

Bourdieuian Frameworks Applied to Topics in Piano Pedagogy

by

Forrest Howell

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Musical Arts
(Music Performance)
in the University of Michigan
2022

Doctoral Committee:

Associate Professor John Ellis, Chair
Associate Professor Matt Albert
Associate Professor Matthew Bengtson
Professor Kai Cortina
Professor Logan Skelton

Forrest Howell

fhow@umich.edu

ORCID iD: 0000-0002-0683-057X

© Forrest J. Howell 2022

Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated to Caroline Richardson, Paul Resnick, Max Resnick, Jacob Resnick, Astro, and Cosmo who supported me in countless ways during my doctoral degree program.

Acknowledgments

Many teachers have helped me navigate the field of pedagogy and the field of music. At times they have shielded me from its harsher elements and other times exposed me to the inner workings of a field full of beauty and fulfillment. I acknowledge the contributions of John Ellis, Logan Skelton, Irene Peery-Fox, Peter Mack, Virginia Moore, Janice Gockel, and Cherrideth Campbell as my primary musical mentors.

I also owe a debt of gratitude to Aya Hagelthorn who was invaluable as a mentor for my work in the Piano Pedagogy Laboratory Project and in teaching class piano.

Lastly, I would like to thank John Ellis for his tremendous support and mentorship in matters musical and pedagogical during the course of my degree program.

Table of Contents

Dedication	ii
Acknowledgments	iii
List of Tables	vi
Abstract.....	vii
Dissertation Recital 1: Solo Recital.....	1
Program Note-Essay: “Return from Oblivion: Essays During a Recital”	2
Prologue: whatever returns	3
I. Leoš Janáček: and always remember.....	5
Interlude: Federico Mompou (vi.)	7
II. Ferruccio Busoni: a Stygian hue	8
Interlude: Federico Mompou (vii.)	10
III. Frédéric Chopin: the journey inward	12
Interlude: Federico Mompou (xxviii.).....	13
IV: Maurice Ravel: the uniqueness of a fox	15
Epilogue: Michael Kropf.....	17
Acknowledgements	19
Dissertation Recital 2: Lecture Recital	20
Dissertation Recital 3: Pedagogy Workshop	21

Chapter 1: Introduction.....	22
Chapter 2: An Introduction to Bourdieu and the Field of Cultural Production.....	24
Bourdieu’s Terminology	25
Characterizing the Field of Musical Production and Piano Pedagogy.....	27
Chapter 3: Addressing Canonicity and Diversity in Keyboard Pedagogy.....	30
The Origin and Perpetuation of a Keyboard Pedagogy Canon.....	32
The Logic of Crisis	36
The Potential for Altering the Canon.....	37
Chapter 4: The Role of New Technological Entrants	42
Changes in Musical Taste	43
New Agents of Consecration.....	48
Technology as a Teacher	52
Chapter 5: The Role of Power in Student-Teacher Relationships	57
Power, Control, and Framing	58
Language as a Symbolic Act.....	60
Chapter 6: Concluding Thoughts.....	65
References	66

List of Tables

Table 1: Seven Social Classes as Identified by Savage et al.....	46
Table 2: Summary of Renshaw's categories of teaching activities.....	56
Table 3: Bourdieusian perspective of Renshaw's categories	56
Table 4: percentages of verbal action categories from Zhukov (2013)	64

Abstract

This dissertation is presented in three parts: 1) dissertation recital with program note essay, 2) lecture recital, and 3) pedagogy workshop with accompanying document. Submitted in partial fulfillment of the degree requirements for the degree of Doctor of Musical Arts (Performance: Piano Performance and Pedagogy) at the University of Michigan.

The dissertation recital *Return from Oblivion: Reflections of Grief* was presented on April 19, 2021, in Britton Recital Hall. It included compositions with extramusical connections to grief and loss: “1.X.1905” (“Sonáta”) by Leoš Janáček; “Fantasia nach Johann Sebastian Bach” by Ferruccio Busoni; Polonaise-Fantaisie, op. 61 by Frédéric Chopin; the first, third, and fifth movements of Maurice Ravel’s *Le Tombeau de Couperin*; Michael Kropf’s Nocturne No. 3; and the sixth, seventh, and twenty-eighth movements of Federico Mompou’s *Música callada*.

The accompanying program note-essay is believed to be an original literary genre inspired by the work of Milan Kundera which embeds the traditional content of program notes inside of personal essays. The project was partially supported by funds from the Eisenberg Family Depression Center through a Mental Health Awareness Microgrant awarded by SMTD’s Wellness Initiative.

The lecture recital *Bookends to a Tragedy: Variation Sets by Clara Schumann and Johannes Brahms* was presented in Britton Recital Hall on May 25, 2022. Clara Schumann’s *Variations on a Theme of Robert Schumann*, op. 20 and Johannes Brahms’s op. 9 variations on the same theme were used to exemplify dichotomous approaches used in composing variations: decorated and deconstructed. Their historical placement also justified the pairing, with the former closely preceding and the later immediately following Robert Schumann’s attempted suicide in February 1854. The presentation highlighted musical references in Brahms’s variation set to further contextualize his relationship with

the Schumann family. Additionally, Clara Schumann's variation set was presented to attempt to showcase the merit of her compositional output, which is often mentioned as an aside when discussing her career as a performer of works by other composers.

The pedagogy workshop *Bourdiesian Frameworks Applied to Topics in Piano Pedagogy* was presented virtually on August 8, 2022, using the Zoom platform. Concepts of Bourdieu's theoretical writings were introduced and mapped onto topics currently being discussed in the field of piano pedagogy: canonicity, technological advancements, and student-teacher relationships.

Dissertation Recital 1: Solo Recital



FIRST DISSERTATION RECITAL

FORREST HOWELL, PIANO

Monday, April 19, 2021
Moore Building, Britton Recital Hall
7:30 PM

I.X.1905 ("Sonáta") (1905) Předtucha [The Presentiment] Smrt [The Death]	Leoš Janáček (1854–1928)
Música callada (1959) VI. Lento	Federico Mompou (1893–1987)
Fantasia nach Johann Sebastian Bach (1909) Música callada (1959) VII. Lento	Ferruccio Busoni (1866–1924) Federico Mompou
Polonaise-Fantaisie, op. 61 (1846) Música callada (1967) XXVIII. Lento	Frédéric Chopin (1810–1849) Federico Mompou
Le tombeau de Couperin (1914–1917) I. Prélude III. Forlane VI. Toccata	Maurice Ravel (1875–1937)
Nocturne no. 3 (2014)	Michael Kropf (b. 1991)

smtd.umich.edu @umichsmtd #umicharts #umichsmtd



Program Note-Essay: “Return from Oblivion: Essays During a Recital”

A program note-essay reflecting on music written, learned, and performed in the wake of grief. This recital features composers who have returned from the brink of oblivion with their voice strengthened. They have grieved, and shared with the world that experience, making their souls bare in the ears of the public.

This essay contains my personal experience as someone confronted with loss and combines it with commentary on some of the music that holds that grief for me.

In memory of Cícero and Binho.

written by Forrest Howell

Prologue: whatever returns

*“I tell you I could speak again: whatever
returns from oblivion returns
to find a voice”*

-Louise Glück (from “The Wild Iris”)

This morning I forgot his name. I laid in bed for a quarter of an hour just trying to recover the first of his four or five names. I knew his last name was Santos (*everyone’s* last name in Brazil is Santos). *C... E...* I could see his face when I closed my eyes. I could hear his wife’s voice reprimanding his off-color jokes. *C... E... I?...* I could remember feeling silly when his youngest son stood on my lap wearing my glasses, and then forcefully grabbing my cheeks with a mischievous grin. I recalled how tightly he hugged, as if he were trying to communicate an entire ode in one touch. *Ci... Cis... Cícero!*

It terrified me to forget. I thought “Only people with dementia or amnesia are allowed to forget such things... Do I have dementia?” Forgetting felt like a betrayal. Wasn’t it my responsibility to carry the memory of Cícero forever? To prevent him from being lost to the realm of the forgotten? I got out of bed to take a shower. Maybe I could wash away the guilt of my forgetfulness with hot water...

I remember I was the first person that his partner called when she found out about the accident. Cícero was driving home from work and had a heart attack. He drove into a streetlamp and died before he could make it to the hospital. She was hysterical, so I sat with her and her sons for hours that evening. We didn’t talk much; we did cry, but mostly we sat silently and tried to remember how to breathe, or at least to will ourselves to continue breathing until our bodies went back to doing it automatically. The youngest son didn’t really understand what had happened, and no one had the voice to explain to him that his father wasn’t coming home – that he would never come home again.

This morning I didn't feel like eating breakfast, but I forced myself to anyway. Sometimes the demands of daily life don't wait for you to develop an appetite. I recalled more memories of Cícero as I stuffed down eggs and toast.

Just one day before his heart attack, I was helping Cícero and Suelí to plan their wedding. I had brought some paperwork from the cartório for them to sign. We ate hotdogs that day. I remember because one fell on the counter and bounced into my lap. My pants and white shirt were covered in splotches of hot tomato sauce. The middle son immediately resolved that there should be hotdogs at the wedding reception. We all laughed and agreed. The rest of the evening was spent talking about what life would look like for them after their wedding and in the coming years. They wanted to move to the interior of São Paulo (the state) to live a calmer life, instead of the one they had in a bustling São Paulo (the city) suburb. But within minutes of my phone call with Suelí, that intensity of joy had become a pale specter of an uncertain future. He was dead. And the image of those memories became stained from the condensation of grief.

After breakfast, I rode my bike to the music building where I was going to practice the piano. The wind felt nice; it smelled of the impending Spring (because of the flowers... and I guess at one point it smelled like goose shit too). I hoped I wouldn't forget his name again...

My experience with Cícero was eight years ago, and yet for some reason, I cannot let it go. We don't stay in touch because the family has moved a few times and they don't have any social media accounts or email (trust me, I've searched. I even stopped by their old house the last time I was in Brazil). So why do I keep holding on? Why do I fear forgetting?

April 2021

I. Leoš Janáček: and always remember

On October 1, 1905, a demonstration was held in Brno, close to where composer Leoš Janáček was living. The reason for the protest was the establishment of a second Czech university, which Brno Germans feared would threaten the Germanic character of their city. The German-led demonstration served as a flash point for the long-standing cultural tensions between Germans and Czechs in the Moravian capital. As the violence intensified on October 2, German regimental troops (tasked with keeping the peace) brutalized the Czechs in the crowd and during a skirmish, they stabbed Czech counter-protestor František Pavlík, leading to his death two days later.

The following months saw Leoš Janáček composing a three-movement musical response to the events of those days. In January 1906, the piece was premiered and generally well-received. Unfortunately, the composer's intense self-criticism led him to destroy his manuscript (one movement into the fire, two into the river Vltava). Eighteen years later, a copy of the first two movements was found in the possession Ludmila Tučková, who premiered the work. Upon hearing the first two movements again, Janáček agreed to their publication.

I want to ask him “Why? Why did you throw out that piece? And why were you so damn dramatic about it?” He did make a statement about the lost funeral march (the one that ended up in the fire), saying “to je prosté” (“it is vulgar”). Perhaps it is worth considering that the discomfort of hearing one's emotional response to a horrific act of violence might be triggering, reopening wounds – fears resurfacing.

The two surviving movements serve as chronological markers of the October tragedy. “The Presentiment” opens with a plaintive melody punctuated by an austere declamation. The entire movement draws upon these two motives as they fight for dominance in the musical texture. The tension between them escalates until, in a climactic moment, they cry out in anguish at each other

from opposite sides of the keyboard. In such a moment, it becomes clear that though we are far from any sort of resolution, the terror in the aftermath of such a horrific event is to linger with us.

The second movement, titled “The Death”, is held together by a fragmented rhythmic figure whose falling intervals symbolize a statement of lament. The reflective character of the opening section gives way to an ascending sequence, one that initially sounds hopeful. But the addition of an angular second rhythmic motive adds a tension that steadily builds the piece towards a terrifying climax. The final section returns to the lamenting theme which is now punctuated by the second theme. The sadness and the outrage of grief are forced to coexist in the music. The piece ends softly, a slight pause on the penultimate harmony giving the false hope of a cheery resolution.

Oblivion is often used as a term to describe non-existence, destruction by some violent means. Interestingly, its origin is actually found in the Latin “oblivio” (“forgetfulness”) and “oblivisci” (“to forget”). It appears that we have come to equate forgetting or being forgotten as a form of destruction. I guess being forgotten is the final destruction. Maybe after the destruction of the body, being forgotten is like the destruction of the soul. I wonder if Janáček was consciously immortalizing his compatriot, saving him from being lost to oblivion, that second destruction.

The Brno Germans who led the protest were also afraid of oblivion; though, today we would probably call this fear by the name of racism or xenophobia. In the century since the death of Pavlík, have we moved beyond the generations that see violence as an outlet for prejudice? No, not really. No, not at all. One-hundred and sixteen years later and there are still those who would use their power to give an ugly face to hate and prejudice, causing more and more grief for the world.

Interlude: Federico Mompou (vi.)

For those who listen, music can aptly symbolize emotions and ideas; it is capable of conjuring images of places and narrating epic tales. But what about the in-between? What about in between places, emotions, ideas, stories?

Música callada, a set of twenty-eight short piano pieces composed by Federico Mompou, was intended to be the music of these “in-between” spaces. Each aphoristic miniature creates a musical negative space in which the absence of the sounds of the real world makes room for us to hear the ‘music of silence’.

You might think that there is silence to be found between the movements of a classical piece of music or even in rests within movements; however, John Cage’s experiment in the anechoic chamber reveals to us that what we perceive as silence is not that, but merely less sound. When stepping into this seemingly “silent” chamber, he heard two distinct sounds: a high pitch created by his central nervous system and a low pitch created by his vascular system. Cage uncovered a great truth: the belief in silence is one that protects us from our fear of what we might find there.

