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Doing universality through music mediation. (Re-)Manufacturing shared values and practices in a society of singularities

Malmberg, Isolde [Hrsg.]; Petrović, Milena [Hrsg.]: Music & meaning. Rum / Innsbruck : HELBLING 2024, S. 211-224. - (European perspectives on music education; 12)



Quellenangabe/ Reference:

Petri-Preis, Axel: Doing universality through music mediation. (Re-)Manufacturing shared values and practices in a society of singularities - In: Malmberg, Isolde [Hrsg.]; Petrović, Milena [Hrsg.]: Music & meaning. Rum / Innsbruck: HELBLING 2024, S. 211-224 - URN: urn:nbn:de:0111-pedocs-329810 - DOI: 10.25656/01:32981

https://nbn-resolving.org/urn:nbn:de:0111-pedocs-329810 https://doi.org/10.25656/01:32981

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Axel Petri-Preis

Doing Universality through Music Mediation

(Re-)Manufacturing Shared Values and Practices in a Society of Singularities

Introduction

Music mediation is a relatively young field of practice that was established in the 1990s and early 2000s, especially in Europe and North America, and is referred to in its various national forms, for example, by the terms médiation de la musique / médiation musicale (France, Québec/Canada), musikformidling (Denmark), divulgazione musicale / communicazione musicale (Italy), médiacion musical (Spain), or learning and participation / outreach (US, UK). Primarily located in the publicity funded (classical) concert scene, the practice of music mediation pursues the goal of questioning, developing and breaking up traditional and conventional forms of the production, performance and reception of music, in order to bring about social and artistic exchange and enable deepened aesthetic experiences (Chaker & Petri-Preis, 2022; Mautner-Obst, 2018; Müller-Brozovic, 2017, 2023). This is now realised through a wide variety of presentational and participatory formats (Welch, Saunders & Himonides, 2012; Wimmer 2010). Building on the cohesive power of music, the practitioners of music mediation specifically deal with the possibilities of the musical and cultural participation by different and heterogeneous population groups, as well as with questions of social and cultural inclusion via music (Duchesneau & Kirchberg, 2020; Petri-Preis, 2022b; Petri-Preis & Voit, 2023).1

In my article, I will argue that music mediation might be a powerful way to have a societal impact on the post-modern "society of singularities" (Reckwitz, 2020), in which

The English term music mediation, which I use in this article (cf. also critically Chaker & Petri-Preis 2022, pp. 15–17), has hardly been established in the professional discourse to date, but appears to be an evident possibility for the international research community to agree on.

commonly shared values, norms and cultural practices can no longer be taken for granted; and it might also instigate change in music institutions and publicly funded concerts. As a central theoretical basis, I will draw on Andreas Reckwitz' concept of "doing universality" (Reckwitz, 2020, 2021), which he sees as a middle way between two dominant logics of singularisation: hyperculture and cultural essentialism. To show what doing universality in music mediation might mean on a practical level, I will then offer insight into a case study of the transcultural concert project *Wiener Stimmen* ('Viennese Voices')², which promised to open up the Vienna Musikverein to Vienna's diverse, multifaceted urban society and bring people together through a shared experience of music – be it as musician or as a member of the audience. I will conclude my article with some thoughts on the future potential for doing universality through music mediation.

Music Mediation and Classical Concert Life: A Story of Emancipation

Anna Bull argues that classical music is an ideal site for the middle classes to construct symbolic, cultural and economic boundaries to safeguard their privilege (Bull, 2019, p. 232). Musicians and cultural managers in the field of classical music like to emphasise the unifying power of classical music – especially during the years of the Covid-19 pandemic – and this discourse has become the polemic basis for the loudly proclaimed societal and systemic relevance of orchestras and concert halls. However, behind this very often lies a concept of universalism, which today has rightly come under criticism for its elitism – with its notion of culture narrowed to the phenomena of so-called high culture – and its eurocentrism (Reckwitz, 2021, p. 29). It originated in bourgeois modernism and the contemporary classical concert life – as a child of this time period (cf. e.g. Tröndle, 2021) – still clings to this understanding, viewing the cultural standards and assets of a small group – namely the white bourgeoisie – as a generally unifying standard. Everything that does not correspond to this – for example popular, folk or youth culture – is classified as inferior and devalued (Reckwitz, 2021, p. 29).

