of Scottish traditional music during their lives" (Hands Up For Trad 2019c).

The BBC Radio Scotland Young Trad Musician of the Year offers twelve young musicians between the ages of 16 and 25 a high-profile opportunity to launch their professional careers. These selected young musicians share an intensive residential weekend where they attend a series of workshops led by traditional music professionals, providing them with a toolkit that will give them the skills necessary to pursue a career in traditional music (Hands Up For Trad 2019a). The winner of the BBC Radio Scotland Young Traditional Musician of the Year competition is awarded a recording session with BBC Scotland, a performance at the Scots Trad Music Awards (held in December), and a year's membership in the Musicians Union. All of the finalists participate in an annual performance tour together. The Final of the BBC Radio Scotland Young Traditional Musician Award is traditionally held on the final day of Glasgow's Celtic Connections festival and is considered a highlight of the festival.

Distil is a project that provides a series of residential courses and events for professional traditional musicians. This series unites these professional musicians with artists from other musical genres who have proven track records at the highest professional level in order to develop projects and working relationships that are purposefully artistically exploratory. All parties benefit from the practical sessions, opportunities to improvise, and the concluding efforts of a performance showcase and recording of their musical work (Hands Up For Trad 2019a).

The Tinto Summer School is a residential week of traditional music where up to 50 participants aged 12 to 18, of all abilities, spend the week together in rural South Lanarkshire, Scotland, and immerse themselves in Scotland's rich traditional music culture. Participants can learn fiddle, flute, guitar, bagpipes, piano, song, accordion, harp, and more from leading musicians in the industry, and the week concludes with a public concert in the nearby village hall showcasing the week's work. Recent tutors at Tinto Summer School have included Adam Sutherland and Patsy Reid, two fiddlers who also taught at the Alasdair Fraser Fiddle Week course at Sabhal Mor Ostaig during the summers that I conducted fieldwork at that location (Hands Up For Trad 2019a). Hands Up for Trad continues to develop its year-long Education and Outreach program. For example, vocal traditions and song practices have become increasingly popular at the Tinto Summer School, and Hands Up For Trad now offers a series of song workshops and master classes during the year where young people and adults alike of all abilities can participate in events and ensembles singing together.

Acknowledging that more than just performance goes into these activities, education projects, and ceremonies, Hands Up For Trad has recently started a new "fringe sister" awards ceremony, The FRADS, to recognize this multitude of diverse work. The name is a play on the Scots "Trad" Music Awards, and the awards highlight and commend the designers, filmmakers,

producers – even the album cover photographers and the chefs – who contribute to and make vital efforts on behalf of the traditional music scene. Awards for 2018 included Trad Album Cover of the Year, Best Trad Use of Social Media, Trad Promo Photograph of the Year, Most Innovative Trad Performance, and Most Islands Gigged this Year (Hands Up For Trad 2019d).

As a leading organization in the traditional arts world, Hands Up For Trad also has some advice for professional aspiring musicians in light of the worries generated by the Brexit debacle and ongoing political, financial, and mobility uncertainties many European artists face. These challenges would be greatest if there were to be a "no deal" scenario (meaning, among other things, that the United Kingdom leaves the European Union with the lowest degree of pre-negotiated economic arrangements), and Hands Up For Trad has worked with the Scottish Music Industry Association to help prepare their participants. The information is provided to assist artists in taking the necessary actions to minimize disruption to their professional lives as much as possible. They provide centralized information regarding EU workers employed in the industry, IP and copyright, data sharing/protection, travelling in the EU27 (passport validity, international driving permits, passenger travel, travel for bus and coach drivers), and customs advice on touring (Hands Up For Trad 2019e).

As with many aspects of this dissertation, it is difficult to know what to write about these political circumstances when everything keeps rapidly changing. Hands Up For Trad has provided this information to its participants and vowed to keep them informed as additional information becomes available and as the implications of the UK's likely withdrawal from the EU become better defined.

INTERLUDE: Only Winners Here

The final Celtic Connections 2017 event I attended was the BBC Radio Scotland Young Traditional Musician of the Year award ceremony. Co-hosted by Hands Up For Trad and BBC Radio Scotland, this award encourages young people to keep alive their musical traditions while maximizing their professional potential and horizons, and is actually a series of events throughout the year featuring performance workshops, music business education, and public concerts. Several months before the grand final competition, six finalists are selected, and in order to facilitate further camaraderie and professional grounding, they embark on a group tour around Scotland (Hands Up for Trad 2019f). By the time of the grand final, they have already had extensive opportunity to work as a team.

Held on the main stage of Glasgow City Halls and concluding the festival, the award ceremony is one of the largest audience draws for Celtic Connections, sold out well in advance and seen as one of the most positive and inspiring events of the festival. The six finalists each take the stage, presenting themselves as much as their artistry, and performing with full accompaniment. A panel of professional musicians judges each, selecting a winner. On Sunday, February 4, 2017, the winner was fiddler Charlie Stewart, who concluded his performance set with a catchy, toe-tapping reel titled “The Girls of Martinfield,” written by Phil Cunningham (b. 1960), who has been one of Scotland’s most active multi-instrumentalists for decades and one of the country’s most prolific contemporary composers.

While there was one main prizewinner, in actuality no one lost – all of these finalists had been afforded professional performance, training, recording, and publicity opportunities. They had been promoted as an ensemble and behaved like one admirably on stage. All six finalists were convivial and supportive of one another in front of the live audience, and the tenseness and

competitiveness that I have seen at so many other competitions were wholly absent here. Additionally, I witnessed the families and friends of contestants visibly congratulating and supporting each other. The entire room was characterized by an atmosphere of solidarity, and this example is important both for indicating what kinds of behaviors are accepted and valued in this music community for reflecting the values Celtic Connections has as an organization.

As my friends and I strolled out of City Halls and walked back to Buchanan Street, this award ceremony seemed like a perfect way to conclude the festival experience. Inclusive, professional, supportive, and incorporative in terms of participation, the event embodied the most central elements of musicking, namely the importance of shared experience and recognition that the most important element is the health of the community itself. We turned up the street as the golden afternoon sunlight illuminated a path to the Royal Concert Hall, and paused for a moment to admire the scene – only a moment, because we had another Sunday Funday to embark on, and the tunes were calling.

ROYAL SCOTTISH PIPE BAND ASSOCIATION

Organized piping competitions (both group and solo) are first mentioned just before the start of the 20th century. Piping competitions provide platforms for practicing and witnessing Scottish musical culture in action, help to maintain standards of performance, and assert a contemporary Scottish musical identity prominently and proudly. These events are not affiliated with martial activities and standing alone as unmitigated representations of musical practice and civil citizenship.

The Royal Scottish Pipe Band Association (RSPBA) was founded in 1930 (initially as The Scottish Pipe Band Association) to serve as an authoritative governing body to assist with

the regulation of competitions and judging. Pipe Band competitions had been recorded as early as 1905 and organized around confined localities throughout Scotland. Until the formation of the RSPBA, there was no nationally recognized system for coordinating competition activities or for setting standards (Royal Scottish Pipe Band Association, 2019b).

The Association's official aims and objectives, in place since its start, are to promote and encourage the culture and international advancement of pipe band music; to create and maintain a bond of fellowship with all pipe band personnel throughout the world, without discrimination as to race, nationality, and ethnic or national origins; to devise and operate pipe band contest adjudication rules; and to organize five of the oldest and most illustrious piping championship competitions on the globe: British (Paisley), United Kingdom (Belfast), European (Forres); Scottish (Dumbarton); and World (Glasgow) Championships, representing the finest competitive venues in the world (Royal Scottish Pipe Band Association 2019b).

