VOICES FOR CHANGE IN THE *Classical Music Profession*

NEW IDEAS FOR TACKLING INEQUALITIES AND EXCLUSIONS

Edited by

ANNA BULL *and* CHRISTINA SCHARFF

with Associate Editor LAUDAN NOOSHIN

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Contributors

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Charlotte Armstrong is an Independent Researcher whose work explores the politics and practice of disability representation in modernist opera. She also has research interests in digital humanities and was the Postdoctoral Research Associate on the AHRC-funded project "The Internet of Musical Events: Digital Scholarship, Community, and the Archiving of Performance" (InterMusE). Charlotte now works as the Communications Coordinator for the European Network on Statelessness.

Vick Bain has worked in music for 25 years and is a consultant and campaigner for diversity and inclusion in the music industry, training and advising organizations from every sector and genre of music. This is grounded in her work as a PhD researcher at Queen Mary University in the Centre for Research in Equality and Diversity. In addition to this, Vick is the president of the Independent Society of Musicians, representing over 11,000 musicians in the UK. And she is the author of Counting the Music Industry and founder of the F-List Directory of UK Female+ Musicians, which is a not-for-profit organization supporting female musicians. Vick was enrolled into the Music Week Women in Music Awards Roll of Honour and Radio 4 Woman's Hour Music Industry Powerlist and is a regular press commentator on gender diversity in the music industry.

Brandon Keith Brown is a Conductor, Activist, and Teacher, and is a Laureate of the 2012 Sir Georg Solti International Conductors' Competition. Brown gave a celebrated European debut with the Badische Staatskapelle. It led to a debut and re-engagement with the Berlin Radio Symphony Orchestra (RSB). Other orchestras include the Konzerthaus Orchestra Berlin, the Detroit Symphony Orchestra, the Bremer Philharmoniker, and the Cape Town Philharmonic Orchestra. His mentor is David Zinman. He is a violin student

of renowned teachers Roland and Almita Vamos. Brown fights to change the racial conscience of society. His writings have been featured internationally including NPR's *Here and Now*, *DIE ZEIT*, *The Medium*, and the *Berlin Tagesspiegel*. Lectures and teaching include Freie Universität Berlin, Humboldt University, and the Berlin University of Art and Music. He is a frequent podcast guest, speaker, and consultant on the intersection of "race" and music.

Anna Bull is a Lecturer in Education and Social Justice at the University of York. A former professional pianist and cellist, her research interests include class and gender inequalities in classical music education and staff sexual misconduct in higher education. Her monograph *Class, Control, and Classical Music* was published in 2019 with Oxford University Press and in 2020 was joint winner of the British Sociological Association Philip Abrams Award. She has also worked with music education charity *Sound Connections* on developing youth voice in classical music education. Anna is also a co-founder and director of The 1752 Group, a research and campaigning organization working to address staff sexual misconduct in higher education.

Clementina Casula is Associate Professor of Sociology of Economic and Labor processes at the University of Cagliari, Italy. She holds a PhD in European studies from the London School of Economics (UK) and a diploma in piano from the State Conservatory of Music of Cagliari. Her research mainly focuses on the regulative role of public policies in different socio-economic fields, such as territorial development, information society, education-to-work transitions, and music and the cultural and creative industries, always paying special attention to the gender dimension of analysis.

Chris Collins is Chair in Music and Head of the School of Language, Literature, Music and Visual Culture at the University of Aberdeen, and was formerly head of music at Bangor University. He teaches and researches 20th-century European music, specializing in the work of Manuel de Falla. He is also a conductor and pianist. A longstanding campaigner for greater inclusivity in music education at all levels, he is a member of the equality, diversity, and inclusion committee of the Royal Musical Association, and was president of the Independent Society of Musicians in 2020–21.

Antonio C. Cuyler is the author of *Access, Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion in Cultural Organizations: Insights from the Careers of Executive Opera Managers of Color in the U.S.* and editor of *Arts Management, Cultural Policy & the African Diaspora*. He serves as the director of the Master of Arts Program and Associate Professor of Arts Administration in the Department of Art Education at Florida State University (FSU), and visiting Associate Professor of Theater and Drama in the School of Music, Theatre & Dance at the University of Michigan. He is also the Founder of Cuyler Consulting, LLC, a Black-owned arts consultancy that helps cultural organizations maximize their performance and community relevance through access, diversity, equity, and inclusion (ADEI).

Brandon Farnsworth is a Swiss National Science Foundation Postdoctoral Researcher in Musicology and Music Curator based at Lund University, Sweden. After studying at the Zurich University of the Arts, he completed his PhD in Dresden with the publication

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Anthony Gray trained and worked as a classical singer, working in major UK classical music institutions before leaving classical music to pursue a career as a cross-arts producer and programmer. His roles have focused on supporting artists to create work and push their practice across a number of schemes that he has delivered. Currently head of programme at Fuel Productions Ltd in London, Anthony's career to date has primarily been about making the arts sector as accessible to as many unheard voices as possible.

Beth Higham-Edwards is a percussionist who has performed at the National Theatre and Shakespeare's Globe. She teaches percussion at Junior Trinity Laban and has delivered workshops for the London Symphony Orchestra, BBC Proms, and Britten Pears Arts, among others. She is passionate about equal opportunity in music education and is a known advocate for gender equality amongst instrumentalists. She held a roundtable discussion at the Wigmore Hall in March 2019, is a Creative Associate with SWAP'ra (Supporting Women and Parents in Opera), a trustee with the National Children's Orchestra, winner of the ABO RPS Salomon Prize 2021, and founder of *Gender and the Large and Shiny Instruments*.

Vinota Karunasaagarar was the creative content and publications manager at the Independent Society of Musicians (ISM) and Independent Society of Musicians Trust (ISM Trust), where she was responsible for producing publications such as *Music Journal*, the ISM's quarterly magazine, the annual *Handbook* and educational resources in both print and digital formats. The ISM (ism.org) is the UK's largest representative non-union body for musicians and a nationally recognized subject association for music, and the ISM Trust (ismtrust.org) is the ISM's sister charity, created in 2014 to advance education and the arts and to promote health. Vinota works freelance as a publications consultant and continues to work for the ISM in this capacity.

Maiko Kawabata (lecturer in music, Royal College of Music and staff tutor in music, Open University) is an award-winning musicologist and professional violinist. She is the author of *Paganini, the "Demonic" Virtuoso* and a co-editor of *Exploring Virtuosities: Heinrich Wilhelm Ernst, Nineteenth-Century Musical Practices and Beyond*. Her research interests include performance history, performance studies, gender studies, and music and "race." Maiko's research into Japanese composer Kikuko Kanai is supported by the BBC and AHRC. She has played violin in orchestras and chamber ensembles throughout the UK, USA, and Germany.

