

From Ancient to Avant-Garde to Global:
Creative Processes and Institutionalization
in Finnish Contemporary Folk Music

by

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From Ancient to Avant-Garde to Global:
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in Finnish Contemporary Folk Music

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy
in Ethnomusicology


by

Juniper Lynn Hill

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FINNISH LANGUAGE PRONUNCIATION GUIDE

Finnish words may appear long and intimidating, but their pronunciation is actually quite straightforward and logical. Letters are always pronounced the same way and words sound exactly as they are spelled (at least in the formal written language – in spoken colloquial dialects words are frequently contracted and shortened).

Finnish vowels are pronounced as follows:

a a as in *father*

e e as in *let*

i e as in *meet*

o o as in *ocean*

u u as in *due*, only a little farther back in the mouth

y ew as in *few*, only farther forward in the mouth with the lips slightly pursed

ä a as in *apple*

ö oo as in *book*, except farther forward in the mouth with the lips slightly pursed

Diphthongs, of which there are many, are simply created by combining the above vowel pronunciations in quick succession. For example:

ai i as in *kite*

oi oy as in *toy*

ei a as in *mate*

ou oh-u

pronounce the first of the double consonants as the end of the first syllable before announcing the next syllable. For example:

MAT -to ("carpet") instead of MA -to ("worm"), and

KUK -ka ("flower") instead of KU -ka ("who")

but without any aspiration between the double consonants.

Finally, Finnish has sixteen cases (though only about ten are in everyday use).

What with plural and singular forms, this means that each noun potentially has 32 different forms (so don't let a few spelling changes in the last half of the word confuse you into thinking that I am suddenly talking about something else!) However, for the most part, the only different Finnish word forms that appear in this dissertation are singulars and plurals. Usually, a "t" at the end of a word denotes a nominative or accusative plural, while a "-ja" or "-ia" (or sometimes "-eita" or "-oita") ending typically signifies a partitive plural. For example, the following forms of *runolaulu* ("poem-song") and *pelimanni* ("folk musician" in the Western Finnish style) appear frequently in the text:

runolaulu (singular)

pelimanni (singular)

runolaulut (nominative plural)

pelimannit (nominative plural)

runolauluja (partitive plural)

pelimanneja (partitive plural)

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-----, 2002. "Musical Ironies in the Andes: Borrowing from the Other to Define the Self." Paper presented at the International Council of Traditional Music, Music and Minorities Study Group Meeting, July, Lublin, Poland.

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

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University of California, Los Angeles, 2005

Professor Timothy Rice, Co-Chair

Professor Anthony Seeger, Co-Chair

This dissertation provides an ethnographic account of the history, ideology, teaching methods, and current performance practices and creative processes of Finnish contemporary folk music, an urban, professional music using traditional Finnish folk music as a point of departure for contemporary, individualistic creations. It focuses primarily on the Folk Music Department of the Sibelius Academy music conservatory in Helsinki, where the genre was created and where its most important practitioners have studied or currently teach and work. Finnish contemporary folk music serves as a case study and jumping-off point for theoretical discussions of five larger socio-musical

issues: 1) the institutionalization of musicians' training in traditional musics; 2) the construction of legitimacy, authenticity, and historical continuity in revived and recontextualized musics; 3) the ideology, pedagogy, and methods for teaching creativity; 4) how the authority to be musical and specifically to be creative in music is created and allocated; and 5) the expression and reification of transnational relationships through musical fusions and appropriations. The Folk Music Department, influenced by its conservatory environment, has adopted a Western art music ethos of individual artistry while rebelling against its pedagogy and performance practices, which folk musicians perceive as inhibiting creativity. Contemporary folk musicians legitimize their practices by claiming to enter into the same creative process as folk musicians of the past, allowing them to innovate and experiment while maintaining historical continuity and authenticity. Department pedagogues have developed unique teaching methods drawing from historical practices, manipulating aural memory to imitate oral culture, simulating oral composition, and using avant-garde improvisation to develop individuality and personal expression. Their ideology authorizes all (Finnish) musicians to become tradition bearers and innovators, compose, improvise, and arrange, regardless of musical background or skill. Contemporary folk musicians incorporate musical elements from other cultures, reifying their desired relationships with those cultures. The Department wields tremendous power in the dissemination of ideology, causing an increase in creative activities by folk musicians of all ages and skill levels and general knowledge about and respect for folk music.

Part I
Laying a Foundation

Figure A. Map of Finland with cities and regions mentioned in the text



Chapter 1. Introduction

The Contemporary Folk Music Scene

The Ancient. The doors to the Chamber Music Hall swing open and a small crowd of assorted conservatory students, teachers, and Helsinkilites bustles in to find their seats. The natural wood paneling on the walls and floor of the small room give off a warm golden glow in the gentle lighting. Arja is seated informally on the floor, hunched over with her knee pulled up to her chest and her hair cascading over her face, playing the small wooden *kantele* on the floor in front of her. Her fingers dance in constant motion over the fifteen strings, releasing a richly textured fabric of sound that fills the room. Continuously flowing, minutely changing patterns, ever so subtle melodic and rhythmic variations, slightly emphasized motivic ideas standing out and then blending into the textured sea of sound. She is in her own world, intensely focused, perhaps in a trance. She seems oblivious to the commotion about her as the audience settles. Mesmerized by her playing, we are drawn slowly into her world.

The Avant-Garde. The large concert hall is lit by a single forty-watt lightbulb shining weakly from the wicker shade of the floor lamp. Outi stands alone behind the console on the side of the stage. She has just electronically manipulated the nonsense speech-song chatter and long-tone drones that she recorded moments ago into her digital feedback machine. Satisfied with her looping, somewhat eerie soundscape, she takes the cordless microphone and wanders into the center of the stage emitting clicking sounds, grunts, seagull-like screeches, and almost orgasmic panting. She sings sustained pitches

punctuated with these non-song vocal sound effects. Building in intensity, her voice climbs, a strident high-pitched chest voice melismatically sliding between pitches and rising until she climaxes in a raw high-pitched wail, intensified by tremelo – an uninhibited release of passion. Then she breaks into sobs, half singing, half crying, her chest and torso heaving with her labored broken breathing and semi-sung bursts of sound. The audience feels as if we have witnessed, almost intruded upon, a deeply intimate emotional catharsis.

The Global.¹ In a dimly lit basement jazz club downtown, Pauliina introduces her colleagues, two North Indian classical musicians and a jazz trio. They start out the evening of Finnish folk-Indian classical-American jazz fusion by interweaving a traditional Finnish Kalevala runo-song with a Hindustani song in the same mode praising the mother earth. The arrangement proceeds with the trading of improvised solos by the folk musician on accordion and fiddle, the Indian musicians on voice and tabla, and the jazz musicians on electric guitar, drum set, and electric bass, each musician improvising and accompanying the others in his or her own musical system.²

These contemporary folk musicians with their diverse individualized expressive

¹ I use the term "global," despite its over-generalizing and perhaps too encompassing or falsely universalizing connotations, because many contemporary folk musicians imagine and identify with a community of folk musicians around the globe and speak of "global folk music" in English and of *maailman musiikki* (world music) in Finnish. The descriptive terms "ancient" (*muinainen*), "avant-garde" (*avantgardistinen*), and "global" or "*maailman*" are all terms that I heard variously employed by musicians themselves.