Additionally, the RSPBA is an internationally recognized and respected center for education, promotion, and development of pipe band music. Its services and facilities include education, training and certification in piping, drumming, and drum majoring, as well as pipe band adjudication; an annual summer school; administering an Academy of Pipe Band Musicianship; and enforcing standards of pipe band competition performance (Royal Scottish Pipe Band Association 2019a).

WORLD PIPE BAND CHAMPIONSHIPS

The World Pipe Band Championships in their current form have been held since 1947. Previous to that, there was less organization, although the Grade 1 (the highest tier) Pipe Band Competition winners at the annual Cowal Highland Gathering (see below) were recognized as

World Champions as far back as 1906. These Championships now regularly attract over 200 bands (over 8000 performers), with more than a quarter of those coming from overseas locations, and the event regularly receives entries from fifteen or more countries (World Pipe Band Championships 2018a). According to ability and results, the bands are placed in nine different competition grades. Although long-term members and the sustenance of pipe band participants is always an issue to keep in mind (see Chapter 4), youth involvement is an issue of note, and as many as 40% of the pipers and drummers taking annually in the Championships are 25 and under (World Pipe Band Championships 2018b).

COWAL HIGHLAND GATHERING

In addition to festivals and competitions, another example of cultural activity reaffirmed through assembled performance and experience would be the tradition, now found worldwide, of Scottish Highland Games. These are large gatherings that feature events such as sporting displays of physical strength, music and dance performances, and instrument competitions and processionals. These events are recorded in Scottish history as far back as the 1300s, occurring usually at the behest of a clan chief or the king. The Highland Clearances in the mid 1800s led to the forced emigration of hundreds of thousands of Scots, and the development of Highland Games were attempts to practice, promote, and reaffirm Scottish culture outside the geographic boundaries of Scotland (Thomson 1983).

At present, the Cowal Highland Gathering, held each August in Dunoon, Argyll, Scotland, is the largest gathering in Scotland, with an estimated 30,000 attendees each year. First held in 1894, the event is steeped in history, and while many traditions have remained the same over the years, there have been new efforts to make sure there are opportunities for everyone to

engage and celebrate. From watching the salute to the Chieftain or the massing of the pipers to dashing in the 5K fun run, this is firmly a community-focused event, as well as a peerless assemblage of world-class pipers, dancers, and athletes competing at the very top of their fields (Cowal Highland Gathering 2019b).

CALEDONIAN CLUB OF SAN FRANCISCO'S SCOTTISH HIGHLAND GATHERING AND GAMES

Highland games have come to play a pivotal role in the Scottish diaspora. Around the globe, these are events where participants and attendees take part in cultural experiences that are usually identified as specifically Scottish (highland dancing, caber throwing, pipe band assemblies), and through these shared cultural activities and education reaffirm Scottish identity, regardless of location. While the Cowal Highland Gathering is one of the oldest and grandest in Scotland, the largest such gathering in the world is quite far from the Highlands. Every year since 1866, the Caledonia Club of San Francisco has hosted the Pleasanton Games, the largest Highland gathering outside Scotland, or, indeed, anywhere in the world. The 2015 games saw a record 50,000 attendees (Caledonian Club of San Francisco's Scottish Highland Gathering and Games 2019a).

California's 1848/1849 Gold Rush attracted many immigrants, including some from Scotland, to the environs around San Francisco. On November 24, 1866, seventeen Scots congregated in Clem Dixon's Ale Vaults on Summer Street in San Francisco to organize California's first Scottish Games (The Scottish Games 2019a). Held a week later, the inaugural Games were a pleasant, informal event featuring nine competitive athletic events, including hammer throwing and stone putting. Over the decades, the scale of the Games grew

exponentially, and the event had to relocate several times in order to have enough space for the growing crowds and activities. Since 1994, the Games have been at their current location, the Alameda County Fairgrounds in Pleasanton, CA. The 2-day event, held the first weekend in September, features Heavy Events Championships, the U.S. Drum Major Championships, the Western U.S. Open Highland Dancing Championships, and various grades of Pipe Band Competitions (Figure 7.5).

Figure 7.5: Pipe band competition finals at the 151st Pleasanton Scottish Highland Gathering and Games in Pleasanton, CA. At the oldest and largest highland games in the U.S., pipe bands can compete for Grade 1 status. Pleasanton, CA: September 4, 2016. (Photograph by Georgia Broughton)

Other competitive events include the shinty (a traditional Scottish sport, similar to hockey on grass, but a lot more violent, if that's possible) and rugby competitions. The Games also host a variety of cultural performances, including Scottish country dancers and the San Francisco Scottish Fiddlers (Figure 7.6).

Figure 7.6: San Francisco Scottish Fiddlers performing at the Pleasanton Scottish Highland Gathering and Games. Pleasanton, CA: September 4, 2016. (Photograph by Georgia Broughton)

At the end of each day, the Games Grandstand Show features the impressive March of the Massed Bands, featuring hundreds of pipers and drummers (in 2016, the summer I attended,

there were close to 800). The annual Scottish Highland Gathering and Games are produced entirely by volunteers from the Caledonian Club of San Francisco, which does not accept government funding or apply for foundation support (The Scottish Games 2019b) (Figure 7.7).

Figure 7.7: With over 700 performers on the field at once, the Gathering of the Pipe Bands at the Pleasanton Scottish Highland Gathering and Games is a sight to behold. Pleasanton, CA: September 4, 2016. (Photograph by Georgia Broughton)

INTERLUDE: Sunday Funday

Although the evening activities at the Sabhal Mòr Ostaig fiddle camp could by certain technicalities be considered pub sessions, since they were held in a hall with a bar at one end of

the room, my first real pub session was actually a series of four events in Glasgow. I had arrived on Sunday Funday, held on the first Sunday of each month, when numerous pubs famous for their traditional music events all coordinate their session times. Starting in the early afternoon, a veritable parade of traditional musicians begins at one end of the city. Migrating from venue to venue, it works its way to the other end of town, picking up players and concluding somewhere between midnight and two in the morning.

I had arranged to drive down from Sabhal Mòr Ostaig to Glasgow with two new friends from the fiddle course, and we intended to make it in time to join in the pub session fun. We wound our way through single-lane highways, encountered hours of untimely torrential rain, and did our best to avoid the motorists who seemed to prefer overtaking us on blind curves. With all these distractions and stopping perhaps too frequently to take photos of the breathtaking landscape (I can vividly remember standing in Glencoe as history resonated up from the earth, with the peaty heath, Scottish pines, and the cool, moist air left by a freshening rain filling my lungs), we arrived substantially late in Glasgow. By the time we found Waxy O'Connor's, the first stop of the evening, the party was already in full swing. A historic venue in the center of downtown Glasgow, Waxy O'Connor's is a labyrinthine three-floor affair of taps, rickety tables, and oak-paneled walls, and we could hear the tunes above the din, but it took us a while to wind our way through. We finally located our fiddle camp companions (who had beaten us down by taking the train) in the back of the pub playing tunes and singing with many local city musicians.

I heard the strumming of a guitar and a light tenor voice careening above the others, and this was my first introduction to Stef Baxter, a prominent session musician in the Glasgow traditional music scene for three decades. Stef didn't know us from Adam, but one look and a glance of acknowledgment from the friends that we have in common, who were already sitting

down happily with their Innis & Gunn (a wildly popular local craft beer), and Stef welcomed us like we were actually family (Figure 7.8).

