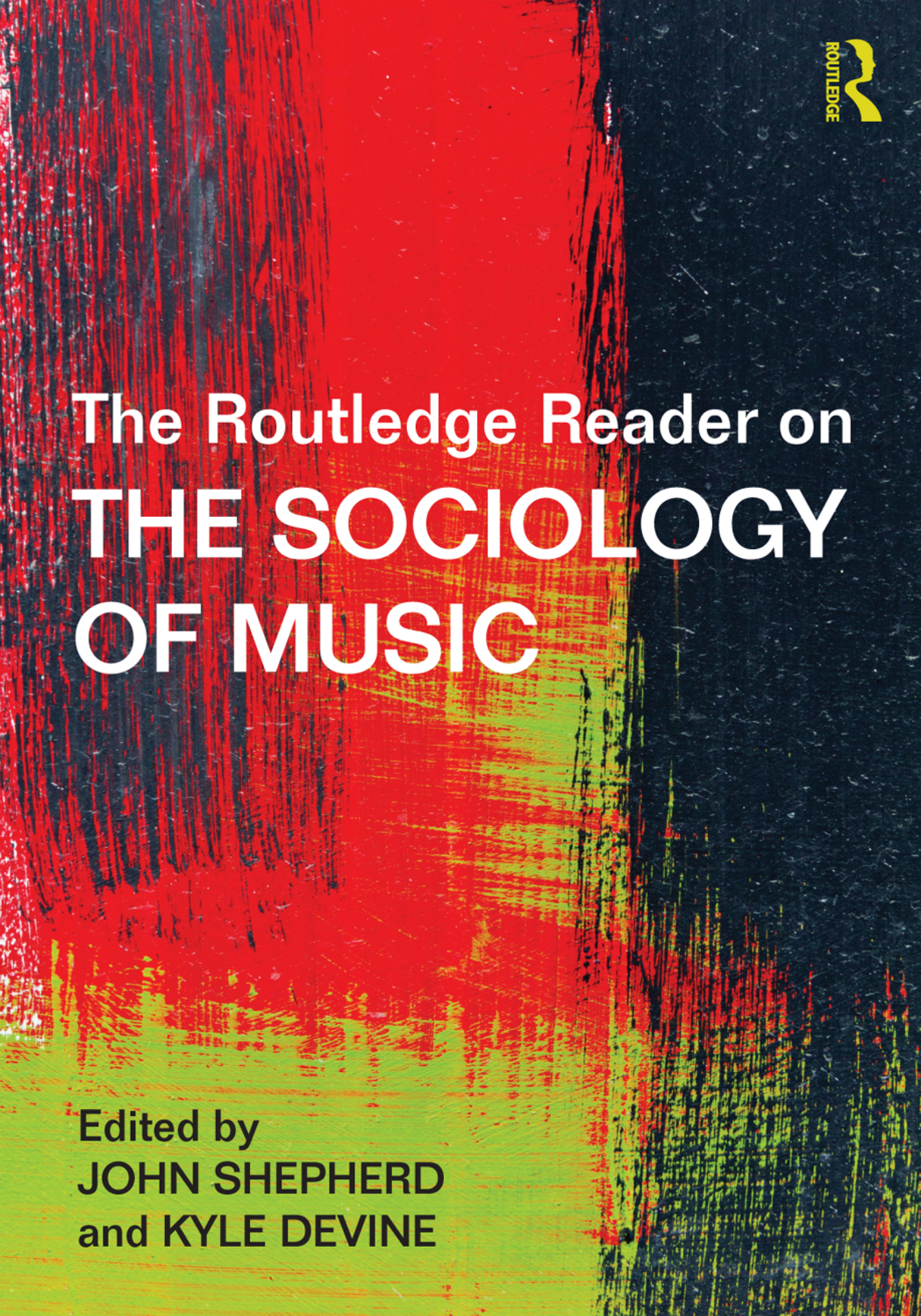
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THE SOCIOLOGY
OF MUSIC
Edited by
JOHN SHEPHERD
and KYLE DEVINE

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THE ROUTLEDGE READER ON THE SOCIOLOGY OF MUSIC

The Routledge Reader on the Sociology of Music offers the first collection of source readings and new essays on the latest thinking in the sociology of music. Interest in music sociology has increased dramatically over the past decade, yet there is no anthology of essential and introductory readings. The volume includes a comprehensive survey of the field's history, current state and future research directions. It offers six source readings, thirteen popular contemporary essays, and sixteen fresh, new contributions, along with an extended Introduction by the editors. *The Routledge Reader on the Sociology of Music* represents a broad reference work that will be a resource for the current generation of sociologically inclined musicologists and musically inclined sociologists, whether researchers, teachers or students.

John Shepherd is Vice-Provost and Associate Vice-President (Academic) at Carleton University in Ottawa, where he is also Chancellor's Professor of Music and Sociology.

Kyle Devine is Lecturer in Music at City University London and a research associate with the Music and Digitization Research Group at the University of Oxford.

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Kyle Devine

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Preface

The Routledge Reader on the Sociology of Music provides an introduction to a rapidly developing and dynamic area of intellectual activity. It combines original contributions that summarize key topics and set agendas for future research with reprints of source readings and classic essays that have shaped the field.

For the better part of a century, scholars have questioned what exactly the sociology of music is, and what it could or even should be. The very fact that these questions remain open is part of what makes the field so vibrant and interesting—and it is an issue to which we will return in our Introduction. As a starting point for the book, though, we need to provide our understanding of what constitutes the field. We understand the sociology of music as a kind of conversation, an interdisciplinary meeting point where sociologists with interests in musical phenomena and musicologists with interests in social phenomena can work together to generate concrete and conceptual knowledge about music as a fact of life. The book is thus not about delimiting what music sociology can or cannot be. Rather, it is about feeding music studies and the social sciences into one another—an exercise that we believe enriches each discipline and affords deeper understandings of both music and society.[1]

Such an understanding means that the sociology of music is not merely the application to music of established sociological theories and empirics. It is instead an invitation to a cross-disciplinary conversation. We can say that the scholar at the intersection of these fields would be interested in the forms and roles of music in society, music's dynamic as a medium of human expression and communication, and its position within established social orders (including political, economic, institutional and technological systems). What is more, because what we call "music" is a phenomenon evident in all cultures, music sociology necessarily confronts some of the most fundamental questions about what it means to be human. Indeed, music sociology is open with respect to the kinds of music it studies. Although the field initially concerned itself largely with western art music, in recent years, scholars have championed the study of *all* music, from mashups to Machaut—including, and sometimes especially, those musics that may not seem "musicologically" significant.

The sociology of music is thus a broad and significant scholarly endeavor. Moreover, the field is growing. Such growth is a function of both the impact of "new" musicological thinking within music departments and the explosion of sociological interest in art and culture.[2] In addition to the steady flow of music-focused articles in journals such as *Cultural Sociology*, and in addition to the several conferences that have recently been devoted to the subject (see for example Brandl et al. 2012), journals such as *Poetics* (2002, 2004), *Social Studies of Science* (2004), *Leisure Studies* (2005), *American Behavioral Scientist* (2005), *Symbolic Interaction* (2006) and *Studies in Symbolic Interaction* (2010, 2014) have all released special issues focusing on music. Other recent works include a new survey of the field (McCormick 2012), an introductory textbook on popular music (Kotarba and Vannini 2009), an ethnographically-oriented guide to the subject (Towe Horsfall, Meij and Probstfield 2014) and an encyclopedia (Thompson 2014).

Despite all this activity, this Reader is the first of its kind. There are, of course, other general works of music sociology. However, most of the classic statements *on* the sociology of music are outdated and out of print (for example, Weber 1958, Silbermann 1963, Kunst 1968, Adorno 1976, Ballantine 1984, Dasilva, Blasi and Dees 1984, Supicic 1987, Honigsheim 1989, Blaukopf 1992). Additionally, while there are numerous exemplary studies *in* the sociology of music, these tend to be too specific to make for good reference works, in and of themselves (for example, Frith 1996, Peterson 1997, DeNora 2000). Our goal, then, is to present a broad and diverse book that introduces some of the field's main conceptual, methodological and empirical concerns, both past and present, and which serves as a resource for scholars, teachers and students working at the intersections of music and sociology.