² These descriptions are of the following concerts: 1) "Kanteleet ja Kalevala" (Kanteles and Kalevala), performed by Arja Kastinen and Ritva Koistinen, October 19, 2003, Sibelius Academy Chamber Music Hall, Helsinki, Finland; 2) "Kynnyksillä: Outi Pulkkinen sävellyksiä ja improvisaatioita" (On the Threshold: Outi Pulkkinen's Compositions and Improvisations), performed by Outi Pulkkinen, October 6, 2003, Sibelius Academy Concert Hall, Helsinki, Finland; and 3) "Kriya," performed by Pauliina Lerche, Sarathi Chatterjee, Gulfam Sabri, and the Peter Lerche Jazz Trio, September 17, 2003, Jumo Jazz Club, Helsinki, Finland.

styles, making music that may or may not be considered folk music – that even they may not consider to be folk music – comprise Finland's contemporary folk music scene.

Though the final resulting sound of Finnish contemporary folk music, or *nykykansanmusiikki*, may range the gamut from ancient to avant-garde to global, the processes of creating these musical expressions are grounded in a shared ideology and common background acquired from training at the Sibelius Academy Folk Music Department.

Finnish Contemporary Folk Music: A Unique Set of Processes

Finland's contemporary folk music scene is unique and intriguing in several ways. Folk music that was once transmitted orally and informally from grandparents and community members is now taught, and thrives, in a university-level performance-oriented music academy. Musicians not brought up in the tradition have the authority to adopt, continue, and develop the tradition according to each musician's personal aesthetic. Free improvisation, avant-garde experimentation, and cross-genre and cross-cultural fusions are deemed legitimate expressions for contemporary folk musicians; such expressions, by virtue of the process through which they are created, are believed to maintain continuity with historical folk music and preserve the essence of what it means to be a folk musician. Folk musicians collaborate frequently with modern dancers and artists from other fields, sometimes more often and more closely than they work with their traditional accompaniers, folk dancers. Unique teaching methods incorporate pedagogy from folk music, art music, and experimental music, as well as newly invented

methods. Contemporary folk music exists in primarily art music contexts, as well as folk revival and popular music contexts, and has adopted musical and nonmusical characteristics from outside of folk music – yet it is still called folk music. And even when the music they make is not called folk music (because it is "just music" and "has no boundaries"), the performers still identify as folk musicians and the music still satisfies requirements for university degrees in folk music performance.

Aims of This Dissertation

This dissertation provides an ethnographic exploration into the processes through which contemporary folk music is created, focusing specifically on how the ideology, pedagogy, teaching methods, and institutional setting of the Sibelius Academy Folk Music Department have shaped contemporary folk music and its performance practices. In addition to documenting contemporary folk music emerging from the Sibelius Academy in 2002-2004, and providing the necessary historical, contextual, and musical background for understanding it, I hope to illuminate five larger socio-musical processes:

1. how the institutionalization of a previously orally and informally transmitted folk music into a Western-conservatory-style tertiary-level formal educational institution has transformed the perceptions, performance practices, creative processes, social position, and sound of folk music;
2. how authenticity, historical continuity, and legitimacy are created through the identification and enactment of ideals, specifically an ideal process of creating music and an embodiment of qualities and skills of an ideal folk musician (in

- contrast to ideal sounds, styles, or contexts);
3. how the authority of an individual to be creative and innovative with a musical tradition is determined, constructed, and earned;
 4. how ideology and pedagogy can encourage, limit, and shape individuals' creativity, and how specific teaching methods have changed the way people create and express themselves through music; and
 5. how the performance of music other than one's "own" reifies idealized relationships with others (especially with other cultures) and reveals the multilayered, often transnational, identities that these relationships engender.

A review of the relevant theoretical literature and discussion of the implications of Finnish contemporary folk music on these issues appear in Chapter 3 "Theoretical Implications."

Dissertation Outline

Part I, "Laying a Foundation," contains five chapters, which provide the methodological, theoretical, cultural, and historical background essentials that will be necessary for understanding the development and significance of the Sibelius Academy Folk Music Department and the contemporary folk music scene. In Chapter 2, "Research Methods," I detail my field research and methodology. Chapter 3, "Theoretical Implications," contains a discussion of how my research on Finnish contemporary folk music pertains to and illuminates current theoretical discourse on issues such as institutionalization, pedagogy, creativity, authenticity, musical authority, and cross-

cultural relationships and identities. Chapter 4 provides the relevant sociocultural, ethnolinguistic, political background of Finland, and Chapter 5 constructs a brief history of Finnish folk music and Finnish folk music scholarship. Part II, "The Institution," describes the context of the scene, including an overview of musical and educational institutions in Finland (Chapter 6), a discussion of folk music education across Finland (Chapter 7), and the particular details of the evolution, curriculum, and people of the Folk Music Department at the Sibelius Academy (Chapter 8). In Part III, "Creative Processes," I present my observations and interpretations of what I found to be the key processes in the creation and performance of contemporary Finnish folk music. First, in Chapter 9, I lay down the musicians' *lähtökohdat*, or "points of departure," the beliefs, values, and aesthetics, as well as the folk music styles and sources, that serve as the foundation and jumping-off point for their musical creations. Then for each creative process I describe the teaching methods, performance practices, resulting sound, and social significance. In Chapter 10, Improvising, I detail the five types of improvisation in contemporary folk music, describing their processes and teaching methods and explaining their social significance for historical continuity, authority and legitimacy, and creative freedom. Chapter 11, "Arranging," provides an overview of the different arranging techniques used to transform fragmented source materials and simple folk melodies into the professionalized, contemporized works of art that appear in contemporary folk musicians' concerts and recordings. Chapter 12, "Performing Nordic, Finno-Ugric, and Global Folk Music," explores how Finnish musicians reify different types of transnational relationships, affiliations, and identities according to the ways in

which they collaborate with non-Finnish musicians, appropriate others' music, and exclude specific cultures' music. In Part IV, "Beyond the Institution," Chapter 13 demonstrates, through quantitative analysis of questionnaire data as well as ethnographic material, how contemporary folk music from the Sibelius Academy relates to amateur folk music practices in Finland and the nature and extent of impact that the Institution has had on musicians of all ages and skill levels across the country. Finally, Chapter 14, "Conclusions," briefly summarizes the theoretical implications of this ethnographic work.

Chapter 2. Research Methods

My research findings and interpretations are based on fieldwork that I conducted in Finland from June through December 2002 and again from August 2003 through July 2004 – a total of eighteen months. I also made short research trips to Sweden, Estonia, and other neighboring countries on the Baltic Sea.

Language

My first and biggest challenge was to learn the Finnish language, which, according to my Finnish teacher Dr. Lena Udall, is ranked as the second-most difficult language for American English speakers to learn, after Navajo and before Mandarin Chinese. I took a fairly intensive first-year Finnish course at UCLA in 2001-2002, a very intensive intermediate Finnish course at the University of Helsinki Language Center in fall 2002, an advanced Finnish course through videoconferencing from UC Berkeley in spring 2003, and advanced Finnish at the University of Helsinki in fall 2003. While living in Finland, I did my best to immerse myself in Finnish-only social, academic, and research situations, though my most effective strategy was the voracious reading of Finnish translations of novels that I had already read in English (my Finnish sci-fi/fantasy vocabulary is quite impressive). By my first winter in Finland I had begun to pick up the colloquial spoken dialect from Helsinki, and by my second winter I was already conducting my interviews completely in Finnish. Singing a broad range of Finnish folk songs in a local folk music choir and in voice lessons also helped me immensely to

understand different regional dialects so that I was better able to communicate with rural and especially elder Finns when I traveled around the country.

