The Mediatization of Music as the Emergence and Transformation of Institutions: A Synthesis

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The mediatization of music (i.e., the social construction and structuration of music in the media) is theorized as the emergence and transformation of institutions by synthesizing existing research and complementing it with additional theoretical considerations. The focus is on institutions that link production and consumption: concepts of musical works, roles of producers and performers, criteria and systems for the evaluation of music, and modes of performance and reproduction. Those institutions also include ways of music reception and customer relationships. As different musical genres are included in the analysis, general trends (such as personalization and visualization, plebiscitary definitions of musical quality, constructions of authenticity, the juridification of costumer relationships, and the standardization of commodities), as well as alternative paths of mediatization, can be found.

Music is ubiquitous in today's media societies; an important amount of media content is music, contains music, or is about music. Conversely, most of the music used in many societies today is consumed via the modern media. But what exactly does it mean that music is available via the media? What is mediated or mediatized music? As music is not so much a universal language of emotions or a result of some natural talent and authentic expression, but a social construction, and as the media are not only technical means of transmission, the main question of the present study is how music in the media is socially constructed and structured. Theoretical and empirical work in the field of music in the media is reviewed and synthesized, and also complemented by additional theoretical considerations where appropriate. The argumentation is based on an institutionalist approach: The mediatization of music is seen as the emergence or transformation of institutions. Reflection on the specific institutional settings in this subfield of mediatized music can help to identify selective paths of historical development, to explain present structures, and in a second step, to develop alternatives—variations on the known themes of music in the media. The comparison of different musical genres is assumed to be particularly fruitful in this context. Studies on mediatization to date have neglected music and art in general, and have concentrated on politics and other fields. A comparison of their results with findings and hypotheses on the musical field may lead to generalizations or differentiations of theses on the impact of the media on social fields.

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Institutions

Definitions of the concept of institution contain, among others, the following elements that are important to the present analysis: shared and reciprocal typifications (of actors, activities, relationships, and the socially meaningful objects that they constitute by providing schemata, distinctions, and interpretations), combined with a normative or regulatory component that is more or less compulsory (Barley & Tolbert, 1997, p. 96; Scott, 1994, p. 68). Already, in the absence of enforcing mechanisms, institutions exert control by leaving alternatives disregarded (Berger & Luckmann, 1967, p. 55). Institutions can be seen as either independent variables—anteceding an activity and seen as the natural order of things or a constraint—or dependent variables—purposefully set by actors or evolving out of some habitual activities. Their function is to reduce complexity and contingency, to allow efficient collective action and coordinated interaction. Furthermore, they are the basis of diffused power as a result of their ability to restrict, naturalize, normalize, and legitimize social structures, and of more concrete power (that is nevertheless often concealed) by providing a basis of effective strategies of control, coercion, or resource allocation.

The present analysis will concentrate on the description and interpretation of institutions that are public in the sense that they are known and visible to the general population of (potential) media users, that is, institutions are shared among producers and consumers alike (although not by any consumer, and including the case where he or she can also become a producer or distributor). The analysis mostly excludes institutions that merely coordinate production. This is an important restriction for reasons of manageability of the synthesis, but it is also a chance to develop more refined concepts relating cultural production to consumption (with the media intervening in that relationship).

Mediatization

Here, the term "mediatization" is used to denote transformations in a social field with its structures, actors, and objects in reaction to the technical, symbolic as well as organizational and economic structures of the media and their activities (Schulz, 2004). This process creates specific properties of mediated experiences (Livingstone, 2009), and results in the circulation of specific meanings (Silverstone, 2002). To take politics as an example, mediatization consists in the transformations of that field that occur as adaptions to the modern, often commercialized, mass media. Politicians may schedule their activities in a way to match the life-cycles of issues in the public sphere (the "attention span" of the media), choose their political activities according to the criteria of news selection to gain maximal coverage of their projects by the media, anticipate the effects of press coverage on the voters, allocate more organizational resources to public relations, etc. Thus, the field of politics, with its actors (politicians and political organizations), structures (e.g., organizations and procedures) and "objects" (political projects and decisions), is transformed as a consequence of the way the media work to cover politics. As organizations, media entities often pursue economic goals, and they might favor the (media) logic (Altheide & Snow, 1979) of mass appeal, commercialization, and acceleration. From a perspective of the economy of attention, they may rely on the news values of conflict, visualization, emotionalization, and personalization.