For this reason, critics state that there is a danger that music mediation, in the sense of affirmative audience development (Mörsch, 2012; Mandel, 2016), perpetuates the power structures within the field of classical music, along with its mechanisms of distinction and social exclusion. Ardila-Mantilla et al. (2018, p. 200) even suggest that music mediation may represent the "attempt of the powerful in the artistic field to define the artistic practices of other groups as deficient, to deny them their value and *raison d'être*, and thus to perpetuate their own power [...]". Indeed, there are examples of this in music mediation: a very recent

Wiener Stimmen is a joint project of Vienna Musikverein and Brunnenpassage Vienna as part of a perennial strategic partnership between the two institutions.

one, which I found online, is the description of schoolchildren as *musikfern* ('unmusical', literally 'far from music') by Rhapsody in School, a program in which professional classical musicians play concerts and conduct workshops in schools. This quote shows how the children's own musical practices are radically devalued compared to those of classical music (cf. also Wimmer, 2012).

However, there has been a recognisable shift in music mediation over recent years, possibly with the big migration movement in 2015 serving as a central impulse. Music mediation is increasingly departing from the idea of democratising culture, and taking a different path: it recognises the fundamental plurality and heterogeneity of culture in the sense of "cultural democracy" (Matarasso, 2019, p. 73–78) and therefore emancipates itself from the normative specifications and concepts of its bourgeois culture of origin.

Practitioners of music mediation are greatly concerned today about using music and specific participatory and presentational formats to initiate encounters between people who would otherwise very likely never have met each other. This would be in order to instigate cultural partaking and par-giving (Terkessidis, 2015), and prepare the ground for novel aesthetic experiences, stimulating (artistic) communication. In this way, they are in accord with Audre Lorde's idea of the crucial strength of difference (cf. also Jullien, 2017, who speaks of cultural differences as resources). She states that "difference must not merely be tolerated, but seen as a fund of necessary polarities between which our creativity can spark like dialectic" (Lorde, 1984, p. 110). In this context, one important concern is to identify existing hierarchies, power relations, supposed interpretive sovereignties and internalised exclusion mechanisms, and to negotiate a way of bringing them together critically and artistically.

Societies in Transformation: The Society of Singularities

The societies of the Global North are undergoing a comprehensive transformation. Starting out as "culturally homogeneous and socially egalitarian societies" (Reckwitz, 2021, p. 29) in the postwar era, they have changed in recent decades into "multi-ethnic and multi-religious societies – not to mention their differentiation into socio-cultural classes" (ibid.). Steven Vertovec speaks of a "super-diverse" society, one which aims at a complex interplay "of variables among an increased number of new, small and scattered, multiple-origin, transnationally connected, socio-economically differentiated and legally stratified immigrants who have arrived over the last decade" (Vertovec, 2007, p. 1024). In this super-complex world (Barnett, 2000), identities are becoming increasingly fluid (Baumann, 2000), life plans and life courses are comparable to an ever lesser extent, so that the question increasingly arises as to what holds society together when its members have hardly anything in common. Andreas Reckwitz calls this radical individualisation "singularisation": "It [...] denotes

the social processes in which particularity and uniqueness, non-exchangeability, incomparability and superlatives are expected, fabricated, positively evaluated, and experienced" (Reckwitz, 2021, p. 8). As an intensification of individualisation, singularisation refers not only to people, but also to things and objects (cars and smartphones), spatial entities (cities or landscapes), singular events or collectives (religious or local, for example). According to Reckwitz, processes of singularisation take place using two mutually contradictory logics (Reckwitz, 2020, pp. 301-305, 2021, pp. 17-23). On the one hand, there is "hyperculture", as the logic of the affluent, cosmopolitan new middle class, which finds countless possibilities for individual self-development between arts and food, travel and spirituality, education and physical culture: "Hyperculture is distinguished by its cultural cosmopolitanism, within whose framework the elements of culture can be combined in seemingly endless ways" (Reckwitz, 2020, p. 76, cf. also Han, 2005). On the other hand, the second logic of singularisation, which Reckwitz calls "cultural essentialism", promises to fill the voids of hyperculture that lie in the absence of the collective and of a "binding and normative notion of common cultural praxis" (Reckwitz, 2021, p. 27). At the center of this logic is collective identity. A clear boundary is established between those who are in the group and those who ought to stay outside. The various forms of cultural essentialism include nationalisms, religious fundamentalisms or right-wing populism (Reckwitz, 2020, p. 3).