The process of learning Finnish had an impact on my interactions with my research informants and subjects. Because I was so determined to learn the language, I very stubbornly stuck to Finnish even though nearly everyone around me spoke fluent English. For the first several months, my relative unsureness with the language changed my personality. I found it difficult to express myself in the beginning of my field stay, and instead of being my usual outgoing self, loudly spouting my ideas, opinions and witticisms, I became quiet and reserved, hesitant to speak up in group situations because I was uncertain if I had understood correctly. Ironically, this actually made me seem more culturally Finnish. Finns are known for being comfortable with long silences, for not engaging in small talk, and for taking time to think before they speak. The downside was that it slowed the process of becoming acquainted with people. However, my long hours of language study and persistent immersion eventually paid off. I was able to participate in musical, academic, and scholarly circles to an extent that I never would have achieved without fluency in Finnish. I was also able to read material written only for Finnish audiences (material translated into English is typically directed exclusively towards foreigners and often differs substantially from Finnish versions, which are directed exclusively towards Finns). Most of all, I earned a tremendous amount of respect from my Finnish informants and colleagues who were impressed by my Finnish language skills and especially by the effort and dedication I had put into learning their difficult and obscure (but fascinating and beautiful) language. Friends from my choir began

introducing me as the "American wonder child" who spoke Finnish, and Heikki Laitinen (the musician, scholar, ideologue, and pedagogue who is largely responsible for shaping the contemporary folk music scene) presented me to his colleagues as a foreign researcher with a "dangerous command" of the Finnish language.

Into the Institution, The Sibelius Academy Folk Music Department

My initial methodological intent had been to hang out and participate as much as I could in the contemporary folk music scene, following the typical anthropological/ethnomusicological participant-observation ethnographic research method with the belief that, by approaching Mantle Hood's ideal of bimusicality, I would transverse the hermeneutical arc to arrive at a more intimate understanding of Finnish folk music as well as a more informed perspective from which to interpret it.¹ However, I soon learned that "hanging out in the scene" would not be the most feasible approach for me. Unlike the old-time folk music scene in the US, to which I was accustomed, with its open and welcoming community jam sessions and dances in public spaces, I found the contemporary Finnish folk music scene to be a tightly knit and somewhat elitist professional circle that flourished more in private practice rooms, recording studios, concert halls, and, especially, the halls of the Sibelius Academy. And unlike my field research in the Ecuadorian Andes where my Quichua host parents were active musicians and dancers who escorted me to musical events and introduced me to their colleagues, I

¹ See Hood (1957) on bimusicality, or the ability to understand and perform in two distinct musical traditions or "languages," and Rice (1994) on the hermeneutical process of the ethnomusicologist in the field as s/he gains new perspectives and understandings of another culture through experiential learning.

was alone in Finland, living on my own in a small studio apartment in downtown Helsinki. Though my distant Finnish relatives were extremely kind to me and helped me deal with the bureaucratic aspects of establishing a life in Finland, like opening bank accounts and obtaining a government identity number, they were not involved in the performing arts, let alone folk music.

Many aspects of social life in Finland are formally organized through organizations and institutions, and it was through these more official channels that I finally found my niche and established my research position. I had discovered almost immediately that the Sibelius Academy was the focal point and generator of contemporary folk music, and so I approached the chair of the Folk Music Department, who at that time was Kristiina Ilmonen. The department decided to support my research project and admitted me as a guest student, or "extra" student, for fall 2002. When I was granted the Fulbright in 2003-2004, which is considered an official exchange program, I was given the status of exchange student in the Folk Music Department and continued conducting research and studying there as a full-time student.

My three semesters at the Sibelius Academy were incredibly fruitful. I took individual lessons throughout my stay both in folk singing (with Anna-Kaisa Liedes and Veera Voima) and in Finnish flutes (with Leena Joutsenlahti), and I also took some introductory kantele (plucked zither) lessons from Vilma Timonen. I participated in a variety of undergraduate studio and classroom courses covering traditional folk singing, free vocal improvisation, folk dancing, and Finnish folk music history, archival research, and field research. I sat in on postgraduate seminars involving the preparation of doctoral

concerts and projects, and seminars in which we listened to and analyzed old archival recordings in the Finnish Literary Society Folklore Department Sound Archives.

Numerous performing artists visited the department to provide workshops and master classes, which I attended. I documented a considerable number of concerts and performances given by the department's teachers, students, and alumni, whom I also interviewed.

By studying at the Sibelius Academy Folk Music Department, I had the opportunity to become acquainted with many of the leading musicians in the scene, I was kept informed of all the artistic and scholarly events related to Finnish contemporary folk music, and I had access to the department's vast resources, including their sound library, folk instruments, and technical equipment. Furthermore, I enjoyed the prestige and legitimacy that came with a Sibelius Academy affiliation when I traveled elsewhere in Finland and even abroad in the Baltic and Nordic countries.

Scholarly Community

My professors at the Sibelius Academy invited me to become an honorary member of Finland's national folk music and popular music *tutkijakoulu*, literally "researcher school," a state-funded program bringing together doctoral students and scholars engaged in folk music and popular music research from institutions around Finland, including Tampere University, Åbo Academy, Sibelius Academy, Helsinki University, and others. The monthly *tutkijakoulu* seminars provided me with an invaluable opportunity to learn about the research of my Finnish colleagues, present and

receive feedback on my own research, and participate in collective projects and field trips. Through the tutkijakoulu I received mentorship from professors Timo Leisiö of Tampere University, Heikki Laitinen of the Sibelius Academy, and Vesa Kurkela of both Tampere and Sibelius. Over the last three years I have also received useful input and insights from scholars Anneli Asplund, Risto Blomster, Pekka Gronow, Pirkko Moisala, Pekka Huttu-Hiltunen, and Erkki Pekkilä.

Reception and Rapport

The Finnish scholars I met were generally very friendly, open, and helpful and expressed interest in and even appreciation of my work. Initially, I received a somewhat cooler reception from young folk musicians. I had the support of the departmental administration and most of the faculty and teachers, but several of the students seemed unsure and wary of me, particularly during my first semester in the department. At the department's opening reception at the beginning of the year, the department chair introduced me to everyone and declared that I would be going around studying them and everything that they do. While it was good that the admired and respected leader of the department showed her uncompromising support of my activities, however obnoxious or intrusive they might appear to be, her speech did not paint a very rosy picture of my role in the department to the students there.

Perhaps there is some truth to the prevailing stereotypes that Finns are suspicious of outsiders and that it takes a very long time to become acquainted and build friendships. Wariness towards outsiders is not limited to foreigners; I spoke with a young Finnish

woman who had graduated from the Sibelius Academy in music education and moved to a small city in northeastern Finland to teach at a music school there. She reported that even after a few years of living and teaching there, the locals still treated her with some wariness as an outsider. However, the stereotype also predicts that once you have established friendship and trust with a Finn, you have made a friend for life.

Gradually, the folk music students' reception of me improved. As I interviewed more and more musicians, they discovered that I was actually quite nice and not very threatening at all, and many of them enjoyed having someone show interest in their individual artistic endeavors. When I came back to Finland the second time, the incoming students accepted me because I had already established my position in the department, and I also began working more closely with DMA students, who were better able to relate to me as a fellow doctoral student and were more appreciative of my research since many of them were engaged in their own research projects, albeit for artistic purposes. My returning to Finland for a second extended stay, after having been away for roughly half a year, seemed to prove to people that I was sincerely interested and dedicated, and some even took my return as a compliment, for it proved to them that I liked them, their department, and their country, as a few of them commented to me. At a departmental New Year's party in January 2004, staff and alumna Riitta-Liisa Joutsenlahti told my mother, who was visiting at the time, that several of them had been talking about me and that they had come to the conclusion that I must have a lot of *sisu*, a personal quality comprising endurance, determination, and inner strength – a quality that

many Finns pride themselves on having, and a comment that I took as a sincere compliment.