About the Reader

Following a general Introduction, in which we examine the history, current state and possible future directions of music sociology, the Reader is organized into six sections: Source Readings; Approaches, Sites, and Debates; Politics, Social Issues, and Musical Cultures; Industries and Institutions; Technology and Mediation; and New Directions. Each section congregates around some of the field's main themes and is accompanied by a brief introductory essay that elaborates and contextualizes its content. As such, the purpose of this Preface is not to unpack the contents of the book, either chapter by chapter or section by section. Rather, the goal here is simply to attune readers to what they can expect in their exploration of *The Routledge Reader on the Sociology of Music*.

The Reader's thematic organization reflects what we think are some of the most formative and pressing issues in music sociology. The chapters have been newly commissioned and reprinted from world-leading authors. Of course, there are other ways of approaching the field. One book cannot provide a complete map; nor can it be all things to all people. For example, there are numerous theoretical issues that could stand more coverage than we are able to offer, while questions of methodology are addressed in ways that are mainly implicit.[3] There are also relatively distinct strands of the sociology of music itself, which have their own substantial bodies of literature, such as the sociology of music education (see Wright 2010) and the long-standing Institute for Music Sociology in Vienna (see Zembylas 2012).

For these reasons, this book is not an empirically, conceptually or culturally all-encompassing treatment of music sociology. Nevertheless, we have tried to present a representative range of issues from an illustrative range of perspectives. Our hope is to open up the world of music sociology. *The Routledge Reader on the Sociology of Music* is an introduction to a conversation—and an invitation to keep it going.

Thanks

As part of the background work for our introductory material, Kyle Devine undertook some archival research and interviewing. Our thanks go to Dina Kellams and Carrie Schwier of the Indiana University Archives for helping with our research into John H. Mueller, and to Howard Becker and Peter Martin for taking the time to answer Kyle's questions about the history of the discipline. Howard Becker went "above and beyond," making us aware of some of the French literature that we had not come across.

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Born, Dave O'Brien and Nick Prior were generous conversation partners at various stages of this project, while Stephen Cottrell and Tom Everrett provided insightful feedback on the introductory material. Our editor at Routledge, Constance Ditzel, has from the beginning offered enthusiastic support and guidance to this project. Finally, we would like to thank the many reviewers who helped shape the volume with their excellent suggestions and input, including Veit Erlmann, Ron Eyerman, Scott Grills, David Inglis, Thomas Regelski, Mickey Vallee and others.

Notes

1 We use the terms "sociology of music" and "music sociology" interchangeably, notwithstanding some incisive critiques of the phrase "sociology *of* music" (see DeNora 2003, Hennion 2003; see also the first footnote in the Introduction).

2 Cultural sociology is, far and away, the most popular subfield in the American Sociological Association, and is strongly represented in the Australian, British, Canadian and European Sociological Associations. For additional background on so-called "new" musicology, see for example Williams (2001), Shepherd (2003), Stobart (2008) and the special issue of *Radical Musicology* (2010–2011). On the development and themes of cultural sociology and the sociology of the arts, see for example Inglis and Hughson (2003, 2005), Fuente (2007), Born (2010), Back et al. (2012), Alexander, Jacobs and Smith (2013), Alexander and Bowler (2014).

3 Indeed, producing a methodologically oriented introduction to music sociology would be a task of its own. While there are some excellent starting points (for example, Clarke and Cook 2004), it seems a comprehensive guide to research methods in the sociology of music would be a timely undertaking.

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Introduction

Music and the Sociological Imagination—Pasts and Prospects

John Shepherd and Kyle Devine

Our goal in this Introduction is to present some of the historical roots and promising future directions—the "pasts and prospects"—of what we might call the "sociological imagination" as it has been applied to musical culture. Of course, the phrase "sociological imagination" has a specific meaning: it was coined by the US sociologist C. Wright Mills (1959), who understood it as "a quality of mind" that "enables us to grasp history and biography and the relations between the two within society" (5, 6). In other words, the phrase designates a reflexive, critical orientation toward social conventions; it helps one see the constructed and mutable character of what might otherwise seem natural and unchanging.

Some of Mills's ideas about the sociological imagination were politically motivated and particular to his time and place (13–15). But Mills also believed that this "quality of mind" was a common denominator across many of the most insightful social analyses (6). As such, we want to relieve the sociological imagination of some of its Mills-specific historical and cultural connotations and, instead, to use the phrase to refer more generally to the various ways in which relationships between personal, social and musical experiences have been understood over time. In this way, the sociological imagination becomes a historical and analytical lens through which we can view over a century of shifting thought on music and the social[1]—that is, the various ways sociologists have engaged with music, on the one hand, and the various ways musicologists have engaged with the social, on the other. Using the sociological imagination as a kind of backdrop for an intellectual history, this Introduction initiates a sociology of music sociology.[2]

General Considerations, Early Histories

Although a broadly scholarly interest in music and the social extends back thousands of years (for example, Plato, Aristotle, Augustine, Boethius; see Bowman 1998), our investigation begins in the nineteenth century, when the modern academic world took shape. Without wishing to become mired in the complex intellectual genealogy of either musicology or sociology (see Duckles et al. 2001, Shepherd 2001), we can note a small irony in the development of their shared history: namely, that even as the academic world was driven toward the creation of specialized and distinct disciplinary domains, certain crosscurrents between music and sociology were nevertheless apparent from the outset. Several foundational social scientists, for example, drew on musical thought and scholarship.

Take, for instance, August Comte, who coined the very term "sociology" in the 1830s. Comte not only wrote on music; he believed that it "was the most social of all arts" (Etzkorn 1974: 44). Other founding figures of sociology such as Herbert Spencer, Georg Simmel and Max Weber also wrote on music (see also Elias 1993).

Such work suggests that the beginnings of music sociology were part of the intellectual formation of sociology writ large. Two characteristics have marked this work from the outset. First, scholars at the intersection of music and the social sciences often noted the lack of a community of scholars dedicated to examining the subject, and thus also a lack of continuity in the intellectual tradition. There is some validity to this claim, as the sociologists who did write about music tended to do so as an extension of their other activities. Consequently, their work was understandably characterized by their own theoretical and methodological predilections. For example, while Weber (1958) developed a detailed analysis of the system of functional tonality as an expression and incorporation of the rational instincts of modern western societies, Spencer and Simmel contributed to what has been described as "a somewhat futile debate about the origins of music" (Martin 1995: x). (While this debate may indeed have been "futile," not to mention problematic, we argue in the introduction to Section I that it is actually key to the development of the musical–sociological imagination during this period.) In early twentieth-century US sociology, too, studies of music also appeared as byproducts of broader, non-musical agendas. For example, several early ethnographic studies stemming from the so-called Chicago School explored dancehalls and musical careers as part of more general interests in labor and the effects of urbanization (for example, Becker 1951; see also Section II of this volume), while Paul Lazarsfeld of the Bureau of Applied Social Research (1946), as well as scholars such as David Reisman (1950) and Donald Horton (1957), examined the recording industry and audience patterns in order to understand phenomena such as mass culture, youth and deviance.

It has also been common in surveys of music sociology, both during this early period and since, to note that such work was carried out by scholars who were largely not cognizant of one another, and that the field has thus been diffuse and fragmented. For example, in an early doctoral dissertation on the subject, Kaplan (1951: 1) noted that the sociology of art in general "has almost completely been neglected," while later that decade Etzkorn (1959: 218) claimed that the sociology of music, too, had been "rather neglected." Becker (1964: 437) implicitly supported both positions in a review of Silbermann's *Sociology of Music* (1963): "Sociologists have not done much in the analysis of artistic behavior and I believe it is correct to say that very little of what has been done deals with music." Similar statements mark the sociology of music all the way down to the 1990s (for example, Rumbelow 1969, Bennett 1972). In 1995, for example, Martin (1995: vii) wrote that the state of the field was "rather inchoate." Again, there is some truth to this idea—and there appears to be agreement that, with the growth of the field around the year 2000, the field has at long last started to reach a more mature state (Martin 2006, Dowd 2007, Kwame Harrison 2010). We will return to this point. Here we simply want to suggest the possibility that the frequent assertions of music sociology's fragmented history and perpetually-emerging-but-never-arriving character have been exaggerated.