The sixth piece of *Música callada* is a portal into that pseudo-silent space. It is cast in a modal tonality which is almost constantly troubled by dissonances. The same rhythmic figure is repeated obsessively, travelling up and down the upper range of the keyboard as if searching for a respite from the pervasive melancholy of the piece. In it, perhaps Mompou is showing us a way of exploring the space in between harmonies.

In the process of grieving, there are emotions that we feel strongly. But there are also innumerable in-betweens; moments when we cannot fully describe what is happening in our heads or hearts. We feel a certain emptiness created by the absence of our quotidian soundtracks. But in that absence, there is a power in reflecting on the music that we find between the tracks of symphonies and sonatas.

II. Ferruccio Busoni: a Stygian hue

Busoni's original piano works are not wildly popular – and for good reason. Many pieces appear abstract, loosely constructed, and lacking in the crowd-pleasing vigor common in music of the 19th century. It is fair to say that Busoni was more respected as an arranger than a composer, gaining special popularity from his transcriptions of the works of J.S. Bach. Today, his transcriptions of the chorale preludes, organ fugues, and the Chaconne for solo violin stand comfortably in standard concert repertoire of pianists of all ages. Because of the ease with which performers gravitate towards these works, the original works of Busoni face an unfair comparison. People expect to hear Bach and are disappointed to find Busoni's enigmatic compositional voice.

I believe that the *Fantasia nach Johann Sebastian Bach* is one of Busoni's most convincing compositions. However, it doesn't fit the bill for a completely original work nor a transcription. Anthony Beaumont calls it a "Nachdichtung" ("a reconstruction of an original text in another language or style"). In essence, it is a series of transcriptions from Bach's organ works with two outer sections of original material by Busoni. Though partially adapted, the piece centers on three movements from J.S. Bach's chorale partita "Christ, der du bist der helle Tag", the Fughetta on "Gottes Sohn ist kommen", and a setting of "Lob sei dem allmächtigen Gott".

Written in the month following his father's death, the piece bears the dedication "Alla Memoria di mio Padre Ferdinando Busoni". At age forty-three, Busoni had lost his father. From the tone of the piece, it is reasonable to conclude that the loss was a heavy psychic and emotional blow. The loss of a family member is often earth-shattering in a way that neither words nor music can fully encapsulate. There is no way to deposit grief of such magnitude into any external object; it is a weight that we carry for as long as we can remember our lost one.

So what was Busoni attempting in writing his memorial piece? Why did Busoni choose to combine his work with Bach's? It could perhaps be that his father was the one who introduced the

young Busoni to the music of J.S. Bach, starting a lifelong devotion to and fascination with his music. Busoni's most discernible addition to Bach's ideas are his interjections of the death motif from his opera *Doktor Faust*. A simple three-note figure, it sounds as if it could be the start of an old-style chant. The figure returns throughout the entire piece as if to say that everything in the musical scenery serves as painful reminders of the composer's loss of his father. It comes sometimes as gentle pulsations and other times as overwhelmingly sonorous as the tolling of church bells.

The interjection of the death motif is comparable to the discoloration of a memory. When a relationship ends (or changes irreversibly), every old memory takes on a Stygian hue. After experiencing loss, a moment we once recalled to bring us joy can be obscured by a permanent stain of sadness. Busoni does this musically; his three-note motif punctuate every key juncture of the piece. What is more, the major-key sections in the piece are all undermined by abrupt endings in minor. Even the final section, ascending in a major key with the directive "PAX EJ" ("Peace to him"), ends with an unexpected and desolate statement of the death motif. Here we could imagine the composer's dark realization that though the dead may very well move across the river Styx into eternal peace and rest, those who are left behind are often mired on the shores looking over the abyss of grief, bearing the weight of their absence.

Interlude: Federico Mompou (vii.)

I answered Busoni's dark tribute to his father with Number 7 of the *Música callada*. It is a series of episodes based on small, chant-like motifs. In listening, I hear many elements that I associate with religious liturgical practices. A dirge, a chant, a children's descant. After the midpoint, Mompou repeats these sections in reverse order, creating a structural arc in the music. Hearing this piece reminds me of the many hours I have spent in churches of various denominations, all speaking with different terminology but expressing the same human desire to find meaning in the hardships of life. It also makes me think more about my time in São Paulo...

An Elegy for Binho

Cícero's death was not the only one that I encountered in the city of São Caetano. Within a period of four months, my community lost people to murder, brain cancer, ovarian cancer, diabetes, and old age. I wish they all could have gone peacefully in their sleep. Each loss affected me differently, but by far the worst was the one with brain cancer, Gabriel (we called him Binho; pronounced *BEAN-yo*); he was eight. Eight years old.

When I first arrived in the city, Binho was one of the first people I met. I had lunch with him, his adoptive mother, and his two adoptive siblings. We shared some sort of kinship, me also being from an adoptive family. After eating, he told me in an innocent voice that I had a bean juice stain on my tie. Unsuspecting, I looked down and he 'booped' my nose. I laughed, seeing even more of myself in him at that moment. Each subsequent visit to his family's abode was full of laughter, food, and general cheeriness. I remember he loved to sing. He had an angelic voice as only a child could. His favorite music was the children's songs of his church, ones about being kind to others like Jesus Christ was.

Then, he was diagnosed with cancer. Treatments and surgeries were scheduled and Binho was carted back and forth endlessly between the hospital and his home.

When I visited Binho in the hospital, he always asked me when I thought he was going home. “Hopefully soon” was the least bullshit thing I could say. As the disease progressed, it was clear that chemo was not working and the tumor was in such a location in his brain that surgery became inviable. The days seemed to weigh on his family. Their eyes darkened each day, and the brightness of their hope turned gradually to despondence with each grim prognosis. By the end, Binho couldn’t even speak because the chemo had destroyed his voice. He had to write on a mini-whiteboard “Quero voltar a casa... quando?” (“I want to go home... when?”). Eventually, he just stopped asking. Eventually, he stopped looking at me. And eventually, he was gone.

Not every death will result in an elegy. Most will result in some crying though. Many times during those months I would sit on the floor of my shower and cry. Almost every time my lamenting was interrupted by some disgusting cockroach that would crawl up through the drain in the shower. Cockroaches are awful at reading a room, I swear. They don’t give a damn if you’re naked and overwhelmed on the floor of your shower, they’ll just crawl right up to you. Maybe that’s the reason they are nature’s survivors – they simply do not care, they just survive. Binho’s funeral was held in a church. Most of the funerals from that time were held in churches. Churches make you a lot of promises about death, they promise you comfort and they try to give you hope. Sometimes it works. Sometimes only for a while. Sometimes it makes you feel worse.

In the course of grieving, you do try to hope. For me, I didn’t hope that the grieving would be over. I knew myself better than that. Obviously, after eight years my grieving still isn’t over. I just hoped that some part of it would be worth the pain, that it would change me somehow. That I could comfort others who have fresher wounds, people torn open by the ravaging of loss. I hoped that my future compassion towards others would become an Elegy for Binho.

III. Frédéric Chopin: the journey inward

The composition history of the Polonaise-Fantaisie is marked by complications. Chopin struggled to give it a title, unsure himself what it was that he was creating. Additionally, more sketches exist for this work than any other of Chopin's other solo piano pieces. He had always been known as a meticulous composer, editing and revising constantly, only to return to the first version he had penned. Performers today still make use of the various versions of the piece in public performance.

Though a popular choice of repertoire, the fundamental nature of the piece still eludes many pianists. I have heard multiple people say that the Polonaise-Fantaisie is a piece that was written more for the satisfaction of the performer than the audience. Its expansive form and frequent shifts of tonal center and character evidence a piece that is discovering itself in each moment.

Is grief also like this? As much as we would like to predict what comes next, we are continually shuffled from emotion to emotion, memory to memory. The five stages of grief don't appear to be stages in a sequential sense, do they? We don't pass through one stage like anger and then we're done feeling angry. No, grief feels more like a game of dodgeball, except you are blindfolded and the balls are your own feelings and memories.

Perhaps caused Chopin to struggle so much with this piece was the fact that he was close to his own death. They say that it is possible to pre-grieve. Maybe he deposited a bit of his idealized grieving process in the music. At least when you write a piece of music, at a certain point, you know how it will end. Grieving is never quite like that. You don't know how many times you'll have to go through the 'stages' of grief before your ride is over.

Chopin decided to end the piece with a triumphant coda. We recognize this character easily from the full sonority of the keyboard writing in combination with bright major harmonies, though we are not sure how we arrived there.

Interlude: Federico Mompou (xxviii.)

The twenty-eighth and final piece in the *Música callada* is more settled than any of the others. The doubt and unsurety found in the harmonies of the earlier miniatures is absent. Instead, there is a feeling of resolution created as we finally hear a real emotional climax. Perhaps this movement is more retrospective than its darker counterparts.

It really is much easier to process the past than the present. The past doesn't change as quickly. It is impossibly far, and that distance yields greater perspective. We feel like we know the past. And so, it is easier to write about. The present is more complicated, it is always a sea of partial knowings; and in our desperation, we often cling to the nearest piece of driftwood to feel something solid in the mutability of the waves of time. It may feel safer to be confident in an attractive partial truth of the past than to accept the overwhelming ambiguity of the present (let alone to accept the complete mystery of the future).

My journal entries from my time in São Caetano are confused and embarrassingly raw. But writing somehow put them in the past. When the events of the present overwhelmed me and threaten to destroy me, I had to put them in the past to go on living. And those memories don't leave; in fact, they return often to haunt me both in waking and in sleeping. But things in the past cannot harm us so long as they stay there, distant from the present.

I taught a young piano student when I first moved to Michigan in 2018. She was a wise girl, driven and well spoken. I asked her how to survive the harsh winters and she answered "Just keep moving. If you're outside and you stop moving, then the cold will eventually get to you. And then you'd probably get hypothermia and die. And then I'd have to find someone else to teach me piano." I think about that a lot.

It is easy to get lost in the in-between spaces of our grief. The relative numbness that we feel there is easier to bear than the emotional weight of the present. But it is at those times that we must

remember that we are not meant to remain in the negative space of our emotions. We must say to ourselves the words of Samuel Beckett's protagonist in *The Unnamable*: "You must go on. I can't go on. I'll go on."

IV: Maurice Ravel: the uniqueness of a fox

The first World War figures prominently in the life of Maurice Ravel. Not only did he serve in the armed forces, but his musical output surrounding that period shows marked influence of the war. One such work is *Le Tombeau de Couperin*, a set of six pieces meant to pay tribute to the French Baroque keyboard style. Additionally, each movement bears a dedication to one of Ravel's friends who was killed in the war: First Lieutenant Jacques Charlot, Second Lieutenant Jean Cruppi, First Lieutenant Gabriel Deluc, Pierre and Pascal Gaudin, Jean Dreyfus, and Captain Joseph de Marliave.

To those who did not know these men, they are the same as any other soldier, equally as noble and valiant. But for Ravel, these men were unique. They were friends with lives that were deeply connected to his own. Their bonds were singular.

Each piece of *Le Tombeau de Couperin* originates from a Baroque formal model. The Prélude is constructed on the idea of a figured harmonic progression, often used as an introduction to a Baroque suite. The Forlane is a reimagining of a fast, jaunty dance and modeled on a piece from Couperin's *Concerts royaux*. The Toccata closely resembles the virtuosic keyboard writing of Domenico Scarlatti, featuring an unyielding torrent of repeated notes.

Additionally, each piece has a distinct emotional character. The ebullience of the Prélude, the piquant harmonies of the Forlane, and the determination of the Toccata all leave an indelible mark on the listener's ear. This uniqueness in each movement is an analog of each individual friendship that Ravel was honoring. The beautiful symmetry of also dedicating the set to the Baroque era is that the word "baroque" originally held the definition of something of 'irregular shape'. No friendship is ordinary, and no love is commonplace.

Perhaps that is a part of the challenge we face when we grieve. Each person fits uniquely into our lives, and thus their absence leaves an irregularly shaped hole. Those people who at first are just people like any other people become singular to us. We might consider Antoine Saint-Exupéry's

Little Prince as he wisely observes that his fox “was only a fox like a hundred thousand other foxes. But I have made him my friend, and now he is unique in all the world.”

Realizing this doesn't make grieving any easier, but it can explain part of the reason why there is no panacea for the pains we experience.

Epilogue: Michael Kropf

In my mind, there is no better music to accompany grief than that of a nocturne because the experience of both is deeply personal, evoking solitude of the night. It is meant to portray the innermost thoughts and feelings of an individual.

Michael Kropf's Nocturne No. 3 is the embodiment of such nighttime reflection. The slow-moving motifs in two and four notes implore a listener to hear every poignant vertical sonority. In speaking about the piece, Kropf reveals that "the opening material is stolen from the slow movement of Beethoven's Fifth Symphony, reformed and re-contextualized through repetition". The composer showed me the moment which inspired the nocturne, and for the first time, I noticed how out of place the few chords were in the context of a symphony not particularly notable for its serenity and introspective qualities – it is a nighttime moment in that mostly resides in the daytime.

In the process of grieving, I often recall the words of Frederic Henry from *A Farewell to Arms*, "the things of the night cannot be explained in the day, because they do not then exist, and the night can be a dreadful time for lonely people once their loneliness has started." Indeed, grief is a lonely, isolating experience at its core. It can be so unpleasant that we may try to deny its existence when we are not caught in its throes. The distractions of the daytime can often mask veil our pains, but when comes the darkness of night, there is no denying the presence of grief. It can grow to such immense proportions that it completely consumes us, and then we are doubly consumed – in grief and in the night.