I was put to a final trial in May, 2004, my sixteenth month in the field. The tutkijakoulu was holding a weekend seminar-retreat in an old manor house in the countryside outside of Helsinki. The evening schedule was to contain a sauna and a jam session, which was to be expected. When Heikki Laitinen, the figure largely responsible for the development of the Folk Music Department and contemporary folk music scene, sent me a text message asking me to bring my clarinet along, I was somewhat surprised but not overly so. When the evening of the seminar came, we all had a relaxing turn in the sauna and dip in the lake, followed by a rousing folk dancing session to live music, after which everyone sat down around the large parlor room to catch their breath. During this silent lull, Heikki asked me to bring out my instruments and play for everyone. I had been expecting at most to participate in a jam session; I certainly was not prepared to give a solo concert, and especially not to that crowd, which consisted of professors, Ph.D. students, and DMA students from all over Finland, representing some of Finland's top folk music scholars and performers. Somewhat nervous, I played a couple of Appalachian folk tunes on my tin whistle and then a short klezmer piece on my clarinet. Heikki was not satisfied. He invited another musician to come forward, a virtuosic clarinetist from the bands Slobo Horo and Vilddas, positioned the two of us in the center of the room facing each other, and commanded us to have a battle (*taistel*u). We were to improvise freely, and the only rule was that we could not hold any one note longer than one second. Thankfully, I had been trained in experimental jazz and free improvisation

by Anthony Braxton when I was doing my undergraduate studies at Wesleyan University, and so I was able to hold my own. The two of us played nonstop for approximately half an hour, improvising over the entire range of our instruments, spilling forth notes that sounded like everything from folk music to avant-garde music. After the unplanned concert – or at least unplanned for me, for apparently someone else had been planning it – we all went to bed. The next morning, Heikki came up to me, thanked me for the concert, and asked me when I would like to schedule an interview with him (he had known beforehand that I wanted to interview him, but until then he had evaded scheduling a time). Over time I feel that Heikki and I developed an excellent rapport; he has been an invaluable resource and very supportive of my work. But, in general, I had to earn the respect that was given me.

Community Involvement and Acculturation

In addition to my involvement at the Sibelius Academy and tutkijakoulu, I was active in the Helsinki-based folk music vocal ensemble Kuokkavieraat ("The Gate Crashers," or literally "the guests with hoes"), and I participated in the folk dance group at Helsinki University. In general, the arts in Finland receive a relatively high level of state funding and public support, and I took advantage of the contemporary art music, dance, and visual art performances and exhibitions around me. I had a number of composer and classical musician friends at the Academy; I went to several operas, modern dance concerts, and film festivals; I took a course at the theater and dance academy (Teatterikorkeakoulu); I participated in contact improv jams (an improvised

modern dance form); and I occasionally played in the Irish sessions at a local Helsinki pub.

Throughout my 18 months in Finland I gradually became accustomed and acculturated to nonmusical cultural life in Finland. The Finnish Fulbright staff, the international student club at Sibelius Academy, and especially my Finnish relatives introduced me to a variety of Finnish customs, traditional Finnish cooking, and Finnish holidays. In Finland, the Student Union has a fair amount of economic and political sway, and is one of the largest property owners in downtown Helsinki. I became involved in a couple of student organizations, mostly for the chance to socialize with Finns and practice my colloquial Helsinki slang. One of these groups was an outdoors club (actually a university Scout group), which exposed me to Finland's abundant forests, lakes, and archipelago. Nature is an extremely important aspect of Finnish culture. From many places in the city it is possible to be on a wooded trail within minutes, and symbolism of nature is abundant in Finnish architecture, literature, visual arts, and other media. Tina Ramnarine (2003) and others have written extensively about the symbolism of the Finnish landscape in Finnish music. Time in nature provides Finns with their much valued solitude, silence, sauna, and summer cottages. At all times of the year, from the cold of winter to the semi-warmth of the Nordic summer, naked Finns can be seen jumping from their steamy saunas into ice cold lakes and bays. In the summertime, there is a mass exodus from the cities into the countryside where families may spend weeks or months living in rustic lakeside cabins. The Finnish countryside also comes alive in the summertime with hundreds of music festivals. Festivals range from opera to jazz to

chamber music to contemporary art music to dance to theater to rock to "light music" to folk music.

Summer Research at Festivals

I spent my summers in 2002 and 2004 conducting research at a variety of folk music festivals in rural areas of Finland and in neighboring countries. In 2002, I attended Kaustinen Folk Music Festival and Haapavesi Folk Festival in Western Finland, Kihaus Folk Music Festival in Rääkkylä, Eastern Finland, and Viljandi Folk Music Festival in Estonia. In 2004, I attended an intensive *jouhikko* (ancient bowed lute) course in Eastern Finland, Pispalan Sottiisi Folk Dance Festival in Tampere, Hovra Fiddlers' Meeting in Sweden, and I also returned to Kaustinen, Haapavesi, and Kihaus festivals. Whenever possible, I participated in the courses and master classes taught by the invited performers at these festivals. At a number of festivals I was able to obtain a press pass, which gave me permission to document performances and made it easier for me to arrange interviews. At other festivals I was able to participate as a performer, which gave me access to backstage and other performers-only spaces. These festivals allowed me to research current amateur and rural folk music practices in different regions, to discern the relationships between the professional Sibelius Academy-trained contemporary folk music performers and traditional pelimanni players, and to observe the interactions between and reception of Finnish and international bands.

Questionnaire

At the festivals I also distributed my questionnaire. I designed a lengthy online questionnaire containing 83 questions, or 145 questions counting all of the components of each question. The questionnaire was designed for folk musicians and dancers of all levels, well as folk music teachers, folk dance teachers, festival organizers, and audience members. Different questions would appear to different respondents depending on whether or not they had indicated if they played music, taught dance, organized festivals, etc. I asked detailed questions about actual performance practices, such as the type and extent of improvisation that musicians do, and about ideology, such as beliefs, values, definitions, and opinions concerning folk music and dance (the English translation of the complete questionnaire appears as an appendix).

To advertise my questionnaire, I designed and printed 1300 small, colorful, bookmark-sized fliers that provided the questionnaire web site, and I distributed these at festivals around the country. The number of respondents was an unimpressive 34. I then tried a different strategy and sent e-mails to the more than 400 e-mail addresses of folk music and dance institutes, clubs, schools, performers, festivals, instrument builders, and archives listed in the Folk Music and Dance Directory directory, which is published by the Kansanmusiikin Keskusliitto (Finnish Folk Music Association), an umbrella organization for folk music and dance organizations around the country. I also made agreements with the editors of Finland's two folk music magazines *Friitti* and *Kansanmusiikki* (Folk Music) to advertise my questionnaire in their publications, and the chair of the Sibelius Academy Folk Music Department sent out a plea encouraging the department's students, teachers, and alumni to fill out my questionnaire. These methods

turned out to be much more effective, and I ended up with 234 completed responses totaling several hundreds of pages. The results contain a wealth of data, only a portion of which can be presented in this dissertation. Among other things, I was able to find strong correlations between performance practices and the level of influence of the Sibelius Academy Folk Music Department, which I measured by asking non-Sibelius-Academy-affiliated musicians whether or not and to what extent they had ever studied or taken workshops with Sibelius Academy graduates.

Field Research in the Nordic/Baltic Contemporary Folk Music Scene

Aware that Finnish musicians and their listeners participate in a larger, transnational contemporary folk music and world music scene and closely interact with contemporaries in the Nordic and Baltic countries, I extended my research beyond Finland's borders. In Sweden, I attended and participated in folk music and dance events, visited folk music archives and educational institutes, and conducted interviews with scholars, teachers and students from the Folk Music Institute at the Royal Academy of Music in Stockholm, as well as musicians from bands such as Väsen, Groupa, Hedningarna, Hoven Droven, Gjallarhorn, and Orient Express. In Estonia, I performed at the Viljandi Folk Festival, participated in the Etno Camp folk music courses sponsored by Viljandi College, met with scholars at the Estonian Music Academy in Tallinn, and interviewed Estonian contemporary folk musicians. While attending an Ethnochoreology seminar in Trondheim, Norway, I also had the opportunity to meet with Norwegian folk music and dance scholars and observe local folk dances. Though these research

excursions in neighboring countries are only a beginning, they have provided me interesting points of comparison and greater insight into Finnish folk music, and they allow me to place the Finnish scene in a larger context that stretches beyond national borders.