Doing Universality: Joint Work on Shared Cultural Practices and Values

Reckwitz argues that in a singularised and increasingly polarised society, commonly shared values and norms, as well as cultural practices, cannot be taken for granted anymore. On the one hand, there is a need for a culture of the general, which takes a third way or middle course, filling the voids of hyperculture - i.e. community and common norms; on the other hand, it is important not to fall into cultural essentialist patterns. He calls this "doing universality". In other words, if – in the extreme – there is no longer anything shared that might be valid across the boundaries between individuals or social groups, then practices are needed that establish both social and cultural universality: "[Doing universality] fosters neither antagonism between collectives nor apathy about their differences. Instead, it follows a logic of universal participation, though at the same time it requires that all sides make an effort toward enculturation" (Reckwitz, 2021, p. 30). Reckwitz attributes – and this is meaningful in the context of this article – great potential to public institutions, especially educational institutions and cultural institutions, such as theatres or concert halls. I believe that his concept may provide inspiration regarding how music mediation can reveal the cohesive potential of music both reflectively and critically, in terms of power relations and existing hierarchies, in order to work on shared values and cultural practices in a radically individualised society.

In contrast to bourgeois cultural universalism, doing universality is a constant process of negotiation as to what is to be shared (Reckwitz, 2021, p. 29). The universal does not exist a priori, but must be manufactured through repeated joint processes. The subject of this process in music mediation projects can be, for example, different musical genres and practices which can result in a broader understanding of aesthetic practice and culture, as well as extra-musical issues such as social interaction, solidarity, diversity or equality which are processed artistically. Interactions with, in and through music between people who are very different from each other in terms of age, socio-economic status, race/ethnicity or education, are seen as a valuable resource in the process of doing universality. Robert Putnam has shown that music can be a valuable resource for bringing people together and creating "bridging social capital" (Putnam, 2000, p. 411) - building relationships between people who are very different from each other due to different categories of difference. However, it must always be kept in mind that music is a Janus-faced phenomenon that undoubtedly has cohesive potential as "one of the possible practices of the humane" (Khittl, 2022, p. 29), but can also be manipulative (Brown & Volgsten, 2005), exclusionary (Bourdieu, 1984) and, in the worst case, hurtful (Cuzick, 2016).

Reckwitz' argument that everyone involved in doing universality has to make an effort towards enculturation has, of course, far-reaching consequences for classical music institutions, music mediators and musicians. Doing music mediation as doing universality does not mean merely reaching out to communities or to offer propaedeutic formats that are supposed to introduce people to classical music. Rather, it has to critically reflect hegemonic positions in society and be ready to engage in symmetrical, open-ended artistic and communicative processes.

Viennese Voices: A Critical Analysis

In order to give a practical example of what I have presented theoretically, I will now share insight into a case study of *Wiener Stimmen*, a project that, in its orientation and objectives, comes very close to my view of music mediation as doing universality. Reckwitz' conceptualisation serves as a theoretical basis and heuristic for my critical analysis. My approach is ethnographically informed. I use a diverse body of data, consisting of notes from my participant observation in the concert, public discursive materials (interviews on television and in magazines, website texts and YouTube-videos), as well as an interview which I conducted with Stephan Pauly, artistic director of the Vienna Musikverein.³ The data analysis

An interview with Gordana Crnko, music curator of Brunnenpassage Vienna, unfortunately could not be conducted in time for this publication. Interviews with the singers are planned as a second step, in order to gain deeper knowledge of the musical negotiation processes.

was based on Adele Clarke's Situational Analysis (Clarke, 2005; Clarke, Friese & Washburn, 2018), using open coding, relational maps and positional maps.