I believe that the reason grief makes humans come so completely undone is that it creates needs in our soul which are diametrically opposed. From one side we may feel the need to connect with others in search of support. And from the other side, grief beckons to us to face the uniqueness of our own experience of loss. So even when we are in the presence of those we love and those who may also be grieving, we are still left alone and individuated.

In reflecting more on the third nocturne, Kropf finds it to be “a reflection on a life-stage that has come to an end, set against the sounds of a spacious outside world that is quietly beckoning”. I can hear it too.

In the same monologue by Frederic Henry, he continues, “The world breaks every one and afterward many are strong at the broken places. But those that will not break it kills. It kills the very good and the very gentle and the very brave impartially.” Two types of people: broken or killed. Two types of oblivion, only one of which you can return from.

The question remains: will we? Will we return from the oblivion of grief to find a voice?

Acknowledgements

This project was generously supported by the Eisenberg Family Depression Center and the UM SMTD Wellness Initiative.

My deepest gratitude for John Ellis, Logan Skelton, Shuntaro Sugie, Michael Kropf, and Matt Albert for their musical insights. And a special thanks to Vivian Chen who listened to me patiently as I worked through the contents of the essays.

Notes about the Composer

Michael Kropf is a composer whose work deals with hidden emotions and evocative places. He has collaborated with Marin Alsop and the Cabrillo Festival Orchestra, the Apple Hill String Quartet, the San Francisco Conservatory Orchestra, and the Aspen Contemporary Ensemble. His latest project, *Distant Sea*, was premiered in May 2020 by a virtual string orchestra, made up of members of the University of Michigan chamber music program and led by Matt Albert. He is currently working on a violin concerto for Sabrina Tabby and Contemporaneous.

Michael is also an active music teacher, and has taught classes at the University of Michigan, the San Francisco Conservatory of Music Pre-College and the Academy of Art. He serves as a faculty member at the Walden School Young Musicians Young Musician's Program in New Hampshire.

Michael was born in Danbury, Connecticut and received his Bachelor of Music degree from New York University and his Master of Music Degree from the San Francisco Conservatory. He is currently working towards a doctoral degree in composition at the University of Michigan. His teachers have included Kristin Kuster, David Conte, John Adams, Justin Dello Joio, Luboš Mrkvička, and Youngmi Ha.

Dissertation Recital 2: Lecture Recital



LECTURE RECITAL

FORREST HOWELL, PIANO

Wednesday, May 25, 2022
Moore Building, Britton Recital Hall
5:30 PM

Variations on a Theme of Robert Schumann, op. 20 (1853) Clara Schumann
(1819–1896)

Variations on a Theme of Robert Schumann, op. 9 (1854) Johannes Brahms
(1833–1897)

smt.d.umich.edu @umichsmt.d #umicharts #umichsmt.d



We have implemented careful safety procedures in partnership with U of M's Environment, Health, and Safety Department to allow for unmasked performances. We are taking precautions to keep students, faculty, staff, and audiences safe.

Dissertation Recital 3: Pedagogy Workshop



THIRD DISSERTATION RECITAL: WORKSHOP

FORREST HOWELL, PIANO

Monday, August 8, 2022

Recorded on Zoom

3:00 PM

**BOURDIEUSIAN FRAMEWORKS APPLIED TO TOPICS
IN PIANO PEDAGOGY**

smt.d.umich.edu @umichsmt.d #umicharts #umichsmt.d



We have implemented careful safety procedures in partnership with U of M's Environment, Health, and Safety Department to allow for unmasked performances. We are taking precautions to keep students, faculty, staff, and audiences safe.

Chapter 1: Introduction

Pierre Bourdieu (1930 – 2002) was a French Sociologist whose work I studied in a seminar course taught by Jane Fulcher in Winter of 2020. In this course, we discussed the ways in which totalitarian and authoritarian regimes interacted with musicians and music institutions. In analyzing these interactions, Bourdieu's work *Language & Symbolic Power* brought the concept of symbolic value of language (i.e. language as an act containing a meaning apart from its semantic content) to my conscious thoughts. The seminar was interrupted by the onset of the COVID-19 pandemic, giving me many months to think about the intense scrutiny with which Bourdieu viewed social spaces.

This reflection yielded curiosity about the nature of pedagogic interactions in music in which subtle actions and language often confirm and perpetuate one's status as the teacher or the student. I began to dive into other works by Bourdieu and was pleasantly surprised to find writings on structures of academic and artistic fields, the significance of aesthetic taste, and application of sociological theory in research and practice.

In this dissertation document, I will seek to show the utility of a Bourdieusian framework by viewing and analyzing the following topics in piano pedagogy through its lens: 1) composer canonicity, 2) adaptation to technological innovations, and 3) dynamics of power in student-teacher relationships.

The primary motivation for this research is to provide a way to view complex abstract sociological phenomena that can serve as a basis for successful pedagogical adaptation at both personal and institutional levels. Artistic fields are difficult to research as they not only rely heavily on individual, qualitative observations, but they also are defined by the exchange of cultural products which hold primarily symbolic value which is largely determined by everyday acts that reflect popular

opinion. Arts education faces a similar challenge because standardized metrics of student success are not the same ones used to measure success in professional artistic fields. Furthermore, the subjective and qualitative research of artistic fields can easily fail to translate into actionable items because the focus on the individual undervalues the importance of social context. This is to say that though arts research values the opinion of the individual, it is not serviceable as the basis for widespread, institutional changes or policies.

As we will soon see, Bourdieu's framework provides solutions to these issues of research and action by providing an overhead view of a field with its structures and participants. With this context, researchers can avoid the traps of pure subjectivism and objectivism by contextualizing individual experience within the field itself.¹ This allows us to approach complicated topics such as equity, diversity, interpersonal relationships, and adolescent and pre-adolescent development with nuanced views. As the world increases in complexity, the ability to construct mental models of large social structures becomes more valuable. Additionally, the level of scrutiny with which human interactions are viewed requires a new level of social awareness, especially for pedagogues working with young people. This is both for the benefit of teachers as well as students who will need to navigate the changes that confront them.

I have chosen to structure this document as a series of essays and I hope to demonstrate how a Bourdieusian framework provides useful insight and allows for the development of practical applications for pedagogues.

¹ Bourdieu emphasizes this in his work, noting objectivism's deterministic nature and subjectivism's inability to matter outside of one individual's point of view

Chapter 2: An Introduction to Bourdieu and the Field of Cultural Production

To understand the interactions that occur within a field, it is first necessary to understand specific terminology with its operational definitions – Bourdieu’s theoretical framework is no exception. To complicate matters, Bourdieu himself often refrained from providing clear operational definitions to preserve the flexibility and adaptability of his framework. Additionally, he notes that definitions often express the bias of the definer.² Instead of rigidly defining the terminology of his own framework, Bourdieu talks around the concepts in often circular ways. This type of language is difficult to decipher; thus, a brief introduction to Bourdieu’s vocabulary will be of benefit to readers unfamiliar with his work.

Bourdieu is credited with the characterization of many terms used frequently in sociological, economic, political, and pedagogical research. The concepts of *the field of production* and *habitus* originated with Bourdieu, and he developed and synthesized pre-existing terms such as *symbolic capital*, *consecration*, and *agents* into one theoretical model capable of viewing social interactions within a field. As noted earlier, such a comprehensive model allows for complex topics to be researched, maximizing the value of qualitative research. In this section, we will introduce terminology, after which we will briefly apply them to the areas of musical production and piano pedagogy. As we parse definitions here, keep in mind that the subtleties of Bourdieu’s field will be more fully explained and understood as they are encountered in each of the topic-specific sections that follow.

² Bourdieu, Pierre and Johnson, Randal. “The Field of Cultural Production: Essays on Art and Literature.” Book. European Perspectives. New York: Columbia University Press, 1993, 42.

Bourdieu's Terminology

The concept of **field** is the clear place to start with Bourdieusian analysis. Ruth Wright attempts a succinct operational definition: “the social space within which actions take place”.³ However, this space is not only created by its external boundaries, but is also defined by the internal division of what Bourdieu calls **positions**. It is helpful to think of a sports analogy used by Thomson; the field is the domain inside which a game of ‘legal’ interactions can occur while positions are specific roles to be filled by players (**agents**). These players are also subject to the rules, norms, and commonly held beliefs of the field of play (**doxa**).⁴

To further Thomson's analogy, the interactions that take place within a field are determined by shared objectives of the players (i.e. winning the game), with each player attempting to maximize their role on their team – and then taking this metaphor to the abstract plane, agents in a field are attempting to either reinforce their position or to move to a different position of higher power with ultimate goal being to achieve maximum status within the field. Bourdieu views all acts within a field as functioning with these goals in mind. Furthermore, Bourdieu views every interaction between agents as symbolic action which function similarly to cultural and liturgical traditions; this additional layer of meaning is even found in verbal and nonverbal communication. These acts are not necessarily conscious, but they reflect what is often an internalized understanding of one's position of power within a field in relation to the other agent with whom they are interacting. This predisposition towards certain behaviors is what Bourdieu calls **habitus**.

Habitus is both a structured and structuring force in relation to individual behavior. It is structuring in that it predisposes agents to behave in certain ways based on their perceived position

³ Wright, Ruth. “‘Now We're the Musicians’: Using Bourdieu's Concepts of Habitus, Capital and Field to Analyse Informal Learning in Canadian Music Education.” Routledge, n.d. doi:10.4324/9781315569819-11.

⁴ Thomson, P. “Field.” in Grenfell, M. “Pierre Bourdieu: Key Concepts.” Taylor and Francis, n.d. doi:10.4324/9781315729923.

of power within a field. It is also a structured concept in that it gradually adapts to observed behaviors, with agents emulating those whom they see as having a similar position to them. Bourdieu views habitus as a force that both determines and perpetuates the dominant social and cultural norms, which brings us to the topic of **power**.

For Bourdieu, power is the ability to construct the doxa of a field. Those in dominant positions of power are able to **consecrate** new entries in the field, legitimize the dominant mode of cultural production, and perpetuate or modify these ideas as desired. The question of **legitimacy** is especially pertinent in artistic fields such as classical music, in that the value of its products is inherently symbolic and often based on belief.

Each field of production is given two poles by Bourdieu, a **dominant pole** and a **dominated** one. Agents occupy positions that fall along this axis, and the movements between these positions of more and less dominance is a fundamental characteristic that defines the field;⁵ position-taking is a natural occurrence in most fields. Interestingly, Bourdieu notes that such changes of roles/positions do not cause the field, its doxa, or the habitus its agents to undergo significant transformation. This is to say, that even if the dominated agents rise to positions of dominance, they do not bring fundamentally new ways of behaving, but merely model habitus observed previously, either real or misinterpreted.⁶ Because of this, changes in a field are likely to occur slowly or with the advent of a widespread crisis that disrupts its doxa.

Bourdieu views fields as places of competition, with the objective being a monopoly on legitimate usage of **symbolic violence**.⁷ As unsavory as this may sound, we should remember that Bourdieusian field theoretics are designed to de-emotionalize the domains of social interactions, allowing them to be analyzed without the traps of subjectivism. For Bourdieu, symbolic violence is

⁵ Bourdieu, Pierre and Johnson, Randal, 1993, 34.

⁶ Bourdieu, Pierre and Thompson, John B. Language and Symbolic Power. Harvard University Press, 1991, 54.

⁷ Bourdieu, Pierre and Johnson, Randal, 1993, 121-122.

not a term that connotes intentional oppression or discrimination; rather, it is a way of reinforcing social stratification within a field. This often happens unintentionally and is the fundamental way in which a field perpetuates itself (i.e. **the system of reproduction**), providing stability through the renewal of its internal hierarchical structures. This stability is what allows a field to retain its autonomy inside larger, all-encompassing fields such as the economic field and the field of power.

However, the field is not merely a place of symbolic interactions, but it is primarily a place where goods are produced in the pursuit of various types of **capital**. In artistic fields, value of these goods is inextricably tied to the **codes** (sometimes called **elaborated codes**) which are employed to assign meaning to and signify quality in artistic work. These codes alias surface features of art with degrees of cultural capital and acquiring/recognizing them requires inculcation over an extended period. After the acquisition of codes, consumers of culture will naturally begin to differentiate themselves based on their ability to recognize symbolic value in abstract artwork, using **taste** as a form of distinction between classes or groups.

Characterizing the Field of Musical Production and Piano Pedagogy

The benefit of utilizing a Bourdieusian view of the artistic field is that it centers on the subjective experiences of the individual while also structuring them within a societal context which is more easily objectified. This is also why such a view is helpful in analyzing educational environments, where individual student experiences remain subjective unless they can be connected to a larger framework of interactions. With the theoretical map of a field, the roles of different agents become clear. Through it, we also see that competition is the primary motivation of interactions between agents and institutions. Bourdieu's perspective sees this competition as

primarily motivated by the goal of achieving legitimacy and power within the field.⁸ Consequently, competition in any field, including education and the arts, is unavoidable.

In order to describe interactions in a field, Bourdieu suggests that we measure the types of capital that an agent possesses at the time of the interaction (**social, cultural, and economic**). Through this, one can begin to define the profile, status, influence, or power of an artist or an educator in a field. From here, it is easy to discern the distinctions of class which artist and educators possess and express, sometimes unconsciously, to separate themselves from others within the field.

Though artistic and educational fields are distinct, they share boundaries and oftentimes doxa which allow for both fields to influence each other. For Bourdieu, both fields also share a certain insulation from the demands of economic fields. This allows for a reversal of principles of ordinary economies, fields in which financial gain is the ultimate pursuit.⁹ Artistic fields are then driven by pursuit of symbolic value found in the less-tangible domains of cultural and social capital. This reversed economy is preserved by a high degree of economic autonomy which insulates a field from the encompassing domains of economic and politics.