As simply one way of tempering such claims, we turn to the US sociologist John H. Mueller. Mueller was by no means exclusively concerned with music; indeed, he is perhaps most remembered for his work in general sociology and statistical reasoning. Yet he cultivated a sociological imagination in relation to music from at least the early 1930s. His major work on the subject appeared in 1951: *The American Symphony Orchestra: A Social History of Musical Taste*. It is a remarkably prescient book, as we explain in Section I. Here we want to focus initially on a correspondence that developed between Mueller and that most famous author of introductory music history, Donald J. Grout (see Burkholder, Grout and Palisca 2014).[3]

Although they had never met, Grout wrote to Mueller in the summer of 1948, because Cornell University was thinking about making a joint appointment in music and sociology. In part, Grout was seeking Mueller's opinion on a particular candidate. But the esteemed musicologist was also keen to "arrange to get together," as he thought Mueller might be able to clarify the relationship between musicology and sociology—a relationship that Grout found "annoyingly obscure." Unfortunately, perhaps, for the development of the field, Mueller did not know the candidate well enough to endorse him and Cornell, as far as we can tell, did not cross-appoint a scholar to music and sociology. In a follow-up note, though, Mueller obliged Grout's request to clarify the relationship between the fields, noting that the sociology of music was "certainly not yet a reality but rather the substance of things hoped for." Yet Mueller was nevertheless confident that the "blend of these disciplines . . . is not illusory." He proceeded to outline a variety of positions that are remarkably resonant with certain themes in music sociology today (see Section I).

In addition to Grout, Mueller served as a professional and personal point-of-contact for a number of other prominent sociologists working on musical problems during the early- to mid-twentieth century: for example, Etzkorn, Honigsheim, Kaplan, Schuessler, Silbermann and Sorokin. While none of these figures is today widely discussed in music sociology, the character of the associations formed around and through Mueller lend a coherence to this moment that is lost in the existing literature. There are additional clues that an early- to mid-twentieth-century music sociology may be less "illusory" than dusty. Such clues exist in the backpages of journals, in book reviews and obituaries, in acknowledgment sections, in letters and memos, in reminiscences, and even in what Becker (1964: 437) identified as "a movement to establish a Society of Sociological Musicians." All of this raises questions about how much the "disjointedness" of the field is a fact of history or an effect of the historiography—and it opens the door to a deeper sociology of music sociology than we are able to offer in this short Introduction.[4]

A second characteristic to mark early work in the sociology of music was a preoccupation with western art music (for example, Weber 1958). The reason for this concern with art music, rather than traditional or popular music, has lain in art music's privileged position, not only in society in general, but also in academia, where there has been an overwhelming tendency—abating during the second half of the twentieth century—to view it as the only form of music worthy of scholarly treatment. Thus, scholars such as Supicic (1987), not to mention the "civilizing" and "democratizing" agendas of larger cultural institutions such as the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) and US radio (Frith 1988, Goodman 2011; see also Section V), have understood a lack of interest in art music on the part of large sections of the population as a problem requiring resolution through the work of sociologists and the development of appropriate policies in the spheres of education and culture (see for example Frith 2012).

Nowhere, perhaps, does the privileged position of the art music tradition emerge more strongly than in the work of Theodor Adorno. A trained musician with a minor but not insignificant career as a composer, Adorno's principal contribution was as a philosopher and scholar of music. On the completion of his academic studies in 1931, he joined the Department of Philosophy at Frankfurt University and became associated with the Institute for Social Research directed by Max Horkheimer. When the Nazis came to power in 1933, Adorno left Germany, moving first to the United Kingdom and in 1938 to New York, where he rejoined the Institute of Social Research in exile. He moved to Los Angeles in 1941 and then, in 1949, returned to Frankfurt and became, with Horkheimer, co-director of the re-established Institute. The influence of the "Frankfurt School," the group of scholars associated with the Institute, began to grow in Germany and, subsequently, throughout circles of critical scholarship within English-speaking intellectual life.

The work and influence of the Frankfurt School can be understood in part as a reaction to the rise and fall of fascism in Germany, and also in part as a reaction to the alienation experienced by

its members in the face of US popular culture. *Dialectic of Enlightenment*, by Horkheimer and Adorno (2002 [1947]), develops a theory of ideology in terms of which the culture industries are seen to instill in the majority of the population, through the mass production of cultural commodities, patterns of feeling and behavior commensurate with the needs of the dominant social form of industrial capitalism. Adorno was thus instrumental in developing an influential theory of mass culture that was pervasively Marxist and critical in its orientation, and that colored his understanding of popular music in particular. Adorno heard popular music—in his experience, apparently the dance-band music of the late 1930s and 1940s—as standardized and repetitive, hypnotically so in its alienating effects on the mass of people. However, to Adorno's credit, and unlike many who preceded and followed him, he paid attention to popular as well as to art music (Adorno 1976, 2002).

Adorno's work is clearly the product of a troubled and contentious period of history and of a severely dislocated biography. With the benefit of hindsight, many of his principal ideas on music are easy to criticize. However, his legacy can be argued to lie more importantly in the character and scope of the questions he asked than in the specifics of the answers he provided. Adorno understood the holistic character of the entire "musical–historical field." He saw that various musical traditions in modern western societies could be understood only through the character of their mutual relations, and that music needed to be understood not only in terms of its formal characteristics but also in terms of the relation of these to the circumstances of its production and reception. Adorno's work has been much discussed and much debated, and has been highly influential (see Middleton 1990, Paddison 1993, 1996; Martin 1995, Witkin 1998, Adorno 2002, 2009; DeNora 2003, Born 2005).

A reason for the influence of Adorno's work lies in the way in which, as a sociology of music, it can be positioned away from the more democratizing instincts of the discipline, and closer to the idealist and exclusionary tendencies of historical musicology and music theory. Adorno believed that it was the business of music sociology to make aesthetic judgments (for which he has been criticized: Martin 1995). This belief was part of a critical orientation that had little time for the kind of consensual and positivistic objectivity claimed by many sociologists (see for example Silbermann 1957). Indeed, Adorno saw such claims—which in the case of music pit the aesthetic and the emotional against social "facts"—as so much ideology, and reasoned that the aesthetic was necessarily social. But while this critical orientation, grounded in the wider Marxist project, generated the basis for later approaches to music that questioned the social and cultural *status quo* and the role in it of art music, it also allowed for the persistence of established beliefs concerning the relative value of art music and popular music. It was this retention of a recognizably traditional aesthetic that allowed many musicologists, faced with the cultural and aesthetic challenges of the 1960s and afterwards, to reconcile in an acceptable form two realms regarded previously as incommensurable: the sociological and the musicological.

Adorno is rightly regarded as an especially significant founder of music sociology, and his work has succeeded in giving shape—if in an idiosyncratic way—to an otherwise uneven field of study.

The 1970s and After

It can be argued that the cultural and intellectual shifts of the 1950s and 1960s, including various civil rights movements, anti-war protests and countercultural revolutions, marked the beginnings of a watershed in the academic study of music to which sociological and social–anthropological concerns contributed importantly. In the United States, this watershed first became apparent with the founding, in 1955, of the Society for Ethnomusicology. Ethnomusicology was a discipline developed in its initial formulation in the United States (it has a history that can be traced back to

the years before the Second World War in Europe as well as the United States) from the disciplines of social anthropology and musicology. The advocacy of this society for the inclusion of traditional music in the curricula of university music departments was to have far-reaching implications in challenging the exclusivity of art music. Following on from this, the cultural and political challenges of the 1960s, intimately related as they were to various developments in rock, folk and popular music, gave rise to a generation of young people, some of whom, in obtaining academic positions in a range of disciplines in the 1970s, brought with them their cultural, political and musical affiliations. A similar phenomenon had occurred in the United States in the late 1930s and 1940s as a younger generation of scholars raised on jazz entered the academy: slowly but surely, jazz became accepted as a legitimate object of academic study.