Data and Analysis

Thus, the bulk of my data consists of approximately 60 hours of personal interviews, 52 hours of videotaped live performances, 36 hours of audio recordings of lessons and workshops, over a hundred commercially available recordings, archival recordings of source material used in contemporary pieces, class materials from the Sibelius Academy, published notation and folk music teaching guides/instruction manuals, the dissertations of contemporary researcher-musicians, several hundred pages of questionnaire data, field notes, and the mental library of my observations and experiences. My main methods of analysis are, first and foremost, qualitative interpretation, but also a limited amount of musical comparison and analysis to support and illustrate my interpretations, and quantitative analysis of questionnaire data using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) software.

Chapter 3. Theoretical Implications

Finnish contemporary folk music – formed from a unique combination of institutionalization, process-oriented authenticity, historical continuity of the avant-garde to the ancient, self-awarded creative freedom for personal expression and experimentation within and beyond the traditions, innovative teaching methods, and transnational relationships and identities – offers interesting insights into related threads of discourse in ethnomusicology, musicology, music education, folklore, and anthropology. The following sections of this chapter – on institutionalization, authenticity, authority to be creative, pedagogy for creativity, and intercultural relationships as expressed through world music fusions – provide brief reviews of the relevant theoretical literature and suggest some of the implications that the Finnish contemporary folk music phenomenon has for these issues. The ethnographic data supporting these implications are presented in Chapters 7 through 13.

Into the Academy: The Institutionalization of Folk Musician Training

Though the Sibelius Academy Folk Music Department has existed for just over twenty years and has trained only 124 students since its inception in 1983, it has had deep and far-reaching impacts on folk music processes, practices, and perceptions.

Institutionalization has (1) increased the status and power of folk music and folk musicians; (2) professionalized folk music; (3) created a hierarchy within folk music and an elite class of professional folk musicians to dominate it; (4) transformed contemporary

folk music into a type of art music; (5) recontextualized folk music, taking it out of its former context and creating a new culture within the institution; (6) simultaneously homogenized and broadened the repertoire and stylistic range of folk music; (7) facilitated collaborations with professional artists in other fields; (8) changed the way folk music is created and performed, not only by Academy-trained musicians, but also by amateur musicians around the country; and (9) disseminated the ideology (beliefs, values, ambitions) of a few to a new generation of young musicians. The details of the process of institutionalization and specific examples of its impacts will be brought into sharper relief throughout the body of this dissertation.

Despite the tremendous impact that the process of institutionalizing musician training can have on a musical-cultural system, very few scholars have made it a primary focus of research. Researchers in the field of music education, whose primary domain is Western music schools and educational institutions, have only recently begun to conduct ethnographic research; such studies in music education include "micro-ethnographies," based on brief, scheduled visits with the students, often aiming to critique and suggest changes for teaching strategies, and "environment research," which considers the impact of cultural expectations on music learning.¹ There is some controversy over the extent and importance of research on music education in ethnomusicology. *The New Handbook of Research on Music Teaching and Learning* reports that within the field of ethnomusicology there is a "relative paucity of studies devoted exclusively to music transmission and learning" (Szego 2002:710), and Deborah Wong (1998:80) also

¹ See Szego (2002:717-718) and Webster (1992:268-269) for overviews of this literature.

criticizes "ethnomusicologists' consistent marginalization of music education."

Bibliographical searches often return very little ethnomusicological research on music teaching and learning, for ethnomusicologists rarely emphasize it as a main topic in their work, and, as Rice (1993a) observes, few list it as a primary area of interest in scholarly directories. However, it is common for ethnomusicologists to integrate discussions of certain aspects of music transmission processes and music education systems into their ethnographies in order to paint a comprehensive picture of a musical culture, or to illuminate specific issues such as continuity and change, music cognition, identity formation, and so on.² Alan Merriam encouraged ethnomusicologists to research music learning, arguing that "it is through education, enculturation, cultural learning, that culture gains its stability and is perpetuated. What is true for culture as a whole is also true for music; the learning process in music is at the core of our understanding of the sounds men produce" (Merriam 1964:163). John Blacking (1970, 1967) used his research on Venda children's processes of enculturation in music learning in order to better understand the music of Venda adults. Szego acknowledges that "because of the holistic nature of ethnography, ethnomusicological accounts do frequently contain references to music transmission and learning; but these references, embedded in larger discussions of socio-musical phenomena, often are very brief or very general" (2002:710). Nevertheless, few in ethnomusicology or music education have conducted substantial research on the culture of music education institutions, or the impact of

² Examples of musical ethnographies that contain one or more chapters on more traditional modes of music transmission include Nketia (1973) on several different African teaching practices, Berliner (1978) on mastering Shona *mbira* playing, Turino (1993) on acquisition of Andean panpipe repertoire, and Rice (1994) on cognitive processes of bagpipe transmission. See Rice (2003a) for a review and discussion of ethnomusicological research on music teaching and learning.

institutionalization on musical processes, ideology, and cultures. The groundbreaking exceptions are Henry Kingsbury's (1988) ethnography revealing the inner workings of an American music conservatory as a cultural system, and Bruno Nettl's (1995) ruminations on Western university music schools (I will return later to the two main points from these works that are most relevant to the Finnish case, namely Kingsbury's explications of the cult of the individual and the authority for creativity).

The majority of ethnographies that address the process and impacts of institutionalization of music transmission into formal music schools and academies often do so relatively briefly in the context of broader discussions on state intervention for nationalist or socialist political agendas or on Westernization and modernization. In several countries, in periods of political change or instability, institutions have been required to support – have even been created for the purpose of supporting – government policies, often providing the state with musical tools for the dissemination of political ideologies and propaganda. For example, in Taiwan, the state intervened in *nanguan* music through musician training programs and other institutions in order to serve the Taiwanese government's nationalist and indigenist policies. Wang Ying-fen explains that

After the [Chinese] Nationalist government retreated from the Chinese mainland to Taiwan in 1949 after being defeated by the Chinese Communist Party, the island became the military and economic base for the state's mission to recover China... As a result, policies were implemented to propagate anti-Communist ideology and to enforce the identification with mainland China as the motherland for not only the mainlanders but also the Taiwanese. This was done through school education and through appropriating cultural and art forms as the state's propaganda tools. These cultural and art forms included combat literature, patriotic songs, and local operatic genres (2003:104).

State officials in Soviet countries recognized the powerful potential of music and

the arts to influence the formation of group identity, nationalist sentiments and allegiance, and ideologies, and so music institutions, including music schools and academies, were founded to propagate state policies across Eastern Europe, Central Asia, and China. In order to create music that was national in form and socialist in content in support of the Communist cause, folk and traditional musics were modified, replacing anti- and pre-Communist symbolism and texts with pro-Communist ones and adopting Western art music arrangements, orchestrations, and aesthetics in order to "raise the standards" of the proletariat masses (Rees 2000:122-124; see also Buchanan 1995, Rice 1994, Slobin 1996, and Smidchens 1993). Izaly Zemtsovsky and Alma Kunanbaeva describe this process in Central Asia:

The oral tradition was, step-by-step, replaced by a system of state schools. "Orchestras of Folk Instruments" were founded everywhere and these required (an apparently innocent requirement) music-making in unison. This requirement had a revolutionary consequence for the fate of folklore in the region, because Kazakhstan was traditionally without music-making of this kind; Kazakh musicians never played in unison. Traditional musicians were trained to play in unison and solo performance was replaced by ensembles. After a change of participants, even musical thinking itself (that is, the core of musical tradition in general, its "holy of holies") was irreversibly altered. The boundary between folk and art music (i.e., music of the European type, a written tradition) was eradicated. In regard to traditional epics, a whole series of attacks began with Stalinist repression of the best epic singers... false compilations of huge epics began, and the traditional Central Asian talent for improvisation was used at the government's bidding for ideological purposes... These artificial processes, organized from above, have changed the core of the traditional legacy, i.e., the artistic thinking and cultural perception of the people (1994:20-21).