Hannah Kendall's work has been widely celebrated. She has worked with ensembles including London Symphony Orchestra, BBC Symphony Orchestra, Boston Symphony Orchestra, New York Philharmonic, San Francisco Symphony, Seattle Symphony Orchestra, the Hallé, Ensemble Modern, and London Sinfonietta, but you'll also find her collaborating with choreographers, poets, and art galleries; crossing over to different art forms, and celebrating the impact these unique settings have on sound. She is the recipient

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Beata M. Kowalczyk is an assistant professor on the faculty of sociology at Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań, Poland, and an associated researcher at the Institutions et dynamiques historiques de l'économie et de la société. She has conducted multi-sited fieldwork with Japanese musicians in Warsaw, Paris, and Tokyo, much of which was based at Warsaw University, the Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne, and the University of Tokyo. Her research has focused on Japanese society and culture, precariousness, and racial and gender-related inequalities in the creative and classical music industries, transnationalism, and postcolonialism. She is the author of *Transnational Musicians: Precariousness, Ethnicity and Gender in the Creative Industry* (Abington, Routledge, 2021).

Rosanna Lovell is a musician, educator, performer, radio maker, and sound artist based in Berlin. Her practice focuses on feminist and postcolonial perspectives in classical and new music, which she explores through performance, intervention, sound, and research, as well as critical and self-reflexive approaches in the arts and arts education. She studied classical music performance and languages at the University of Adelaide (Australia) and in 2018 completed a master of arts at the Institute for Art in Context, UdK–Berlin University of the Arts, where she is also part of the feminist collective FEM*_MUSIC*_.

Gillian Moore is Director of Music and Performing Arts at London's Southbank Centre. She also writes and broadcasts regularly about music. Her book on Stravinsky's *Rite of Spring* (*Head of Zeus*) was named as one of the best books of 2019 by the *Financial Times* and she is a frequent contributor to BBC Radio 3 and to print journalism. Early in her career, Gillian pioneered the role of orchestras in education at the London Sinfonietta, working in schools and prisons, and has commissioned and produced work in collaboration with many leading musicians and artists. She was awarded and MBE in 1993 and CBE in 2019.

Patricia Ann Neely has appeared with many early music ensembles as a viola da gamba, violone, and vielle player, including the Washington Bach Consort, Smithsonian Chamber Players and viol consort, Rheinischen Kantorei Köln, and Sequentia, among others. A founding member of the viol consort Parthenia, she is currently director of Abendmusik, New York's Period Instrument String Band. She has been a member of

several diversity committees at academic institutions with which she has been affiliated. Her participation on the Mannes College of Music committee culminated in a partnership with Mannes and the Sphinx Organization, creating a full-tuition scholarship for a string player of color who met the criteria for admission to the college. Continued interest in the lack of diversity in historical performance encouraged research regarding representation of People of Color in cultural history. Ms. Neely presented a paper on diversity in classical music and early music at the Historical Performance Conference at Indiana University in 2019, which led to an appointment as chair of the Equity, Diversity, and Inclusion Taskforce of Early Music America, an advocacy organization for musicians specializing in historical performance practice.

Laudan Nooshin is professor of music at City, University of London. Her research interests include creative processes in Iranian music, music and youth culture in Iran, music and gender, urban music studies, and music in Iranian cinema. Her publications include *Iranian Classical Music: The Discourses and Practice of Creativity* (2015, Ashgate), *Music and the Play of Power in the Middle East, North Africa and Central Asia* (ed. 2009, Ashgate) and *The Ethnomusicology of Western Art Music* (ed. 2013, Routledge). Laudan is currently writing a volume on the sounds of Tehran (supported by a fellowship from the Leverhulme Trust) and is co-editor of the Cambridge University Press series Elements in Music and the City. Laudan is a co-founder and currently co-chair of the Equality, Diversity, and Inclusion in Music Studies Network; she is also a vice president of the Royal Musical Association, in which role she leads the RMA EDI Working Group.

Chi-chi Nwanoku is the founder and artistic and executive director of the Chineke! Foundation. Chi-chi was a founding member of the Orchestra of the Age of Enlightenment and held the position of principal double bass there for 30 years. She is professor of double bass historical studies at the Royal Academy of Music, where she was made a fellow in 1998. The Chineke! Foundation supports, inspires, and encourages Black and minority ethnic classical musicians working in the UK and Europe. The Chineke! Foundation celebrates diversity in the classical music industry through its two orchestras, the Chineke! Orchestra and Chineke! Junior Orchestra, as well as its educational and community engagement work. Ultimately, the Chineke! Foundation aims to give classical Black and ethnically diverse musicians a platform on which to excel, and by such methods increase the representation of Black and ethnically diverse musicians in British and European orchestras.

Cayenna Ponchione-Bailey is a UK-based conductor and academic committed to fostering social justice and environmental sustainability within and through orchestral music. Director of performance at St. Catherine's College (University of Oxford), a conducting fellow of the Oxford Philharmonic Orchestra, and a Leverhulme Early Career Research Fellow at the University of Sheffield, Dr. Ponchione-Bailey's research is focused on the social-psychological and socio-political aspects of orchestral music-making with a current focus on the orchestras of Afghanistan. Publications include "The Body Orchestral" (2018), a book chapter exploring the cognitive mechanisms underpinning co-performer communication, "Digital Methods in the Study of the Nineteenth-Century

Orchestra" (2020) in *Nineteenth-Century Music Review*, "Technologies for investigating large ensemble performance" (2021) in *Together in Music*, and "Agency, Creativity and (Inter)action in Orchestra Performance" for *Making Music Together: Analytical Perspectives on Musical Interaction* (forthcoming). Dr. Ponchione-Bailey holds masters' degrees in orchestral conducting, percussion performance, and musicology, and a doctorate in music from the University of Oxford.

Jennie Joy Porton attended the Royal College of Music on the Joint Principal Study pathway, studying clarinet and saxophone. She completed her Master of Music at Royal Welsh College of Music and Drama, also on a Joint Principal Study trajectory. She has a PhD from Royal Holloway University (supervised by Tina K. Ramnarine), undertaken with scholarship. As a freelance musician, Jennie enjoys a busy, varied performance career predominantly in the orchestral and musical theater fields. Dually based in London and Cardiff, she teaches at Royal Welsh College of Music and Drama, and is particularly interested in matters relating to equality, diversity, inclusion, and representation.

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Quodesia "Quo" Johnson continues to forge a dynamic and exciting space of shared belonging in arts and culture as a speaker, facilitator, collaborator, equity specialist, practitioner, and creative. Quo combines her background in the arts, teaching artistry, and trauma-informed healing methods to cultivate transformational experiences to dismantle systems of oppression and dehumanization. As the creator, content curator, and cohost of *Taking the Stage with Kristian and Quo*, she engages an international audience in meaningful conversations at the intersection of art, community, business, and education each week through the Dallas Opera's TDO Network. The Dallas native currently serves as the education and company culture manager of the Dallas Opera, interim social justice advisor of OPERA America, racial equity coach of Dallas Truth, Racial Healing & Transformation, and founder and space moderator of Black Administrators of Opera. Quo is a proud graduate of Prairie View A&M University.

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Marianna Ritchey is Associate Professor of Music History at the University of Massachusetts–Amherst. She has written about Berlioz, comedy, music history pedagogy, absolute music, and operatic representations of Steve Jobs. Ritchey's book, *Composing Capital: Classical Music in the Neoliberal Era* (University of Chicago Press, 2019),

examines classical music and capitalist ideologies in the contemporary United States. She is currently working on an array of topics having to do with music and political imagining, ideas that have evolved alongside her work on abolition and mutual aid projects in her community of Greenfield, Massachusetts.