The infusion of rock, folk and popular music into the academy had several consequences. First, the challenge to the exclusivity of art music posed by ethnomusicology was supplemented by an advocacy for the inclusion of popular music in education at both the secondary and post-secondary levels—an advocacy resting heavily on sociological arguments (see Vulliamy 1976, 1977, 1978; Vulliamy and Shepherd 1984). Second, the sociology of music itself became quickly and increasingly concerned with forms of popular music. As a field of study it began to manifest a recognizable community of scholars and, for a short while, a coherent intellectual trajectory. (The foundation of the US journal *Popular Music and Society* in 1971 and, in 1979, the International Association for the Study of Popular Music were in part expressions of these trends.) However, it also began to undergo two transformations: it began to be practiced as much by non-sociologists as sociologists (and, indeed, as much by non-musicologists as musicologists) and, in the formulation to emerge in the late 1970s, its democratizing and critical instincts spread readily and quickly outside the borders of its established concerns in conversations with ethnomusicology, as well as with interdisciplinary intellectual trajectories such as cultural studies and feminism. Sociology, through its relations with the study of music as in other areas of endeavor, was by the late 1980s evidencing the porous character of its disciplinary borders.

This changed character of the sociology of music became apparent first in the United Kingdom (see Chambers 1985, Shepherd 1994). The late 1970s saw the publication of *Whose Music? A Sociology of Musical Languages*, by Shepherd and others (1977), as well as Small's *Music–Society–Education* (1977). Both books cast a critical eye on the social constitution and character of art music and argue for the serious study of other music, including popular music, in terms and criteria drawn not from the study of art music but from within the cultural and social realities of the people creating and appreciating music of these other kinds.

In *The Sociology of Rock* (1978), Frith argued that the social relevance of popular music in the United Kingdom had to be understood as much in terms of generational as class differences. While "pop" music—seen as chart oriented and acquiescing in the conditions of its own commercial production—was relevant to youth culture and subcultures in the formation of their identities, it was rock music—judged as authentic and as carrying a critique of its own conditions of production—that more directly served the oppositional stances of many youth subcultures. *The Sociology of Rock* combined the instincts of symbolic interactionism with the insights of cultural Marxism (see also Frith 1983). This combination, characteristic of the conversation between British sociology and cultural studies at the time, received clearer theoretical formulation in the work of other scholars associated with the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, University of Birmingham (see Willis 1978, Hebdige 1979). Although the work of Shepherd, Small and Frith emanated from the United Kingdom, much of what the work was concerned with was music of a US lineage—music that has made a major contribution to the development of popular music during the second half of the twentieth century.

If the work of the "Birmingham School" and its followers grew out of an engagement with subcultures and leisure, and emphasized the meanings music had for its audience, a sociological paradigm was developing concurrently in the United States that grew out of the study of institutions and work, and which examined how music was produced. The main architect of this highly influential approach, known as the "production-of-culture" perspective, has been Richard Peterson (see Peterson 1976, Dowd 2004a, Peterson and Anand 2004, Santoro 2008; see also Section II). For Peterson, cultural products like music were seen, not as the result of singular creative genius, but as outcomes of everyday institutional arrangements and processes of interaction that were broadly similar to other forms of work.

In addition to the production-of-culture perspective, other broadly conventional forms of music sociology continued to be practiced. One form approximates to social history in examining the history of the institutional, political and economic circumstances within which music has been practiced. Here the pioneering work of Raynor (1972, 1976) has been important in the context of European art music, as has the work of DeNora (1995, see also Johnson, Fulcher and Ertman 2009). Another form approximates to a more synchronic concern with such circumstances, as well as with the effects that music itself can have upon them. Important in the realm of art music have been the contributions of DiMaggio (1986), while in popular music studies the contributions of Garofalo (1992), Eyerman and Jamison (1998), as well as Bennett et al. (1993) should be noted. (See also Section III.)

At the same time, the boundaries between sociology, social anthropology, ethnomusicology, cultural studies, feminism and, indeed, some forms of musicology became less and less clear as the major task seemed that of constituting a critical, cultural musicology rather than of working within established disciplinary boundaries. In the late 1980s, Leppert and McClary published *Music and Society: The Politics of Composition, Performance and Reception* (1987), a book contributed to equally by sociologists, musicologists, cultural theorists and feminists. This period also witnessed the publication of four important volumes concentrating on ethnography, interviews and face-to-face interaction as the route to understanding the social constitution of musical realities. Two were by social anthropologists (Finnegan 1989, Cohen 1991), one by a sociologist (Weinstein 1991) and the other led by an ethnomusicologist (Crafts, Cavicchi and Keil 1993). Of equal importance was *Feminine Endings: Music, Gender and Sexuality* (1991) by feminist musicologist Susan McClary, which occasioned heated debate within musicology as to the gendered provenance of music.

The connections between ethnomusicology and the sociology of music that were discernible in the 1970s and 1980s became even closer in the 1990s. During this time there was a growing community of interest on the part of sociologists and social anthropologists in questions of ethnicity, difference, identity and globalization which found expression in the study of world popular music—popular music studies having been an area in which the study of western music had predominated and in which sociology had been more influential than ethnomusicology. This drew several important contributions to the study of popular and art music on a world basis and thus to the sociology of music broadly defined (Frith 1989, Waterman 1990, Stokes 1992, Guilbault et al. 1993, Slobin 1993, Erlmann 1996, Born and Hesmondhalgh 2000). This concern with how ethnicity and difference have figured in the social constitution of musical identities has also given rise in an era of globalization and late modernity to an interest in the concept of "place," "place" being understood more in terms of a community of intersecting musical interests and cross-fertilizations and less in terms of a notion of physically delimited space (Straw 1991). There have been important contributions from ethnic studies scholars (Lipsitz 1994), ethnomusicologists (Stokes 1994), cultural geographers (Leyshon, Matless and Revill 1998) and, indeed, interdisciplinary collaborations between music scholars and social scientists (for example, Whiteley, Bennett and Hawkins 2006; Toynbee and Dueck 2011; see also Section III). Recent scholarship in this area has increasingly drawn on anthropological and

media theories in developing the notion of *circulation* as a framework for describing the migrations of music through culture and around the world (for a general overview see Straw 2010b; for an application see Novak 2013).

In these ways, the historical relationship between music and the sociological imagination evidences a tendency toward interdisciplinarity.

Music as Social Meaning

In contrast to the ideology of autonomy which saw western art music as the asocial fruit of absolute genius,[5] the sociological assumption that all human thought and action is socially constituted has given rise to the possibility that the structures and sounds of music are of social significance—that is, the meanings articulated through the structures and sounds of music may themselves be socially constituted. This line of thinking, implicit in the work of Weber and Adorno, became explicit around the 1970s (see Lomax 1968, Blacking 1973, Etzkorn 1974, Shepherd et al. 1977, Small 1977, Willis 1978, Keil 1979, Ballantine 1984).

All this work, with some variations, rested on the central idea that the character of social or cultural formations could find expression through musical structures and sounds, if not be in part constituted through them. Music could therefore reflect essential cultural forms, and thus serve as either a reinforcement of normative behavior (Lomax 1968) or a venue for social critique (Shepherd et al. 1977, Willis 1978, Ballantine 1984). For Shepherd and Ballantine, this critical potential is located in the presumed oppositional stances of various genres of popular music, a stance resting on a perceived homology between the technical characteristics of the musical genre in question and the character of the subcultural reality involved with the music. A detailed articulation of the homology thesis is found in Shepherd (1982), where he nuanced the work of Birmingham scholars Willis and Hebdige and identified in the technical musical characteristics of a wide range of popular music genres the potential for both social reproduction and resistance.

A significant weakness, shared by nearly all work on the social meaning of music, is a silence or lack of precision on the question of how "the social" gets into "the musical" (see Becker 1989, Hennion 1995, DeNora 2003, Martin 2006). A related question is that of how musical materials can have such meanings in the first place. There are two possibilities. One is that the meanings are endemic, "immanent" in some way to the specific character of the musical materials in question. Yet the presumed fixity of relation between meaning and music precludes the possibility for negotiation fundamental to the constitution of any social meaning. The alternative is that the characteristics of the sounds in question are assumed to play little role in the construction of the meanings articulated through them. From this perspective, musical meanings are not "immanent" but "arbitrary." This has been the position of Grossberg (1984, 1987), who has seen the sounds of music as little more than a ground of physiological and affective stimulation that can take on meaning only after being interpellated into the world of language.