In China, Jonathan Stock chronicles the implementation of politics through music education institutions: in the 1920s the conservatory tradition was founded as part of the wave of nationalistic sentiment accompanying the May 4 Movement and the search for a

modern, national music "to be born from a synthesis of [Chinese] folk music and Western music"; during Mao's Cultural Revolution conservatory leaders and professors who had favored foreign and bourgeois music were purged, foreign music was banned, traditional pieces from before 1966 were discarded, and prominent interpreters of the forbidden repertoires were denounced and in some cases driven to death; and in the 1970s "new compositions and the performance of existing ones had to satisfy stringent revolutionary criteria, the failure to meet these leading to severe punishment" (1996:143-144, 154-155). Stock concludes that "the conservatory system merely adds *regulative force* to the reproduction of a canon of works or performance styles and philosophies of music" (ibid.: 161, my emphasis). In many countries the policies instigated through such institutions have significantly altered virtually all aspects of folk music, including its transmission, performance contexts, social meaning, arrangements, orchestrations, intonation, instrument design, scholarship, history, and development.

Even though institutions can have a powerful influence on a country's musical culture, institutionalization does not necessarily entail the appropriation of music as a vehicle for state policies and propaganda. In contrast to institutions in several Eastern European and Asian countries, the Sibelius Academy Folk Music Department is largely independent. The faculty and staff feel that they are not imposed upon by government officials or censors to adhere to any political or social policies; government funding is given to a tremendously broad range of artistic endeavors, from experimental music to popular music to circus acts, and the institution further frees folk musicians by lessening

the demands upon them by the commercial market.³ The philosophies and policies influencing folk musicians have been generated from within the department itself, and the department leaders deny having any specific goals for how they want folk music itself to sound or mean or develop (though they do have ideals for musicians and their creative processes).

Despite contemporary folk musicians' decree of apoliticalness, and even though they cringe at the "old-fashioned" nationalistic "public enlightenment" folk music of the early 20th century, they have indeed been the direct beneficiaries of the earlier nationalist movement. Marie McCarthy explains how the cultural nationalist movement in Ireland increased the social status of traditional music: "as the narrative of Gaelic Ireland became politically established and legitimised, traditional music rose in the sociocultural hierarchy and is now regarded as part of the birthright of every Irish child, at least in the official rhetoric of Irish education" (1999:6). The Finnish government has no official rhetoric or policy to bring folk music to every Finnish child, but the fact that folk music was allowed into the country's highest music academy (without a nationalist agenda) likely rests at least in part on the cultural capital that folk music gained in the preceding centuries and decades through romantic nationalism.

Though the Sibelius Academy has not served as a political tool for state agendas, it has still wielded a power similar to Soviet-style institutions in the dissemination of philosophy surrounding music-making. Its ideology and approach to creating and performing folk music have shaped musicians trained in the department as well as

³ In socialist-democratic countries, such as Finland and other Nordic countries, it is considered to be the responsibility of the state to provide support for the arts (as well as education, health care, etc., for all).

infiltrated the larger amateur scene. The prestige, cultural capital, official sanctioning, and financial support of the institution have also created an elite class of virtuoso professional folk musicians and substantially elevated the status and esteem of folk music in society at large. This professionalization and increased status has in turn created power imbalance within folk music, a hierarchy dominated by Academy musicians.

The cultural power wielded by the conservatories and other institutions often affect the relationships between amateurs and professional musicians and in the musical culture as a whole. Wang Ying-fen demonstrates that the state-sponsored training programs in Taiwanese *nanguan* music have resulted in a decline in the quantity and quality of *nanguan* musicians and the deterioration of the identity and integrity of *nanguan* musicians as amateur musicians (2003:148-149). Conversely, Hankus Netsky found that teaching klezmer music in New England Conservatory reinvigorated amateur musicians, reporting that "old practitioners, lured by the enthusiasm of students and large audiences, have come out of retirement to lend a hand as artists-in-residence in special klezmer institutes... bringing their much-needed expertise and contextual perspective" (2004:1999). In Finland, the impact of institutionalization on amateur musicians has been mixed. On one hand, amateurs have been afraid that newly professionalized young musicians would take over amateurs' opportunities to perform and undermine the respect they receive in the folk music community. On the other hand, they have benefited from the increased status, funding, and popularity that institutionalization has brought to folk music in society at large; in addition, professionals have inspired amateurs to increase their skill level, and have provided new role models for creative possibilities.

The excessive emphasis on personal creativity and under-emphasis on political or social agendas by contemporary folk musicians is indicative of the influence of Western art music and its philosophy of transcendental artistry on the development of institutionalized folk music training. Folk Music Department musicians, including the ideologue Heikki Laitinen, who shaped the ideology and pedagogy of the department, frequently expressed their desire for folk musicians to be "artists" with the same freedom to develop their music that jazz and classical musicians have to develop theirs.⁴ This goal of being an "artist" reflects an internalization of the fundamental Western art music ethos of individual creativity, innovation, and artistic progress that is upheld in the conservatory in which they are situated.

A number of scholars have mentioned the influence of Western art music on non-Western musics as part of efforts to Westernize and/or "modernize." Finland is a Western European country, if on the periphery, so Westernization per se would not initially appear to be a main issue at stake in the introduction of Finnish folk music into a conservatory. However, the associations of status, power, high culture, civilization, and modernity with Western art music still apply, though the hierarchical dichotomy is between folk music and (Western) art music instead of non-Western and Western (art) music.⁵

⁴ Heikki Laitinen (born 1943) is a professor in the department, a professional folk singer, a prolifically published folk music scholar, an "artistic professor" honored by the Finnish state, and a charismatic advocate of creativity in folk music education (one might also argue that he is an applied ethnomusicologist). His background includes working as director of the Folk Music Institute in Kaustinen, and studying avant-garde composition at the Sibelius Academy, ethnomusicology in Berlin, folk music/folklore at Tampere University, and (long ago) theology.