Figure 7.8: A traditional music session at the Ben Nevis pub in Glasgow, the last stop on the Sunday Funday tour. Both on *bodhrán*, Steve Forman (left) and Stef Baxter (right) offered critical insights into Glaswegian life and traditional music session culture. August 3, 2014. (Photograph by Georgia Broughton)

Two years later during our interview, Stef began to mull over the meaning of being Scottish, and specifically being Glaswegian. The 2017 Celtic Connections festival was in full swing, and we were taking a break from all the activity. That afternoon, sitting on the cold steps of the Kelvingrove Art Gallery, we were staying out of the rain and discussing his life in music, his motivations, and his convictions about what can be shared – deeply – via music and art.

"You see that [pointing at the River Clyde]?" he asked, as we tried not to shiver. "That was the artery that took people out to the rest of the world. People left there and you didn't see them probably ever again or you didn't see them for a long time. Maybe there's something in

that" (Baxter 2017).

There was contemplation and also endearing pride in his voice. Because he is a lifelong resident of Glasgow's south side (the tough, historically working class area), these issues are deeply personal to him.

"I know a lot of people wanted to escape, at one point Glasgow was disgusting . . . Fresh air and freedom was down the Clyde. So we are fascinated when people want to come to Glasgow. We ask them, first of all, 'Are you alright?!' We are so flattered that you've decided to come to Glasgow" (Baxter 2017).

And as we wrapped up our time chatting, the sky cleared, the 3pm bells began to ring, and a brilliant double rainbow appeared soaring over the towers of the University of Glasgow, where a Pride flag was assuredly flying high.

CONCLUSION

Festivals, cultural organizations, and competitive gatherings, while not explicitly education institutions, are highly educational and engaging environments. These publically educational COMPs are integrating traditions into all aspects of life, which makes the traditions themselves secure in their relevance and valuable through action and immediacy of experience. These traditions can contribute to a deeply rooted investment to space and place – geographically and also as a community, perhaps one spread across continents. These practices, in being maintained and shared collectively and celebrated publically, offer venues and opportunities to process the past, appreciate the present, and compose the future – for our individual selves and our extended communities of musical practice.

CHAPTER 8: LOOKING FORWARD

INTRODUCTION

Scotland and Norway are at the vanguard of many liberal fronts today – social, political, and economic, among others. In supporting those missions, both countries continue to find forums to successfully cash in on their artistic capital and reinvest cultural wealth. The Communities of Musical Practice in both Scotland and Norway reviewed in this dissertation demonstrate the resourcefulness of accessing artistic and especially musical environments as sites of identity construction and reveal how adaptable they are for addressing these needs.

ISSUES FOR THE FUTURE

Witnessing early on how traditional music communities provided an active and embodied environment for examining sociopolitical issues, I decided during the course of my research to consider questions beyond those directly affiliated with the issues of pedagogy and political and social activism that are central to my topic. These questions, such as those revolving around environmental problems, have only become more urgent and relevant in recent years.

I found that most interviewees were ready to talk about such concerns, even though they were sensitive subjects and despite the fact that few COMPs have organized methods of systemically addressing them. These included topics such as free speech and censorship, gender issues, minority issues, and environmental concerns. While most of my interviews were one-on-one, it was clear that these topics are discussed by traditional music participants amongst themselves, and that the participants consider deeply how they affect the COMP as a whole. Interviewees believed that combating these challenges should be conducted as a unified front,

mirroring society at large. Even if that is not always the case at present, it is the goal for the many COMPs I observed to be positive, actioned sites of change.

Below I set out some of the challenges faced and highlight the attention being paid to them by Northern European traditional music practitioners. This coverage is not meant to be exhaustive but rather indicative that these matters are being addressed and that future research awaits those wanting to pursue these lines of inquiry.

Free Speech and Censorship

Perhaps a reflection of the current political polarities – in Europe, but even more on a global scale – is the timely issue of censorship and free speech in artistic settings. Recently, Førdefestivalen (reviewed in Chapter 7) offered its support to Freemuse, an independent international membership organization advocating for and defending artistic freedom of expression. Founded in 1998 as a result of the first world conference on music and censorship in Copenhagen, Denmark, Freemuse advocates for artistic freedom globally and even assists artists at risk through campaigns, on-the-ground action, and a wide variety of projects (Freemuse 2019a). The organization releases an annual report each March addressing the status of artistic freedom, or violations thereof, around the world (Freemuse 2019a).

Førdefestivalen has a designated theme each year, and the themes have become increasingly progressive and inclusive in recent years. In 2010, the theme was "FREEDOM and Oppression." Freemuse recently held a protest in front of Storting (the Norwegian Parliament) in Oslo on Saturday, March 23, 2019, to raise awareness about the challenges artists face worldwide and the need to protect freedom of speech and artistic expression. Representatives from Førdefestivalen commented on the protest and offered their support: "*At ytringsfridom for*

kunstnarar skulle verte eit høgaktuelt tema også i vårt eige land, er eit faktum som er vondt å svelje" ("That freedom of speech for artists should be a highly relevant theme also in our own country is a fact that is painful to swallow") (Førdefestivalen 2019).

Throughout my research, I found many instances of these kinds of organizations collaborating and supporting one another in relation to issues of freedom of expression that transcended political and geographic boundaries.

Gender Issues

Identifying as female and being keenly aware of gender-related issues, I decided very early on in the research process to consider issues of gender and gender equality as they might appear in traditional music contexts. Historically, nearly all of the early Norwegian fiddlers in Scotland and Norway (and for Norway, *hardingfele* as well) were male (Collinson 1966, Hopkins 1986). Several of the individuals I interviewed remarked on this, both female-identifying and male-identifying. Mostly, their commentary pertained to the "boy's club" vibe that still characterizes much of the traditional music scene, especially in performance settings.

Sophie Stephenson, a professional dancer best known for her Scottish step dancing and international cross-collaborative dancing projects, spoke readily about the situation. She and I first met at Sabhal Mòr Ostaig College in July 2014 and have been in contact since. She feels that discussions of gender and gender equality in the traditional music community have come to the forefront. She states there have been "huge changes" regarding misogyny in the last few years and spoke about the challenges of existing in a traditionally – and statistically still – male environment. Trying not to be implicitly sexualized remains a challenge: "It's a weird dynamic. . . . You become aware of the way you present yourself." Through performance integrity, she says,

she tries to avoid being perceived as "just the dancer . . . that wears a short skirt." She does state, however, that, "ratios are changing a lot." At the same, time she makes it clear that "I want to be booked because of what I do, not because I'm a woman" (Stephenson 2018).

Minority Issues

While both Scotland and Norway have demonstrated efforts to foster inclusive national identity, both musically and socially, there is still work to be done on this front, most especially in the case of the Sámi people. Sámi are the indigenous and traditionally nomadic inhabitants of Finnmark, the northernmost reaches of the Scandinavian Peninsula (called Sápmi in the Sámi language). The majority of the Sámi people currently claim citizenship in Norway. The civil rights violations against the Sámi are well documented in all the Scandinavian countries (Jones-Bamman 1993, Hilder 2015). Norway's Sámi Parliament was established in 1989, and since then has worked to protect Sámi civil rights and traditional ways of life. In addition to crucial political and economic arenas, these protections extend to maintaining cultural and artistic practices. The Sámi Easterfestival is held annually, and this is the largest performance/competition forum for Sámi musicians and practitioners of Sámi music (Sámiráđđi 2017).