Because this insular nature is a characteristic of fields like piano pedagogy, it becomes even more important to discuss contemporary issues in the context of the larger fields which surround them, namely, the field of power and the field of class relations. This importance comes from the idea that educational fields feed into fields of production, with the assumption that agents will transition having not only acquired skills of production but also appropriate habitus to be accepted in that larger field. Put simply, piano students should be able to perform on the instrument and behave appropriately in various musical settings.

⁸ An inter-field example of this is the competition of piano teachers in recruiting and retaining students.

⁹ Bourdieu, Pierre and Johnson, Randal, 1993, 39.

The field of production in turn legitimizes modes of production through the consecration of works, artists, and styles of performance. It is only with a framework as detailed and flexible as Bourdieu's that we are able to parse the wide array of factors and influences that characterize an interaction. Seeing vertical hierarchies, field-subfield relationships, positions, and doxa with an overhead view allows one to more convincingly make claims of influence and causation, avoiding ascribing cause to merely correlative observations.

At this point, it should be clear that Bourdieu's theoretical tools will provide a novel way of connecting the subfield of piano pedagogy to society at large. Teachers come from a variety of backgrounds as do students. They bring with influences and habitus from the many fields in which they act, making it essential that educators and researchers work with a capacity to reconcile these differences. In the following chapters, we will see how an understanding of field theory provides clear outlining of complex questions that have not yet been sufficiently answered in the field.

Chapter 3: Addressing Canonicity and Diversity in Keyboard Pedagogy

A fundamental aspect of Bourdieu's theories is that they attempt to track the presence and manifestations of power differentials between groups. Analyzing power in musical situations, we would find student-teacher relationships (covered in Chapter 5), patron-artist relationships, artist-audience relationships, publisher/producer-artist relationships, etc. The benefit of parsing these relationships is that it allows us to more carefully understand how small-scale interactions between agents can lead to widespread institutional action and formation of doxa.

For Bourdieu, the relationships of power in an artistic field determine who has the authority to consecrate artists. An example at the highest level could be a competition jury made up of prominent pianists and pedagogues that could grant a career-starting victory for an emerging professional musician. Additionally, those in dominant positions have the power to decide which forms of artistic production are the most legitimate. This could include the explicit (or implicit) support of specific styles of playing and teaching. Additionally, this influence can be seen in the process of deciding which pieces are included in standardized curriculums and assessments for music schools.

For fields of artistic production, education is essential to the perpetuation of belief, habitus, and doxa. In Bourdieu's word the education system "plays a decisive role in the imposition of the legitimate mode of consumption. One reason for this is that the ideology of 're-creation' and 'creative reading' supplies teachers – *lectores* assigned to commentary on the canonical texts – with a legitimate substitute for the ambition to act as *autores*".¹⁰ He is saying that formalized systems of

¹⁰ Bourdieu, Pierre and Johnson, Randal, 1993, 37.

education can relegate a teacher to the role of someone who merely parrots commonly accepted (i.e. dominant) modes of thought and measures of success – as opposed to someone who takes the front in advancing knowledge and challenging the status quo of educational doxa. This confounding (or consignment) of teacher roles is a contributing factor to the perpetuation of curricular canons as we see them.

Canonicity is extremely common in education; and the field of piano pedagogy is no exception. Popularized method books such as *Alfred's Basic Piano Library* and Blickenstaff & Olsen's *Piano Discoveries* have existed in a fundamentally unchanged state for decades. This is not to say that such methods are ineffective but is more to observe that older piano curricula do not become obsolete as fast as newly emerging fields (e.g. computer programming and technology). We will see later in this chapter that advanced levels of piano study also have their own canon, mostly comprised of piano works from a Western European tradition that focuses on music from the 18th and 19th centuries.

To best understand the concept of canon and efforts to change it, we should avoid a moralistic stance which sees canon as fundamentally right or wrong. Instead, we should consider that adoption of canon is a fundamental part of history in the piano pedagogy field, while also considering that there are gains that can come from changing the modern conception of canon and its purpose in the field.

Here we look at three topics related to canonicity:

- The origin and perpetuation of a keyboard pedagogy canon
- The logic of crisis
- The potential for altering the keyboard pedagogy canon

The Origin and Perpetuation of a Keyboard Pedagogy Canon

In many regions of the world, the genesis of keyboard pedagogy is tied to both religious liturgical service and guild cultures built on structured training of career musicians.¹¹ Thus, the livelihood of entire families was dependent on successful training of musicians in specific skills required by church jobs. Another common origin of keyboard pedagogy was from aristocratic families who saw it as a necessary training for young people of high classes, with keyboard skills (or at least enrollment in lessons) as a signifier of cultural capital and social influence. In this relationship of patronage, we find a fundamental Bourdieusian conflict. This is the conflict between economically dominant agents (the aristocracy) and culturally dominant ones (the keyboard teachers).¹² These two agents are oriented at opposite poles in the field. Economically dominant aristocrats function by what Bourdieu calls the “heteronomous principle” in which their decisions are guided by the forces of markets and ordinary economies, while culturally dominant artists are governed by the “autonomous principle” by which art is produced for art’s sake. This is to say that both are struggling for dominance in determining what forms of art are legitimate and produced, and from that struggle arises a compromise (or a defeat) that introduces a stable, commonly accepted form of cultural production. The keyboard pedagogy canon is one such example of this compromise.

The values of a musical education varies greatly across regions and cultures. In attempts to codify those values, many composers and keyboard teachers wrote treatises that explain keyboard technique, aesthetics, essential study pieces, and the philosophical importance of keyboards and music in general. Composers such as CPE Bach, Jean-Philippe Rameau, Daniel Gottlob Türk, and

¹¹ Gardiner, John Eliot. “Music in the Castle of Heaven: A Portrait of Johann Sebastian Bach.” Book. London: Allen Lane, 2013.

¹² Bourdieu, Pierre and Johnson, Randal, 1993, 40.

others all wrote what were essentially the first ‘method books’ for the keyboard, attempts to verbalize the legitimate modes of keyboard playing as they understood them.¹³

The concept of canon was also seen in musical manifestations of Nationalist movements across the globe. Of course, there is German Nationalism which championed the music of Beethoven, Bach and other “serious” composers.¹⁴ There are also composers such as Heitor Villa-Lobos who designed an entire keyboard pedagogy collection as well as a choral curriculum for public schools in Brazil. Russian composers were given the task to create a Russian musical identity essentially overnight in the early 1800s.¹⁵ And Soviet composers were similarly tasked with the creation music with the aim of unifying the members of the USSR. Thus, we begin to see that national musical identity is a largely constructed concept and not one that is discovered to be pre-existent.

In a similar way, musical canons are constructed and not naturally occurring. Popularity and canonicity are inherently different as the former draws on the opinion of a lay public and the latter depends on consecration by a legitimized agent or institution. Popularity occurs naturally but is not codified until that popular status becomes consecrated. Historically, the keyboard pedagogy canon has included pieces by 18th- and 19th-century composers from the Austro-German tradition: Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, Bach, Brahms, Schumann, Liszt, etc. are all included in that list. During their respective eras, many of these pieces were unknown to the public. The ones did achieve popularity often did so only inside cult circles such as that of Robert and Clara Schumann. And if this is the case, how did these composers become the ones that were legitimized and not their contemporaries?

¹³ CPE Bach wrote “Versuch über die wahre Art das Clavier zu spielen” (An Essay on the True Art of Playing Keyboard Instruments), Jean-Philippe Rameau wrote “Traité de l’harmonie”, and Daniel Gottlob Türk wrote “Klavierschule”. These treatises were seen as comprehensive skills that keyboardists needed to have at that time. Skills such as composition, harmony, and interpretation of score notation were all included in them.

¹⁴ Applegate, Celia. “How German Is It? Nationalism and the Idea of Serious Music in the Early Nineteenth Century.” *19th Century Music*, 1998. doi:10.2307/746825.

¹⁵ Richard Taruskin, “Music in the Nineteenth Century,” in *The Oxford History of Western Music*, v. 3 (Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 230.

Why not other composers? And why is it that today these composers are still seen as canonic instead of contemporary composers who have access to all the knowledge of past composers plus recent discoveries, advancements, and modern aesthetics?

Addressing the question of contemporary versus historical in the keyboard canon, we can use historical mythology to track the fluctuations of symbolic value of a work over time. Using pianist-composer Frédéric Chopin as an example, we read accounts from his biographers which sound more like legends and stereotypes than actual history.¹⁶ Chopin scholar Jolanta Pekacz references Franz Liszt's biography of Chopin, which was published three years after the Polish expatriate/refugee's death, as one that is "more hagiography than biography" due to its embellished accounts of Chopin's life and his devoutness to a homeland which suited the rising popularity of musical nationalism.¹⁷ As much as the posthumous biography was memorial, it was also mythological. Liszt likely found it much easier to create beliefs about Chopin after he left his social context.

In addressing the question of why certain composers are chosen and not others, there are several reasons. First, measures of musical difficulty can be objectively defined in terms of velocity, coordination, and complexity. Certain composers wrote music that is objectively more difficult in these areas, and these pieces are often the ones that are consecrated and enter the canon. This is not inherently a negative, as objective metrics are valuable and help frame the vertical structures of achievement which grant legitimacy within and across fields. Additionally, clear objectives and goals serve as pedagogical motivation in developing self-efficacy and identity. Another reason that some composers are not included in the canon is because the canon itself is self-perpetuating. A canon

¹⁶ These mythologies focus on Chopin the composer as well as his works, consistent with the Romantic composer archetype in which composer and composition are inseparable. Liszt's biography is called *Life of Chopin*.

¹⁷ Pekacz, Jolanta T. "Deconstructing a 'National Composer': Chopin and Polish Exiles in Paris, 1831-49." *19th Century Music*. Berkeley: University of California Press, n.d. doi:10.1525/ncm.2000.24.2.02a00030.

informs the doxa determining measures of musical value which in turn supports the upholding of the same repertoire as a standard of performance – canonicity is self-feeding cycle.

The invisibility of this cycle is part of the reason that canons are commonly accepted within the field without question. And their longevity further justifies existence of pedagogic canon in fields where age is correlated with legitimacy (i.e. if an idea has been around long enough, then it is truer than something that is newer). In a recent article by Leah Claiborne, she addresses the lack of compositions by Black composers in the keyboard pedagogy canon.¹⁸ Specifically, she mentions the lack of non-white, non-European, non-18th/19th-century composers in The Juilliard School's undergraduate piano pre-screening audition requirements as well as the lack of compositions by Black composers in a state-wide piano competition hosted by the Music Teachers National Association. This lack of diversity is indeed curious, and its causes are the result of complex interactions between elements of the field. In part, these trends come from a habitus exhibited by teachers in which assigning certain piano pieces to students is a signifier of dominance as a pedagogue. There is also the doxa that competitions and auditions are evaluating performance based on specific criteria that is best met with certain pieces. And if a piece of music is well-known, then a judge's focus can be purely on evaluating the execution of difficult sections instead of trying to decipher its elaborated codes, a necessary first step in assessing artistic value. In short, it is easier to tell if a piece is 'performed well' if one has doxa-informed conception of what constitutes its mastery; this is more difficult with unfamiliar repertoire.

Thus, changes in repertoire for competitions and auditions happen slowly and at a pace where a doxa can form around the repertoire. New entrants into the field of competition/audition repertoire will not have the same longstanding mythology and endorsement from theoretical scrutiny

¹⁸ Claiborne, Leah. "What Ifs: Intentional Inclusion of Music by Black Composers in Music Education?" *American Music Teacher*. Vol. 71 (4), 2022, 20–25.

that many canonic pieces do. This is something that will undoubtedly factor into whether or not new repertoire is accepted into the canon. And all of these factors lead to what Bourdieu observes as the natural tendency of slow-changing habitus and doxa. This is the norm unless there is an accelerant to change instigated by events from outside of the field.

The Logic of Crisis

Following the social disruption caused by the death of George Floyd and the surge in the Black Lives Matter movement, pressing questions of diversity, equity, and inclusion (DEI) have arisen in many fields, including piano pedagogy. This correlates with sociologist Martin Petzke's recent observation that moments of symbolic revolution occur when the effects of widespread crises reach across many fields at once.¹⁹ The revolution occurs when crises destabilize the relationship between dominant and dominated classes. In these instances, space is created in the field for new entries which seek to find a stabilizing role by altering the doxa of the field. Because of this rapid change in doxa, habitus of agents is also changed, albeit following a principle of hysteresis. Bourdieu sees crisis as a developer, bringing together values from fields that usually function independently of each other; he calls this "the collective logic of the crisis"²⁰.

In response to the crises of 2020, the actions of classical musicians and institutions show a fundamental change in doxa. This change is especially apparent in the consideration of composers who identify with underrepresented demographics. As an example, the number of recordings of Florence Price's Piano Sonata in E minor (either in full or individual movements) uploaded to

¹⁹ Petzke, Martin. "Symbolic Revolutions. Mobilizing a Neglected Bourdieusian Concept for Historical Sociology." *Theory and Society*. Dordrecht: Springer Netherlands, 2021. doi:10.1007/s11186-021-09467-9.

Notably, Petzke's article was written in 2021 and clearly takes into account global events of the year 2020.

²⁰ Bourdieu, Pierre and Collier, Peter. "Homo Academicus." Book. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 1988, 180.

YouTube between from 2005 to 2020 was 12. From May 30, 2020 (the day of George Floyd's death) to July 20, 2022, 49 different recordings have been uploaded to the platform.²¹

There have also been attempts to question composer diversity at an institutional level. The live audition requirements for piano at the Juilliard School now contain a faculty-reviewed list of compositions by underrepresented composers.²² The audition description explicitly encourages auditioning students to include diverse repertoire in their programs.

In the following section, we will see how the logic of crisis is creating opportunities for alterations in the keyboard pedagogy canon.