Wiener Stimmen is a concert project that took place within the framework of a strategic partnership between the Vienna Musikverein⁴, arguably one of the most renowned concert halls in the world, and the Vienna Brunnenpassage⁵, a socio-cultural center and social art space. Under the slogan *Türen auf!* ('Doors Open!'), the central goal of this strategic partnership is to open up the Vienna Musikverein to Vienna's diverse urban society (cf. Musikverein, n.d.). Wiener Stimmen brought together Alexia Chrysomalli, Natasa Mirkovic, Marjorie Etukudo, Golnar Chahyar, Sakina Teyna and Basma Jabr, six Vienna-based singers with different ethnic backgrounds and from different musical styles, musicians from their bands and the Tonkünstler-Orchester Niederösterreich⁶. Together with arranger Christian Radanovics, they developed arrangements of their songs, which were then presented in a concert on 4 June 2022, in the Golden Hall of the Vienna Musikverein. In the concert season 2022/23, concerts by each singer and their band with one guest musician from the orchestra took place as a continuation of this event.

In the following subchapters I will first describe the concert *Wiener Stimmen* of 4 June 2022, on the basis of my participant observation. Based on this description, and drawing on my body of data, I will subsequently analyse the project through the theoretical lens of doing universality, focusing on its central features and giving recommendations on how the project could be further developed.

The Wiener Stimmen Concert: A Participant Observation

When I entered the Golden Hall before the concert, I was struck by the fact that, at first glance, the audience was obviously more diverse than usual – compared to classical concerts in this concert hall. There were people of very different ages in the hall, from babies to people in their fourth age; the ethnic and cultural backgrounds seemed to be particularly heterogeneous, based on a visual impression (which is to be accepted with caution, of course) of clothing and skin color, and the behavior indicated that many visitors tended to be unfamiliar with the rules and conventions of attending a classical concert. For example, many visitors arrived late to the hall, some were eating and drinking, and it did not automatically become completely quiet when the music began. The concert was opened by a moderator, who also guided the audience through the concert. She noted that the evening would bring together different musical cultures and asked the rhetorical question of what more suitable space there was for this than the Vienna Musikverein. Subsequently, the six singers performed one after the other, singing two songs each, accompanied by

⁴ www.musikverein.at [21.3.2023]

⁵ www.brunnenpassage.at [21.3.2023]

⁶ www.tonkuenstler.at [21.3.2023]

a musician from their band and the orchestra. In between the singers' performances, the moderator briefly introduced each singer and especially talked about their ethnic background. The concert ended with a joint encore of the Viennese song *I liassert Kirschen für di wachsen ohne Kern* ('For you I would make pit-less cherries grow').

Doing Universality as a Process of Negotiation

Gordana Crnko, the music curator of Vienna's Brunnenpassage, describes the strategic partnership with the Vienna Musikverein as a "cultural-political experiment": "Two institutions – with very different ways of working, structures, attitudes and teams – are coming together. The differences are enormous, and that's where it gets interesting. [...] Many of the questions we come up against in our collaboration are reflections of the negotiation processes taking place in our society in general." (Musikverein, n.d.). The Artistic Director of the Vienna Musikverein, Stephan Pauly, also talks about a process that is rewarding but, at the same time, full of conflict: "There were many areas of conflict, which were always ignited by the fact that we have a completely different structure, and work in a completely different way. The coordination was much more complicated than we would have thought beforehand. That took a lot of energy on both sides and was more exhausting than we thought" (Petri-Preis, 2022c, para. 24). The two quotes reflect the conceptualisation of doing universality as a continuous process of negotiation, not as something prescribed, but rather as a process of working toward generality, of manufacturing commonly shared values and practices (Reckwitz, 2021, p. 30). It is therefore also consistent with Reckwitz' concept that Pauly identifies a collaborative working mode as central to this project: "We have opened the curatorial space, the budget, the communication for someone else, namely for the Brunnenpassage. [...] Not to decide alone, [...] that was the decisive diversification and opening step." (Petri-Preis, 2022c, para. 20).