To apply the concept of mediatization to music, it has to be noted that media entities, being institutions or bundles of historically specific institutions themselves, are related to music in two fundamental ways: 1) they are technical and organizational devices for the production and delivery of musical experiences, thus constituting this object, and 2), they provide discourses about music. Thus, they construct music in two modes and make it accessible in particular "communicative forms" shaped by the institutional setting of the media (Rothenbuhler, 2009). Unlike politics, for example, music is both a form of media content *and* an object of media reporting and commenting, so mediatization is not only the adaption of actors in a field or a logic of reporting, but the emergence and transformation of new relationships, products, ways of consumption, and more. Thus, mediatization is not restricted to the adaption of actors in a field to a media logic, nor is it restricted to either the conditions of success in a media society (Kepplinger, 2008) or anticipated media effects (Meyen, 2009). Rather, the mediatization of music defines the way music that, today, is consumed primarily via some technical medium, and is defined as well as constructed. Its "ontology" and the practices used to deal with it, both institutionalized, are reciprocally typified.

Actors inside and outside the media have different interests in particular strategies of mediatizing music, as will be shown. They compete for and differ in ideological, economic, and political power. They strive for symbolic profits and/or cultural status, or they seek to demonstrate their commitment to public interest.

Changes in the institutional and technical environment of a field, e.g., concerning media relevant to the field, lead to its restructuring (Peterson & Anand, 2004). New strategies are developed, tested, adapted by others, and then modified. They are implemented in legal and contractual rules, in technical and organizational innovations, and in communication to inform and persuade others of the strategies' benefits and legitimacy. Choices lead to a restriction of future decisions (i.e., path dependencies) by the socializing effects and "naturalness" of institutions once they are established, and by the permissive social and monetary costs of changes, even if they might increase efficiency (Arthur, 1989).

The mediatization of music can therefore be described as a transformation or innovation of institutions, that is, forms of conceiving music and dealing with music. It is a historical, path-dependent development based on different strategies and incremental technological and social changes that lead to more or less viable forms, drawing on existing cultural resources and institutions. Viability includes efficiency, as well as legitimacy or conventional acceptance, which are also factors of imitation (Mouricou, 2006). Such analysis should also draw attention to incompatibilities and niches, as well as symbolic distinction, as opposed to merely economic orientation. However, this conflict-oriented and evolutionary perspective does exclude general trends (or "logics") and institutional isomorphisms (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983) in this development.

The subsequent analysis of mediatization is restricted to the modern technical media, mostly those of mass communication and mass distribution or storage of music, neglecting developments such as early literacy in music or the beginnings of music criticism. In return, a broader range of musical genres is considered in order to allow a comparative perspective. Genres can also be seen as institutions that include typical role sets, forms of products, and criteria for evaluation. They are often ranked themselves

for their ascribed cultural value and institutionalized accordingly in the record industry (Negus, 1998). Thus, as "a set of conventional and highly organised constraints on the production and interpretation of meaning" (Frow, 2005, p. 10), they reduce complexity in production and consumption. However, genre boundaries and definitions are never static. Instead, they are negotiated in an interplay of musical subcultures, where strategies of appropriation are pursued or contested, (McLeod, 1999), and the media (McLeod, 2001). Genres are engaged in cross-borrowing of musical conventions regulated by "meta-conventions" of what can be appropriated in a genre, and how (Kronengold, 2008). In the present analysis, however, the comparison of genres is located at the rather general and static level of categories (which could be termed meta genres) such as rock, jazz, and others.

Products and Representations

The analysis of mediatized music starts with this question: In which forms has music been presented to the public since the emergence of the modern media? Two principles were dominant in the history of music: first, that of oral and practical transmission, and second, written music that became increasingly important and prescriptive in nature. Scores initially served as "thin" descriptions, or not-very detailed instruction for performances (Davies, 1991), for mostly occasional and partly improvised music, but they became "thicker," particularly in the art music of romanticism. It was increasingly seen as the incarnation of an autonomous artwork's essence, a timeless idea of sound structures to be faithfully and congenially instantiated by performers (see Kerman, 1982; Weber, 1984). Since that period, this ontology of classical music has been institutionalized: the work as abstract (and binding, even sacred) instruction for a performance that may be recorded or not (Kania, 2005).

Pop and rock music follow entirely different concepts of what works are, with recordings being central, as the genre has developed along with the evolution of modern media (Toynbee, 2000). Constructing tracks, as opposed to writing and performing works, is dominant in pop music. Creating an acoustic experience, a "phenomenal performance" (Kania, 2005, p. 90) replaced the understanding of recording as documentation and the "repressive" idea of authenticity (Toynbee, 2000, p. 87). The central object of popular music is the song, with its hooks (Burns, 1987; Kronengold, 2005) as an efficient building block for format radio programming and a basis for music video. In most of the cases, the song is thought of as an independent, standardized entity that can be decontextualized (e.g., separated from the rest of an album) and reproduced identically with the resulting economies of scale. The music video, unlike some film music and more experimental forms of visualized music, is not so much an amalgamation of music and film into a new entity, but something based on a formal synchronization created through lip-syncing and formal analogy between the two tracks (Björnberg, 1994; Morse, 1986). The song remains an unaltered good to be copied, sold, or broadcast, perhaps advertised or augmented symbolically by the video, but easily detachable from it.