Eleanor Ryan is a New Zealand–born violinist, arts educator, and researcher. Her interests span transcultural and transdisciplinary performance and pedagogy, decolonial, feminist, and post-human theories and their application in performing arts. Eleanor holds a master of music degree in performance from the Royal Northern College of Music (2004) and a master of philosophy in arts, creativity, and education from the University of Cambridge (2020). An assistant professor and head of strings at the University of Trinidad and Tobago from 2009–2018, Eleanor is currently a PhD researcher at the University of Cambridge, focusing on decolonizing performance pedagogies in higher education.

Christina Scharff is Reader in Gender, Media, and Culture at King's College–London. She is author and co-editor of several books, including *Gender, Subjectivity, and Cultural Work: The Classical Music Profession* (Routledge, 2018). Dr Scharff's research on the classical music profession, funded by the ESRC and British Academy, has contributed to our understanding of inequalities in the cultural and creative industries, the subjective experiences of precarious work, and the psychic life of neoliberalism. Dr. Scharff's other area of expertise is in engagements with feminism, building on her first monograph *Repudiating Feminism: Young Women in a Neoliberal World* (Routledge, 2012).

John Shortell is Head of Equality, Diversity, and Inclusion at the UK Musicians' Union. John's work spans policy, education, positive action projects, and lobbying on EDI issues of interest to MU members in the music industry.

Jon Silpayamanant, born in Udon Thani, Thailand, is an intercultural multi-instrumentalist, composer, and music educator based in the greater Louisville and Kentuckiana area. As a biracial Thai American with musical families on both sides of the world, he has been navigating musical code switching and bimusicality for much of his life and uses that experience to inform his understanding of how music ecosystems interact, hybridize, and create systems of exclusion.

Angela Elizabeth Slater is a UK-based composer, director of Illuminate Women's Music, and professor of composition at London Performing Academy of Music, having previously taught at Cardiff University. She has an interest in musically mapping different aspects of the natural world into the fabric of her music. Recent significant achievements include being selected to become a 2020–21 Tanglewood Composition Fellow, a Britten-Pears Young Artist through which Angela worked with Oliver Knussen, Colin Matthews, and Michael Gandolfi, developing *Soaring in Stasis*, which received its premiere at 2018 Aldeburgh Festival. In 2019 she received the Mendelssohn Scholarship award, allowing her to further her studies at New England Conservatory with chair of composition, Michael Gandolfi. Angela was the New England Philharmonic's 2018 Call for Scores winner with *Roil in Stillness*, which received its world-premiere in April 2019. As of 2021

she was writing two new works for Royal Scottish Orchestra and writing a series of six new solo works through the Connected Skies project funded by Arts Council England.

Oliver Vibrans has composed music for the concert hall, theater, film, art installations, and radio. His composition *More Up* performed by the BBC Philharmonic, the Halle and the Able Orchestra won an Ivor Composers' Award and was nominated for a Royal Philharmonic Society award. He has worked extensively with disability arts company Graeae including an outdoor opera *This Is Not for You*. Recent commissions include a concert piece *Treading Water* for the BBC Philharmonic and a score for *Oliver Twist* for Leeds Playhouse and Ramps on the Moon.

Caitlin Vincent researches the future of work in the arts. Key areas of focus include opera, cultural labor, performance and technology, and equity and diversity. Her monograph *Digital Scenography in Opera in the 21st Century* (Routledge, 2021), maps the impacts of digital technology on opera's production conventions, both on and off the stage. An acclaimed opera librettist and former professional soprano, Dr. Vincent is on faculty at the University of Melbourne.

David-Emil Wickström studied Scandinavian studies, musicology, and ethnomusicology at the Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, University of Bergen, and University of Copenhagen. His main areas of research are Norwegian traditional music, post-Soviet popular music, and higher music education. Currently employed as a professor of popular music history at the Popakademie Baden-Württemberg in Mannheim, he is also the program director for the artistic bachelor degree programs in pop music design and world music. He is a freelance trumpet player and a founding member of IASPM D-A-CH where he served on the association's board from 2013 to 2016.

Dr. Kathryn Williams is a Research and Policy Officer in Equality, Diversity, and Inclusion for the ISM. She is co-author of the *Reports Dignity at Work 2: Discrimination in the Music Sector* and *ISM Global Literature Review: Music Performance, Education and COVID-19*. Also active as a versatile flute soloist and recording artist, her solo work focuses on creatively overcoming her experiences of chronic respiratory conditions through commissioning over 100 pieces limited to a single breath in the project, Coming Up for Air. Her recordings include releases on All That Dust, Another Timbre, Huddersfield Contemporary Records, and NMC.

Mina Yang is the author of *Planet Beethoven: Classical Music at the Turn of the Millennium* (Wesleyan University Press, 2014) and *California Polyphony: Ethnic Voices, Musical Crossroads* (University of Illinois Press, 2007) and an academic program manager for Minerva Projects. She has taught at UCSD, USC, and San Francisco Conservatory; she currently teaches at the Colburn School of Music in Los Angeles.

Introduction

Anna Bull and Christina Scharff

Beginnings

Over recent years, inequalities in the classical music profession have become a central issue in scholarly and industry debates. There are now a range of initiatives that seek to tackle exclusions along the lines of "race," ethnicity, class, gender, and disability. In the UK, where the editors of this volume are based, the double bass player Chi-chi Nwanoku (see Chapter 22, this volume), launched the Chineke! Foundation in 2015, which provides career opportunities to established and up-and-coming Black and ethnically diverse classical musicians in the UK and Europe. An earlier example of this work comes from the Sphinx Organization, based in Detroit, Michigan, in the US, set up in 1997, which aims to increase representation of Black and Latinx artists in classical music. Internationally, the Keychange campaign encourages music festivals and conferences to sign up to a 50:50 gender balance pledge by 2022, and Bournemouth Symphony Orchestra's Resound is a professional disabled-led ensemble. These and other initiatives have been widely discussed in the classical music sector. Reflecting these developments, policy-makers and funders are also starting to address these challenges. In Canada, the project Re-Sounding the Orchestra has explored relationships between Canadian orchestras, Indigenous peoples, and People of Color (Peerbaye and Attariwala, 2019); in the US, interventions to improve pathways into professional orchestras for BIPOC musicians have been set up (Feder and McGill, 2021), and in the UK, Arts Council England recently published the report *Creating a More Inclusive Classical Music* (Cox and Kilshaw, 2021), which provides a detailed overview of the barriers to entering, remaining in, and becoming successful in the classical music sector in England. However, despite this attention to equity, diversity, and inclusion, there is no book that *specifically* explores issues of inequalities and exclusions in the classical music profession. This volume addresses this gap by advancing our understanding of the nature of current inequalities in the field of classical music production, exploring why they continue to exist, and asking what can be done to tackle ongoing exclusions.