Perhaps the best-known cultural practice indicative of Sámi traditions is *joiking*. It is a vocalized, highly improvisatory, and mostly non-lexical art form (Jones-Bamman 1993:40) that is both a musical and spiritual, experiential tradition. The intent is to create a unique musical portrait of a person, an animal, or a landscape for the purpose of demonstrating and fostering deep respect with other living beings and spaces, serving as a form of communion with the natural environment. Although Sámi communities have felt consistent political and economic pressure to abandon their traditions and opt for more conforming lifestyles, they have managed

to largely contest these challenges and in fact make them a part of *joiks* and *joiking*, "incorporating these foreign elements in a way that has enriched rather than extinguished their own culture" (Ling:1997). A living transcendent practice, the *joik* is anything but a relic and has been consistently integrated into rock, pop, and other forms of contemporary music. For the Sámi, this adaptiveness in the face of change goes "hand in hand with an awareness of the importance and strength of their own cultural heritage" (ibid.).

There are many examples of Sámi musicians employing their traditional music practices (including *joiking*) to address political (and especially environmentally political) issues. A notable example is Sofia Jannok, a traditional *joiking* artist who tours internationally and weaves these issues into her work, including in a recent TED Talk presentation ("Our Rights To Earth And Freedom . . . " 2012). Out of concern over the destructive impact of industry and development in Sápmi, Jannok is a founding member of the Arvas Foundation, a group that seeks to remind people that "we only borrow earth for a short time and our task is to preserve land and water for future generations" (ibid.). Her website biography makes this stance even clearer: "I am the power yoik in the front line of nature protecting herself for future generations. To all my indigenous relatives around our mother – may we never be silent" (Jannok 2019).

Another is vocalist Marja Mortensson. Mortensson grew up in a reindeer-herding family, and her work speaks to different aspects of her indigenous Sámi identity, such as the closeness and importance of the environment, reindeer husbandry, and a commitment to the protection and revitalization of the Sámi language. In 2014, she was named Young Artist of the Year at the international indigenous festival Riddu Riđđu, held in Norway. She has issued several CDs and regularly collaborates with other Sámi musicians in performance (Mortensson 2019).

Regarding the collective and unifying capacity of music, she states, “Music has the power to create beautiful meetings between different cultures, but it can also help us find the internal strength we need to carry on, as well as guiding us towards our own paths in life. I feel fortunate that I have managed to find a way in which I can use my music to share traditional Saami customs, values and traditions, thereby ensuring that our culture remains relevant for Saami as well as others for years to come” (ibid.).

Fortunately, Norway continues to work to rectify this disparity (politically and culturally) between its claims of exclusivity and its treatment of its indigenous Sámi population. The hypocrisy is at odds with long-professed values of social solidarity and egalitarianism in the country, as well as with the general European values of a liberal, open, inclusive society.

Environmental Issues

Most frequently, I found that teachers and students alike in both Scotland and Norway would state that environmental concerns were not explicitly being addressed via composition or through traditional music practice. However, the presence of liberal community values within the arts community almost totally coincided with liberal political values, for example paying greater attention to issues such as climate change. Both climate scientists and governmental agencies state that climate change is the single greatest threat to security and stability worldwide (McGrath 2018, IPCC 2018). In the course of supporting subsidiary research, I did see that there would have been considerable room to explore issues pertaining to environmental activism as addressed through traditional music had my dissertation topic not focused squarely on issues of pedagogy. Many performers, especially in the Sámi community, directly address environmental concerns in their music and performance choices.

While there are few examples of traditional fiddlers choosing to address climate change via performance and composition, there are many traditional musicians in both Scotland and Scandinavia who are developing ways to positively contribute to both discussing and addressing the global climate crisis via their artistic platform. This goes far beyond simply discussing the situation and commenting on the actions of others. Traditional musicians in Northern Europe are making solo and joint efforts to address this existential threat of climate change.

Erik Rydvall, a Swedish nyckelharpa player, maintains a busy schedule of performing and outreach, both as a soloist and in collaboration with many different musicians from the Nordic countries. This might sound like a typical description of many Nordic musicians, except for one thing – for the entire year of 2019, he has vowed to abstain from air travel. This decision was specifically in response to climate change and global warming concerns, as the "only responsible thing I can do" (Rydvall 2018a). He is participating in a movement galvanized by social media called #IStayOnTheGround (#jagstannarpåmarken in Swedish). As he notes, plane travel has the highest carbon footprint per person of any form of travel, and the climate impact is huge. He adds that "I will also make other changes in my lifestyle but this will be the thing that will have a major affect [sic] on my carbon footprint" (ibid.). In additional to Facebook posts addressing this choice, he has even produced videos about the decision, including one video reviewing the merits of train travel and demonstrating how much room there actually is in an overnight compartment (Rydvall 2018b). He concludes that "I will lose thousands of dollars only next year by doing this, but mostly I will lose so many opportunities to share my music" (Rydvall 2018a). Erik's public campaign has had a reverberating effect through the traditional music community and has helped support the dialogue about the environmental responsibility of 21st-century musicians.

Traditional musicians are also finding ways to inspire their communities to address these issues in a collective manner. With the perspective that "The arts sustain us as humans. But sustainability on this planet takes more than just art. We want to do both," Laura Risk (Scottish and Québécois fiddler) and Liz Knowles (Irish fiddler) started the Sustainable Touring Arts Coalition (STAC) in 2019 (2019a). With the tagline "Share the Arts. Share the Planet. Share the Responsibility," and the belief that environmental sustainability should be an integral, daily part of decision-making in the industry, the STAC's mission is to "find concrete solutions within our industry to support environmentally sustainable touring by collaborating with festivals, venues, booking and management agencies, record labels, service industries, artists, and audience members" (ibid.).

On their newly launched website, their current initiatives address travel implications such as carbon footprints, reducing plastic usage, and avoiding food waste (2019b). Suggested actions include securing carbon offsets, flying versus driving, and communicating with venues to ensure sustainable options are available (e.g. saying no to plastic water bottles). They are also actively building this project and seeking participants from all aspects of the music industry who would like to contribute perspectives and get involved: "We would like to engage in creative and productive conversations across the industry about how we might best share our responsibilities to our planet while continuing to make the arts an accessible resource for people around the world" (2019a). Their efforts are purposely public and intended to not only set an example but also generate conversation within the traditional music community.

FUTURE APPLICATIONS

As with most dissertations, this one only serves as a reflection only a single, focused sector of the music tradition(s) at hand. While this dissertation is interdisciplinary on many

accounts, there are several fields of study (such as neurobiology and bioacoustics) not addressed here that would offer interesting insights into the effects of traditional music and identity.

In terms of ethnomusicology, the methods and inquiries of this study can also be overlaid on other political situations. Although my field research addresses Scotland/Norway/Northern Europe, this traditional music research project and its approaches can be expanded to Europe as a whole. Nationalist movements in Catalonia and the Basque region have challenged the centralized Spanish government for decades. The Sámi in Scandinavia, particularly in Norway, have gained political ground in tandem with the maintenance and increased visibility of their intangible cultural heritage practices. What would continue to humanize the struggles of these communities in an immediately accessible and deeply emotional way, as opposed to a constant parade of television soundbites and political smoke and mirrors, would be in-depth explorations of how they are exercising cultural safeguards and manifesting their political futures through musical practice. This type of project can reasonably be expanded further to include different instances of global political activism actualized via music practice throughout the world, and would be especially informative and enlightening for a general readership.

Additionally, on the issue of infinite possibility with the field, I can say that a particularly promising area of study would be the communities of folk rock bands and their audiences in Scotland, Norway, and extended Northern European environments. Due to the multiple roles most musicians perform in the music community, I was of course interacting with individuals who are members of folk rock bands (e.g. Adam Sutherland and Innes Watson), sometimes several at a time, while they are simultaneously teaching traditional styles. Due to my own experiences as a classical violin teacher, I decided early on to focus on pedagogy and traditional

music practice, but if I had a second chance at this dissertation, I can see just how vibrant, engaged, and compelling that folk rock band study would be.