The Potential for Altering the Canon

This section discusses three ways that one can view changes to the classical music canon: 1) incentivization using economic capital, 2) structural homologies leading to subfield legitimacy in encompassing fields, and 3) the assigning of elaborated codes. We will look at each of these with recent examples and research.

Earlier in this chapter, we learned of Bourdieu's observation that agents with high economic capital are often in conflict with agents with high cultural capital. From his perspective, cultural autonomy comes from a certain disinterestedness in economic capital or the demands of those who possess it in abundance.²³ Economic incentivization runs the risk of having an inverse effect on cultural capital, though he notes that symbolic value will eventually increase if economic value is high enough for long enough.²⁴ And while the symbolic value might have been more easily discerned during Bourdieu's time, today's world and its fields are constituted differently. As the world has

²¹ These numbers were acquired using a counting algorithm created by the author. Multiple recordings of the same performer were included in the count.

²² Claiborne challenged the pre-screen recording repertoire of The Juilliard School, which is only marginally different than the live audition requirements.

²³ Bourdieu, Pierre and Johnson, Randal, 1993, 40. Artists show disinterestedness by adopting an 'art-for-art's-sake' justification for producing their work.

²⁴ Ibid., 116.

become more connected, the previous eras of artistic isolationism have shifted so that omnipresent fields such as economics have more influence on smaller subfields. The aristocracies observed in Bourdieu's era in France do not exist or function in the same way today. This is to say, where once the artistic field was independent from market forces from aristocratic patronage, today it is more affected by the promise of economic return from a sizeable middle class. An example of incentivization is Ebony Music Inc.'s sponsorship of a prize for the best performance of a work by a Black composer at the national MTNA piano competition. The financial incentive in itself is perhaps not enough to raise the cultural value of a piece of music; however, the prize holds the potential to create a strong learning objective for students, giving them drive to treat compositions of Black composers with as much preparation and performance consideration as they would with canonic composers such as Chopin.²⁵

As we learned, structural homologies exist across fields and become especially agreeable during moments of crisis. This is also true for subfields within the field of musical production. One way in which new agents can gain legitimacy in a field is by entering into and developing the structure (i.e. vertical hierarchy and principles of organization concerning production) of a subfield. An historical example of this trend is the development of and legitimization of jazz as subgenre of music. Now, we should consider that though jazz history is often told as an unfolding narrative, Tucker and Jackson remind us that its development was anything but strictly linear and that it was not free of internal aesthetic conflicts.²⁶ Such conflicts could be seen as Bourdieusian, with musicians vying for control over the dominant mode of production. What we *do* see in jazz history, is a style or collection of styles of music that were initial seen as inferior, occupying what we could consider a

²⁵ Claiborne mentions the MTNA competition's Chopin prize as an example of how incentives are present at high levels of powerful institutions. Bourdieusian thought deepens this idea to also see the relationship of different types of capital and value of artistic work.

²⁶ Tucker, Mark, and Travis A. Jackson. "Jazz." *Grove Music Online*. 30 Jun. 2020; Accessed 8 July 2022. <https://www-oxfordmusiconline-com.proxy.lib.umich.edu/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-90000358106>.

dominant position.²⁷ Clearly, this had a great deal to do with race relations of the time, especially in the United States. Musicians of African descent are generally credited with the development of jazz musical technique as well as establishing a hierarchy of aesthetics included in the genre. Even from this position of domination, music under the umbrella label of jazz was allowed to thrive in its own subordinate domain. And eventually, we see that the legitimacy of jazz in its own subfield was accepted into the larger field of musical consumption, even being appropriated by historical classical composers of ‘high’ art such as Claude Debussy and Maurice Ravel as well as those in the present with composers such as Nikolai Kapustin, Paul Schoenfeld, and John Adams also adopting elements of jazz music into their compositions.

In terms of canonicity in keyboard pedagogy, we might consider that the subfield approach could be effective in raising the status of works by underrepresented composers. Of course, this would create its own hierarchies and inter-field politics, but there is potential for legitimacy gained in a subfield to be recognized in the larger field of musical consumption. A competition or platform that solely allows/focuses on music by underrepresented composers could model the success of institutions like the Sphinx Organization. The annual Sphinx Competition is only open to young string players who are Black or Latinx. By creating its own domain, this competition utilizes the structural homologies of organized fields and subfields in order to transfer legitimacy and consecration from the Sphinx Competition to the encompassing field including all musicians. Piano pedagogy might benefit from a similar gambit, creating an autonomous subfield of classical music devoted to underrepresented and non-canonic works. This could take the form of a competition, a publishing platform, or some other approach that would allow for the natural development of a competitive space for artistic production.

²⁷ Bilby, K. “Caribbean Crucible.” *Repercussions: a Celebration of African American Music*. London. 1985, 128–51.

Lastly, we must consider that the attainment of a non-dominated position in a field requires agent value to be compared using similar metrics and evaluations. In artistic fields, the criteria for comparison are more abstract than fields where production is evaluated empirically. However, with Bourdieusian terminology, we can begin to approach the evaluation of art in ways that will reveal the effectiveness of efforts to change its doxa. In short, Bourdieu gives us measurable goals and the tools to evaluate if those goals are being reached. One reason for the difficulty in analyzing artistic value is because the arts, like religion, relies on intangible belief to perpetuate doxa.²⁸ These beliefs take the form of code recognition (someone who experiences a symbol understands meaning or significance as it is commonly accepted in the field) and code creation (a producer is able to imbue a symbol with meaning that will be recognized and accepted by a consumer).

In the most recent conference of the Westfield Center for Historical Keyboard Studies, Mark Clague presented a paper titled “The Imperative for Recording Black Music: Pianist Natalie Hinderas Plays Music by Black Composers (1971)”.²⁹ Clague recounts the discography of Black pianist Natalie Hinderas. Hinderas, who was an early champion of piano works by Black composers, demonstrated a clear understanding of the question of consecration and legitimacy of musical works. In his presentation, Clague quotes Hinderas’s liner notes, “Our black composers need no apology, no defense, no explanation, no patronizing. They need performance”.³⁰ We could infer that Hinderas would like the music to ‘speak for itself’. This view is consistent with Bourdieu’s observation that artists at the culturally dominant pole of production desire to create ‘art for art’s sake’ This disinterest in outside fields and their influences is part of the system of mythology and

²⁸ Bourdieu, Pierre and Johnson, Randal, 1993, 76-77.

²⁹ Clague, Mark. “The Imperative for Recording Black Music: Pianist Natalie Hinderas Plays Music by Black Composers (1971)”. Presentation in *Diversity and Belonging: Unsung Keyboard Stories Conference*, Ann Arbor, MI, January 26-30, 2022.

³⁰ This comes from the liner notes of Hinderas’s two LP-disc album, “Music by Black Composers” released in 1971. Interestingly, Hinderas also speaks against programs of all-Black composers planned by non-Black performers. Her interest is having the pieces placed side-by-side by works which have already been consecrated. Bourdieu would see this as a legitimizing action, to place the works in the same position as canonic music.

beliefs that surround art and artists. What we see with Bourdieu as a lens is that the value of music has much more to do with the symbolic value encoded in it than one might be able to immediately discern – the music speaks, as do the layers of elaborated codes which carry various connotations of value and meaning. Clague seems to agree with Hinderas when he advocates for the need to increase the volume of recordings of music by Black composers. With an increased volume of recordings and performances of music by Black and underrepresented composers, there is a chance that they will acquire their own elaborated codes and symbolic value.

The questioning of canon parallels a question by leading conductor, Marin Alsop from the 2016 League of American Orchestras Conference when she asks: “We need to ask ourselves if artistic excellence is the ultimate goal. Other things may be more important”.³¹ Through this chapter, we have seen that canonicity is a construct that is perpetuated by doxa and habitus.³² It is not just a list or compilation but is also a symbolic representation of the values of a field – values which change slowly over time. Though organization of a keyboard canon in pedagogy is helpful for framing curriculum and guiding student education, its shape and composition should reflect not only the most foundational elements of music history, but it also should be indicative of contemporary trends and styles. Our current moment has placed emphasis on the works of underrepresented composers. Even if these compositions do not gain a longstanding place in the category of foundational repertoire, they are of the utmost relevance for the current moment. And a canon capable of being updated will not only reflect the highest values of antiquity but those of the present as well.

³¹ Midgett, Anne. “Desperately Seeking Relevance, Orchestras Grapple with Existential Questions: The League of American Orchestras Conference and NOI Are Thinking about Music’s Future.” *The Washington Post*. Washington, D.C.: WP Company LLC, June 13, 2016

³² It may be noted that though he has presented a dozen non-canonic piano pieces within the past year, the author’s own dissertation work did not include any composers of diverse demographics except for one piece by a living composer and one piece by a woman composer. As intentional as he tried to be in programming the dissertation recitals, this selection of recognized, legitimate composers is a good example of how canonicity affects even the highest academic level of producers.

Chapter 4: The Role of New Technological Entrants

If we are to consider disruptive forces that have the capability of changing the composition of the piano pedagogy field, then we must surely address the role of technological innovations. We should not be surprised that Bourdieu speaks on this, specifically citing the Industrial Revolution an example of an accelerant of artistic change. Using the literary field as an example, he shows that the capability of mass production using industrial methods led to an expansion of consumer base. This in turn expanded the field of education, ultimately inviting new social classes (women in this example) to become legitimate agents in the field.³³ This history runs in parallel with that of music, with the Industrial Revolution leading to mass printing of sheet music as well as tools and parts for instrument building. These changes opened piano pedagogy to the growing middle class, which would drastically change the types of music and composers who were dominant in the field.

In our current day, the creation of computing technology, internet and social networks, and capabilities of video calling have had a great impact on the field of piano pedagogy. These innovations and disruptors have invited new agents into the field and rearranged its positions in relation to the dominant and dominated poles, creating a fundamental change in the way that dominant and dominated groups interact (i.e. their habitus). A Bourdieusian approach will help us to understand how these changes occurred and will also provide insights as to how piano teachers can adapt to a field that has shifted drastically. We will look at the following topics through a Bourdieusian lens:

³³ Bourdieu, Pierre and Johnson, Randal, 1993, 112-114.

- Changes in musical taste
- New agents of consecration
- Technology as a teacher

Changes in Musical Taste

Piano students and their parents engage with the field of piano pedagogy for various reasons. Pedagogues Uszler and Upitis observe that some may be motivated by functional mastery or for personal pleasure.³⁴ Additionally, some students may be seeking piano training as a “social asset”. If this is the case, then the skills and repertoire taught should reflect a teacher’s understanding of the ways in which piano playing can be used as symbolic capital. One way in which this occurs is through the development of musical and artistic taste.

For Bourdieu, taste in art is one of the strongest classifiers of agents within the field of power. He saw it as the ultimate example of habitus, where certain classes learned that specific types of music belonged to those classes. In the introduction to *Distinction*, Bourdieu starts with a survey of preferences of classical music, as seen in the *figure 1*.³⁵ This set of histograms organizes the surveys of 1,217 workers by class and education, noting their preference for one of three pieces of classical music: *The Well-Tempered Clavier* by J.S. Bach, “Rhapsody in Blue” by George Gershwin, and “Blue Danube” by Johann Strauss II. In organizing the data in this way, Bourdieu is not necessarily trying to prove a difference in absolute value of these works but is instead trying to show that in addition to economic indicators, classes can be differentiated by artistic taste. And though the study was conducted in 1963 and 1967-1968, the principle of taste as a measure of class distinction is still applicable and worth our consideration.

³⁴ Uszler, Marianne, Gordon, Stewart, and Mach, Elyse. “The Well-Tempered Keyboard Teacher.” Book. New York: Schirmer Books, 1991.

³⁵ Bourdieu, Pierre. “Distinction : A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste.” Book. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1984, 8-9.

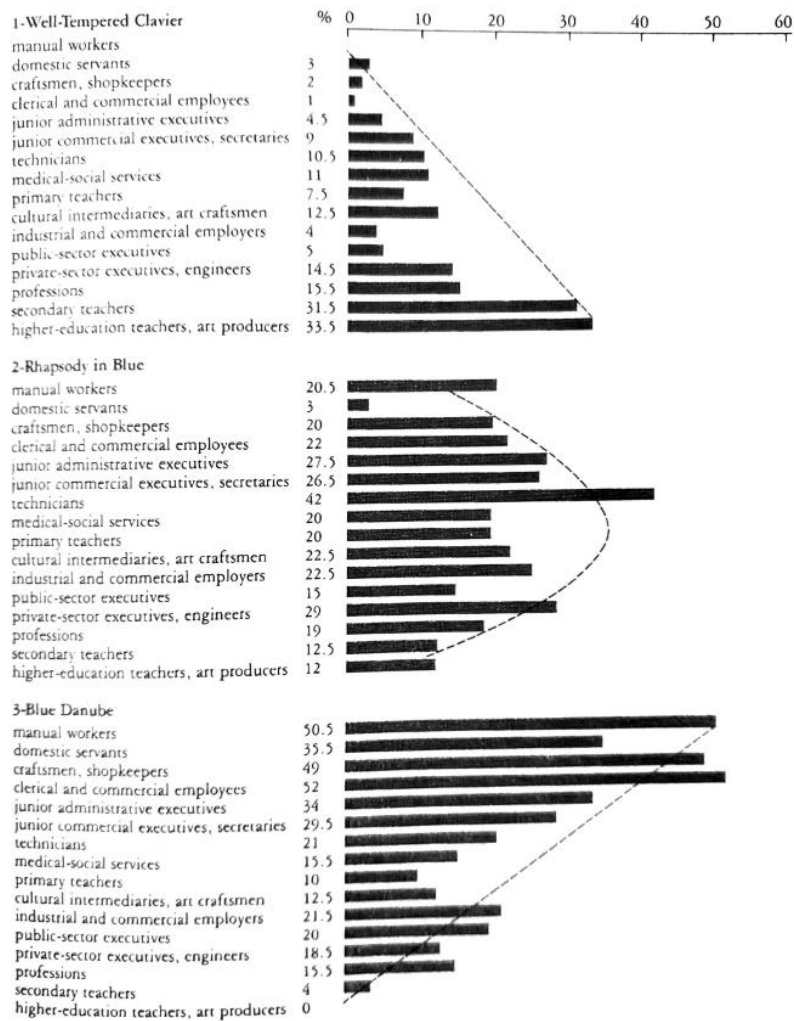


Figure 1: Bourdieu 1963, 1967-68 survey of musical tastes for groups of varying social classes

Within the past few decades, Peterson and Simkus have observed a trend of the contemporary upper class in which they differentiate themselves from lower classes through a certain “cultural omnivorousness” that embraces both what would traditionally have been considered ‘high’ and ‘low’ art.³⁶ In their work, they argue that contemporary high-class groups place more value on having a wide variety of tastes than a strict diet of one genre. An example of this is in the music playlists created by U.S. President Barack Obama in recent years.