The institutionalized ontology of classical music is different, so it fits less readily into the dominant media formats. When movements of classical works are regarded as hits and combined on CDs of popular "classical favorites," and are then broadcast separately from the rest on classical music format radio, many critics regard this as illegitimate.

Jazz, in essence, has always been a genre without fixed works (Kania, 2005, p. 200), but with a broad variety of conceptions and struggles for the "right" definition when the field was confronted with trends of standardization (Jost, 2003). There have been debates whether jazz should be (1) noted or only improvised, 2) based on oral transmission, variation of standards or on new compositions, and (3), whether constructed recordings (instead of performances or recorded performances) are appropriate.

There is a genre that completely deviates from its (now completely symbolical) traditional point of reference: folk-like music (see von Schoenebeck, 1998, on German-language *volkstümliche Musik*). This genre, centered around television appearances of lip-syncing performers and recorded tracks, has been strategically developed by television broadcasters and the music industry in a way that makes it the complete opposite of folk music. Traditional music is characterized by orally transmitted songs, an exchange with art music, and spontaneous, however formulaic, variations of musical ideas without any definitely fixed and standardized entity. Here, mediatization is not a gradual process based on existing structures, but the development of a new concept with only a symbolic relationship to a historic point of reference.

As for the physical or immaterial carrier mediums, each innovation has not only led to political and marketing-strategic struggles for dominance ("format wars"), it has also resulted in new symbolic meanings of both the new and the established carriers. New recording technologies and early radio stations were legitimated by presenting them as a means to promote classical music (Dowd, Liddle, Lupo, & Borden, 2002; Frith, 1988b). Older technologies, in turn, are often valued for their aesthetic function, with an aura of nostalgia and connoisseurship surrounding them (Bourdieu, 1980), and record noise can re-enter music production as raw material, as samples, with a "pathos of ageing technology" (Kronengold, 2005, p. 389).

Once a medium is established, it can have paradoxical effects: While new recording technologies were regularly marketed with reference to their "fidelity," they helped to create a system where a recording does not refer to any discrete and self-contained sound event (Frith, 1988b). Furthermore, a technology that has once started to dominate the market by accident or because if its superiority can lead to a technology lock-in where better solutions are not adapted because switching costs are too high (Arthur, 1989). Additionally, technical standards turn into institutionalized templates for artistic works— they are also, to a certain degree, selected on the basis of dominant forms of musical works. It has been argued that popular songs have been increasingly determined by the length of the records (Frith, 1988b). Finally, and probably most important, the album is more than a technical standard. In particular, rock musicians and journalists claimed artistic superiority of the (concept) album, demonstratively turning away from the volatility of the market for singles and the presumed banality of short tracks. This also converges with commercial interests: an album has a longer life cycle, the user is more attached to the artist, and thus the market can become more controllable (Toynbee, 2000, p. 30). Ironically, so-called album-oriented rock was also successful in the single charts, and as a radio format (Kronengold, 2008).

The further development of music distribution via the Internet will be a test for the dominance of either a liberating effect of new technologies on creative forms, or the dominance of social conventions and commercial standards. Will there be a pick-and-choose type of supply and demand based on the

conventional single format? Will there be traditional albums, or a variety of different musical works of different length and internal structure? This may depend on the genre and its respective popularity, but a new cultural hierarchy of forms could evolve.

In sum, there has been a standardization and commodification of recorded music (and music for broadcasting) across the genres (i.e., changes in the socially constructed ontology of music). This, however, leads to incompatibilities, contradictions, and struggles. Such frictions were probably most important in classical music, whereas pop has always been well-adapted to the respective media formats. Yet new forms of creativity and circulation have emerged (e.g., sampling, covers), complementing or replacing earlier forms of re-use and transmission (variations, piano reductions, folk songs, arrangements in the style of Tin Pan Alley, etc.). Technical standards have acquired and changed symbolic meanings, and they have become means of cultural distinction as well as an object of economic strategies.

The Representation of the Producer

While production itself is not analyzed here in detail, genres and historical periods differ in the ways that producers and the production of music have been represented in the media, or in relationship to music distributed via the media. Most of today's recorded music is based on the division of labor and on existing styles. In most genres, creativity is seen as something coming from deep inside a single personality, with different analogies and roots of this ideology. Bebop, for example, was compared to abstract expressionism, and in rock music, raw sounds and primitivistic forms are seen as authentic and opposed to technical fakery that is amalgamated with commercialization; both conceptions of authorship may be traced back to the romantic cult of the genius (Toynbee, 2000, pp. 58, 62).

The star system prevalent in contemporary music and based on the media's personality-focused reporting can be said to mask music production behind one or more performers who are required to embody the essence of a song (on the rules of this identification, see Bicknell, 2005). Although it is generally known that some performers have very little influence on their music, and while some of them openly present themselves as artificial characters, there are some taboos and symbolic sacrifices around the cult of authenticity, as in the case of Milli Vanilli (see Friedman, 1993).