What Crnko and Pauly describe as a collaboration at the institutional level also takes place in the artistic collaboration of the different artists: Together with an arranger, the singers worked on new versions of their songs in various negotiation processes, which brought together the musicians in their bands with the orchestra. Pauly speaks of an artistic dialogue at eye level (MICA, 2022). However, his remarks also reveal the construction of hierarchies between different types of music and a normative understanding of culture; for example when he speaks of the Musikverein continuing to stand for the "great Viennese tradition" (ORF Kultur Aktuell, 2022), by which he understands classical music, and that the music of the singers is a "guest" at the Musikverein (MICA, 2022). The Golden Hall is symbolically charged as the "centre of the Musikverein" (ORF Kultur Aktuell, 2022), into which "other musical languages are let in" (ibid). Thus, discursively, a hierarchisation between classical music and "other musical languages" takes place and, as a consequence, also an "othering" (Spivak, 1985, specifically in the field of music cf. Gaupp, 2021) of those musical languages which the singers at the concert represent. The fact that the Golden Hall of the Musikverein,

as the epitome of an exclusive, bourgeois musical culture, seems predestined to facilitate transcultural encounters, as the moderator implied in her presentation, seems at very least questionable against this background. For productive processes of negotiation in the sense of doing universality, it will be necessary in the future to acknowledge that both hierarchies and differences, which permeate all levels of the social realm, should first of all be recognised, in order to be able to subsequently subject them to critical examination in the artistic realm.

Doing Universality as Work on Shared Cultural Practices and Values

Andreas Reckwitz describes the process of doing universality as communal work on shared cultural practices and values. In the case of *Wiener Stimmen*, one can analyse a musical-aesthetic negotiation process on the one hand, and the work on the value of diversity in classical music life on the other hand.

Starting with the second aspect, Stephan Pauly describes in the interview that community building (e.g. Borwick, 2012) is particularly important to him in terms of the sustainability of the opening-up process at the Vienna Musikverein (Petri-Preis, 2022c, para. 28). However, he also concedes that this has not yet been sufficiently successful in the Wiener Stimmen project: "There were people in the house who, for the most part, had never been here before. (...) But this building of community is a long one, and [it is] more complex than anyone had imagined." (Petri-Preis, 2022c, para. 28) According to Pauly, it is necessary to think even more intensively about communication with the audience. A change of perspective, however, seems to be worthwhile here, from monodirectional communication in the sense of advertising or marketing measures, to forms of (artistic) participation that can have already taken place beforehand (e.g. creative workshops, crowd sourcing, co-creation) (e.g. Novak-Leonard & Brown, 2011) and also during the concert (e.g. by making music together). As for the musical-aesthetic negotiation process, the singers developed – together with an arranger – new versions of their songs, which can be stylistically assigned to traditional and popular musics. The songs were to be performed with musicians from their own bands and the orchestra. What has great potential in terms of "transtraditional" music, "if there is no forced integration, but different things stand next to each other and sound together without being homogenised" (Rhensius, n.d.), only succeeds rudimentarily in this project. To a large extent, a Romantic-symphonic aesthetic is achieved, which at many points is reminiscent of Hollywood film music and, due to the orchestral dominance, tends to override the stylistic characteristics of the original songs. Instead of bringing the differences to the foreground and making them fruitful – François Jullien (2017) speaks of differences as cultural distances and sees the potential for a fruitful in-between in precisely these distances – the project focuses musically on harmony, which is also reflected in the discourse surrounding the concert. For example, the singers speak of "meeting on eye level" (Musikverein, 2022d), "building bridges" (Musikverein, 2022c), "unification through music" (Musikverein, 2022b) and "unity" in general (Musikverein, 2022g). This tendency towards homogenisation culminated musically in an opulently orchestrated version of the Viennese song *I liassert Kirschen für di wachsen ohne Kern* which ultimately aimed at normalisation and unification by blurring difference.

Despite all the emphasis on what is commonly shared and unifies, the moderator – remarkably enough – repeatedly emphasised the ethnic backgrounds and migration stories of the singers; thus performing an "essentialisation" (e.g. Barth, 2008) which, in combination with the classical concert hall as a venue and the classical orchestra, led to a form of exoticisation (Said, 2003) of the singers.