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We have curated this collection in order to foreground voices for change—those who are already making a difference in classical music. As such, one of the distinguishing features of the book is the inclusion of chapters from those working in the classical music industry, where they are given the opportunity to reflect on issues of diversity and to share insights and inspiration as well as good practice. As a result, we have gone beyond the usual format for academic edited collections to include interview-based chapters with musicians and activists making change in classical music, and to include voices who are not usually heard, such as those who leave due to the very inequalities that this book outlines (see Anthony Gray's chapter, this volume). As well as these practitioner accounts, we have chapters from industry professionals and organizations, and a wide-ranging selection of contributions from academic researchers. Indeed, our perspectives on the classical music profession are informed by conversations and collaborations with practitioners as well as industry bodies, and dialogue with academics who have critically explored the field of classical music (Baker, 2014 and 2020; Bennett, 2008; Browning, 2019; Curtin and Whittaker, 2021; Green, 1997 and 2003; Kajikawa, 2019; Kok, 2006; Leppänen, 2015; Johnson-Williams, 2015 and 2020; Leech-Wilkinson, 2020; Moore, 2016; Lochhead et al., 2019; Schreffler, 2019; Yoshihara, 2007; Wang, 2015), as well as many of those included in this volume.

In curating this volume, we have drawn on our own scholarly and activist work on the classical music profession carried out over the past decade. Anna Bull conducted sociological research with young classical musicians in England after quitting her own career as a classically trained pianist and cellist (Bull, 2016a, 2016b, 2018, and 2019). This research examined the middle-class culture and gendered norms in this classical music youth scene, arguing that classical music's inequalities are in part created through its distinctive aesthetic, which requires a long-term investment of time, money, and effort that is more possible and feels more worthwhile for middle- and upper-class families. The social and aesthetic conventions and performance norms of this aesthetic form a boundary that keeps out those who are not able to reach the standards of ability that are required to play classical music's instruments and canonic repertoire to the standards of precision that its education and performance institutions require. As a result, classical music institutions maintain an appearance of meritocracy and openness to "talent," while the boundary-drawing that keeps out most of those outside the middle-classes is camouflaged by being part of the aesthetic requirements of the music. The gendered and racialized norms of the White middle classes are also reproduced within classical music's conventions, as observed in the youth music spaces in her study, for example through practices of embodied control and male authority. More recently, Bull has turned her attention to sexual and gender-based violence and harassment in higher education,

including classical music education, asking whether classical music constitutes a "conducive context" for such violence (Bull, forthcoming), as well as exploring how classical music education can shift away from its "pedagogy of correction" (Bull, 2022) toward embedding "youth voice" (Mayne et al., 2022).

Christina Scharff has examined gender, racial, and class inequalities in the classical music profession in Germany and the UK. Scharff carried out qualitative and quantitative research to map and bring to light existing inequalities, and to understand why they continue to exist (2015, 2018a, 2018b, 2020, and 2021). Scharff published the report *Equality and Diversity in the Classical Music Profession* (2015), which provided quantitative data that detailed the underrepresentation of marginalized groups in the classical music sector in the UK. The report was widely circulated and provided much-needed evidence to begin a more informed conversation about inequalities and exclusions. Scharff also made a range of qualitative contributions by focusing on the dimension of subjectivity. In particular, she showed that "ideal" musicians are often constructed as middle-class, White, and male (2018b) and that various common practices of getting work in the industry, such as networking and self-promotion, foster racialized, classed, and gendered exclusions (2018a). Her research on "the psychic life of neoliberalism" (2016 and 2018a) employed a Foucauldian framework to critique industry discourses that promote entrepreneurialism and to demonstrate that neoliberal rationality shapes formations of selfhood. Her most recent research analyzes how freelance musicians negotiate sexual harassment (2020) and explores the extent to which current discussions of inequalities and exclusion in the classical music profession pave the way for social change (2021).

Both editors, as well as associate editor Laudan Nooshin, have also been active in trying to make change in classical music, and as such this volume reflects their dual role as both academics and also activists who are deeply invested in the themes discussed in the book. Anna Bull has organized a series of events to help music education institutions in the UK better address the difficult issue of sexual abuse in classical music (Bull, 2016c), as well as running training sessions and talks for music teachers and working with classical music organizations to change practices and embed inclusion. Alongside this, she also co-directs campaign and research organization the 1752 Group, which addresses staff/faculty sexual misconduct in higher education, including higher music education. Laudan Nooshin has had a long-term commitment to bringing about change in relation to the issues discussed in this volume. She was involved in setting up and is currently co-chair of the UK Equality, Diversity, and Inclusion in Music Studies network (EDIMS) as well as chair of the Royal Musical Association EDI Working Group. As outlined above, Christina Scharff has supported industry bodies with research data and theoretically informed analysis to help them improve their approach to tackling inequalities and exclusions.

Scope

The book contains chapters that explore a range of national contexts, including Italy, Austria, Germany, the US, UK, France, Poland, Japan, and Australia. However, a limitation of the book is that it predominantly focuses on the Global North rather than the Global South (as defined by Dados and Connell, 2012). Indeed, as editor Laudan Nooshin has described in her previous work, the term "Western art music" is ideologically loaded, not least in claiming "exclusive ownership of a cultural space whilst denying the existence of 'others' who have been and continue to be central to it and who are rendered invisible by the dominant discourses" (Nooshin, 2011, p. 294; see also Silpayamanant, Chapter 16, this volume). The volume risks reifying the ideology that Anglophone and European voices are central to this tradition and practice by representing authors from these parts of the world, and in this way, it could be seen as complicit in, or reproducing, the inequalities that it seeks to address. We acknowledge that due to this volume being the first to address the topic of inequalities and exclusions in the classical music profession, it is necessarily a partial account. We are uncomfortably aware of the gaps and silences in relation to contributors from the Global South, and we look forward to reading work in this area and collaborating with scholars who we hope will, in future, highlight research and activism from areas in the world we have not included. These issues also bring up questions of terminology. For example, while the terms "West" and "Western" are most often deployed unproblematically in the literature and elsewhere, where the authors in this book have used them, we have put these in quotation marks to indicate that these are historical constructs that should be read critically. It is also important to acknowledge that terminology around racialized groups differs across time and space; given geographical specificities, concepts do not always travel easily from one place to another and terminology changes over time, reflecting transformations in discussions about and understandings of racism. For these reasons, we let authors decide on the exact spelling (e.g., capitalized or not) of racialized identities and there are, therefore, differences across individual chapters. As with "West"/"Western," we have chosen to place the term "race" in quotation marks in order to draw particular attention to the constructedness of the concept and to counter the still widespread popular views of racial categories as biologically rather than socially determined. We discuss the term "classical music" in a separate section toward the end of this introduction.

The book focuses on the classical music profession, including institutional training routes into the profession in the form of conservatoires, but we have not included discussions of under-18s education in the volume, for two reasons. First, this issue has already been covered extensively elsewhere, most recently in the *Oxford Handbook for Social Justice in Music Education* (Benedict et al., 2015),

as well as other edited collections (Burnard et al., 2015; Frierson-Campbell et al., 2022; Wright et al., 2021). Secondly, we wanted to explore what the classical music profession itself is doing in this area. There is a tendency to shift the blame for the lack of diversity in classical music onto the education pipeline, implying that the profession itself does not need to change. While there is certainly work to be done in classical music education, in this volume we explore ways forward for the profession within the current circumstances, without expecting the inequalities and exclusions that are described in this volume to be solved by education organizations alone.