However, the role of the musician as (an often rather symbolic) performer and producer, and also as a (potential) celebrity, has not always been that prominent in popular music. Historically, the popular music industry passed from a "publisher/showman/song system" (with an emphasis on songs and multiple performances, recordings, and covers thereof) to a star system (first based on Hollywood and stage stars, later on recording stars built up from scratch) as it discovered the promotional value of stars (Frith, 1988b). However, this strategy was accompanied by strikes, boycotts, and disputes about compensation (ibid.), as existing roles and business models were challenged.

The presence of artists in the media and the institutionalization of particularly visible roles tend to reproduce and naturalize a quite simplified, personalized concept of music making, but they also allow for some degree of reflexivity and certain strategies of distinction. Criticism of stardom can be found in media reports or interviews, and even in the lyrics of pop songs, but it is brought forward quite often by stars

themselves, usually with a focus on the epiphenomena of stardom. Some bands stress the collective, nonhierarchical, all-star character of their group. Conversely, some artists emphasize that, in their case, the division of labor is reduced or absent, as the roles of the composer or songwriter and the performer are combined into one person. Still other musicians defy the norm to commit oneself to only one fixed artistic identity, and they prefer to publish their music under the names of different "projects." The alleged modesty of artists and the struggles for artistic autonomy have become an easily available topos for discourses tailored to suit different market segments.

In classical music, there are two roles that relate to each other in the production of music: that of the composer (and, contingently, that of the librettist, arranger, etc.), and that of the performer. They compete for attention on an abstract level, but there is a large degree of synergy in this system. The concentration on a restricted canon of (dead) composers and works (see below) is functional from the perspective of performers. Virtuosity can be displayed and appreciated more easily when the performed work is known to the audience (Gilmore, 1993).

Whereas, in other genres, the studio orchestras of radio broadcasters lost their legitimation when stations started to broadcast recorded music, some symphony orchestras (and big bands) still exist in countries where public broadcasters receive considerable funding for their cultural mission. Classical music thus legitimates the existence of radio orchestras, which however, are no longer necessary for programming but now operate on the market for classical music as a whole. This structure, a combination of patronage and bureaucracy, public funding and (artistic, as well as commercial) competition, reflects a culture-specific historical path in the development of media systems. The emphasis on public service in welfare states, the concept of the "cultural exception," (Ahearne, 2003) and its association with public broadcasting have provided a *raison d'être* for the historical institution of radio orchestras. This system of cultural funding is also an alternative to the prevalent model of media as gatekeepers and distributors of recorded music as a basically private good provided by third parties.

Jazz, again, is the genre where institutions are defined in flexible, diverse, and sometimes controversial ways. There is a system of acknowledgments, credits, allusions, parodies, and tributes that goes beyond a simple and brief mentioning of persons that have contributed to a product. Jazz, in its own ideology of creativity, has preserved some of its folk character and combined it with some elements of individualist expressionism. Musical ideas are sometimes ingenious inventions, but can also be found in trivial songs, and they can be used and varied upon by everyone. There are also outstanding band leaders and soloists, but making music is a collective and spontaneous endeavor where everyone should ideally be able to collaborate with everyone. However, today, the genre is not a complete exception to the standardized concept of an album that is ascribed to a single artist or a small, constant group.

A great deal of the aforementioned theses on the representation of music production can be summed up as a larger trend toward personalization. The case of German-language folk-like music illustrates that trend at work in combination with another tendency, namely visualization, as it is mainly featured on television shows (von Schoenebeck, 1998). Tradition is symbolized by persons that are celebrated for their down-to-earth character and conventional identity, by alpine scenery (usually stylized décor or an idyllic landscape), and by the instruments displayed on stage. However, most of the

recordings used for playback rely heavily on synthesized sounds that often do not match these instruments. Thus, the appearance of folk-like music is essentially defined by characteristics that are external to musical form.

Visualization is, of course, a main function and requirement of television, but the more specific trends in one or more genres is not a natural consequence of a medium. It is, instead, an expression of different strategies and ideologies. In classical music, an understanding of visualization as documentation, or at least as a "realistic" audiovisual recording is dominant. Music videos in popular music can be differentiated according to their commitment to authenticity (or rather, to constructions thereof). While some videos (mostly those of rock musicians, according to the respective ideology) reenact or show performances, demonstratively turning away from the "fakery" of the pop video, others are more filmic or play with a discontinuity of time and space.

In sum, pop and rock are closest to the media logic of personalization. Despite some strong tendencies toward stardom in classical music and jazz, these genres remain more or less committed to the idea of paying homage to great personalities of the past. Visualization, another principle of modern media systems, has also been interpreted in different ways, depending on the genre: either a documentation or mise-en-scène of the process of music making, or the creation of an additional visual space where a pop song can be experienced and marketed.