A tension in the sociological analysis of musical meaning has thus lain in the need, on the one hand, to understand the characteristics of musical sounds as in some way being implicated in meaning construction and, on the other, to allow that processes of meaning construction through music are social in character. Martin (1995, 2006) has identified this tension as a basic difficulty in the so-called "new" musicology, and in particular the work of scholars such as Shepherd and McClary, which in turn has highlighted another problem: the tendency to reify both social structures and musical structures in the service of ensuring a smooth analytical fit between the two (for an attempt to resolve this tension see Shepherd and Wicke 1997).

Music as Social Interaction

An interest in music as social interaction at the level of micro-sociology appeared early on in the work of Schütz (1951). However, it has been argued for extensively and consistently by Becker, who has drawn a clear distinction between a more theoretical sociology of music, concerned with teasing out music's meanings, and an empirical sociology of music based on an examination of collective action. Sociologists working in this latter mode, he has observed, "aren't much interested in 'decoding' art works, in finding the work's secret meanings as reflections of society. They prefer to see those works as a result of what a lot of people do together" (Becker 1989: 282).

Becker's initial contributions to the sociology of music, based on studies carried out in the late 1940s, are represented in his book *Outsiders* (1963), a seminal contribution to the field of deviance studies in which two chapters deal with the distinctive way of life and careers of dance musicians. His foremost contribution to the sociology of art and music is *Art Worlds* (1982). Here Becker problematized received notions of art, understanding artistic works and other forms of cultural products as a consequence of the whole range of activities, hitherto taken for granted, involved in their production and consumption. For Becker, art worlds are constituted through the social interactions of a wide variety of players who act according to the opportunities, norms and constraints that typify the art world in question. The products of such worlds are thus shaped through the character of these actions which, in line with the general tenets of symbolic interactionism, may involve innovation as well as conformity.

Becker's work has exerted a strong influence, both directly and indirectly, on studies attempting to understand various aspects of the musical world using qualitative and ethnographic methods. Such studies examine the intricacies of music making and musical careers in areas as diverse as, for example, rock, Hollywood, the avant-garde, women's performance, karaoke, blues, jazz, opera and wind bands (Bennett 1980, Faulkner 1983, Born 1995, Bayton 1998, Drew 2001, Grazian 2003, Faulkner and Becker 2009, Benzecry 2011, Dubois, Méon and Pierru 2013). Indeed, Becker's influence has also been uniquely prevalent in France (see for example Bousson 2006, Buscatto 2007, Hammou 2014). At the same time, there is a developing body of scholarship that challenges and refines not only the work of Becker but the equally influential work of Peterson and Bourdieu (for example, McCormick 2006 on Becker; McCormick 2009 on Peterson; Hennion 2007, Prior 2008a and Born 2010a on Bourdieu; see also Sections II and VI).

Music as Social Identity

Toward the end of the 1980s, Frith observed that "the experience of pop music is an experience of placing: in responding to a song, we are drawn, haphazardly, into affective and emotional alliances with the performers and with the performers' other fans." He concluded that the "interplay between personal absorption into music and the sense that it is, nevertheless, something out there, something public, is what makes music so important in the cultural placing of the individual in the social." What Frith identified in this article was the way in which popular music in particular serves as a powerful force of identity for the individual within society, as well as a powerful force in forming the collective cultural and group identities from which individuals draw sustenance in constructing a sense of self. As he concludes, "the intensity of this relationship between taste and self-definition seems peculiar to popular music—it is 'possessable' in ways that other cultural forms are not . . . other cultural forms—painting, literature, design—can articulate and show off shared values and pride, but only music can make you *feel* them" (Frith 1987: 139–144; emphasis in original).

This interest in music as a basis for the formation of social identities, whether individual or collective, can be traced back to the late 1960s and early 1970s in work concerned to understand

the relations between popular music and young people's perceived proclivity to challenge the social *status quo* (Denzin 1970, Hirsch 1971, Robinson and Hirsch 1972). Toward the end of the 1970s and going into the 1980s, this nascent interest took on a more explicit character in attempts to understand popular music as a force for the construction of gender and sexed identities (Frith and McRobbie 1978, Shepherd 1987; see also Section III). However, the major conceptual contribution to the understanding of popular music as a force for the construction of identities—beyond the largely ethnomusicological contributions to the study of world popular music and the related questions of ethnicity and place of the mid- to late-1990s—has lain in the work of Frith.

Like Grossberg, Frith has maintained a strong interest in what people say about music as a route to understanding the meanings that music holds for them. In this, he has demonstrated a strong affinity for the work of scholars such as Finnegan and Cohen in distancing himself from the more totalizing claims of studies in popular music emanating from British cultural studies of the 1970s, and for the work of Becker (1982) and Bourdieu (1984) in understanding how meaning and value are attributed to music (see Frith 1992, 1996). Frith does not understand various genres and styles of popular music as reflecting cultural and group realities so much as serving to constitute them in complex ways. A key to understanding his work is the way in which, as a sociologist, he has refused to take musical discourses at face value but to problematize them in the process of getting beneath their surface to grasp how they serve to constitute meaning and value for people in music. It was Frith who first importantly pointed out that notions of authenticity as attached to certain kinds of rock music in contrast to the perceived commercialism of pop music were in fact ideological in character: "the myth of authenticity is, indeed, one of rock's own ideological effects" (1987: 137).

The character of Frith's insights can be traced in part to the dual careers he has followed as a professional sociologist and a rock critic. The former career tended to be concerned with the development of dispassionate but committed social analyses, the latter with the world of value judgments: they came together in his book *Performing Rites: On the Value of Popular Music* (1996), a series of essays in which, as an academic critic, he seeks to understand the constitution of personal taste and emotional response in relation to music. Like Adorno, therefore, Frith has put aesthetic judgment at the center of his sociological agenda. But, unlike Adorno, he does not see the purpose of the sociology of music as the making of such judgments, but rather their understanding.

As a complement to scholars such as Frith (see also DeNora 2000), who have largely focused on the positive role of music in the construction of identity, Hesmondhalgh (2008: 342) has argued that "music's power to enable self-making is constrained, limited and damaged." As such, while acknowledging that the emphasis on music as a positive resource for identity has been valuable and illuminating (both inherently and as a reaction to the criticisms leveled by the Frankfurt School and its followers), Hesmondhalgh advocates a more balanced approach to the relationship between music and identity, one that takes better stock of music's negative potential. Some of this negative potential is readily apparent in forms such as musical manipulation and violence as well as the use of music in weaponry and torture (for example, Brown and Volgsten 2005, Johnson and Cloonan 2009, Goodman 2010, Cusick 2013). Perhaps the most influential account of such potentials, though, deals with more subtle ways that music can be put into the service of negative and exclusionary politics: Bourdieu's *Distinction* (1984).

Bourdieu has been significant in examinations of the relationship between social (and especially class-based) identity and musical taste. Part of his argument is that there are correlations between "high culture" and a taste for art music, and that individuals of high social status tend to use displays of their musical taste—through "cultural capital"—to distinguish themselves from those of lower social status. Because Bourdieu's analyses were conducted exclusively on French society, his theoretical generalizations have been called into question (but see Bennett et al. 2009). Other scholars, for example, using US survey data, found that high status individuals do not distinguish

themselves from others through their "exclusive" taste for art music, but through their enjoyment of a wider variety of musics. This so-called "omnivore thesis" has generated considerable debate, a significant portion of which has played out in the pages of the journal *Poetics* (for summaries see Dowd 2007, Savage and Gayo 2011; see also Taylor 2009; Sections II, III and VI).

Other important contributions to understanding the role of music in constituting social identities have been made in relation to genres and subcultures (Grossberg 1992, Walser 1993, Thornton 1995), to communities and scenes at civic, national, global and virtual levels (Straw 1991, Shank 1994, Bennett and Peterson 2004, Biddle and Knights 2007) as well as technology (Bull 2007).