In line with our focus on industry rather than education, we do not address the question as to why children of diverse cultural backgrounds should study classical music in the first place. Besides going beyond the remit of this volume, the question itself rests on a problematic assumption of a naturalized link between a person's ethnic or indeed any other aspect of their identity, and the music that they listen to or play, in this case between "classical music" as a genre and "Whiteness" (Bull, 2019; Kajikawa, 2019). As explored by Bull (2019), Stirling (2019), Born (2011), and also Chapters 14 and 15 in this volume, there often exist cultural and historical associations between social groups and musical genres that may form a contingent connection or "articulation" (Bull, 2019, pp. 13–14). However, reifying relationships between genres and ethnic identities can serve to draw racialized boundaries around particular musical styles, thus reinforcing exclusionary processes. The question of classical music education for children from diverse backgrounds is therefore one that needs careful thought and more empirical and theoretical investigation elsewhere. Likewise, this volume does not discuss community and amateur classical music-making, and indeed these practices have been less explored in academic literature in relation to inequalities. There is thus a need for more research and potentially activism in this area. We focus on professional, rather than amateur, classical music here as we suggest that there is a particularly urgent policy imperative to diversify cultural practices that receive high levels of public funding, as does professional classical music in the UK and in many other Global North countries (Bull and Scharff, 2017).

As editors, our aim was to center the voices of those who are marginalized in relation to various, and intersecting, axes of difference. Several chapters, for example, show how conservatoires reproduce gendered, racialized, and classed power relations: Jennie Joy Porton's interviews with conservatoire alumni bring to the fore the ways in which class background shapes experiences of higher music education in the UK. Similarly, Clementina Casula's study of Italian conservatoires demonstrates the presence of a class divide in the selection process, taking the form of an urban-rural distinction, and of gender biases. Drawing upon interviews with music teachers working at elite state-funded higher music education institutions in Austria and Germany, Rosa Reitsamer

and Rainer Prokop trace how constructions of the "ideal" classical music student reproduce the association of the classical music profession with White middle-class culture. Lastly, David-Emil Wickström focuses on sexual harassment in higher music education in Europe and discusses strategies for addressing power-based abuse in instrumental lessons.

As demonstrated by the chapters on higher music education, this edited collection mainly focuses on issues of "race," gender, class and, to a lesser extent, disability. Charlotte Armstrong discusses disability representation in opera and focuses on a range of issues, such as inaccessible spaces and education programs to demeaning, stereotypical roles and problematic performance practices (see also the contributions by Oliver Vibrans and John Shortell). Other axes of difference, such as age, body positivity, pregnancy, maternity/parenthood, sexuality, and gender identity are not explicitly addressed. These gaps reflect trends in research on classical music, which has explored some axes of difference—such as "race," class and gender—more than others (see Cox, 2021). While there exist discussions on inclusion around gender identity in classical music (see for example Pullinger, 2020), this work is comparatively recent, and more needs to be done to include the voices that are not represented in this collection. This book is, therefore, part of a longer and ongoing conversation about inequalities in classical music. The gaps listed here as well as others that may become apparent over time highlight that this book does not address all forms of exclusions and oppression. It is, instead, an attempt to center research and activism that tackle inequalities and exclusions.

Challenges and developments

We have noticed a shift in urgency in this work in recent years, most notably since the Black Lives Matter movement gained more public and international attention in 2020. While there have always been reflective practitioners in classical music who are trying to make change, these efforts have now intensified and more radical discussions have started to become possible. Nevertheless, challenges remain, particularly around patchy and poor quality data, the high levels of unpaid labor that such diversity work often involves, and a sense of fatalism among many institutions that classical music will always remain elitist due to the long training period required to learn to produce its distinctive aesthetic. This fatalism is only exacerbated by the high levels of economic and social inequality that characterize some of the countries discussed in this volume, including the UK, where we are based. It is not misplaced; but it is perhaps incompatible with acting to make change in the world. As Scharff's (2021) analysis of discussions about inequalities has shown, fatalist statements can also lead

to a sense of a lack of agency, especially in a wider neoliberal context. Instead, we suggest that activists need to chart a course between retaining awareness of the structural inequalities that exist while drawing inspiration and hope from examples of positive change, including some that are described in this book.

The question of how to acknowledge structural inequalities while holding on to a sense of possibility of change also emerges from analyses of initiatives that promote "diversity." Among scholarly critiques of diversity discourses, some have argued that diversity initiatives can "actually serve as an ideological function that sustains the institutional Whiteness of the cultural industries even while they claim (often genuinely so) to do something more inclusive" (Saha, 2018, p. 88; see also Mellinger, 2003). As Sara de Benedictis, Kim Allen, and Tracey Jensen (2017, p. 343) have argued in relation to television production, representation, and consumption in the UK, "while class is now 'on the agenda,' this is not necessarily 'progressive.' " Class inequalities can, for example, be openly acknowledged, but simultaneously downplayed, shutting down critical discussion about the media's class politics. Resonating with wider critiques of diversity (e.g., Ahmed, 2007), diversity discourses (Bell and Hartmann, 2007), and discussions about racial hierarchies (e.g., Hastie and Rimmington, 2014), "doing" diversity does not necessarily lead to structural change. In their contributions to this book, Mina Yang and Marianna Ritchey draw attention to these dynamics in their analyses of the LA Philharmonic and neoliberal philanthropy (Yang, this volume) and diversity and inclusion in US classical music discourse (Ritchey, this volume). Mina Yang's chapter weighs the costs and benefits of neoliberal philanthropy and unpacks the neocolonialist subtext that underlies much of the recent wave of classical music social programs. Similarly, Marianna Ritchey takes a critical look at calls to diversify classical music, highlighting the way they exclude considerations of class and prestige. According to Ritchey, classical music is White supremacist and patriarchal, but it is also elitist, and there is a need to radically reframe how we envision both diversity and the music itself. As these chapters and wider research on the cultural and creative industries demonstrate, there is a need to subject diversity initiatives to critical scrutiny, while also trying to move forward and find ways to make change.

Resonating with this argument, this volume evidences not only much more critical scholarship than there was just five years ago but also a vibrant field of activism in classical music. It includes examples of activism taking place on the levels of individuals, of groups and networks, and established organizations and unions. We see all these levels of activism as important for creating change in classical music. On the level of individuals, some chapters describe how the conditions of the author's life as a musician led them into change. For example, Brandon Keith Brown describes how the racism he faced as a Black conductor led him to start educating himself in this area, speaking out, and setting up his own

organization. Maiko Kawabata took as her starting point personal experiences of racism and sexism, and conducted research on the new "Yellow Peril" to discuss the forms of marginalization that East Asian musicians experience in professional orchestras in Western Europe. The labor that is involved in trying to do social justice work is described by conductor Cayenna Ponchionne-Bailey—labor that is not often recognized or supported by the working conditions in the industry. This labor can also involve confronting internalized values and ideals that uphold inequalities; as Eleanor Ryan describes, White classical musicians can engage in critical self-reflexive work to make processes of racialization visible to themselves and others. This includes reflecting on the ways in which Whiteness as embodiment, in hierarchies of cultural value or simply a sense of superiority, can be reproduced within cultures of classical music. As she outlines, this reflexive work is likely to be deeply uncomfortable for White musicians, but it is crucial to challenge the reproduction of racialized forms of privilege through classical music practice. Shedding light on a different form of reflexivity and self-awareness, Beata Kowalczyk draws on empirical material collected through multi-sited research among Japanese musicians based in France, Poland, and Japan to trace how they negotiate and navigate racialized discourses of "authenticity" in classical music.