Evaluation and Legitimation

Genres differ with regard to not only roles, performances, and products, but also criteria and systems for the evaluation of music, such as charts, the canon of classical music, prices, criticism or reviews, and so forth. Media interact with these institutions in different ways. For example, selection of music implies, varies, and reproduces criteria of evaluations (e.g., popularity or cultural value) and serves as an implicit indicator for changes in evaluations. More explicitly, music criticism in the media argues for or against the quality of musical works and performances. In charts and hit parades, aggregated data on preferences are made public.

In classical music, particularly refined institutions have evolved that, even today, still guide music selection for performance, recording, broadcasting, criticism, and listening. The concept of canon—a binding, classical corpus of texts that are seen as a yardstick and standard (Assmann, 1992)—is central to this framework. While earlier art music was almost exclusively contemporary, local traditions of recurring performances of particular works, ritual repertoires, and the rise of music criticism and theorizing of musical practice led to the development of a musical canon (Kerman, 1982; Weber, 1989). While, at earlier stages, there were struggles about the status of composers and between opposing schools, the canon has become a leveled system of "domesticated" composers (Reimer, 1986; Zenck, 1982), reproduced by criticism, research, and education. Actors in the media can then refer to canonical music to demonstrate the cultural value of their work.

Just as there has been a historic struggle over whether music in general should be considered worthy of commentary and theorizing, different genres, advocated by progressive critics, have been

increasingly considered a legitimate object of immanent aesthetic criticism, and not only an object of pejorative blanket social and moral criticism, particularly in mainstream quality media (Lee, 2004; see also Peterson, 1967, and Welburn, 1986, for jazz, and Heilbrun, 1997, for rock). However, the price of this recognition has sometimes been a stylistic adaption to the "virtues" of bourgeois, white art music and an ideological assimilation, such as the comparison of jazz to baroque improvisation (Jost, 2003, pp. 94, 178). Increasingly, recordings (instead of compositions) in these new genres are canonized themselves (Kerman, 1982), and there are even canonical recordings of canonical works of classical music.

In popular music, popularity and judgments of artistic quality enter into a contradictory relationship. Popularity is, at the same time, an important aim for almost every musician and a value, per se, but it is also acknowledged that it is not a sufficient criterion of quality. However, even demonstratively anti-commercial musicians tend to equate popularity with success. The problematic relationship of these evaluative criteria is resolved by returning to the ideology of authorship and authenticity (Toynbee, 2000, p. 29): An artist may be popular based on his or her ingenious personality. However, criticism of commercialization and mainstream appeal has become an easily available and profitable topos in popular music and in its discussion in the media.

Charts have become one of the most important systems to evaluate success in popular music. Their relevance is twofold. First, record sales have become the central criterion of success in the music market over time (Frith, 1988b). Additionally, the emergence of charts unifies the field through 1) increased actors' visibility, 2) competition, and 3), its development from local to national and international markets. Charts construct the field by incarnating its rules, and they are constructed to reflect the dominant view of the field (Anand & Peterson, 2000), with its focus on competition, the idea of continuous innovation (long-time best-selling records are eliminated from the charts), and its structuration by genre (with the pre-selection of titles included into the charts and the introduction of new genre-specific charts).

Second, the charts fulfill an ideological and entertaining function when they are not only available inside the music industry and in the trade press, but presented in the popular media. They are not mere data, but can be interpreted as forms of public expression and narratives. As institutions, they have become the naturalized representations of a democracy of tastes and a consumerist ideology (Toynbee, 2000, p. 10). In popular reports, charts become a very real battleground, with narratives of who beat whom, and melodramas of comebacks, tragic failures, etc. These discourses combine a simple populist measure of success with myths of artistic talent and mythological topoi of rise and fall. Furthermore, charts have evolved into a cultural genre. Television shows such as "recall shows" or "list documentaries" (de Groot, 2009, p. 164), rank and present music according to their respective popularity or their evaluation by the spectators.

With the development of the top-40 radio format (McCourt & Rothenbuhler, 2004), a methodological construct was turned into a basis for programming. Radio stations were able to demonstratively follow popular taste, and chart success served as a seemingly natural point of reference. However, it has since been replaced by more elaborate music tests (Schramm, Vorderer, Tiele, & Berkler, 2005).

As another form of publicly visible, even ostentatious evaluation, prices and price ceremonies can be differentiated on a continuum ranging from outright promotion, the sanctioning of already accomplished success, and the celebration of "conventional" virtuosos to elitist and sometimes very idiosyncratic selections of esoteric artistic projects. Price ceremonies as rituals create a solemn and emotional atmosphere around the construction of fields, with their hierarchies and categories, by making genres visible and legitimating their boundaries (Anand & Watson, 2004).