³⁶ Peterson, R.A. and Simkus, A. “How musical tastes mark occupational status groups.” In M. Lamont and M. Fournier (eds), *Cultivating Difference: Symbolic Boundaries and the Making of Inequality*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992.

Starting in 2015, Obama has regularly released playlists of music that he is listening to. These lists include well-known artists such as Beyoncé, Bob Dylan, and Frank Sinatra as well as emerging artists such as Arooj Aftab and Lauryn Hill. Already from the artists listed, one can see a wide variety of genres; folk, pop, indie, jazz, rap, and what is commonly referred to as ‘world music’ are all included multiple times.³⁷ As a figure with very high social and economic capital, we can firmly place Obama in the highest class in society. And as such, it is interesting to see the wide variety of music genres in his playlists, demonstrating an almost omnivorous taste. It is also surprising to see a distinct lack of classical music in these lists. There is no track of classical music or music in a classical style contained in any of Obama’s playlists from 2015-2021. This reflects a set of aesthetic tastes which contrasts the patterns of taste found in Bourdieu’s study, where classical music was the preferred genre of the French upper class. Cultural differences between the United States and France are likely to play here. This is in addition to the emergence and legitimization of various genres of music since time of Bourdieu’s surveys in the 1960s

Looking more closely, we can see a few several of Bourdieu’s named agents functioning here. First, an increased understanding of types of capital within sociological and economic fields have expanded class categories and created new ones. These categories account for economic, cultural, and social capital possessed by individuals. An attempt to define these classes was made by Savage et al. in 2013. Through a new system of metrics, they identify seven classes shown in *table 1*.³⁸ The significance of these new classifications is that it reveals a more nuanced view of societal structures, acknowledging the role of cultural capital (and consequently taste) in distinguishing

³⁷ Obama, Barack. Twitter Post. July 10, 2021, 9:13 AM. <https://twitter.com/barackobama/status/1413848757083545601>. See also the playlists created annually in 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, and 2020.

³⁸ Savage, Mike et al. “A New Model of Social Class? Findings from the BBC’s Great British Class Survey Experiment.” *Sociology* (Oxford). London, England: SAGE Publications, n.d. doi:10.1177/0038038513481128.

classes. Each class is likely to have its own habitus, which reinforces the types of cultural production consumed and also the methods of its consumption.

Class	Characteristics
Elite	highest forms of all capital
Established Middle Class	
Technical Middle Class	a small class with high economic capital but low levels of cultural and social capital
New Affluent Workers	medium levels of economic capital and high levels of cultural and social capital
Emergent Service Workers	low economic capital, high levels of emerging cultural capital, and high social capital
Traditional Working Class	low in all forms of capital, average age of this class is higher than all others
Precariat	deprived in all forms of capital

Table 1: Seven Social Classes as Identified by Savage et al.

The second cause of changes in taste comes from technological innovations such as streaming services, which have made all types of music accessible to a wide audience. Services such as Spotify and Apple Music were new entrants in the field of music consumption but have grown to occupy a dominant position in the space. Webster notes that the use of these services is both an expression of habitus as well as a type of agent in its own right. By using algorithmic recommender systems and human curation to both expand the repertoire of known music while also reinforcing interest in and identification with specific genres and artists, streaming platforms hold great influence in the field of artistic production.³⁹ In these two roles, streaming platforms serve as both a consecrating institution, legitimizing artists and tracks as well as a perpetuator of musical habitus in listeners.

These changes in taste have a strong effect on piano pedagogy. The majority of curriculum in pedagogy is geared towards historical classical repertoire. At the time of Bourdieu’s study,

³⁹ Webster, Jack. “Taste in the Platform Age: Music Streaming Services and New Forms of Class Distinction.” *Information, Communication & Society*. Abingdon: Routledge, n.d. doi:10.1080/1369118X.2019.1622763.

expressing an exclusive interest in classical repertoire exemplified the habitus of the highest levels of class in the fields of power and class relations. These fields existed with a stronger sense of vertical hierarchy with less horizontal variance. However, today, we see a wider range of class categories that value omnivorous musical taste over immersion in one specific genre.

In considering student and parental interest in music lessons, these observations will greatly affect how students are motivated in lessons, specifically considering repertoire selection. While students are young and habitus is still forming, piano lessons play a key role in shaping musical taste through exposure, understanding, and mastery. Where popular music was once seen as possessing a lower quality, with Bourdieu, we realize that this is a field-centric view from the perspective of teachers that emphasize classical training. This lesser view of non-classical styles is attributable to the doxa of classical musicians in which classical music was seen as the dominant mode of cultural production in music, most strongly associated with the highest classes. The shift in composition of today's upper class and expressions of its taste shows that high cultural capital is associated with familiarity and engagement with many styles and genres of music.

We do see some institutional sensitivity and adaptation to this shift in some curriculums like the piano syllabi of The Royal Conservatory which are updated regularly.⁴⁰ In two categories, etudes and repertoire, popular songs and pieces in pop-influenced styles are accepted in the examination requirements. In the process of writing the syllabus, the creators even include a sizeable listing of acceptable pieces for each level, giving a form of institutionalized legitimacy to them. The Royal Conservatory's syllabus adaptations are an example of an institutional act that challenges the historical doxa in which classical music is the dominant form of musical production. We should then expect to see individual agents responding to this change, with an eventual shift of attitudes in piano pedagogy to align teaching practices with the increased value of cultural omnivorousness.

⁴⁰ The Royal Conservatory. "Piano 2022 Edition." Syllabus, The Royal Conservatory, Toronto, ON, 2022.

At the university level, we see less emphasis on education on popular music education in piano curriculum. In theory, there is no issue with specialization in university studies. In fact, specialization is considered by Bourdieu to be an effective way to move between positions in a field.⁴¹ What we should consider, however, is that rigidity in curriculum encourages the development of a more traditional habitus in students, which may not prepare them for the increasing permeability between the field of classical music and that of other musical and cultural fields. The inclusion of popular styles in university piano curriculum would be a future area to research in both its effects on career trajectories as well as student perceptions of competence in the field of musical production.

New Agents of Consecration

Igor Levit has gained a reputation as a leading pianist of his generation. This is in part because of his technical command over classical repertoire leading to prizes in major competitions. His cultural omnivorousness and hipster fashion are other boosts to his image. Yet another evidence of his high profile and wealth of symbolic and cultural capital is his ability to engage effectively with social media platforms. On March 12, 2020, Levit began streaming daily house concerts from his Twitter account. This drew attention across the globe, with viewership of the performance reaching tens of thousands. The significant reach of this concert and the other 51 (each with over 20,000 views) which Levit streamed is partially attributable to the cancellation of almost all live concerts in mid-March due to the initiation of global lockdowns in response to the COVID-19 pandemic. However, the size and engagement of this online audience is still significant as a newly legitimized form of music consumption. Virtual concerts during the pandemic normalized this form of production/consumption for both audiences and performers, fundamentally altering the doxa of

⁴¹ Bourdieu, Pierre and Collier, Peter, 1988, 105.

what it means to experience music ‘live’. Levit was also one of the first to present digital concerts in response to the pandemic. Major musical institutions such as symphonies and opera companies followed suit, as did university music students and musicians of all genres and level. From this event, we must ask ourselves, where do virtual audiences fit in the field of musical consumption? Do they possess any influence in the act of consecrating compositions/composers or pianists (or pedagogues for that matter)? Again, we turn to Bourdieu for possible answers.

An important characteristic of Bourdieu’s field of cultural production is that those within its domain are constantly pitted in a struggle to gain power to impose the dominant definition of legitimate artists.⁴² In the current age, social media platforms have greatly increased the number of agents that can enter into a given artistic field. These agents can view, react to, and comment on artistic production in a public forum. And though these voices would traditionally be considered outsiders, social platforms grant them more legitimacy as commentators and critics. We should expect this increase in audience and subsequent change in methods of consumption to have a bearing on the doxa of the field. Bourdieu observed in the literary field that “the established definition of writers may be radically transformed by an enlargement of the set of people who have legitimate voice in literary matters”.⁴³ As this idea is equally applicable to the field of music, we must then see if these new voices are considered legitimate within the field. In parsing the structure of social media platforms, we will see that these new virtual agents have bearing on an artist’s cultural, social, and economic capital in the musical field, but that they have a weaker direct effect on the legitimacy of artists and teachers.

The case of Tiffany Poon is one that demonstrates the role of this new virtual audience. Classically trained, Poon gained visibility in 2017 with her vlogs uploaded to the YouTube platform.

⁴² Bourdieu, Pierre and Johnson, Randal, 1993, 42.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 42.

To date, Poon's YouTube channel has over 42 million views and over 300,000 subscribers. As a digital native, her channel leads those of older generations of musicians such as Lang Lang and Daniel Barenboim in its reach and influence. This success has led to financial income through the platform's use of monetized ad placement. However, Poon's online fan base goes beyond YouTube, extending to Patreon where her almost 600 subscribers pay monthly for regular musical content. These statistics alone should be enough to legitimize the online audience as a new entry into the field in musical production. However, we are still left to determine the legitimizing power of online audiences themselves. For Poon, we see that they do not directly legitimize her position of dominance in the field of piano. What we *do* see is this audience's indirect influence on institutions that do have legitimizing power.

In 2019, Poon visited the Steinway Showroom in Manhattan to play Vladimir Horowitz's piano. She advertised the visit to her social media followers and over a dozen of them came to watch. Steinway officials noticed the influence that Poon had through her large virtual fan base and struck up a partnership with her.⁴⁴ As a leading piano manufacturer that sponsors top artists in the field of piano, this act is, in a way, a type of consecration.

For Poon, her virtual audience did not hold as much consecrating power as a physical audience or dominant cultural institutions; however, what it was able to indirectly influence Steinway to consecrate her as a dominant agent in the field. Poon acknowledges her audience and even meets them in person occasionally. She seems to view them as legitimate agents in the field, even if that is primarily for the economic capital which they are capable of bestowing. Igor Levit sees virtual audiences similarly. In an interview with reporter Fiona Maddocks, he comments "There are real people behind these Facebook, Twitter and Instagram accounts – some bad, but many, many are

⁴⁴ Poon, Tiffany as quoted in Wise, Brian. "New Artist of the Month: Tiffany Poon." *musicalamerica worldwide*. May 1, 2021. <https://www.musicalamerica.com/news/newsstory.cfm?storyid=47581>.

good, open – willing to trust if you communicate with them”.⁴⁵ It may very well be this view that sets Levit apart from other pianists such as Yuja Wang or Lang Lang, which Alex Ross notes have “wider mass-market fame” but do not have “comparable status as a cultural [figure]”.⁴⁶

Even in the traditional consecration events such as the Van Cliburn International Piano Competition have been affected by virtual audiences. The competition was held in Fort Worth, Texas, with two performance venues that seat around 700 and 2,000 people. Its broadcast however, reached a global audience of more than 8.5 million viewers in 170 countries. Additionally, the winner of the audience prize received 13,400 votes from 84 different countries.⁴⁷ We can see the acceptance of votes of virtual viewers as evidence of the virtual audience’s legitimacy.

Perhaps what is even more interesting is the potential effect of YouTube viewers on the formation of belief surrounding pianists. In the month it took *The Economist* to publish an article on Cliburn winner Lim Yun-chan’s final round rendition of Rachmaninoff’s 3rd Piano Concerto, the YouTube video of that same performance had already reached almost five million views with over 5,000 comments. These view and comment counts were already higher than those from performances of the same piece by Vladimir Horowitz, Yuja Wang, Martha Argerich, and Daniil Trifonov – many of which have been accruing views on the platform for many years. It appears that the activity of virtual audiences is increasing, and that impact has already proven to have its own consequences for the field of piano.

Acknowledging the virtual audience has ramifications for piano pedagogues as well. Teachers preparing advanced students considering careers in music will need to address the building of an

⁴⁵ Levit, Igor as quoted in Maddocks, Fiona. “Igor Levit: ‘These Concerts Were Life-saving for Me’.” *The Guardian*. May 24, 2020. <https://www.theguardian.com/music/2020/may/24/igor-levit-pianist-online-twitter-concerts-life-saving-lockdown-berlin>

⁴⁶ Ross, Alexander M. “The Fearless Pianist.” *The New Yorker*. Conde Nast Publications, Inc, n.d.

⁴⁷ “2022 Cliburn Competition.” *The Cliburn*, July 2, 2022. <https://cliburn.org/2022-cliburn-competition/#:~:text=The%202022%20Competition%20webcast%20reached,the%202022%20Competition%20on%20YouTube.>

online fan base, and they will likely need to mentor students in the process of creating an online image. It is also possible that pedagogues will need a clear understanding of their own legitimacy and powers of consecration within the field compared to those of online audiences. Reputable piano pedagogues likely have a high concentration of the consecrating power in a geographic region. Global audiences do not have that same power, but they are able to provide a degree of social and cultural (and even economic) capital that is valid across the entire world. This understanding will affect how teachers market themselves and the teaching goals that they set in their work with students.