Music, Materiality, and Mediation

Looking back on these debates about the character of musical meaning, interaction and identity, it is possible to identify two sociologies of music. One has been practiced by sociologists with an interest in music, the other by music scholars with an interest in society. Each has been perceived as inadequate from the other's perspective. On the one hand, music scholars make connections between musical conventions and social structures/mores in ways that do not stand up to the empirical demands of sociology. Sociologists, on the other hand, describe the processes by which a musical work comes to be and the conditions in which it is used but fail to account for the specificity of the music itself. The challenge, in other words, has been to develop a *sociology* of music that is also a sociology of *music*.[6]

In addressing this challenge, scholars such as Hennion, DeNora and Born have developed theoretically sophisticated and empirically rigorous accounts of musical meanings and social identities as *co-constructed* in processes of cultural interaction (see also Marshall 2011, Sections II and VI). As a notion, "co-construction" (or "mutual mediation") takes seriously the materiality of musical sounds and aesthetics in a way that cuts a path between purely constructivist (arbitrary) and purely musicological (immanent) explanations of musical meaning and use (Shepherd 2002).

For example, in a series of publications stretching across four decades (1981, 1983, 1986, 1995, 1997, 2001, 2003, 2007, 2010, 2012, 2014), Hennion has argued against both an understanding of the art work as an independent object of beauty and a sociological approach that conceptually eradicates the specific and distinctive qualities of individual art works by reducing them to the conditions of reflective social symbols. In stressing the concept of mediation, Hennion understands the specific and distinctive character of cultural commodities as complex emanations of the social interactions that produce them, and the character of the material objects in and through which they are invested. He has thus striven to transcend a distinction customarily drawn in the sociology of culture between the circumstances of production and consumption (see also Peterson 2000, Peterson and Anand 2004, Santoro 2008, Straw 2010a).

Relatedly, DeNora (2000, 2003) focuses on the idea of musical "affordance." From this perspective, the specific material characteristics and properties of music can guide, shape and facilitate—but not determine—certain uses. However, it is necessary to observe how such musical materials are used by people before any conclusions about the meanings of musical objects or the identities of human subjects can be reached. This is to touch on another similarity of recent work bridging musical identity, meaning and interaction: a focus on process over product, and the (broadly) ethnographic study of music "in action" as opposed to a textual–analytic engagement with completed musical works. Calhoun and Sennett (2007: 5) succinctly describe this shift in the sociology of the arts more broadly: it is nowadays a study of painting more than paintings.

Born has developed a set of articles in which she outlines a theory of musical mediation (see for example Born 2005, 2010b, 2012a, 2012b). Building on the work of Hennion and DeNora, as well as Adorno and others, Born's argument is that music's social dimensions can be understood in terms

of four intermediating "planes." While mediation is one of the most plastic concepts in contemporary music sociology, leading to many different uses and definitions (for an intelligent discussion see Valiquet 2015), Born's own understanding emerges intuitively in her elaboration of the planes. "In the first plane," she notes, "music produces its own diverse socialities in the guise of the intimate microsocialities of musical performance and practice. . . . In the second, music has powers to animate imagined communities . . . In the third, music refracts wider social identity formations . . . In the fourth, music is entangled in the institutional forms that enable its production, reproduction, and transformation." Although this fourfold framework emerges out of dissatisfaction with what she sees as the lopsidedly microsociological studies of scholars such as Hennion and DeNora (who arguably focus primarily on the first and second planes), Born wishes to avoid any simplistic call to macrosociological work. Indeed, she notes, invoking Deleuzian assemblage theory, "the four planes of music's social mediation are irreducible to one another and are articulated in contingent and non-linear ways through relations of affordance, conditioning, or causality" (2012a: 267). The promise of Born's catholic conceptual framework lies in its insistence that the aesthetic and affective dimensions of the first and second planes both inflect and are inflected by the social and institutional dimensions of the third and fourth. In other words, Born's theory of mediation advances the field's ability to produce analyses that are at once deeply social and deeply musical.

Questions of mediation and materiality serve as focal points not only for Hennion, DeNora and Born, but also an entire subfield: the sociology of musical media and sound technology (see Section V). This work pits itself against deterministic, inventor-based and "progress-oriented" understandings of the history of music technology, favoring instead studies that demonstrate how musical aesthetics and practices emerge in intimate and co-formative dialogues with scientific research and technological development. Taking influence from the field of science and technology studies, it could be said that the field has developed a "new" organology (Bijsterveld and Peters 2010; see also Born 1995, Théberge 1997, Waksman 1999, Taylor 2001, Pinch and Trocco 2002).

Such studies have been especially concerned with the introduction of new technologies—that is, with the cultural turbulence that often occurs when old technologies were new (see Marvin 1988). Recently, a body of radically material scholarship has emerged in relation to the opposite question: what happens when new technologies become old? Indeed, music formats, playback media and musical instruments (not to mention sheet music and concertgoing) are in this literature seen as more than facilitators of musical–aesthetic encounters and exchanges; they are "things" that must also be understood within global supply chains, stores of natural and raw materials such as plastics, as well as waste disposal and decomposition. Studies in media ecology and ecomusicology are thus beginning to focus attention on the environmental impact—or what we might call the political ecology—of modern music (Devine forthcoming; see also Straw 1999–2000, 2012; Acland 2007, Gabrys 2011, Maxwell and Miller 2012, Allen 2013).

Paralleling these emphases on the mediated and material character of musical sound has been a turn to other aspects of musical culture that are not easily studied in textual terms: experience (Shepherd and Wicke 2000), emotion and affect (DeNora 2001, Finnegan 2003, Stokes 2010), taste and attachment (Hennion 2003, 2007), feeling and embodiment (Johnson 2008), as well as listening, sound and vibratory phenomena more generally (Sterne 2003, Feld 2005, Born 2010b, Goodman 2010, Jasen 2012). Many of these scholars emphasize that an understanding of culture that privileges linguistic discourse and textuality—which has been the dominant conception in the humanities and social sciences since the alignment of psychoanalysis, semiotics and (post)structuralism that was achieved in the early-to-mid twentieth century—simply misses much of what makes music important to human relatedness. The implication, as with studies of music's social meaning, is that treating culture as a text to be read is not the favored mode of analysis. Indeed, such work suggests that we may have transitioned from a paradigm in which the sociological imagination assisted in the critique

and reconsideration of orthodoxies in musical thought and scholarship, to one in which music, as a complex object of study, demands certain reconceptualizations of the sociological imagination and social theory writ large (see Shepherd and Wicke 1997; Born 2010c, 2012a: 266). Indeed, the growing emphasis on characteristics of music and musical experience that precede or in some sense evade cultural mediation (understood in its limited linguistic sense) has opened up the question of what music sociology might look like in the wake of "culturalism" as a dominant academic paradigm.

Music as Commercial and Industrial Process

The practice of music, and not just popular music, has since at least the middle of the nineteenth century become increasingly commercial and industrialized. Forces of mass production and mass consumption have, through different forms of mass dissemination (for example, radio, film, television and MP3 software) and commodification (for example, sheet music, cylinders, records, compact discs and ringtones), changed the practice of music from something necessarily embodied, local, face-to-face and located in the here-and-now, to something as often as not disembodied, global, impersonal and out of time and space. The influential theory of mass culture developed by Adorno and Horkheimer viewed these changes as having nothing but a deleterious effect on social and cultural life, although their contemporary Walter Benjamin (1961) argued a more positive case, seeing in the new technologies of mass production and mass dissemination creative possibilities for artists and cultural workers (see also Middleton 1990). The stage was set by Adorno's work in particular for the conventional view that music industries do little in their constant search for profits but create fantasy worlds of escapism for the vast majority of the population, thus serving the ideological needs of industrial capitalism as a social form and effectively marginalizing any possibility for opposition. This view, in essence, was replicated in the work of Chapple and Garofalo (1977) and, in a more measured way, Wallis and Malm (1984).

With the ongoing entrenchment of neo-liberal economic philosophies and the attendant changes to arts policy and funding practices, questions of politics and "value" are taking on new significance in the sociologies of music, arts and culture. Such discourses are less about "resistance" than the inherently political character of deciding how best to support vibrant music communities—questions that actually modulate long-standing tensions between ideas about music as commodity and music as culture. To an extent, these issues have come especially to the fore in relation to urban regeneration and cultural heritage (Cloonan 2007, Frith, Cloonan and Williamson 2009, Cohen 2010, Frith 2012, Taylor 2012, Hesmondhalgh 2013, Street 2013, O'Brien 2014, see also Sections III and VI).