In classical music, the idea of virtuosity is only the basis of an abstract form of competition. While some of the classical composers themselves entered into direct playful contests in terms of technique and improvisation, it is the culturally dominant view today that virtuosity is not so much about playing technique and sportive competition, but a struggle for the best interpretation as a service to the composer (Davies, 2009).

Generally, competitions are other important media events (Dayan & Katz, 1992) that are sometimes also based on music, such as *American Idol* or the *Eurovision Song Contest*. The historical, playful form of musical contests with two soloists directly competing and possibly reacting to the other's performance has not been adopted by the media.

In sum, different institutions contribute to the management (or control) of evaluations of music. Depending on the genre, the emphasis is on different criteria, and mass media themselves are more or less decisive in the negotiation or aggregation of evaluations (e.g., in comparison to the educational system, market research, etc.). These institutions fulfill different functions in relation to time. Some of them emphasize innovation and support strategies of obsolescence, with the media transmitting these concepts of trendiness and transience, while other institutions refer to de-historicized judgments, to assumed eternal values, tradition, or nostalgia.

Some systems of evaluation are based on very abstract, generalized and non-discursive feedback (such as voting or data from purchases and market research). Musical taste is reduced to one-dimensional preferences and expressed in standardized utterances (often technically transmitted in nonverbal form) that permit an efficient coordination and aggregation, but that are not oriented toward understanding, discussion, and justification. However, discussions held by users on the Internet may go beyond voting and the aggregation of market data and nondialogic criticism in traditional journalistic texts.

Performance and Reproduction

Analyses and criticism of performances, and later the phenomenon of technical reproduction, imply the question of what is the essence of a musical work and how it can be transmitted to the recipient. Again, in different genres and in different historical periods, particular answers have been given, and institutions have diverged.

In rock and pop music, recordings (as pseudo-performances) are central. Of course, music from these genres is also played at concerts. However, nowadays, even if live performances do not exactly reproduce as recorded, it can be assumed that it is essential for the experience of a concert that fans are

familiar with most of the songs from recordings or because media airplay . They may then be varied and adapted to the situation on stage and the atmosphere of the event. Unlike classical music, which, by its institutionalized ontology, does not depend on recordings, the character of contemporary popular music would not be the same without the production and use of media technologies (Kania, 2006).

The history of composing art music and the history of performance practice can be described as a development toward "thicker" works and a greater power of composers. Their assumed or alleged intention is therefore an effective symbolic device in controversies on performance practice, and faithfulness, however defined, is a central criterion of a good performance. However, different actors and schools disagree over the essential parameters of a good performance, for example, timbre and tempo, the use of particular instruments, the arrangement of musicians in space, and so forth (Davies, 1991), that can only partly be reproduced or judged on the basis of recordings. More recently, the focus has shifted somewhat away from the hermeneutic analysis of scores toward other sources on historical performance practices.

While some conductors of classical music have pioneered and experimented with the use of new recording and broadcasting technologies, there is still one important and restrictive norm governing the technical reproduction of classical music: live performances are the normative standard, so recordings have to be pseudo-performances in a narrow sense (as close as possible to a live performance, although not necessarily recordings of live performances), and musicians should be basically able to perform a work as perfectly as it appears on the record. Only electronic art music has completely disengaged from these restrictions, while popular music combines the construction of acoustic landscapes with different ideologies of authenticity.

Can a recording or broadcast reproduce the social dimension of a musical event? A merely auditive reproduction fulfills the Wagnerian ideal of hiding the "technical apparatus" (and is even more socially decontextualized), but an audiovisual recording sometimes allows for a more intensive experience and analysis of the production process than a live performance, particularly if rehearsal and other preparatory work is shown.

While earlier radio programs included live music by studio bands and orchestras, broadcasts of prerecorded music are now common. This development, an economic consequence of the diffusion of television and the subsequent reorganization of radio stations and their programming practice, was only possible after severe labor conflicts and a symbolic transition into the new era. For a while, some radio stations presented recorded music as if it were a live broadcast (Peterson, 1990).

Generally, at least three programming philosophies exist in the present era of music radio (Krämer, 2009). Today, the most important one is formatting, that is, continuous, homogeneous programming based on the popularity of music, on a single genre, or (mostly) on a combination of both. It is efficient and standardized in several ways (Ahlkvist & Fisher, 2000; Rothenbuhler & McCourt, 1992). Customer demands are satisfied efficiently, avoiding irritation by changes in style. Thus, advertising space is sold efficiently, as there are no individual programs that have to be marketed separately, and music selection can be automated.

A variant of this philosophy is a format with more emphasis on sound than on genre. Stylistic homogeneity, popularity, and the suitability of the programs for background music and diffuse listening are important to these stations. For example, classical works are broadcast by some stations in combination with film soundtracks that have a symphonic appearance. Furthermore, the selection of works is more or less reduced to "classical hits," that is, recognizable and popular "tunes" by a small number of composers (mostly single movements instead of complete works), and to what some have called "classical lite" (Peterson, 1993).