Technology as a Teacher

In this section, we will discuss new technological entries vying for the position of ‘teacher’ in the piano pedagogy field. By doing this, we will hopefully reach a better understanding of the doxa of piano teachers and students. We also will try to better characterize the contemporary position of human teachers within the field.

In my undergraduate piano pedagogy course, the required reading came from James W. Bastien’s book called *How to Teach Piano Successfully*.⁴⁸ It includes sections on teaching business practices, pedagogical methods, and special topics. Included in the special topics is a certain chapter called “The Advantages of the Computer in the Studio” written by Sharon Lohse Kunitz. The chapter is four pages long, and includes the basics of setting up a computer, ear training software that can be used in lessons, administrative applications, and financial considerations in purchasing a computing device. Though this section was written in 1988, Kunitz might have sensed the future impact that computing technology would have on the world when she said, “The computer is one of the technological advancements for which the limits have yet to be attained”.

⁴⁸ Kunitz, Sharon. “The Advantages of the Computer in the Studio.” in *How to Teach Piano Successfully*. Book Chapter. San Diego, Calif.: Neil A. Kjos Music Co., 1988, 282.

Almost forty years later, even with all of the world changes wrought by technology, the limits of the computer (and the internet) still have yet to be reached. We are currently seeing rapid democratization of education through online teaching materials and internet learning platforms has changed the doxa of the field of piano pedagogy, resulting in a change in the piano teacher's position along the axis of domination. Piano teachers now face the challenge of defining the new (or slightly altered) position that they occupy in relation to the new entries in the field such as MOOCs and low-cost instructional piano platforms.

There are two main types of technological piano teachers which can be categorized by the skill level of the students which they teach. First, platforms such as Yousician focus on teaching beginning students who might not have any previous musical education. The platform occupies several positions within the field. It primarily functions as an instructor, providing lessons focused on the specific skills and concepts of piano playing. It also acts as a method book, structuring lessons in a sequence. And lastly, it occupies the position of a teaching supplement with its play-along workouts, exercises, and songs. The platform also embraces a wide variety of genres with a heavy emphasis on popular music. Another type of new entry is geared towards advanced students. A prime example of this type of entrant is tonebase piano, a non-sequential learning platform that contains over 350 piano lessons taught by consecrated pianists and piano pedagogues. These lessons occupy the space of a piano instructor in the field.

These platforms are wildly popular. The Yousician platform is currently logging over 25 million users.⁴⁹ And Yousician and tonebase are not the only new technological entrants in the field. Platforms such as Hoffman Academy, Piano Marvel, Simply Piano, flowkey, InsidePiano, and many others are saturating the market, and through their abundance, they have likely achieved enough

⁴⁹ "Yousician - Crunchbase Company Profile & Funding." Crunchbase. Accessed July 1, 2022. <https://www.crunchbase.com/organization/yousician>.

legitimacy that they will enjoy longevity, even if they are eventually relegated to a subfield within piano pedagogy.

This leads us back to the initial question of this section, with the legitimacy of technological teachers, what then makes the distinction between them and human piano teachers? These platforms are convenient, clearly structured, and, as we already mentioned, very popular. What is missing from technological piano teachers is that they do not develop a student's ability to navigate the subjective side of music realization. As an example, concepts such as tempo fluctuations and dynamic contrast are not able to be refined and validated through any of the mentioned platforms as they are missing the human element of piano pedagogy.

The need to distinguish between human and machine teachers also calls into question the roles and types of activities in which teachers engage. In a framework designed by Renshaw, he distinguishes between several different types of ways that music teachers interact with their students in the one-to-one lesson setting.⁵⁰ These have been summarized in *table 2*. In combination with Renshaw's work, influence from Bourdieu's framework led to additional analysis of the proposed categories. The assessment focused on each category's: level of focus on pedagogical content, focus on field, and support that characterized each type of interaction.⁵¹ This analysis is included in *table 3*.

We would be wise to remember that not all teaching activities fall exclusively into one of Renshaw's categories. Additionally, one-to-one music lessons with human teachers typically include several of these activities in one session. It is this mixture of activities that can make the study of music a stimulating activity for cognitive development. In comparison, technological teachers tend to engage in teaching activities that fit more exclusively into one category or another. For example,

⁵⁰ Renshaw, P. Lifelong learning for musicians: The place of mentoring. 2009.
<https://research.hanze.nl/ws/portalfiles/portal/11953213/renshaw.pdf>

⁵¹ The analysis was conducted by the author. One may wonder why the level of focus on habitus formation was not included. It is because all these activities contain elements of habitus demonstration and formation. With the possible exception of facilitating, all of these teaching activities would have a strong element of habitus formation, even if it is not consciously acknowledged.

the Yousician platform offers activities that fall cleanly into categories of instructing and coaching, activities which do not increase student awareness of their place in the field of piano pedagogy.

From a Bourdieusian perspective, what we are missing in technological teaching platforms is the development of habitus that is traditionally embedded in student-teacher interactions. Habitus formation comes through the demonstration of and coaching towards music production that is most widely accepted as a dominant and legitimate. These are things an experienced teacher will pass onto students, sometimes without consciousness or intention – the notion of a dominant mode of production. In this sense, a teacher's taste and habitus could be their most unique asset, differentiating them from technological entrants in the field.⁵² Additionally, the formation and awareness of habitus leads to a clearer understanding of one's position in the field. And the extent to which a student will be explicitly aware of the field is affected by maturity and cognitive development, a topic which will be further developed in the following chapter.

⁵² This in addition to the preference of interacting face-to-face with others.

Role Type	Description
Buddying	informal conversation
Shadowing	observation with little communication
Counselling	conversation focused on personal development related to professional practice
Advising	conversation about professional issues and development
Tutoring	intentional, goal-oriented activity aimed at understanding specific concepts
Instructing	didactic form of imparting and passing on specialist knowledge and skills, little dialogue
Facilitating	non-directive form of generating conversation to motivate a learner's independent engagement in the learning process
Coaching	enabling process focused on improving performance in a specific aspect of music practice
Mentoring	developmental process including elements of coaching, facilitating, and counselling; long-term focus and goals

Table 2: Summary of Renshaw's categories of teaching activities

Role Type	Level of Focus on Pedagogical Content	Level of Focus on Field	Level of Teacher Support
Buddying	low	low	low
Shadowing	low	high	low
Counselling	low	high	high
Advising	low	high	high
Tutoring	high	low	high
Instructing	high	low	low
Facilitating	medium	low	medium
Coaching	medium	low	high
Mentoring	high	high	high

Table 3: Bourdieusian perspective of Renshaw's categories

Chapter 5: The Role of Power in Student-Teacher Relationships

In the previous chapters, we have begun to understand the musical and pedagogical fields through a Bourdieusian perspective. We understand the role which music teachers have in the field regarding consecration of young pianists. And we understand the various new technological entrants into the field which have introduced novel ways for pianists to gain legitimacy, social, and cultural capital within the field. We now come to the topic of the most fundamental interaction in the field of piano pedagogy, the interaction between students and teachers. Undoubtedly, this can be a very special relationship. Very few educational fields have a precedent of granting a student with regular one-to-one time with a teacher. Personally, my music teachers have been very influential in my life and development, for which I am very grateful.

This unique pedagogical model also has its difficulties and can create emotionally intense environments, as evidenced in Seymour Bernstein's accounts of his negative experiences with piano teachers.⁵³ An incorrect understanding of the hierarchical nature of the field of pedagogy, misunderstandings about one's position or powers of consecration, and a general lack of awareness of habitus formation in students all contribute to stressors that can impede effective teaching and healthy relationships.

In this section, I will attempt to parse the delicate relationship between teachers and students that involves power. It is my hope that a Bourdieusian lens will help us to view such a discussion

⁵³ Bernstein's book *Monsters and Angels* recounts an era of opacity in the pedagogical field which does not exist in the same way today. I tend to have an optimistic view that student-teacher relationships are constantly improving as transparency becomes more valued in society. It is from this perspective that I write this section.

rationally, with the goal being to ascertain ways in which teachers can help their students to acquire cultural capital and in the field of artistic production and to develop in healthy ways.

We will approach the dynamics of power through the following topics and ideas:

- Power, control, and framing
- Language as a symbolic act

Power, Control, and Framing

It is first important that we define what is meant by the word **power**. This word has many connotations in a wide array of fields. For our purposes, we will consider the definition as set by Basil Bernstein in which power is an ability to “[define] boundaries between different categories of groups, gender, class, [and] race”.⁵⁴ He differentiates the word power from **control**, which is defined as the principle that “establishes legitimate forms of communication appropriate to the different categories”.⁵⁵ It is necessary to make this distinction in order to understand that power is a principle of classification and control is one of regulation. Additionally, we might highlight that power is an inherently neutral measure of potential, freeing us of negative connotations that may be associated with this word and its use in educational settings.

For Bernstein (and Bourdieu to an extent), the inherent classificatory nature of power is also a neutral concept. The way in which power insulates groups from each other is fundamental in the formation of identity and to the construction of a field. This is significant in pedagogical fields where young students are at the beginning stages of acquiring schemata. Additionally, pedagogues must be aware of the permeability or impermeability of boundaries both within the learning environment and those external boundaries connected to the outside world. If internal boundaries

⁵⁴ We should note that Bernstein was heavily influenced by the work of Pierre Bourdieu, adopting many of his terms and concepts into his own. He would expand and repurpose them to create mixed-method approaches of analyzing the relationships of power between students and teachers in classroom settings.

⁵⁵ Bernstein, Basil. “Pedagogy, Symbolic Control, and Identity: Theory, Research, Critique.” Book. London ; Washington, D.C.: Taylor & Francis, 1996, 5.

are weak, this will affect the roles of students and teachers and their respective degrees of control in educational settings.

In pedagogic relations, there is a three-point relationship between teacher, student, and material. Control on the legitimate forms of interaction between them is what Bernstein calls **framing**.⁵⁶ To consider the framing of a pedagogic interaction is to ask: who controls the curriculum, the sequencing, pacing, and metrics of success? Independent of Bernstein, Jones describes three models of observed framing: the gatekeeper, the midwife, and the fellow traveler.⁵⁷ In the gatekeeper role, the teacher and the material are close, but the learner is distant. Gatekeeper types are responsible for determining the success of the learner, often setting a learning standard and its associated metrics. In this model, the teacher holds explicit control, and framing is strong. In the midwife type, the learner and the material are close, and the teacher is distant. In this instance, students have greater apparent control over the learning environment, and the frame is weak. The fellow traveler type is one in which the student and the teacher are close, with the material distant. When the teacher fills the role of fellow traveler, the frame is neither strong nor weak, and the learning environment most closely resembles a democracy where the regulatory control is shaped by the coming together by the majority of voices.

Expanding on this idea, Bernstein observes that the strength of the frame determines the visibility of pedagogic practices. Strong frames demonstrate high visibility of pedagogic practice where rules of practice and discourse are explicit. Where frames are weak, the doxa of pedagogical practice is less visible and largely unknown to learners. Thus, we can see that strength of framing has the potential to impact the formation of habitus in students.

⁵⁶ Bernstein, Basil, 1996, 13.

⁵⁷ Jones, Gerald. "Gatekeepers, Midwives and Fellow Travellers: The Craft and Artistry of the Adult Educator." Book. London: Mary Ward Centre, 2005.

In considering piano pedagogy through the lens of these terms, we should consider three points: 1) in one-to-one lesson settings, power is almost always a dominant principle which starkly separates teacher and student; 2) though classifications are strongly defined, the lack of a multi-tiered vertical hierarchy allows for success in a variety of frame strengths; and 3) the unique structures of independent piano teaching studios creates a type of classificatory insulation that can make complicate student transitions between stages of their development.

In the next section, we will look at pedagogical language and try to come to a better understanding of the implications of various levels of power, control, and framing.

Language as a Symbolic Act

Linguistic analysis was an area in which Bourdieu clashed with his contemporaries. For Bourdieu, language is something adopted, not created: “To speak is to appropriate one or other of the expressive styles already constituted in and through usage and objectively marked by their position in a hierarchy of styles which expresses the hierarchy of corresponding social groups”.⁵⁸ He sees language as acquired, not constructed, and that its usage reflects the power distinctions within a field. This view stands in contrast to the views of Noam Chomsky who views language as a “process of free creation” in which subjectivity the best approach for interpreting and analyzing language.⁵⁹ Bourdieu’s perspective is decidedly more deterministic than Chomsky’s, but we should consider that Chomsky speaks of language from an individualistic perspective, whereas the habitus of language that Bourdieu proposes is trained, automatic responses that occur in specific social interactions and exchanges. In speaking on religion and politics, he notes that many individuals and institutions have taken advantage of language’s generative capacities can “surpass the limits of intuition or empirical verification and produce statements that are *formally* impeccable but semantically empty”.⁶⁰ In this

⁵⁸ Bourdieu, Pierre and Thompson, John B. “Language and Symbolic Power.” Harvard University Press, 1991, 54.

⁵⁹ Chomsky, Noam. “Language and Freedom.” Book. Abraxas ; v.1 No.1. Southampton, N.Y.: Abraxas, 1970, 88-89.

⁶⁰ Bourdieu, Pierre and Thompson, John B, 1991, 41.

sense, acts of language need to be considered symbolically just as much as they are semantically. And this consideration is essential to studying language used in a pedagogical setting where the interactions between teachers and students fall into repetitive cycles. Even more important, is the realization that the very nature of the teaching interaction is one of specific types of language activities, mostly based on corrective, directive speech⁶¹. Speaking of artistic critics (a group that could be compared to teachers), Bourdieu writes, “all critics declare not only their judgement of the work but also their claim to the right to talk about it and judge it”.⁶² And just as the act of criticism is an attempt to legitimize one’s status as a critic, teaching instruction, in addition to its semantic value, is inherently an act of power which punctuates the space between students and teachers.