Nevertheless, much work in the sociology of music since the 1970s has focused on the oppositional potential of many genres of popular music, while still acknowledging the undoubted influence and importance of the music industries in shaping public taste. Further, toward the close of the twentieth century, much work in popular music studies and on so-called world music concentrated more on the social interactions giving rise to particular music scenes and genres than on the development of all-inclusive theories. Such work began to reveal a more complex and nuanced understanding of the tensions between musicians and the music industries than could possibly be illuminated through an assumed stand-off between the forces of reproduction and resistance.

Here the work of Peterson has been influential. Peterson has sought to account for the pervasive influence of the music industries on the one hand and the fact that, on the other, the industries cannot actually determine tastes and buying habits: music sales are manifestly unpredictable which is why, in comparison to other commodities, cultural or otherwise, the music industries put out such a massive variety of product. In 1975 Peterson and Berger developed a cyclical theory according to which, during periods of oligarchy in the music industries (when a small number of major or transnational record companies command a high share of the marketplace) opportunities for artistic

innovation and creativity are low and a high degree of control over public taste is maintained. By contrast, at the other end of the cycle, when the major companies command a relatively low share of the marketplace, independent record companies are seen to play a more significant role. The argument is that artists have more creative freedom and consumers a wider choice of product. In other words, Peterson and Berger argued that concentration and diversity are inversely correlated.

This work concentrates on the middle part of the twentieth century. During this period in the history of the music industries, when US companies dominated, it is arguable that the analyses presented in this work possessed considerable explanatory power. However, as the twentieth century progressed, the major record companies began on an increasingly international scale to use independent producers and companies as creative partners who assumed the initial risks in identifying and recording artists. As a result, it became more difficult to draw clear distinctions between major record companies and independents. This blurring, which was the result of decentralized production, became most noticeable during the 1980s (Lopes 1992). In examining the trend toward decentralization, Dowd has challenged Peterson and Berger's original research. Dowd suggests that high levels of concentration can be accompanied by high levels of diversity, provided that the major record labels operate according to a decentralized, "open" system of production, as opposed to the centralized, bureaucratic, and "closed" system described by Peterson and Berger (Dowd 2004b; see also Section IV).

In the late twentieth century, the pervasion of the internet and digital technologies significantly affected how music is recorded, heard and performed (Théberge 1997, Bull 2007, Prior 2008b), as well as the nature of musical enjoyment and fandom (Rojek 2004, Théberge 2005, Beer 2008). This pervasion also altered how music is bought and sold (see also Sections V and VI).

It is arguable that the rise of the MP3 digital audio format since the mid-1990s has effected the most significant shift in the character of the music commodity since recordings replaced sheet music in the early twentieth century (for measured accounts of this shift, see Hesmondhalgh 2009, Morris 2010, Sterne 2012, Gopinath 2013). Given the ease with which the MP3 format is uploaded and downloaded, shared and distributed, it has sparked academic, legal and public debates over the future of the music industry, as well as over the very nature of copyright and intellectual property (Frith and Marshall 2004; see also Section IV). Undeniably, parts of the music industry have struggled to adjust to these shifts and have suffered financially as a result.

However, given that there has been a problematic tendency in music industry scholarship "to privilege the *recording* industry as being *the* music industry" (Williamson and Cloonan 2007: 312; see also Sterne 2014), many scholars have been blinded to the fact that the sputtering record industry has been paralleled by a booming live music sector (Frith 2007a). In the United Kingdom during 2008, for example, the revenue of the live music business exceeded that of the recording industry (Frith et al. 2010; see also Frith et al. 2013).

Part of the reason for the buoyancy of live music as a business appears to be demographic: as the baby boomers age, they continue to use popular music as a resource for identity (Bennett 2006, Kotarba 2009) and continue to attend concerts put on by the idols of their adolescence. Indeed, the careers of the vast majority of pop and rock artists who toured the United States in 2002 began at least two decades prior (Connolly and Krueger 2006). While U2 is the best example here (their *U2 360º* tour was the most lucrative in history, grossing $772 million between 2009 and 2011), the trend holds for numerous other vintage and reunited acts.

Of course, the recent success of this sector is more complicated than pure demographics, and scholars are only beginning to understand the intricacies of the economic organization, state regulation and cultural value of live music (not to mention its increasingly complicated interrelationship with recording and webcasting). Conversely, the relationship between popular music and ageing is more complex than costly concerts and reunion tours. Since the Chicago School's

early work on dance bands and jazz musicians, scholars have tended to focus on how popular music constitutes part of what it means to be young. Given contemporary demographic realities, studies of ageing and adulthood in music offer a necessary complement to such work (see for example Bennett and Hodkinson 2012, Bennett 2013; see also Keightley 1997). Indeed, while sociologists spent a large part of the twentieth century analyzing the connections between popular music and youth, studies are now emerging that take better stock of the relationship between popular music and a different but equally essential quality of late modern life: nostalgia (see for example Frith 2007b, Bijsterveld and van Dijck 2009).

Conclusion

In recent decades, interest in the sociology of music has undoubtedly increased. In addition to the growing amount of published work, Martin (2006: 1) goes so far as to suggest that, in contrast to the (ostensibly) scattered and fragmentary nature of the scholarship that has characterized the field since its earliest days, "since the mid-1990s the distinctiveness of a sociological approach to music has become increasingly apparent." Indeed, Martin's goal is to contribute to the establishment of that distinctive approach. Marshall (2011: 155) makes a similar point, albeit in a more specific context, noting that the sociology of popular music might be brought closer to the "sociological mainstream." Prior (2011) also presents a thoughtful case for the retention and solidification of specifically sociological approaches to music (see also Bennett 2008, Roy and Dowd 2010, Section VI).

But if recent scholarship in the sociology of music is marked by a degree of crystallization, or at least the desire for such a thing, we have shown in this Introduction that the musical–sociological imagination is at the same time marked by a proliferation of theories, methods and debates. This is the case not only with regard to the various topics outlined above. It is also necessary to mention recent developments in "big data" and digital information filtering systems, which use various algorithms to predict additional preferences in music (as well as movies, books and so on) based on existing listener behavior. Such developments not only offer new possibilities in mapping musical taste patterns and listening practices; they also offer new possibilities for musical encounter itself, potentially giving rise to new listening practices, aesthetic orders and forms of cultural capital (see Tepper and Hargittai 2009, Savage and Gayo 2011, Beer and Taylor 2013, Wilf 2013).

Similar approaches to pooling and analyzing data are also relevant in the so-called digital humanities, where they can be used to gain insight into historical shifts in performance practice, as in the so-called phonomusicology practiced currently by the Digital Music Lab (dml.city.ac.uk; see also Cottrell 2010). A significant forerunner of the Lab was the Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC) Research Centre for the History and Analysis of Recorded Music (CHARM), which developed software capable of digitizing, visualizing and comparing "large numbers of recordings in order to identify and characterise stylistic elements," both within particular periods and across time (Cook 2009: 221). One effect of such work has been to help establish a musicological paradigm that is focused less on scores than on the history of music as a performance art (see also Cook 2014). In a sense, the Digital Music Lab takes the work of CHARM to the next level by using larger-scale music collections: that is, bigger datasets. The possibilities of this approach in the digital humanities, which is sometimes called "distant reading," have been more thoroughly navigated thus far in the realm of literary studies, where similar methods were first established (see Moretti 2013). Distant reading is a methodological approach that looks at the history of cultural artifacts not as the detailed hermeneutic analysis of specific texts (the usual humanities approach) but, rather, by digitally amassing and analyzing tremendous swaths of data.