A third programming philosophy is to select music according to cultural legitimacy. As genres other than classical music (e.g., jazz) have increased in ascribed cultural value, this strategy can lead to stylistically heterogeneous programs, but classical music is practically dominant on those stations. Over time, different notions of culture, institutionalized in subdivisions and programs, have come into conflict or started to coexist in the respective organizations (mostly public broadcasters), ranging from the traditional high culture that has to be preserved, to counterculture that has to be nourished (Lowe, 2000). Whatever the specific mission of the broadcaster, the selection of music often follows a more "programmatic" approach than on format radio. Pieces are selected according to some organizing principle—a narrative structure or an analytic argument, the form of a review, the reproduction of a live performance, etc.

To sum up, the technical reproduction of pseudo-performances that have been produced according to some norms of authenticity is dominant today in comparison to other forms of mediated performances. Modern media technologies have considerably increased the availability of musical experiences and the potential for individualized musical tastes and modes of reception. However, markets are structured and segmented according to sociodemographic and stylistic dimensions, as well as taste subcultures. It has to be noted that the rise of this segmented view of the music market was an important paradigm shift in the music industry's and broadcasters' perception of their audience, and that the development of radio formats increased the diversity of radio music at that time (Peterson, 1990). With regard to differences between genres, the two extremes are the faithful performance of a work, potentially recorded and transmitted as an autonomous entity, and recordings as the phenomenal performances that serve as building blocks for a homogeneous format. One may also note that the principles of improvisation and variation are of little importance in mediatized music.

Reception and Transactions

The reception of music is governed by norms, routines, and rituals, depending on its social and individual functions, and on historically and culturally specific aesthetic conceptions. In the history of music, "social-interaction music" (or, per Besseler, 1925, "utility music," e.g., music for ceremonies and court entertainment, thus bound to particular occasions and social events) was dominant, later joined by performance music (per Rösing, 1984, "absolute" or "autonomous music," i.e., music composed and played for aesthetic contemplation and interpretation). The transmission of music via the media makes it available for individual use beyond these traditional forms, as a tool for individual self management of mood, etc. (Schramm, 2005), and for diffuse, unconcentrated listening in everyday situations (Rösing, 1984). Of course, the availability of mediated music also creates opportunities for analytical listening, still

the most legitimate mode of listening nowadays (However, it has to be noted that some audiences of early music were not "listening" in this sense. See Weber [1997] for a discussion, and Adorno [1980]; Behne [1986]; and Rösing [1984] for classifications of modes of music listening). Furthermore, the user can now easily become a collector of music; that is, she can introduce recordings into a system of symbolic relations (Baudrillard, 1968) that she creates more or less independently. However, there is a tendency toward individualization or even isolation. New forms of social identities and communities have evolved from commercial, official, and grass root activities. Music-related media events convey experiences of ritual collectivity and presence, while fan clubs and fanzines, or music-related social software serve to express collective identities.

As with any process of mediatization, it may be asked whether the public has become more passive with regard to the respective social field, or whether there is a trend toward a more active audience, driven by technological developments or a Zeitgeist implying a "resurrection of the public" (Gerhards, 2001) that is only facilitated by technology. This question certainly cannot be answered here definitively. However, technological potentials and institutional arrangements partly determine the degree of the user's participation and activity when engaging with music. A main thesis in the analysis of these settings is that goods in the music market have increasingly been defined as bundles of rights, rather than as material entities, and that customer relationships have been more and more subject to juridification, that is, the proliferation of law in social relations (Habermas, 1987, vol. 2, p. 359). The laws and contracts governing these relationships have, in turn, been at the center of ideological and political conflicts. Copyright is not simply a natural expression of the notion of property, but the result of national and international struggles (Frith, 1988a). These conflicts have a political-economical level, as actors in the media and music industries lobby for regulation that serves their interests (Bettig, 1996). An ideological or cultural aspect of these struggles manifests in the question of how traditional ideas of morality and property should be transferred to the Internet (Denegri-Knott, 2004), and which concepts of authorship and musical works have been institutionalized in intellectual property law. Copyright legislation is still committed to the myth of the author, to the aura of the work of art as the result of an act of creation, and to the concept of a threshold of originality (Frith, 1988a; Schumacher, 1995). This conceptual framework favors Western art music (and to some degree, contemporary commercial popular music) over, for example, early jazz, folk music, and non-Western traditional and art music (Frith, 1988a). Furthermore, it constrains a culture of citation, parody, sampling, and intertextual references, and it hinders the symbolic appropriation and the reinterpretation of cultural products (Schumacher, 1995).