CONCLUSION: INCLUSIVE NATIONAL IDENTITY

Returning to the inclusive/inclusivity rubric I outlined in Chapter 1, how are these Northern European traditional COMPs working towards, contributing to, and actualizing an inclusive national identity? Even though Scotland and Norway have different approaches to presenting and learning traditional music practices (nationalism vs. regionalism), the importance of inclusivity is a nation-wide priority for both countries.

To review, in order (for the purposes of this study) to be considered inclusive beyond a simple dictionary definition, the COMPs need to manifest efforts via a five-pronged approach, which is structured sufficiently to be methodical yet flexible enough to allow for organizational and participant variations between the COMPs. While I do not believe it is a perfect device, it was helpful for the purposes of this dissertation, and I can imagine how with some refinement it would be useful for projects in the future.

Accessibility: Is the COMP currently exhibiting or prioritizing the development of accessibility? (e.g., addressing economic, racial, geographic barriers)

Egalitarianism: Is the COMP currently exhibiting or prioritizing the development of egalitarian frameworks? (e.g., student-teacher balanced curriculum development, participant-led initiatives)

Integration: Is the COMP currently exhibiting or prioritizing the development of integration measures? (e.g., musicking rather than simply learning notes, situating the COMP within the wider social milieu)

Open-mindedness: Is the COMP currently exhibiting or prioritizing the cultivation of open-mindedness? (e.g., forward thinking purposes, goals, content, practices)

Unifying: Is the COMP currently exhibiting or prioritizing the development of a unifying community purpose and atmosphere? (e.g., regular communal, shared activities and celebration/publicizing of these activities)

All of the Communities of Musical Practice reviewed in this dissertation display these characteristics. These model COMPs have a profound effect on the wider social perceptions of traditional music and traditional music education. Assessing the presence and extent of these critical inclusivity-building elements offers insight into how their messages and content are most successfully received and internalized by participants and audiences.

This presence and extent could be defined by many fulfillments of the above rubric. The clearest and most defining fulfillments for each level of COMPs are as follows:

1. **Elementary/Primary**: COMPs are starting from a young age and being attentive to all ages, not just demographics that have the capacity to vote. These early education settings prioritize accessibility by making education financially feasible (very often free) and offering musicking opportunities close to home. Especially in locations that are economically challenged or have significant immigrant communities, these early musicking opportunities, available to all, engender egalitarian attitudes and a shared

sense of belonging to a place and integration into an inclusive local kinship. These COMPs serve the needs of young students as well as their support systems, unifying the communities and reinforcing the role of traditional music learning in that process. For a particularly endearing example, see "Govan's Fledgling Pipe Band and the Greater Glasgow Police Pipe Band" in Chapter 4.

2. **Secondary/Transitional/Diaspora**: COMPs are teaching beyond their immediate spheres and send comprehensive and consistent messages to everyone involved. These networks of practitioners constantly must find and develop ways to simply stay in touch and coordinate, and facilitating information accessibility coincides with a shared sense of responsibility toward the group. The emphasis on communication leads to constant discussions regarding activities and values in the group, inherently facilitating the development of new activities, repertoires, and traditions. The COMP that most boldly displayed these characteristics was the Valley of the Moon Fiddle School (see Chapter 5).
3. **Tertiary/University**: COMPs are adapting to meet the times and focusing on communication and career pragmatics, while simultaneously prioritizing transparency, egalitarianism, and respect. These settings are especially fine examples of egalitarianism, integration, and open-mindedness put into practice. Programs are being revamped and purposefully restructured to meet the needs of increasingly diverse musicking student bodies, and curricula are now designed to function as adaptable facets of the experience, rather than fixed, conformity-requiring tests of endurance. The Traditional Music Program at the Royal Conservatoire of Scotland (see Chapter 6) was an especially impressive example of these values put into action.

4. **Public Educational Environments**: COMPs are integrating the teaching and traditions into all aspects of life, not just politics, which makes the traditions themselves secure in their relevance and valuable not by imposed relevance but by action and immediacy. Recognizing the adaptive nature of traditional music to meet the needs and issues relevant to the times, these incorporative musicking environments find ways to integrate with the local, year-round communities (education programs), are progressive and open-minded in their programing (e.g. Celtic "fusion"), and are focused in their goals to make traditional music available and attractive to as many participants as possible (prolific number of events, a range of event types, etc.). While the Celtic Connections festival (Chapter 7) was undoubtedly the most compelling example of this, other standout COMPs include Hands Up For Trad and Landskappleiken in Norway (also Chapter 7).

Most importantly, these characterizing fulfillments support one another and facilitate interactions between the different levels of COMPs. The diversity of audience, intent, expression, and execution means that each COMP is well situated to offer assistance and perspective to others and equally open to receiving such support. As vibrant, expressive components of society, these COMPs are clear sites of values put into action – values which I witnessed in research and observation to be decidedly humanistic, progressive, animated, and fundamentally inclusive. These COMPs are open yet protected spaces for these values, and by setting these examples, COMPs encourage other environments (both musical and non-musical) to develop similar approaches.

While the teacher/student dynamic is a critical unit of education transmission, I found that the health and dynamism of the COMP was a greater indicator of whether values would be

fostered, propagated, and passed on to new generations of student and participants. The COMP – its fitness, longevity, and relevance to its targeted audience – matters more than individual engagement or even national-level support. It is at this level of engagement that traditions are established and made recurrent, tunes are played with the purpose of shared ownership, experiences can be collectively remembered but still immediately personal, and ecosystems of behavior are most functionally structured. All these activities, while important to individuals, are most meaningful within the context of the group. The wellbeing of the COMP (and the ecosystemic co-support of other COMPs) is a better indicator of whether particular values will thrive or expire. Additionally, COMPs are sites of existent value reaffirmation rather than zones of value creation; these values are already present in society, but the COMPs transmit, adapt, replicate, and especially amplify them in order to survive. It is incidental that the liberal values of these communities are coinciding with political discussion surrounding inclusivity; what matters is that the COMPs are actively embracing and amplifying the inclusivity principles, ensuring that these sites of traditional musicking will continue to be as accessible, egalitarian, integrated, open-minded, and unifying milieus, with traditional music as a common language of expression.

I suppose the most humbling realization of this entire process is that the more I knew, the less I knew for sure, and the more I researched, the more I realized what expansive opportunities await anyone wanting to conduct ethnomusicological research on Northern European Communities of Musical Practice. If anything, I hope this dissertation serves as a reflective exercise for examining the countless ways in which traditional music practices reverberate through society, affect our daily lives, and influence the future.

These Communities of Musical Practice, due to their present emphases on inclusivity and progressively minded values, fully embody Christopher Small's musicking philosophies. By

prioritizing active inclusion of all potential musicking fellows, of all learning levels and participation levels, no single perspective is ranked higher than any other. This egalitarianism put into constant action stabilizes the future of the communities, ensuring that all participants can depend on their voice and experience being recognized, welcomed, and encouraged. Furthermore, serious efforts to energetically integrate this multitude of perspectives and remain open-minded as to what additional perspectives could be included represent a proactive and creatively minded musicking thoughtfulness – at its best, encouraging traditional music participants to reconsider their own orienting frameworks, and at its most challenging, staving off potential prejudices as to what constitutes traditional music in the 21st century.