Other chapters detail the experiences of classical musicians and administrators in building networks to create change within their specific fields. Antonio Cuyler, in conversation with Quodesia Johnson, discusses the work of the Black Administrators of Opera group as a form of "Blacktivism," that is, "Black peoples' use of advocacy, personal agency, and political action to actualize racial equity and justice." They discuss Blacktivism in the context of an opera industry that "continues to call on our stories and experiences, our creativity, our communities, our expertise, and our networks without ceding power, demonstrating a reluctance to progress beyond a White-centered approach to opera." Similarly, Beth Higham-Edwards describes how her own lived experience as a woman training and working as a classical percussionist led her to become an activist, and to organize networks for women in minoritized roles in classical music. Other examples of such networks, as discussed below, include Gender Relations in New Music (GRiNM) and Illuminate Women's Music.

Finally, chapters from the Musicians' Union and the Independent Society of Musicians (ISM) in the UK detail what is possible when musicians come together in their thousands to try and make change and improve working conditions. The ISM's chapter describes three strands of their work in the UK, including gathering data on discrimination and harassment in classical music, campaigning for better legal protections from harassment for freelance musicians, and revealing the conditions for musicians that the COVID-19 pandemic brought about, including inequalities, and describing how they have been fighting for musicians' rights during this time. John Shortell from the UK Musicians' Union describes

two of their campaigns, on inclusion strategies for disabled musicians, and the Safe Space campaign around sexual harassment in the music industry. However, despite these vibrant examples, such progress is too late for some. In an interview, Anthony Gray, a former classical singer and education worker in classical music institutions, describes how the racism he experienced in classical music led him to leave the industry entirely. He does not retain the hope described by others featured in this book, in part because of what he perceives as a lack of activism in the classical music world, especially compared to his new professional milieu of theater, where opposition, unrest, and demanding change is much more common.

By bringing these activist and practitioner voices together with academic research, we hope that this book will continue an important dialogue between scholarly research and musicians'/activists' work on these issues. This dialogue also has its challenges, when, for example, the rhetoric that is required in activist work to inspire others and to build commitment does not take the tone or use evidence in the ways that are required for scholarly publication. Editing these chapters therefore gave rise to questions about the kinds of voices that get heard in scholarly publications—a difficult balancing act for us in terms of our aim to publish a wide range of voices, but also doing so while operating within the conventions of academic publishing. Facilitating the dialogue between musician/activist and academic voices also sheds light on the different forms of labor, including emotional labor, involved in attempts to undo existing power relations. Various contributions to this volume discuss—sometimes more centrally and sometimes more in passing—the work involved in making change. This work is often time-consuming and yet unpaid, mentally and emotionally draining, and frequently done by those already marginalized (Shim, 2021), and carries with it a lot of responsibility.

The editorial decisions needed to draw these diverse voices together mean that some of the chapters in this book directly contradict or argue against the perspective of others. Reflecting wider debates about the lack of diversity in the classical music field, some authors advocate an approach to inclusion that provides all, including those from marginalized groups, with the opportunities and means to access classical music training and practice to perform to what is considered a "high" standard. Others, including the editors in their own publications and research, want to push further to analyze, critique, and challenge the exclusionary aesthetics of classical music (Bull, 2019), or the racialized, classed, and gendered constructions of the "ideal classical musician" (Scharff, 2018b; see below). For example, some chapters seek to make change in the classical music industry by devising schemes that support Black and racially minoritized classical musicians to succeed within already established industry conventions. These perspectives can be contrasted with the more structural critique in Antonio Cuyler's conversation with Quodesia Johnson, in which Cuyler opens up the question, "In relation to White supremacy, do you think the opera industry is ready to change?" Johnson responds:

> If we were ready to do it, it would have been done by now. We've taken the very compliant approach, which is normal in White supremacy culture of: "Let's name all the things that have happened. Let's attribute it to the art form as opposed to our nation, individual selves, or lack of accountability within organizations. Let's look at the systemic things, as opposed to the intentional, systematic exclusion of Black people in the nation and in the field.

These contrasting viewpoints reflect the discussions ongoing in the classical music industry at the present time and as such, as editors, we have not sought to edit out or soften any perspectives that are inconsistent with the stance of other chapters. We have presented these arguments as they are made in the public sphere today in order to allow readers to make their own interpretations, reading across the volume as a whole, and we hope to serve as a resource for critical discussion by students, musicians, and industry workers, and leaders. In order to facilitate such critical discussion, we have added a series of discussion questions at the end of the book for use by teachers, students, activists, industry leaders, and of course musicians themselves, who may wish to set up a reading group to discuss the chapters using these questions as a starting point.

In particular, it would have been possible to focus the entire volume on the issue of "race," due to the complexity and diversity of the different conversations occurring internationally in this area currently. As a result, the chapters that focus on "race" and racial inequalities only skim the surface of the wider academic discourse in this area. We recognize that there is a well-developed conversation around "race" in US musicology (see for example André et al., 2020; Ewell, 2020; Kajikawa, 2019; André, 2018; Maxile, 2008). This conversation is crucially important. But in this volume, we wanted to avoid focusing primarily on the way "race" is mobilized in the US context, which would risk universalizing this context. Therefore, rather than working as a comprehensive introduction to debates, the volume juxtaposes discussions of "race" in a selection of national contexts including the US, UK, Japan, Germany, Austria, Trinidad, and Poland, offering empirical contexts that will, we hope, provide material to contextualize the wider academic debates occurring in critical race theory within a variety of local, national, and international contexts.

To what extent does the music itself have to change?

It might seem like an obvious statement to say that changing the groups of people who create classical music will change the music itself. That is to say, if more diverse groups are involved in producing culture and a wider range of perspectives and identities are represented, the cultural object itself will surely change

by having to incorporate these diverse voices. And yet, this point remains, to a degree, an open question in discussions of classical music and diversity, as evidenced by the chapters in this volume. While it would be hard to argue against diversifying the canon of classical music away from the narrow representation of its core texts, the question of whether the sonic ideals, the genre forms, the listening experience, the instruments and other technologies, and the performance and production practices that create the music, need to change, remains open to discussion. One example of the specific form these debates take in classical music is around performances supposedly being required to be "faithful" to the written score and the composer's intentions (Bull, 2019; Goehr, 1992) even when musicologists have shown time and time again that contemporary interpretations and tastes do no such thing and often differ dramatically from "what the composer intended" (Leech-Wilkinson, 2020; Scott, 2014). These live and ongoing debates around notions of "fidelity" to the score are thus also an important part of any discussion of diversity and inclusion, as are the genre conventions of classical music more widely.