There is no dearth of research on language in education. The work of L.B. Resnick is notable for its application of social theory to classroom language. In the music education subfield, the research of Robert Duke, Jacqueline Henninger, and Katie Zhukov seeks to classify and measure the types of language used in one-to-one and group music performance instruction, drawing conclusions about speech perception and effects on student attitudes and performance.

The 1998 study by Duke and Henninger looks at an experiment involving beginning recorder students (25 fifth and sixth graders and 25 college undergraduate) who were given performance feedback either labeled “positive” or “negative”.⁶³ Positive feedback was structured as a directive given with the intent to perform more accurately in the subsequent trials. Negative feedback was structured as a straightforward acknowledgment of student error, followed by a

⁶¹ This is true even in the most Socratic of teaching approaches, where the teacher is the moderator or motivator for the discussions held in class; the teacher’s authority is unavoidable.

⁶² Bourdieu, Pierre and Johnson, Randal, 1993, 36.

⁶³ Duke, Robert A. ; Henninger, Jacqueline C. “Effects of Verbal Corrections on Student Attitude and Performance.” *Journal of Research in Music Education*. Los Angeles, CA: MENC: The National Association for Music Education, 1998. doi:10.2307/3345345.

directive similar to that of the positive feedback.⁶⁴ The study then measured performance accuracy (pitch and rhythm) and participant attitude. Surprisingly, there was no difference between the attitude or performance success of either group. Duke and Henninger interpreted these results as an indicator that success in performance was the key determinant in students' self-efficacy.⁶⁵

As a follow-up study in 2002, Duke and Henninger measured perception of third-party observers watching private lessons from the 1998 study. Fifty-one undergraduate music students in teacher preparation programs watched videos of two of the 1998 lessons and then gave responses used to assess perception of negative and directive teaching feedback. Surprisingly, the results of this study also revealed that there was no significant difference between perception of either feedback type.⁶⁶ This begs the question, does an understanding of the field of power change our perception of these acts of language? If we return to Bernstein's concept of framing, we understand that controlled research requires a strong frame if it is to yield quantifiable data. In this strong frame, power and control are mostly monopolized by the teacher. And in a setting of beginning music students, basic success and its perception were unaffected by symbolic variances in speech.⁶⁷ And in this instance, the strong distinctions of power between student and teacher did not carry with them a negative effect on attitudes nor performance. We must then ask if Bourdieu's primarily symbolic view of language is valid in settings involving beginning students.

⁶⁴ A sample positive feedback statement was given as "Try it again, and make the sixteenth notes more even this time". And an example of negative feedback given was "You just played the passage unevenly; play again, but more evenly this time". These directives are semantically similar but symbolically distinct.

⁶⁵ This claim deserves further scrutiny to account for confounding variables such as class doxa (and its resultant preformed habitus).

⁶⁶ Duke, Robert A. and Henninger, Jacqueline C. "Teachers' Verbal Corrections and Observers' Perceptions of Teaching and Learning." *Journal of Research in Music Education*. Los Angeles, CA: MENC: The National Association for Music Education, 2002. doi:10.2307/3345694.

⁶⁷ We should also consider the beginner status of these tested musicians, ones who would not have had the time to develop musical habitus or knowledge of elaborated codes. Another study by Dickey in 1991 shows that beginning musicians also showed higher success through a modelling teaching approach than to a verbal instruction one, which suggests the possibility that verbal instruction carries the most symbolic value at later stages in musical development and education.

There are several interpretations of the Duke and Henninger studies. First, one could consider framing in student performance and attitude. With a strong frame, learning objectives were clear, and that became the primary focus of the interactions between student and teacher. Second, the beginning student was not informed in elaborated codes which could have prevented true field-specific conversation, taking the interaction outside of the analytical reach of Bourdieusian frameworks.⁶⁸ Third, in the 2002 study involving music education students' perceptions of teaching, we could attribute the seeming unawareness of speech differences to formation of a habitus in the role of music teacher. The observing students were undergraduates who may not have had extensive teaching experience. Finally, it could be that the variance between directive and negative statements was insignificant, partially due to the objective nature of the negative statements and partially because the feedback was focused on objective, non-encoded elements of the students' performance of the music.

Katie Zhukov's work is a logical segue from the Duke and Henninger studies. Like Duke and Henninger, Zhukov also utilizes a positive-negative feedback framework, but she also expands the categories of types of speech with their encoded meanings. In her 2013 study of college music students and their teachers, she provides categories of types of speech acts: teacher joke, student joke, student disappointment, teacher disappointment, student excuse, teacher sympathy, teacher social, and student social. Zhukov's characterizations of these speech categories are rudimentary but show an important step in more effective analysis of linguistic exchange.⁶⁹ She looks at the non-directive, non-objective categories of speech that subtly demonstrate habitus and perpetuate positions of power. The frequency of these statements is included in *table 4*.

⁶⁸ Alternatively, we could see the student as a newly entering agent in the field of music education, seeking to gain the basic competencies and knowledge that one would gain as they first enter.

⁶⁹ Zhukov, Katie. "Interpersonal Interactions in Instrumental Lessons: Teacher/Student Verbal and Non-Verbal Behaviours." *Psychology of Music*. London, England: SAGE Publications, 2003. doi:10.1177/0305735611430434.

The most common verbal interaction was humor related to the context of teaching. Zhukov is careful to distinguish this category from pure social conversation through the degree of relatedness to the pedagogical content. For Bourdieu, it would also be important to note that jokes (as they are defined here) were semantically similar whether from the teacher or from the student. Combined with the findings from the Duke and Henninger studies, this view of Zhukov's might undercut Bourdieu's view of language as a primarily symbolic act that serves to reinforce differences in class and power. The one-to-one setting of music instruction may contribute to this deviation from Bourdieu's observations. Additionally, it is possible that the frame of music instruction is so strong that subtleties of the relationships of power are minimized and subsumed by clear focus on the curricular goals of the teacher-student interactions.

Category	Percentage of Interactions	Standard Deviation
teacher joke	19.3	8.9
student joke	33.7	12.2
student disappointment	13.9	11
teacher disappointment	1.2	1.6
student excuse	16.7	9.6
teacher sympathy	7.8	7.2
teacher social	3.7	5.5
student social	3.7	5.5

Table 4: percentages of verbal action categories from Zhukov (2013)

Chapter 6: Concluding Thoughts

Bourdieu's framework has given us a structured view of abstract and inherently subjective issues, something that could perhaps serve to guide discussions around even more complicated questions such as equity in piano pedagogy. Bourdieu's view of social spaces has the capability to de-emotionalize ideologically charged topics by placing them in the greater context of the pedagogical field, the musical field, and the encompassing fields of power and economics. It is my hope that by talking about questions related to value, power, and hierarchies, pedagogues will begin to see these elements as inherently neutral characteristics in the field of pedagogy. Obtaining an overhead view of the role of positions, language as a symbolic act, and the differing valuation of production in various fields will only serve to give educators a well-rounded perspective on musicmaking in the context of the encompassing world – a perspective that can then be shared with their students. From this vantage point, I believe it is possible to focus less on political positioning and put more energy into creative and pedagogical work that will lead teachers to the types of career fulfillment that they desire.

References

- Applegate, Celia. "How German Is It? Nationalism and the Idea of Serious Music in the Early Nineteenth Century." *19th Century Music*, 1998. doi:10.2307/746825.
- Bernstein, Basil. "Pedagogy, Symbolic Control, and Identity: Theory, Research, Critique." Book. London; Washington, D.C.: Taylor & Francis, 1996, 5.
- Bilby, K. "Caribbean Crucible." *Repercussions: A Celebration of African American Music*. London. 1985, 128–51.
- Bourdieu, Pierre and Collier, Peter. "Homo Academicus." Book. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 1988.
- Bourdieu, Pierre and Johnson, Randal. "The Field of Cultural Production: Essays on Art and Literature." Book. European Perspectives. New York: Columbia University Press, 1993, 42.
- Bourdieu, Pierre and Thompson, John B. "Language and Symbolic Power." Harvard University Press, 1991.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. "Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste." Book. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1984.
- Chomsky, Noam. "Language and Freedom." Book. Abraxas; v.1 No.1. Southampton, N.Y.: Abraxas, 1970, 88-89.
- Clague, Mark. "The Imperative for Recording Black Music: Pianist Natalie Hinderas Plays Music by Black Composers (1971)". Presentation in the Diversity and Belonging: Unsung Keyboard Stories conference, Ann Arbor, MI, January 26-30, 2022.

- Claiborne, Leah. "What Ifs: Intentional Inclusion of Music by Black Composers in Music Education." *American Music Teacher*. Vol. 71 (4), 2022, 20–25.
- Duke, Robert A. ; Henninger, Jacqueline C. "Effects of Verbal Corrections on Student Attitude and Performance." *Journal of Research in Music Education*. Los Angeles, CA: MENC: The National Association for Music Education, 1998. doi:10.2307/3345345.
- Duke, Robert A. and Henninger, Jacqueline C. "Teachers' Verbal Corrections and Observers' Perceptions of Teaching and Learning." *Journal of Research in Music Education*. Los Angeles, CA: MENC: The National Association for Music Education, 2002. doi:10.2307/3345694.
- Gardiner, John Eliot. "Music in the Castle of Heaven: A Portrait of Johann Sebastian Bach." Book. London: Allen Lane, 2013.
- Jones, Gerald. "Gatekeepers, Midwives and Fellow Travellers: The Craft and Artistry of the Adult Educator." Book. London: Mary Ward Centre, 2005.
- Kunitz, Sharon. "The Advantages of the Computer in the Studio". in *How to Teach Piano Successfully*. Book Chapter. San Diego, Calif.: Neil A. Kjos Music Co., 1988, 282.
- Levit, Igor as quoted in Maddocks, Fiona. "Igor Levit: 'These Concerts Were Life-saving for Me'." *The Guardian*. May 24, 2020.
<https://www.theguardian.com/music/2020/may/24/igor-levit-pianist-online-twitter-concerts-life-saving-lockdown-berlin>
- Midgette, Anne. "Desperately Seeking Relevance, Orchestras Grapple with Existential Questions: The League of American Orchestras Conference and NOI Are Thinking about Music's Future." *The Washington Post*. Washington, D.C: WP Company LLC, June 13, 2016
- Obama, Barack. Twitter Post. July 10, 2021, 9:13 AM.
<https://twitter.com/barackobama/status/1413848757083545601>.

- Pekacz, Jolanta T. "Deconstructing a 'National Composer': Chopin and Polish Exiles in Paris, 1831-49." *19th Century Music*. Berkeley: University of California Press, n.d.
doi:10.1525/ncm.2000.24.2.02a00030.
- Peterson, R.A. and Simkus, A. "How musical tastes mark occupational status groups." In M. Lamont and M. Fournier (eds), *Cultivating Difference: Symbolic Boundaries and the Making of Inequality*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992.
- Petzke, Martin. "Symbolic Revolutions. Mobilizing a Neglected Bourdieusian Concept for Historical Sociology." *Theory and Society*. Dordrecht: Springer Netherlands, 2021.
doi:10.1007/s11186-021-09467-9.
- Poon, Tiffany as quoted in Wise, Brian. "New Artist of the Month: Tiffany Poon."
musicalamerica worldwide. May 1, 2021.
<https://www.musicalamerica.com/news/newsstory.cfm?storyid=47581>.
- Renshaw, P. *Lifelong learning for musicians: The place of mentoring*. 2009.
<https://research.hanze.nl/ws/portalfiles/portal/11953213/reshaw.pdf>
- Richard Taruskin, "Music in the Nineteenth Century," in *The Oxford History of Western Music*, v. 3 (Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 230.
- Ross, Alexander M. "The Fearless Pianist." *The New Yorker*. Conde Nast Publications, Inc, n.d.
- The Royal Conservatory. "Piano 2022 Edition." Syllabus, The Royal Conservatory, Toronto, ON, 2022.
- Savage, Mike et al. "A New Model of Social Class? Findings from the BBC's Great British Class Survey Experiment." *Sociology (Oxford)*. London, England: SAGE Publications, 2013.
doi:10.1177/0038038513481128.
- Thomson, P. "Field." in Grenfell, M. "Pierre Bourdieu: Key Concepts." Taylor and Francis, n.d.
doi:10.4324/9781315729923.

- Tucker, Mark, and Travis A. Jackson. "Jazz." *Grove Music Online*. 30 Jun. 2020; Accessed 8 July 2022. <https://www-oxfordmusiconline-com.proxy.lib.umich.edu/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/om-o-9781561592630-e-90000358106>.
- Uszler, Marianne, Gordon, Stewart, and Mach, Elyse. "The Well-Tempered Keyboard Teacher." Book. New York: Schirmer Books, 1991.
- Webster, Jack. "Taste in the Platform Age: Music Streaming Services and New Forms of Class Distinction." *Information, Communication & Society*. Abingdon: Routledge, n.d. doi:10.1080/1369118X.2019.1622763.
- Wright, Ruth. "‘Now We’re the Musicians’: Using Bourdieu’s Concepts of Habitus, Capital and Field to Analyse Informal Learning in Canadian Music Education." Routledge, n.d. doi:10.4324/9781315569819-11.
- "Yousician - Crunchbase Company Profile & Funding." Crunchbase. Accessed July 1, 2022. <https://www.crunchbase.com/organization/yousician>.
- Zhukov, Katie. "Interpersonal Interactions in Instrumental Lessons: Teacher/Student Verbal and Non-Verbal Behaviours." *Psychology of Music*. London, England: SAGE Publications, 2003. doi:10.1177/0305735611430434.