Many of the COMP participants I interacted with shared these views, and the teachers usually had particularly insightful messages about their music and approaches to teaching as it might relate to politics. Lauren MacColl, one of the fiddle teachers at the Sabhal Mòr Ostaig Fiddle Week, made her views on the intersection of traditional music and contemporary Scottish politics clear:

> Just in terms of sharing music and sharing anything, it's very liberal, left stance – this idea of inclusion and looking out for others. There are lots of ways we could reach out to others, and I think the thing we need to be very careful of is the nationalist thing and make sure that our music doesn't become associated with the kind of real flag waving 'We are the 45' that emerged afterwards [after the 2014 Scottish Independence referendum] and got a bit nasty. I think we just need to make sure that the music part stays a positive force moving forward. (MacColl 2017)

Additionally, the traditional communities of music practice reflect many characteristics that positively confirm the advantageous applications of Richard Dawkins' memetics theories in musical research. Discrete musical elements (such as tunes and their proliferations into communities) and comprehensive sociomusical values (such as inclusivity and self-determination) can be seen to survive and thrive in these collective artistic environments. They offered fertile terrain for a constant renewing – through actioned musicking – of the importance these values have within these communities. Moreover, as dense networks of social interaction via music exchange, these COMPs are unmistakably akin to biological ecosystems in terms of structure, purpose, and behavior.

Even the ways musicians perceive and describe their musicking and its accompanying values points to these memetic tendencies. Scottish fiddler Adam Sutherland, who emphasizes freedom and self-determination in his teaching, states that, "Autonomy as an individual artist can be contagious and if it spreads, people start believing" (Sutherland 2018). He also knows that "Not many people would realize it" but this purposeful art and activism through music is a "subtle warfare . . . music is subtle. And it helps to have a strong, vibrant culture – and it's a warfare I take part in" (ibid.).

Employing memetics terminologies and placing the emphasis on the ecology of behavior and the social collective moves discussion away from examinations of value and exchange and instead humanizes both the participants and their activities as living, vibrant, purposeful, and active musicking agents. This empathy is deeply important in ethnomusicological study. While the ability to preserve composure as an observer is a critical research skill, ethnography without humanity is hollow. Since I was fortunate to receive so much kindness and compassion from the

musicians, teachers, performers, and audience members I encountered, I have done my best to convey their stories and perspectives in these pages.

The issue of empathy came up frequently during interviews, both in terms of both personal expression and found opportunities to connect with other musicking participants. Perhaps this makes sense given we were discussing inclusivity, identity, and the maintenance of communities. Many interviewees expressed the opinion that empathy, and a willingness to consider the position and experiences of others, was crucial to good musicianship, and in turn decent citizenship. Stef Baxter had some particularly interesting thoughts on this willingness he sees in Glaswegians (among others) to offer empathy in the face of struggle:

> When you see someone who's in the same boat as you, and you see they're struggling and you basically want to help them . . . there's a natural instinct I think in Glaswegians (ok [he admits], I'm a Glaswegian!, but I see tangible evidence), like, there's a tourist, opens a map, lost – a Glaswegian will walk up and say, "Are you lost? Where are you going?" "Oh I'm going to George Square." "It's down here, let me take you." And they walk you. "Where are you from?" "Outer Mongolia." "Oh yeah? Whereabouts in Outer Mongolia?," as if they know it. They're just dead nosy and dead interested. (Baxter 2017)

And thank goodness, too – if it hadn't been for all the fellow students giving me tips on what tunes to learn so I could join a session, or the teachers who made sure they were respecting all their pupils as they taught, or the scholars who willingly jumped outside their comfort zones to discuss the essence of a session, or even that "nosey" immigration officer at the Glasgow airport five summers ago who wanted to tell me all the best places to hear the tunes – this would

have been a very different research adventure. And just like the many Northern European Communities of Musical Practice reviewed in this dissertation, the research that informed it was guided by empathy, understanding, and inclusion. These communities have successfully developed tangible, balanced, incorporative, and sustainable methods of passing on these values to future generations, moving and grooving them along as readily, committedly, and freely as they do the tunes that score their lives.

APPENDIX A: FEATURED TUNES FROM THE FIELDWORK REPERTORY

While this is a slim selection of the wealth of tunes that are usually shared at sessions, competitions, and other musicking sites, these particular compositions featured significantly in the course of dissertation fieldwork. The following are my own transcriptions, based on tunes I learned and recorded during fieldwork.

Brenda Stubbert's

“Brenda Stubbert’s Reel.” Named after the well-known Cape Breton fiddler Brenda Stubbert, this tune was written for her by Jerry Holland, another Cape Breton musician. This is a popular *cèilidh* tune in Scotland, which makes sense given the long-standing cultural ties between the two locations due to immigration in the 1800s.

The Dog and the Rabbit

"The Dog and the Rabbit," composed by Scottish multi-instrumentalist Kris Drever and taught to the SMO fiddle course in 2016 by fiddler and vocalist Sarah von Racknitz. Originally performed by Drever as a reel, the piece was reinterpreted by von Racknitz, and it was performed at the final SMO concert as a slow march, with all students playing and eventually singing the tune onstage.

Gangar (Bygdedans from Telemark)

Transcription of a *ganger* tune, a very typical *bygdedans* tune-type, performed by a *hardingfele* performer at the Norsk Folkemuseum on July 20, 2016.

The Glory Reel

"The Glory Reel," a popular tune in Donegal fiddling, taught to the SMO fiddle course by Irish fiddler Ciarán Ó Maonaigh in 2016.

The High Drive

Violin

Vln.

Vln.

Vln.

"The High Drive," written by piper Gordon Duncan. This is a popular Scottish *cèilidh* tune and was very much a part of the standard repertory in several COMPs I observed.

Jenny Dang the Weaver

Violin

Vln.

"Jenny Dang the Weaver," a popular session tune in Scotland – a simple melody, easy to remember, and easy to learn on the spot. A nightly favorite at the Sabhal Mor Ostaig evening jams. This tune saved the day (or night) at the North Atlantic Fiddle Convention workshop in April 2017. The "organized" *cèlidh* was quickly becoming uncomfortably managed – so a fiddler whose "turn" it was to play made the seemingly purposeful choice to start tunes that were known

to many and straightforwardly joinable. Immediately there was a shift in the room and the *cèlidh* came alive.

MacKay's Memoirs

"MacKay's Memoirs," written by Scottish instrumentalist Martyn Bennett and taught to the SMO fiddle course by Adam Sutherland in 2014.

March of the Meeatoiteen Bull

"The March of the Meeatoiteen Bull," taught to the SMO fiddle course by Irish fiddler Ciarán Ó Maonaigh in 2016

The Referendum

Violin

6 Vln. 1. 2.

11 Vln.

15 Vln. 1. 2.

“The Referendum,” a tune written by Scottish fiddler and prolific teacher Alasdair Fraser in 2012 for the occasion of Scotland’s then First Minister Alex Salmond’s visit to the Sabhal Mòr Ostaig fiddle course.

The Road to Errogie

Violin

Vln.

Vln.

Vln.

Vln.

"The Road to Errogie," written by Scottish fiddler and teacher Adam Sutherland and wildly popular in contemporary musicking circles.

APPENDIX B: GLOSSARY OF TERMS

Bokmål lit. “book tongue”): Bokmål developed from the Dano-Norwegian language that evolved under Danish rule (until 1814) and is used most often for official purposes.

bygdedans (lit. “village dance”): The regional, traditional dance of Norway

céilidh: These all-inclusive dance parties feature traditional music called dance sets, couple dancing, and frequently a lot of social merriment and imbibing.

chop: The chop, or chopping as it is known in its verbal form, is an instrument technique invented and pioneered in the 1960s by Richard Green, a bluegrass fiddler, and popularized by cross-genre instrumentalist Darol Anger from the 1980s onward. It is executed by dropping the bow at the low, heavy end vertically to the strings (making a crunchy, strikingly percussive sound) and followed immediately by lifting the bow up off the strings and repositioning the bow in a slightly horizontal motion (making a softer second “backbeat” sound). It mimics older, simpler styles of offbeat percussive technique but ultimately mimics the muted beat typically heard from Bluegrass mandolin players in accompaniment.

conscientização: (critical consciousness): This refers to learning to perceive social, political and economic contradictions, and to take action against the oppressive elements of reality.