Other developments to do with the digital humanities and "new" social data include a possible turn, after decades of preference for qualitative research in music sociology, to the realm of

quantitative (or at least mixed) methods. Such a possibility is evident in the continued importance of multiple-correspondence analysis (MCA, a method favored by Bourdieu; see also Bennett et al. 2009) as well as the rise of social network analysis (Crossley 2014; Crossley, McAndrew and Widdop 2014; McAndrew and Everett forthcoming; see also Sections V and VI). Each of these approaches has generated its own controversies. Indeed, the upshot of the relationship between the digital humanities, the musical–sociological imagination and what has been called the "social life of methods" (Savage 2013) remains to be seen.

Nevertheless, what these current research directions clearly show is a diversification of approaches to the interactions of the musical and the social. Such diversity is both valuable and welcome because it broadens the reach and scope of music sociology. But it also points to a rise in the porousness and interdisciplinarity that is characteristic of the academic study of culture more widely, which means that it is increasingly difficult to say exactly where the sociology of music ends and other humanities and social sciences approaches begin.

This leads to an ironic conclusion: if, after more than a century of scattered and fragmented scholarship, the twenty-first century is the moment in which the distinctiveness of a sociological approach to music has become apparent, it might also be the moment in which the *need* for a distinctively sociological approach to music is no longer clear.

Notes

1 A word is necessary on the phrase "music and the social." Language is a tricky thing in discussing the social character of music. Language is made up of words that appear discrete, particularly in their visual presentation. The temptation, then, becomes that of assuming that the phenomena to which the words refer are equally distinct, if not separate. This is an issue that has plagued attempts to understand the social character of music. We have therefore refrained from describing work in the sociology of music as addressing "the relation between music and society." "Music" and "society" in such formulations can easily be assumed to be distinct if not separate phenomena. The issue then becomes that of how they "relate." At its most extreme, this formulation can be taken to indicate that music exists outside the social, which then "influences" or even "constitutes" "it" in ways that need to be understood. For obvious reasons, we want to avoid these kinds of formulations. They reify both music and the social. We are therefore using the formulation "music and the social." However, the term "the social" has itself been criticized as a reification positing a static and structural "cause" of social action (see for example Latour 2005). By "the social," then, we simply mean "the condition of human interaction." Our assumption is that "the social" (which seems to be a slightly more action-oriented term than "society") *is* specific and concrete human interaction and that this human interaction *is* "the social." In this sense, we understand music to be a social phenomenon that is always the product of specific and concrete instances of human interaction. More precisely, we understand music not simply to be the sounds of music (which is how "music" as a social phenomenon itself comes to be reified) but to be *the* interaction between individual subjects as constituted through human interaction and the sounds that they recognize as musical (see Shepherd and Wicke 1997). In other words, music is an experience, not a thing.

2 Although an in-depth study on the scale of, say, Bourdieu's *Homo Academicus* (1988) seems possible, we present here only a tentative and skeletal foray into this territory.

3 All of the following references and quotations are taken from Mueller's correspondence files, which are held at the Indiana University Archives.

4 See Prior (2011: 124) for a brief but incisive comment that invites such a task.

5 For a summary and critique of this ideology, see Tagg and Clarida (2003).

6 We are paraphrasing here from Dahlhaus (1983: 129).

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I

SOURCE READINGS

Forerunners and Founding Figures

This section contains a chronologically ordered set of essays by some of the forerunners and founding figures of music sociology. The essays clearly show that sociologists were thinking about music and that musicologists were engaging with society long before the so-called "cultural turn" of the 1960s or the "new" musicology of the 1980s.

We have chosen to reproduce these particular essays, not because they should be taken as gospel or because we necessarily endorse their arguments, but because they tend to be dismissed, forgotten or only cursorily mentioned.[1] The main reasons for reprinting these essays, then, are for historical interest and for the benefit of teaching. We want to encourage readers to evaluate this work on its own terms and to understand it as part of the intellectual history of the musical–sociological imagination. Although part of our goal is to let these authors speak for themselves, we will also provide some brief introductory remarks.

On the surface, Spencer and Simmel seem to have been engaged in a "somewhat futile" (Martin 1995: x) and relatively harmless discussion of the origins of music. Essentially, they were debating whether speech evolved from music or music evolved from speech. Yet we must be careful to distance ourselves from their working paradigm because such ideas emerged during a time that was steeped in ethnocentric notions of evolution and poisonous nationalistic ideologies. Still, we do not wish to merely dismiss them. To do so would be to commit one of the cardinal sins of intellectual history: namely, to interpret the past using only the evaluative measures of the present. One thing that becomes clear if we abandon such anachronistic and "presentist" orientations is the gravity of this debate in the formation of music history: we see in these essays some of the tropes so commonly identified with "old" or "traditional" musicology—especially the idea of an inevitable evolutionary progression from primitive to modern, both in terms of comparative dimensions of western and non-western traditions, as well as in terms of the teleological development of tonal harmony toward complexity and sophistication within western culture (see also Grew 1928; Etzkorn 1964; Offer 1983, 2010; Trippett 2012). Such ideas are, of course, disagreeable. But it is no bad thing to understand more completely how sociological and musicological research agendas have developed, especially as scholars in fields such as biomusicology and evolutionary musicology begin refashioning

questions about musical origins, evolutions and universals (see for example Wallin, Merker and Brown 2000, Tomlinson 2015).

Weber was also concerned with the long historical development and "foundations" of music, though his endeavor was not directly influenced by debates surrounding Darwin or evolution. As we mentioned in the general Introduction to this volume, Weber "developed a detailed analysis of the system of functional tonality as an expression and incorporation of the rational instincts of modern western societies." In doing so, he identified trends toward "rationalization" in both musical representation and instrument technology that arguably hold true, and which perhaps even intensified, in the digital age (see Born 1995, Théberge 1997, Section V). Moreover, Weber showed how music's foundational technologies and its aesthetic practices were historically and culturally dependent on one another, thereby foreshadowing one of the key arguments in the contemporary fields of sound studies and science and technology studies: co-formation. For an exceptional critical engagement with Weber and his place in the musical–sociological imagination, which includes a thorough bibliography, see Wierzbicki (2010; see also Braun 1999, Turley 2001, Botstein 2010, Pedler 2010, Darmon 2011).

Mueller's work begins to resemble a more contemporary sociology of music. Although the essay reproduced here comes from his magnum opus on music, *The American Symphony Orchestra: A Social History of Musical Taste* (1951), many of its basic ideas appeared in an article published in a 1935 issue of *Social Forces*: "Is Art the Product of Its Age?" This work is remarkable for its resonances with contemporary music sociology. For example, Mueller argues not only that taste can be accounted for, but that taste should be understood non-deterministically—that is, as he put it in his correspondence with Grout, taste is "the product of a long chain of conditioning factors, and is always changing as a result of continuous conditioning." He also advances a view of the relationship between musical sounds and social structures that is critical of the prevailing "zeitgeist" theories of his day, which saw art forms straightforwardly as the reflection of the "spirit of the age," thereby foreshadowing critiques of the "homology thesis" that have been leveled by Martin (1995) and others (see the general Introduction as well as Sections II and VI). Mueller also convincingly critiques the ideology of aesthetic autonomy—an exercise that was still taxing for the sociological imagination in the 1970s and 1980s (not to mention today). Generally, Mueller's history of the US symphonic repertoire foreshadows another key development in musicology and sociology: namely, the desire to see the history of music not in terms of static scores and finished "works" but as a range of shifting performances. In short, this is a fascinating and too little-known work, arguably well ahead of its time.

Of the six essays in this section, Schütz's is perhaps the best known. His argument about how musicians of all kinds must work to synchronize their "inner time" in performance situations—which he calls the "mutual tuning-in relationship"—remains influential for various phenomenological and interactionist scholars (see for example Weeks 1996, Faulkner and Becker 2009)—as well as scholarship on the problem of collective action writ large: namely, how do groups of individuals come to act together? (see for example Levi Martin 2011). Music has frequently served as a laboratory through which this larger question—which is fundamental to the social sciences—has been asked. In this context, one important development is that whereas Schütz's work on the subject can be considered that of an "armchair" theorist, other scholars have been inspired to put his thoughts to various empirical tests. Take for example Faulkner and Becker's study of jazz performance. They write:

> We began our study with the intuition that musicians could play together successfully without rehearsal or written scores because they all shared a repertoire of songs, "repertoire" serving as a specific instance of the idea of culture. We almost immediately realized that