⁵ The terms "Western" and "European" in the phrases "Western art music" and "European art music" obfuscate power imbalances within the West amongst European cultures. Finland's reputation as a

In his book *The Western Impact on World Music*, Bruno Nettl (1985) discusses the ramifications of Western European-style conservatories and music schools that have been founded in non-Western countries. Drawing on examples primarily from Iran, but also from South India, Korea, Native America, China, and Ghana, Nettl observes that, generally, conservatories were first founded for the teaching of Western music, and then their Western art music teaching and curricular methods were applied to departments or schools devoted to non-Western traditional music (either "pure" or modernized traditional music). A primary motivation for founding these conservatories was modernization through westernization: "musicians in non-Western societies, wishing to make their traditions competitive with those being imported from Europe and America, looked to the Western ways of teaching art music as a way of producing change" (Nettl 1985:72). Nettl notes the following impacts of institutionalizing traditional music into conservatories: (1) less reliance on oral transmission and more on notation; (2) breaking apart a musical system into separate subjects (e.g. music theory, history, philosophy, techniques etc.); (3) an abstraction of the teaching process from the musical culture and from culture in general; (4) a change in the foundations and concepts of music; (5) and a decline in the skill level of conservatory-trained musicians compared to traditionally trained ones (particularly in Iran and India) (ibid.:72-75). In a chapter on "the Western Impact on Other Music," Jonathan Stock explains the impacts of the new institution of the music conservatory, a "Western export," on Balinese music: (1) the growth of a sense

powerhouse of classical music is a relatively recent phenomenon; for centuries Finnish classical musicians considered Germanic music to be superior, and even the most lauded Finnish national composer Jean Sibelius changed his name from the Finnish "Janne" to the French "Jean" and left the conservatory in Helsinki (which is now named after him) to study in Germany (in the nineteenth century it was common for talented Finnish artists to study in Berlin, Paris, Vienna, or St. Petersburg).

of unique individual creativity; (2) the separation and exaltation of composers as primary figures in music history; (3) increased interest in preservation and reconstruction of historical genres and a separation from the continuous, day-to-day creation of new repertoire; (4) training across genres, especially in Western music theory; (5) increased use and knowledge of notation; (6) the creation of music for Western-style concert performances; (7) the perception of original folk music as inferior, or at least as raw source material; (8) a more limited musical language and musical "rules" to be followed; and (9) the creation of a musical elite that dominates national education and media (Stock 2004:31-32).

Some of the changes identified by Nettl and Stock have occurred in Finnish folk music, while others have not: apparently the way in which a traditional music is adapted to a Western conservatory setting is determined by specific ideologies, values, and ambitions.⁶ Sibelius Academy Folk Music Department teachers highly value oral transmission and feel that aural memory is an essential component in the creation of folk music, so there has been a decline rather than an increase in the use of musical notation in comparison to amateur folk music practices in Finland and in contrast to the institutional training of folk and traditional music in many other parts of the world. Due to the department's tremendous emphasis on creation in the moment of performance, improvisation has increased exponentially, in contrast to cases in other parts of the world

⁶ David Harnish also found that "the degree of compromise the director negotiates tells a great deal about his or her identity and overall plans and goals" when teaching a non-Western music ensemble in an American university (2004:129).

in which institutionalization has led to a decline in improvisation.⁷ Finns also believe that folk musicians should be versatile and skilled at all musical roles, from instrument building to teaching to performing to composing, and so there has not been a segregation into different musical specialities in the Academy. Furthermore, the preservation of folk music as a museum object is the antithesis of the department's ambition; the curriculum has been specifically designed to prevent folk music from freezing, "stagnating," and "dying."

The most pervasive influence of Western art music that has occurred as a result of the institutionalization of Finnish folk music has been ideological. Contemporary Finnish folk musicians have (perhaps unconsciously) embraced Western art music values of individualism, virtuosity, individual creative input and innovation, and the notion of progress. In his explication of conservatory culture, Kingsbury defines conservatory students' required, culminating solo recitals as "rituals in the cult of the individual," or ritualizations of the sacred principle of individualism in contemporary Western culture (1988:115-126). The Sibelius Academy Folk Music Department requires a series of solo exam-concerts (and a lesser number of ensemble exams), which, as Kingsbury describes, oblige individuals to display advanced technique, social decorum, and intimate musical interpretation by which their teachers, peers, and other audience members will evaluate them and their talent (ibid. 116, 121).⁸ Solo performance is much more prominent in the

⁷ See Judith Becker (1980) for an example of institutionalization into a conservatory setting causing a decline in improvisation in traditional Javanese music.

⁸ Academy folk musicians will often rebel against Western classical music norms of social decorum in concert spaces. Nevertheless, a confident stage presence and ability to interact with the audience is still required and judged, even if the Folk Music Department's standards differ from their classical music

Academy than in amateur folk music or commercial contemporary folk music circles outside the academy, which are both generally characterized by ensemble playing nowadays. Successful professional folk musicians will often return to the Academy to pursue an advanced degree in order to have the opportunity to work on their own individual artistic development.

Along with the emphasis on individualism comes a valorization of individual creativity and a belief that music has progressed, and will continue to progress, through the contributions and innovations of individuals. In Western art music, the individuals in question are genius-composers such as Bach, Beethoven, Mozart, Schoenberg, Stockhausen, and Cage. Jonathan Stock has noted the adoption of these progress-oriented and composer-glorifying values and beliefs in both Chinese and Balinese conservatories (Stock 1986 and 2004, respectively). The same inherent belief in and ambition for artistic progress and development through individual creativity is present in the Finnish Folk Music Department; however, because they believe that each musician should be able to fill all musical roles and that folk music should be created anew during the moment of performance, each musician, and every single student, not only has the potential and the right, but is expected and required, to develop her or his own artistic expression and creative contribution. They have both embraced the Western art music values of individualism and progress, and turned the hierarchical, authoritative meritocracy on its head. Composing and creative interpretation are not the domain of only prodigy composers and socio-musically powerful artist-teachers (as Kingsbury

counterparts in the Academy. (Actually, their concert behavior is often modeled more on experimental and avant-garde art music than on more mainstream classical music.)

describes [1988:87-94]) but rather are the right of everyone regardless of skill, age, training, or talent. The rebellion against the hierarchical Western art music socio-cultural system is intentional; leading Finnish folk music pedagogues, such as Heikki Laitinen and Hannu Saha, have developed teaching methodologies to combat what they see as a stifling of creativity in Finland's Western music education system. Their ideology and ambitions, which have been realized in the Folk Music Department, have had a powerful impact on amateur folk music practices across Finland wherever conservatory influence has spread.

The primary means through which individuals create and artistically "progress" or develop folk music is improvisation. A wide range of improvisation is taught in the Academy, from melodic variation to minimalistic motivic-improvisation to improvised arrangements to full out avant-garde free improvisation. Non-Finnish folk music elements are drawn most abundantly from avant-garde art music and various folk/traditional/world musics, though jazz and popular music elements are not uncommon. By incorporating contemporary non-folk musical elements into their personally expressive improvisations, academy musicians make folk music contemporary, fulfilling their goals of continuing folk music as a living tradition and making it relevant to contemporary society.

Is this method of making folk music "living" and contemporary through unlimited improvisations and fusions really so different from the "modernization" of Arab music by the imposition of Western music theory (see Racy 1991), or the creation of a modern national music by synthesizing folk music and Western music in pre-communist China

(see Stock 1996), or the "improvement" of Communist-era folk music with Western art music arrangements, orchestration, and aesthetics (see Porter 1994 and Buchanan 1995)? In each case, Western art music is a tool for modernization and for the acquisition of cultural capital and status (the Finns just favor avant-garde art music over the more conventional classical music). And perhaps they have all been concerned, to varying degrees, with presenting a sophisticated national or ethnically rooted folk music to an international audience. One main difference between the institutionalization of Finnish folk music and the westernizing and modernizing institutionalization processes described by Nettl, Stock, Porter, and Racy lies in the Finns' overwhelming emphasis on the individual artist and her (or his) right to create her own personal music using whatever musical elements touch and inspire her, without any acknowledged political agenda, without government censorship, and without any explicit extra-musical objectives. Furthermore, the so-called modernization, or more aptly, contemporization of Finnish folk music is less about Westernization (for indeed it is already Western and European) and more about becoming an art music.