Communities of Musical Practice (COMP): Concept developed by Ailbhe Kenny, inspired by the work of Etienne Wenger and Jean Lace. The purpose a COMP is to be educative. A community of practice constitutes: (1) a group of people who share a concern or passion for something (e.g. traditional music, politics, activism, etc.) and learn how to do it better together by interacting regularly; and (2) the set of relations among these persons, activities, and with the world over time in relation to other tangential and overlapping communities of practice.

fèisean: Music schools or festivals (in Scotland, Scottish Gaelic word).

flow: A state of being characterized by heightened concentration, energized focus, and enjoyment co-existent with an optimal balance of challenge and skill level in relation to an activity, the time/place circumstances of the activity, and the immediate feedback. As defined by Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi, generally synonymous with more colloquial descriptions such as “groove” and “in the zone.”

gammeldans (lit. “old dance”): Traditional dances taking forms from more continental dance forms, like the waltz, mazurka, and polska.

hallingdansen: A rural folk dance with courtship origins performed by men. The dance is a quick-paced, high energy display of athletic acrobatics used to kick a hat off a pole.

hardingfele: Norwegian string instrument very similar to the fiddle, has four strings that are played either with a bow or by being plucked. Also has an additional set of four sympathetic strings that resonate in harmony with the strings and notes being played with the bow.

Law of Jante: *Janteloven*, the "Law of Jante," is a set of ten tacitly accepted laws (encouraging collectivist thought and conforming behavior) in the town of Jante, a fictional locale in Denmark. The term first appeared in the novel *En flyktning krysser sitt spor* (*A Fugitive Crosses His Tracks*) written by Dano-Norwegian author Aksel Sandemose, published in 1933.

meme: The term "meme" is a neologism coined by British evolutionary theorist Richard Dawkins and first appearing in his book *The Selfish Gene*, published in 1976. From the Greek *mimeme*, meaning "imitated thing" (in turn from *mimos*, literally, "to mime"), a meme is defined as a discrete unit, idea, or element that is culturally relevant/related to issues at hand, self-replicating and/or transmissible, and almost unquestionably successful in its goal of replication. Very accessible examples of memes could be tunes, ideas, phrases, fashions, traditional crafts, etc. In order to serve as a meme, a unit of transmission must exhibit longevity, fecundity, and the copying fidelity exhibited by genes.

memeplexes: Ecosystems of memes.

Musicking: Term developed by Christopher Small, meaning to take part, in any capacity, in a musical performance (performing, listening, rehearsing, practicing, composing, or dancing). Removing the object-based definition of music and replacing it with an action-based framework, the sociological dynamics of musicking rapidly become more inclusive and egalitarian. Additionally, Small considers music to be more than just the sonic features of traditions and expanding our notion of it to include the physical, social, and cultural actions that accompany the tradition.

Nasjonalromantikken: National Romantic Movement of Norway.

Nynorsk ("new Norwegian"): Nynorsk was developed in the mid 1800s, in part inspired by the National Romantic Movement (*Nasjonalromantikken*). The effort was to celebrate linguistic practices considered more authentically Norwegian, and Nynorsk was based upon spoken local Norwegian dialects. It is significantly more common in the western and southern regions of Norway.

Scotch snap: A rhythmic figure found in instrumental and vocal music consisting of a division of a quarter note in a 1:3 ratio, usually a sixteenth note followed by a dotted eighth note. Each note is articulated, and the sixteenth note is at the beginning of the beat. This musical figure has long been a staple of traditional Scottish repertoire, although it is not exclusive to the genre.

spelleman(s): Traditional Norwegian term for fiddler(s).

trollstilt: "troll tuning" (AEAC#), a traditional tuning variant for *hardingfele*.

APPENDIX C: LIST OF INDIVIDUAL INTERVIEWS

Baxter, Stef. 2017. Personal Interview. February 2, 2017. Glasgow, Scotland.
Berge, Ola K. 2018. Personal Interview via email. September 18, 2018.
Bichan, Louise. 2018. Personal Interview. October 3, 2018. Boston, MA, USA.
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Kvifte, Tellef. 2016. Personal Interview. July 21, 2016. Oslo, Norway.
Lee, Su-a. 2018. Personal Interview. May 14, 2018.
Lee, Su-a. 2018. Personal Interview. May 15, 2018.
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Russell, Ian. 2018. Personal Interview. May 22, 2018. Aberdeen, Scotland.
Smith, Tommie. 2018. Personal Interview. April 24, 2018.
Stephenson, Sophie. 2018. Personal Interview. September 6, 2018. Fort William, Scotland.
Sutherland, Adam. 2018. Personal Interview. April 24, 2018. Glasgow, Scotland.
Thedens, Hans-Hinrich. 2018. Personal Interview. July 18, 2018. Oslo, Norway.
Vass, Mike. 2017. Personal Interview. July 27, 2017. Isle of Skye, Scotland.
Vass, Mike. 2017. Personal Interview. July 28, 2017. Isle of Skye, Scotland.
Watson, Innes. 2017. Personal Interview. July 27, 2017. Isle of Skye, Scotland.
Williams, Carley, 2019. Personal Interview. June 8, 2019. Aberdeen, Scotland.

APPENDIX D: LIST OF LOCATIONS/ORGANIZATIONS

Adam Sutherland School of Fiddle, Scotland
Alasdair Fraser Fiddle Week, Sabhal Mòr Ostaig, Isle of Skye, Scotland
Celtic Connections, Glasgow, Scotland
Cowal Highland Gathering
Creative Scotland (*Alba Chruthachail*)
Elphinstone Institute, Scotland
Fèis Rois, Scotland
Folkeskolen, Norway
Førdefestivalen, Norway
Greater Glasgow Police Pipe Band, Scotland
Hands Up For Trad
Hardanger Fiddle Association of America, Minnesota, United States
Kulturrådet
Landskappleiken, Norway
Nasjonalbiblioteket (Norsk Folkemusikksamling), Oslo, Norway
NRK Radio (*Norsk rikskringkasting*): Norwegian Broadcasting Corporation; government-owned radio/television public broadcasting company, the largest media organization in Norway
Norges Musikkhøgskole, Oslo, Norway
Norsk Folkemuseum, Oslo, Norway
Riksscenen, Oslo, Norway
Røros Folkefestivalen, Norway
Royal Conservatoire of Scotland, Glasgow, Scotland
Royal Scottish Pipe Band Association
Sgoil Chiùil na Gàidhealtachd (National Centre of Excellence in Traditional Music)
Sabhal Mòr Ostaig, Isle of Skye, Scotland
Southside Fiddlers, Glasgow, Scotland
Trøndelag Folk Museum, Trondeim, Scotland
Nordic Sounds: Critical Music Research Group, University of Oslo, Oslo, Norway
Valley of the Moon Fiddle School, Santa Cruz, California, United States
World Pipe Band Championships, Glasgow, Scotland

APPENDIX E: LYRICS TO UNOFFICIAL NATIONAL ANTHEMS

Technically, Scotland as a constituent nation within the United Kingdom has as its official anthem “God Save the Queen.” However, Scotland as one of those internal nations does not have an official national anthem for itself. Nevertheless, Scotland has no less than four unofficial anthems: “Scotland the Brave,” “Flower of Scotland, and “Freedom, Come-All-Ye,” and “Scots Wha Hae,” each employed for different types of events and circumstances and sentiments.