Apart from public campaigns, moral appeals, and judicial measures, copyright holders or distributors of music have tried to turn regulation (and often, more restrictive customer contracts) into technical constraints, implementing hardware- and software-based protection mechanisms. Such measures are legitimized by the state (which, in some cases, even prohibits circumvention of the technologies), and they tend to appear natural and rational due to their technical nature, but are an expression of a clash of interests (Boyle, 1997). Digital rights management (DRM), however, has also evoked counteraction (Denegri-Knott, 2004) and reluctance of customers.

While some forms of piracy are surely opportunistic, activism that consists in the analysis and hacking of DRM systems without personal gain or in the propagation of free culture is motivated by

diverse emancipatory political ideas. Some authors have also proposed alternative institutional frameworks for the compensation of artists (Fisher, 2004), and some musicians have published free or open music in analogy to free or open source software.

Digitalized older scores of classical works are public goods in an economic and legal sense, a form of free music and a real collective property (as opposed to abstract discourses on "our" cultural heritage). Some musicians have also created public domain recordings of classical music.

The résumé of this section remains somewhat inconclusive: Passive, consumerist, isolated, and diffused listening can be contrasted with intensified experiences with analysis of music and creativity by the user. New forms of control and commodification or juridification *and* new forms of reappropriation and resistance have been developed. These are the contradictory results of the political, ideological, and cultural developments surrounding the use of music in its mediatized forms.

Conclusion

The mediatization of music has been analyzed as a historical process whereby institutions emerged and were transformed. New typifications of actions and roles, constructions of objects, categorizations, concepts, and norms have been developed or transferred to the sphere of the media, tested, contested, and possibly adopted. In particular, institutions that relate the production and consumption of music have been analyzed, focusing on their emergence and transformation as a result of the technical and symbolic, as well as organizational and economic, structures of the media.

In many cases, differences among music genres have been found. Genres can be seen themselves not only as stylistic types, but also as typical bundles of institutions, sorts of meta-institutions that structure the musical field as a whole. For each genre, typical forms of mediatization exist. However, there is a dominant institutional setting surrounding mediatized music: The artist is seen as a symbolic creator or personification of the essence of music, who produces (pop) songs which take the form of pseudo performances. For many listeners, this model represents the essence of music (in the media). This construction of mediatized music constitutes the very objects of their musical taste. In genres whose ontologies have not developed in close relationship to the media, such as classical music, and, to a lesser degree, jazz, conflicting models of mediatization tend to arise: stardom versus tradition, formatting versus programming, etc. In sum, genres are meta institutions that partly determine the paths of mediatization, that is, the institutionalized constructions of music by or in the media.

The dominant institutional setting is the result of historical struggles (over the legitimacy of concepts of musical creativity and music production, over rights and recompenses, etc.) and strategies (of promotion, symbolic distinction, etc.). Furthermore, it is based on technological and economic efficiency (e.g., economies of scale in the reproduction of music and the reduction of personnel expenditures in broadcasting). It resumes and transforms traditional notions of authorship, authenticity, and musical ontology, as well as cultural norms, with the poles of cultural populism and the legitimacy of high culture. Most of the institutions mentioned here have normative implications. When authorship is part of an ideology of authenticity, this can take conventional forms of personality-based promotion and stardom,

while sometimes, in a strategy seeking symbolic distinction, it can be ostentatiously anti-commercial or anti-artificial. Furthermore, it serves as a moral justification for restrictive property rights. The institutional setting is also related to conceptions of the musical field within the music industry and its public representation that emphasize innovation, competition, and segmentation.

Some trends have been identified (of course, not without exceptions and contradictions) regarding the mediatization of music. It may well be said that these developments follow what has been described as media logics. The construction of pseudo-performances in particular formats and in broadcasting can be interpreted as a *standardization* and *commodification*. Some producers of music-related media content also use the strategy of *visualization*. Those products are the basis of charts or hit parades and formats deduced from their logic: Popularity is an important criterion of evaluation, and plebiscitary forms of participation institutionalize taste in the form of votes and abstract data.

Institutions may be implemented in technical structures. These "objectifications" (Berger & Luckmann, 1969) can be enabling, offering access to a rich variety of information and opportunities for interaction, but they can also be used for control and surveillance.

Before interpreting the above diagnoses as mainly negative with only a few niches and counteractions, it should be considered that the mediatization of music has contributed to a massively increased availability of music for both incidental, as well as concentrated and analytic listening, and that mediatization is not a corruption of some original essence of music, but a redefinition. It also has to be noted that some of the theses are rather speculative and must be tested empirically. However, a critical perspective should, indeed, be applied to the phenomena described here. A comparison of different genres, epochs, and media systems can contribute to the discovery and evaluation of different paths of mediatization (the inclusion of non-Western music would also be helpful).

Finally, studies of mediatization in other social fields may profit from the institutionalist framework applied here and a comparison of their respective objects with music in the media.

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