The chapters in this volume contribute various angles on these questions. Angela Elizabeth Slater explores what we mean by "the canon" and looks at practical ways in which we can make meaningful change, using the case study of Illuminate Women's Music, a "touring concert series that seeks to highlight the creativity of women both as performers and composers working today, as well as promoting the rich legacy of composition works written by women composers historically." Chi-chi Nwanoku, in relation to the work of the Chineke! Foundation, and Patricia Ann Neely, discussing early music, describe diversifying the canon through recovering the work of composers of color. For Chi-chi Nwanoku a crucial part of transforming classical music is also changing the audience's experience of classical music by allowing audiences to respond to the music however they wish rather than following classical music's habitual listening conventions. However, other chapters illuminate the backlash or difficulties that can occur when changes are introduced. For example, Caitlin Vincent's discussion of revisionist approaches to classic operas describes how even when the musical text remains exactly as written by the composer, changes to the plot of Bizet's *Carmen* were not well received. Kristina Kolbe outlines other experiments in musical change to address inequalities and exclusions, drawing on case studies from Germany of "the commissioning and performance of two new opera works which were intended to be 'intercultural' and broaden the opera's aesthetic profile beyond a standardized notion of opera by bringing together Turkish and "Western" musical elements." Kolbe's chapter "make[s] visible how the opera house's standardized institutional workings ultimately constrained the transgressive potential of the two pieces, risking the remaking of racialized representations and inequalities." As a result, Kolbe argues, tweaking

existing institutional practices to become diverse and to bring in "other" musics is not going to be sufficient; rather we need to "fundamentally rethink the standardized production logics that have been entrenched in the "Western" classical music sector." These standardized production logics are also highlighted by Oliver Vibrans, who notes that the standardization of classical instruments works to disable musicians whose bodies don't fit these instruments. It is not only the instruments that are disabling, but also the expectations of the industry, which is "seeking a very particular, specifically educated musician who can execute the work the way they expect" rather than allowing for people whose musical development doesn't follow the path of early, intensive training.

These arguments all point toward musical change as being necessary for social change. However, it is also important to remember that musical innovation does not necessarily lead to social change, but can still entrench existing inequalities, as discussed in Rosanna Lovell and Brandon Farnsworth's chapter on activist network Gender Relations in New Music (GRiNM). As they argue, "new music's understanding of its own 'newness' is understood as a succession of works by individual geniuses," similarly to the work-concept ideal of classical music more generally. However, this legacy needs to be questioned, as

> focusing too much on music as the creation of one singular individual comes at the cost of thinking about it as the product of a specific set of social, historical, institutional, even technological circumstances. Because these conditions have been ignored while universalizing its appeal and accessibility, the contemporary classical music scene has ignored the fact that it strongly favors the music of white, "Western," bourgeois male subjects. (Farnsworth and Lovell, this volume)

However, other chapters detail how composers and musicians from minoritized backgrounds have indeed diversified classical music and in so doing have changed its aesthetic to give voice to identities that have not previously been heard in its spaces. Composer Hannah Kendall describes how she brings instruments such as the harmonica and music box into her compositions, engaging in "creolization" and mixing to change the way instruments sound by "blend[ing] aspects of the Afrological into the "Western" classical context." Similarly, multi-instrumentalist, composer, and music educator Jon Silpayamanant describes his working practices around creating musical hybridity with classically trained and non-classically trained musicians, arguing that classical music has already, and is always being hybridized in different cultural contexts around the world, and has been for centuries due to colonialism. His description of a very different rehearsal style to that described by Kolbe suggests ways forward for a musical and social practice that seeks to embed musical and social diversity in longer-term,

deeper ways. More broadly, this approach points to debates about the extent to which participants from demographics underrepresented in classical music may be expected or choose to assimilate its deeply entrenched and often exclusionary cultural norms and that depend on forms of bodily disciplining that have been argued to reproduce exclusions along the lines of class, "race," and gender (Bull, 2019).

Introducing classical music studies

Throughout the volume, authors and interviewees have not generally defined how they are understanding the term "classical music." As editors, our use of the perhaps taken-for-granted term "classical music" as an organizing category requires explanation. In our previous research, we have used this term because it reflects how our research participants talked about their musical practice (Bull and Scharff, 2021, p. 6). We continue to use it here not only because it exists as a commonly understood term in public discourse, but also because it is recognized in cultural policy (e.g., Cox, 2021) as well as in emerging discussions of classical music as an "industry" (Dromey and Haferkorn, 2018). However, similarly to Beckerman and Boghassian's recent edited volume on the classical music industry in the US (2021), precisely what this term designates varies across the chapters in this volume. Furthermore, as explored above, discussing diversity means calling into question the boundaries of what counts as classical music. This variability is important, as it opens up space for classical music to change over time and space, moving beyond ideals of a transcendent, unchanging "museum" of musical works (Goehr, 1992) toward a living practice that changes according to who is playing it, where it is being played, and the purpose for which it is being played.

It is clear, therefore, that any definition of classical music needs to allow for aesthetic, social, and institutional change. It is for this reason that we argue that rather than specify the particular characteristics or conventions that define classical music,[1] we instead theorize it as a genre, in this way enabling these changes to be captured within our understanding of the term. As outlined in Bull and Scharff (2021), we draw on approaches from popular music studies that use genre

> to understand the relationship between the social and the aesthetic by studying the circulation of common "orientations, expectations and conventions" (Neale, 1980, p. 19) between producers, audiences, industry, and texts. This approach draws together analysis of the conditions of production of cultural objects, the aesthetic properties of the objects themselves, and their reception. (Negus, 1999; Toynbee, 2000; Bull and Scharff, 2021, p. 3)

Genre theory affords exploration of "how identities (and inequalities) are formed or mobilized through genre; and the role of institutions in shaping genre" (Bull and Scharff, 2021, p. 4). Indeed, the centrality of institutions to genre theory is a further reason why this approach is helpful; both historically and today, classical music's education and performance institutions have been formative in shaping and reproducing its social and aesthetic conventions. Furthermore, the relationality of genre as a concept (Brackett, 2016) whereby genres and subgenres are understood in relation to each other is important in making visible hierarchies of value whereby classical music's value—educationally, socially—is constructed through what it is not, and through who it excludes. Indeed, in relation to new music in the US, as Anne Schreffler argues, "the claim of boundarylessness"—such as ideas of "genre-free music-making"—"masks the stubborn boundaries that remain in the new music scene, particularly those of gender and race" (2019, pp. 444 and 446). It also masks the ways in which to be boundaryless is a form of privilege (2019, p. 449). Similarly, as Bull argues (in relation to classical music in the UK), "the way in which 'classical music' is defined is important—and contested—because the boundaries drawn around it work to store value in this space" (2019, p. xvii). The lens of genre can make such boundaries and boundary-drawing visible by drawing attention to the processes of categorization that are occurring, whether tacitly or overtly. Therefore, we suggest that genre theory constitutes a fertile theoretical framework for understanding and explaining the origins and persistence of inequalities in classical music practice.