Reckwitz describes "the inescapable cultural heterogeneity of late-modern society, which provides the reservoir for negotiating the general" (Reckwitz, 2021, p. 30) as the starting point for the joint work on shared values and cultural practices, whereby this "process of working toward generality" (ibid.) can also include practices of resistance. Jullien emphasises that "distance alone – which ensures that what was once separate remains in view and maintains itself in tension with the other – is capable [of] truly producing a common" (Jullien, 2017, p. 77). Thus, instead of aiming at homogenisation and the normalisation of differences, they could be recognised in the project to have potential as a starting point; especially since the term "mediation" – as Alexander Henschel (2020) points out – etymologically also carries the meaning of "to impedingly step in between", which can be made fruitful in a music mediation practice understood as doing universality. However, the acceptance of heterogeneity does not mean emphasising specific criteria of difference, such as race or ethnicity. In order to avoid essentialisation and othering, the moderation should therefore find reference points apart from the ethnic background and migration stories of the singers.

Doing Universality as a Joint Effort for Enculturation

According to Andreas Reckwitz, the process of doing universality requires an effort of enculturation from all actors involved. It aims at an anti-hierarchical, inclusive setting, in which commonly shared values and practices are negotiated from scratch, instead of – as in cultural universalism – imposing existing, hegemonic practices on other people or social groups. In the *Wiener Stimmen* project, this was to be realised by the singers performing their music together with a classical orchestra. The arranger acted as a musical mediator between the genres and styles.

A true enculturation of all actors involved would have meant that the songs of the singers are not adapted to the possibilities of the orchestra, but that the musicians of the orchestra are likewise oriented towards the musical practices of the singers and their bands. In the orchestral concert, this goal was not entirely fulfilled, which may have resulted from the fact that the arranger Christian Radanovics is musically trained and culturally socialised in Western music. This leads in the orchestral concert – as already explained above – to

a dominance of the Romantic orchestral sound that tends to have a homogenising effect. This carries with it the danger of a quasi-neo-colonial normalisation of the foreign, which fundamentally contradicts the concept of doing universality. Since, however, individual concerts by the singers subsequently took place, in which orchestral musicians took part as guests, there was the possibility that the classically trained musicians also had to make a greater effort towards enculturation.

In this context, however, the space of the performances is important too and must therefore be subjected to critical examination, since it also requires enculturation efforts from both the musicians and the audience. The values, rules and conventions of the classical concert are deeply inscribed in the classical concert hall, which is why it only demands enculturation from one part of the audience - those who are not familiar with the rules of the social practice of the classical concert – and potentially excludes them. Last, but not least, the concert format also plays a role in this context. Pauly explains in the interview that the starting point for the Wiener Stimmen project was consideration of the format, to which – in contrast to e.g. programming – he assigns central importance in terms of social openness and diversification (Petri-Preis, 2022c, para. 15). It is therefore quite remarkable that, apart from the moderation, Wiener Stimmen remains rather conventional on this level and hardly differs from the traditional format of the classical concert. In order to actually stimulate an effort towards the enculturation of all participants (musicians and audience alike) it would therefore be worthwhile considering programming concerts of the series at concert venues outside the Wiener Musikverein, as well as thinking even more intensively about novel modes of presentation.

Conclusion and Outlook

I have argued in my article that Andreas Reckwitz' concept of doing universality can be made fruitful for music mediation as a way of (re-)manufacturing joint cultural practices and values in, with and through music. In the case of *Wiener Stimmen*, I have analysed a project that already comes close to doing universality by adopting the goal of opening-up both musical life for a diverse society and the artistic dialogue between representatives of different musical practices and traditions. I was also able to show the possible pitfalls of doing universality in such a project, which paradoxically may lie in paternalisation, othering and exclusion.

The future potential of music mediation – understood as doing universality – lies in its ability to initiate communal encounters and interactions in artistic spaces, which in turn contribute to (re-)practicing negotiation processes and, in the best case, to (re-)establishing shared knowledge, norms and practices among fellow human beings. In this way, music mediation may contribute to effectively countering the increasing erosion of democracies and working towards a more just and inclusive society.

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