Similarly, Norway has no official national anthem, but there is an acknowledged *de facto* one, “Ja, Vi Elsker Dette Landet” (“Yes, We Love This Country”), written by Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson, one of the most famous Norwegian authors of the 19th century, as well as several other unofficial ones: “Sønner af Norge” (Sons of Norway”), Norges Skaal (“Norway’s Toast”), and “Mitt Lille Land” (“My Little Land”). As in Scotland, the unofficial anthems are each employed to evoke very different reactions in listeners, such as the “Mitt Lille Land” being sung at numerous prominent events after the July 2011 terrorist attacks in Norway (“Verdig…” 2011).

Below are the lyrics to the unofficial national anthems that are most relevant to the content and issues addressed in this dissertation.

Scotland: “Freedom Come-All-Ye,” and “Flower of Scotland”

Norway: “Ja, vi elsker dette landet” and “Mitt lille land”

“Freedom Come-All-Ye”

Written by Hamish Henderson (aka Seamas MacEanraig) in 1960, this is an anti-imperial, anti-colonial protest song, left-wing in sentiment and expressing hopes of a more just future. The music associated with these lyrics is the piping tune “The Bloody Fields of Flanders,” composed by John McLellan during his time as Pipe Major of the 8th Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders during WWI. Henderson was a leading figure in the folk revival of the 1960s and was a renowned folksong collector in addition to his work as an author and poet. When American ethnomusicologist Alan Lomax visited Scotland in 1951, Henderson served as an artistic guide.

Original Scots:
Roch the wind in the clear day’s dawin
Blaws the cloods heilster-gowdie owre the bay
But there’s mair nor a roch wind blawin
Thro the Great Glen o the warld the day
It’s a thocht that wad gar oor rottans
Aa thae rogues that gang gallus fresh an gay
Tak the road an seek ither loanins
Wi thair ill-ploys tae sport an play

Nae mair will our bonnie callants
Merch tae war when oor braggarts crousely craw
Nor wee weans frae pitheid an clachan
Mourn the ships sailin doun the Broomielaw
Broken faimlies in lands we’ve hairriet

Will curse 'Scotlan the Brave' nae mair, nae mair
Black an white ane-til-ither mairriet
Mak the vile barracks o thair maisters bare

Sae come aa ye at hame wi freedom
Never heed whit the houdies croak for Doom
In yer hoos aa the bairns o Adam
Will find breid, barley-bree an paintit rooms
When Maclean meets wi's friens in Springburn
Aa thae roses an geans will turn tae blume
An the black lad frae yont Nyanga
Dings the fell gallows o the burghers doun.

English Translation:
It's a rough wind in the clear day's dawning
Blows the clouds head-over-heels across the bay
But there's more than a rough wind blowing
Through the Great Glen of the world today
It's a thought that would make our rodents,
All those rogues who strut and swagger,
Take the road and seek other pastures
To carry out their wicked schemes

No more will our fine young men
March to war at the behest of jingoists and imperialists
Nor will young children from mining communities and rural hamlets
Mourn the ships sailing off down the River Clyde
Broken families in lands we've helped to oppress
Will never again have reason to curse the sound of advancing Scots
Black and white, united in friendship and marriage,
Will make the slums of the employers bare

So come all ye who love freedom
Pay no attention to the prophets of doom
In your house all the children of Adam
Will be welcomed with food, drink and clean bright accommodation
When MacLean returns to his people
All the roses and cherry trees will blossom
And the black guy from Nyanga
Will break the capitalist stranglehold on everyone's life

“Flower of Scotland”
Roy Williamson, one half of the famous Scottish folk group The Corries, composed both the lyrics and music for the song. The song refers to the Battle of Bannockburn in 1314 when England’s Edward II was defeated by the victorious Scots, led by Robert the Bruce.

O Flower of Scotland,
When will we see
Your like again,
That fought and died for,
Your wee bit Hill and Glen,
And stood against him,
Proud Edward’s Army,
And sent him homeward,
Tæ think again.

The Hills are bare now,
And Autumn leaves
lie thick and still,
O’er land that is lost now,
Which those so dearly held,
That stood against him,
Proud Edward’s Army,
And sent him homeward,
Tæ think again.

Those days are past now,
And in the past
they must remain,
But we can still rise now,
And be the nation again,
That stood against him,
Proud Edward’s Army,
And sent him homeward,
Tæ think again.

"Ja, vi elsker dette landet"

"Ja, vi elsker dette landet" ("Yes, we love this country"), is also sometimes referred to as "Song For Norway." This is a very patriotic anthem, usually regarded as the *de facto* national anthem of Norway since the early 20th century. Norwegian author Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson wrote the lyrics sometime in the 1860s, and it was first performed publicly on May 17, 1864. The full version has eight verses. As with traditional renditions of the United States national anthem, not every verse is sung: one usually hears only the first and final two verses.

1
Ja, vi elsker dette landet,
som det stiger frem,
furet, værbitt over vannet,
med de tusen hjem, —
elsker, elsker det og tenker
på vår far og mor
og den saganatt som senker
drømmer på vår jord.
Og den saganatt som senker,
senker drømmer på vår jord.

1
Yes, we love this country
as it rises forth,
rugged, weathered, over the water,
with the thousands of homes, —
love, love it and think
of our father and mother
and the saga-night that lays
dreams upon our earth.
And the saga-night that lays,
lays dreams upon our earth.

7
Norske mann i hus og hytte,
takk din store Gud!
Landet ville han beskytte,
skjønt det mørkt så ut.
Alt, hva fedrene har kjempet,
mødrene har grett,
har den Herre stille lempet,
så vi vant vår rett.

7
Norwegian man in house and cabin,
thank your great God!
The country he wanted to protect,
although things looked dark.
All the fights fathers have fought,
and the mothers have wept,
the Lord has quietly moved
so we won our rights

8
Ja, vi elsker dette landet,
som det stiger frem,
furet, værbitt over vannet,
med de tusen hjem.
Og som fedres kamp har hevet
det av nød til seir,
også vi, når det blir krevet,
for dets fred slår leir.

8
Yes, we love this country
as it rises forth,
rugged, weathered, above the sea,
with those thousand homes.
And as the fathers' struggle has raised
it from need to victory,
even we, when it is demanded,
for its peace will encamp (for defence).

“Mitt lille land”

“Mitt lille land” (“My little country”) was composed by Norwegian singer Ole Paus in 1994. This is a romantic, poetic description of Norway. The song featured prominently in memorial ceremonies in the wake of the 2011 terrorist attacks in Norway. These lyrics describe the beauty of the Norwegian landscape – the mountains, the sea, the stars shining on peaceful spaces, and emphasizes this is a place “where silence and dreams grow” (“der stillhet og drømmer gror”).

> Mitt lille land
> Et lite sted, en håndfull fred
> Slengt ut blant vidder og fjord
>
> Mitt lille land
> Der høye fjell står plantet
> Mellom hus og mennesker og ord
> Og der stillhet og drømmer gror
> Som et ekko i karrig jord
>
> Mitt lille land
> Der havet stryker mildt og mykt
> Som kjærtegn fra kyst til kyst
>
> Mitt lille land
> Der stjerner glir forbi
> Og blir et landskap når det blir lyst
> Mens natten står blek og tyst
>
> Mitt lille land
> Et lite sted en håndfull fred
> Slengt ut blant vidder og fjord
>
> Mitt lille land
> Der høye fjell står plantet
> Mellom hus og mennesker og ord
> Og der stillhet og drømmer gror
> Som et ekko i karrig jord

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