In order to pursue these questions as well as to draw together the field of critical enquiry as represented by the chapters in this volume, we suggest the term "classical music studies." This interdisciplinary field enables the study of classical music to draw on, but also move beyond the fields of musicology and ethnomusicology, as well as music education, and bring it into dialogue with cultural studies, sociology, disability studies, gender studies, critical race studies, and other disciplines that have extensively discussed the questions of diversity and inclusion that we consider in this book. The latter fields have a history of engaging with social justice issues, drawing on a range of theoretical, analytical, and empirical approaches. These are also fields that have evolved from, or in dialogue with, social justice movements and, as such, offer a range of tools to examine existing inequalities, understand why they persist, and point to ways to make change. By issuing a call for the interdisciplinary field of "classical music studies," we argue that questions of diversity and inclusion are not subsidiary or additional concerns within the field but instead are integral to it; in the history of classical music's institutions in the UK, for

example, questions of inclusions and exclusions over class, gender, "race," and disability have been central (see Bull, 2019; Fuller, 1998).

Furthermore, forms of hybridization of classical music that have occurred during and through processes of colonization also complexify our understanding of what "classical music" is. As Laudan Nooshin has noted:

> What needs to be folded into an understanding of the term ["Western" classical music] is how a music that was originally European has taken on a multitude of forms and meanings globally; and this applies both to the performance of the Euro-(North) American "classical" repertoire outside Europe and North America, and to the compositional work of composers from "elsewhere." (Nooshin, 2011, p. 296)

In addition to such processes of hybridization, such a term can also take as a point of exploration the relationship between this field and other so-called classical musics outside "Western" classical music, which are not included in this book. Overall, we suggest that to understand the institutional, aesthetic, and social conventions and structures that have shaped the phenomenon we understand as "classical music" today, is to explore—and attempt to address and unpack—these legacies and relations.

We hope that the chapters in this book go some way toward illuminating these questions of what classical music is, what it could be, and how we might make change. The first section of the book, "The Making of Classical Musicians," explores the role of conservatoires and higher music education in reproducing classed, gendered, and racialized exclusions. Looking at a wider range of classical music institutions, the second section, "Problematizing Institutional Change" casts a critical eye on how classical music institutions have sought to implement change, shedding light on the benefits and pitfalls of initiatives that attempt to make classical music more "diverse." Moving away from institutions, the third section, "Marginalized Voices," features those who occupy a marginalized position in classical music, highlighting a range of exclusions based on gender, class, disability, and "race." The fourth section, "Racial Inequalities," takes a focused look at processes of racialization by presenting data, experiences, and insights from a range of geographical contexts. While all chapters touch on what can be done to make change, the two final sections have a more explicit focus on activism. Section Five explores forms of activism that have emerged from individual experience and initiative, whereas Section Six centers on networks, alliances, and campaigning work by industry bodies. In the afterword, Gillian Moore, Director of Music at London's Southbank Centre, reflects on what the

volume means for music industry leaders. All in all, the chapters shed light on different forms of inequality and exclusion in classical music, but also point to ways in which these can be addressed and tackled.

Note

1. For example, in their work on equality and diversity in classical music, Arts Council England have defined classical musicians as those learning or playing symphonic classical music instruments (Cox, 2021).

I

THE MAKING OF CLASSICAL MUSICIANS

1

Class and Gender Inequalities in the Recruitment of Classical Musicians

Reflections on the Case of Italian Music Conservatoires

Clementina Casula

Introduction: The role of vocational education in the making of professional musicians

Vocational education plays a crucial role in the making of professionals by initiating them into the knowledge and techniques required to offer expert services, accrediting this knowledge in the eyes of their clients (through examinations, licensing, or registration), and socializing them to context-specific cultural conceptions of the professional role (Hughes, 1956; Abbott, 1988). In the arts field, however, vocational education has received limited attention from scholars, possibly because of its ambiguous formal link with the artistic labor market where certifications are not necessarily required (Frederickson and Rooney, 1990), not to mention the cultural rootedness of the belief that professional success in the field mainly relates to inborn individual talent, downplaying the role of education or other social factors (Bataille et al., 2020).

However, beyond formal requirements for entering artistic fields, there are also "implicit and informal requirements, which in practice makes formal education almost compulsory" (Svensson, 2015, p. 4). Legitimated organizations for the training of artists, such as music conservatoires, socialize pupils to the roles and shared rules and values of the profession, facilitating their access to and staying within the networks defining specific art worlds (Becker, 1982), where artists compete for recognition nurturing their reputations with symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1992). This holds particularly true for those art worlds, such as ballet or classical music, whose aesthetical canons are culturally deep-seated and their faithful reproduction is kept alive through the initiation of pupils into a tradition requiring the disciplined embodiment of specific techniques, rules, and values from an early age (Laillier, 2017; Scharff, 2018; Bull, 2019). Socialization into these traditions leads future artists to conceive not only the socially built definitions of musical taste, practices, and repertoires as neutral and universal

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(Weber, 1992), but also the social inequalities backing the mechanisms of their reproduction (Coulangeon, 2004; Wagner, 2015).

In this chapter, I will consider the theme of exclusions and inequalities in the recruitment of classical musicians trained within Italian conservatoires of music. Drawing on my research (Casula, 2018a) and adopting an approach that investigates the influence of institutional assets on the behavior of individual and collective actors (Powell and DiMaggio, 1991), I will first contextualize the modern evolution of these organizations for the vocational training of musicians—which originated in 16th-century Italy as charities—from their marginal collocation within the national education system at the end of the 19th century to their upgrade to its highest tier more than 100 years later. Then, drawing on official statistics and empirical data, I will discuss the issue of inequalities in the recruitment of conservatoire students, focusing on the dimensions of class and gender. My conclusions advocate that Italian conservatoires, still ongoing a profound reform, consider issues related to inequalities and exclusions a matter of concern for state-legitimized organizations training musicians and operating within a democratic society.

The hybrid status of Italian conservatoires within the national system of education

Despite the strong association of Italian culture with classical music, nurtured by the international fame achieved by Italian musicians of the past and present, the integration of music within legitimate national culture, codified within the system of education, represents a problematic and still unresolved process. The elitist approach of the national education system adopted after the unification of the country (1861) was strengthened by the Fascist reforms of the idealist minister Giovanni Gentile, imbued with dualisms between "culture and labor, education and vocational training, mass education and the education of the ruling elites and, finally, humanistic and scientific knowledge" (Grimaldi and Serpieri, 2012, p. 151). Music education, historically associated with medieval workshop training,[1] was confined to state-funded conservatoires, reorganized under common regulations that defined their operations for nearly a century (Maione, 2005). The consequences of this confinement soon emerged in terms of the standard good technical level, but weak general culture, of musicians exclusively trained within conservatoires, shaped according to the virtuoso profile, and the poor musical culture offered by standard educational paths to other citizens. Since the 1960s, in the face of growing international legitimacy of music training as part of citizens' education, the problem of inadequate opportunities within the national education system was addressed in a lengthy parliamentary