The transition of Finnish folk music into an art music has many parallels with the institutionalization of jazz and its transition from folk music to popular music to art music. In both cases, a tradition with strong ethnic roots and contemporary ethnic identity has become a respected "high culture" performed by virtuosic musicians who have been professionally trained in formal music education institutions. Discussing the "gradual acceptance of jazz, within the academy and in the society at large, as an art music – 'America's classical music,'" jazz scholar Scott Deveaux explains how the

accepted historical narrative of jazz taught in universities "is a pedigree, showing contemporary jazz to be not a fad or a mere popular music, subject to the whims of fashion, but an autonomous art of some substance, the culmination of a long process of maturation that has in its own way recapitulated the evolutionary progress of Western art" (Deveaux 1998:483-484). In jazz as well as contemporary Finnish music, the development of extended solo improvisations has been a marker and means of achieving art music status. The improvised solos of individual jazz prodigy musicians are transcribed, studied, and acclaimed as great works of art by innovating geniuses, following the same Western art music ethos of progress through great composers. Lengthy solo improvisations are also the primary method of individual artistic creation and development for Finnish contemporary folk musicians. Technical prowess and the status afforded by their institution are also necessary elements in being/becoming an art musician, but these are more or less taken for granted, as students are already expected to have them upon entering the Academy. Improvisation, valorized and taught in the institutional setting of the Sibelius Academy, is contemporary folk musicians' key to becoming art musicians, and it is also their link to historical folk music and their claim for authenticity and legitimacy.

Constituting Continuity and Authenticity: Ideals and Process

When students come to study at the Sibelius Academy Folk Music Department, many of them are relative outsiders to Finnish folk music traditions. Several have had formal training in classical music, many were self-taught rock or popular musicians who

came to folk music at a later age, and very few were raised with folk music as their first musical idiom.⁹ Practically all contemporary folk musicians might be considered cultural outsiders in the key sense that they were not raised in a predominantly oral, agricultural, and substantially less cosmopolitan culture. Furthermore, they have all been enculturated into the Finnish and international classical, popular, jazz, and world music that dominates the mass media of this highly technologically advanced country.

When a group of musicians adopt a musical tradition in which they did not grow up, either because a different segment of society cultivates the tradition for its own purposes or because the tradition had died out (both of which happened in Finland – see Chapter 5 for a historical overview), it creates discontinuities in transmission, performance practices, and creative processes. These discontinuities, and the musicians' "outsider" status, generate a need to prove to themselves and to others that they have the right to perform that music, that they have a legitimate claim to be bearers and innovators of that tradition, and that the music they make is an authentic musical expression for the tradition in question. These issues typically arise during music revivals – and have been thoroughly discussed by revival scholars (e.g. Livingston 1999, Rosenberg 1993) – but they also surface in moments of institutionalization and in cross-cultural appropriations. Even though Finnish musicians have revived "ancient" folk music and instruments (such

⁹ The lack of previous training in folk music is gradually changing now that folk music education is becoming more widely available at different levels (a result of Sibelius Academy graduates teaching and starting programs at different schools around Finland). Nowadays incoming students have had far more exposure to folk music than the first folk music students 20 years ago, often through summer camps, festival workshops, or the two new high-school-level conservatory programs in folk music. A very small handful of musicians, such as the Järveläs (made famous by the internationally successful contemporary folk band JPP) learned folk music in a more traditional manner from their families, but even they also studied classical music in Finland's music school system.

as kalevala epic singing, and ancient jouhikko [bowed lute] and five-string kantele [zither] music), Finnish contemporary folk music is not typically referred to as a revival. The phrase "Finnish folk music revival" usually denotes the popularization and spread of Western Finnish style dance music (called *pelimanni* music) amongst predominantly rural middle-aged amateur musicians and the formation of festivals and pelimanni organizations, groups, and clubs. (Some of the ideology and practices of contemporary folk musicians have actually been a reaction against pelimanni revival practices.) Nevertheless, Finnish contemporary folk music has the same fundamental characteristics that I believe define most music revivals, namely: (1) a renewal of interest in performing a musical tradition/culture thought to be in danger of disappearing or already dead and (2) the reviving, restoring, continuing, and/or reinventing of that music in a new context.

How the "outsiders" (revival musicians, modern-day urban musicians, or conservatory students) approach and perform the music from cultures of other regions and/or historical periods is often guided by belief in and valorization of musical and extramusical ideals. They can be striving for an ideal musical sound, an ideal way of creating and performing music, an ideal relationship between music and culture or role of music in culture, an ideal musical community or context, or an ideal way of being a musician. The ideals are the characteristics or qualities that revival musicians and/or local scholars or teachers identify or imagine as the most valuable and defining characteristics of their musical source tradition/culture. They serve to (1) build a bridge of continuity between the new and the "original" tradition; (2) legitimate, authorize, and authenticate contemporary practices and sounds; and (3) shape creation process,

performance practices, aesthetics, and perception of the music. Oftentimes these ideals, and the criteria by which they judge "re-created" or "reinvented" music, are expressed in terms of "authenticity." Defining and striving towards an ideal – an authentic sound, an authentic performance practice, an authentic context, or an authentic way of being a musician – is a way both to legitimate the contemporary performers and their music and to connect them to the source culture/tradition.¹⁰

Contemporary Finnish folk musicians share their outsider status and construction of subjective musical ideals and ideology with performers engaged in many different types of music revival movements, whether they be middle-class New Yorkers playing the banjo music of poor rural Southerners as in the old-time revival, Western art musicians re-creating six-hundred-year-old music on period instruments as in the early music revival, or urban youth reviving a long dead bagpipe tradition as in a Swedish folk music revival (see Ronström 1989). Scholarly and community discourse in these revivals provide examples of how ideals are variously constructed and hashed out. For example, the main ideals for musicians in the early music movement have been to be faithful to the composer's intentions and to re-create the music as it would have sounded in its own time period and context. There has been considerable controversy over how one ought to attain these ideals. Some musicologists and early music performers argue for strictly performing every documented note and letter in the surviving manuscripts and treatises on reconstructed period instruments, others aim to capture the "spirit" of the period, while

¹⁰ Similarly, Owe Ronström postulates that "a historically grounded continuity is a prerequisite for the manufacturing of authenticity, and authenticity is the mark of quality that creates legitimation. Legitimation is crucial and essential" (1996:11). Ideals are used to simultaneously construct and reinforce historical continuity and authenticity.

others feel they should dismiss historical authenticity in favor of being "musically authentic" to the contemporary performers' musical aesthetics and intuition.¹¹ The "purist strain" of the American old-time revival has idealized a specific musical style, sound, and repertoire that were authenticated by a small number of bands whose recordings served as models (Feintuch 1993:186-192). In both American and British folk song revivals, criteria for authenticity have hinged variously upon ideal texts, repertoire, and style – musical aspects that can be captured as objects in print or on tape – as well as context (Rosenberg 1993:10-17). Both Swedish and Finnish contemporary folk musicians stake their claim for legitimacy and authenticity by striving for an ideal folk music process. Finns also aim to embody the qualities, which they imagine that an ideal folk musician would possess.

Max Peter Baumann presents a binary model of folklore revivals in which folk music traditions are defined "within the concepts of purism (with a tendency toward stabilizing or even regressive preservation) and of syncretism (with a tendency towards reinventing the past by emancipatory creation to the point of breaking the local and regional frontiers)" (1996:80). The purists comprise authenticists who struggle to save so-called original traditions, folklorists who are often not aware of their own fictitious reconstruction of the past, and researchers who reconstruct sources to produce something as it is thought to have been practiced in the past. The syncretists re-create or revive folklore with reference to modern musical expression, creating fusions, adapting new

¹¹ See Haskell 1988 for an overview of the historical development of the early music revival. For representations of different opinions by revivalist musicians and scholars, see Morrow 1978, Taruskin 1982, and Waitzman 1980.

arrangements and formations, disrupting borderlines, and broadening horizons by integrating a variety of contemporary and commercial musical styles, leading "from the local to the global village" (ibid.:81-82). Finnish contemporary folk music (that is, the musical sound product) unquestionably fits into Baumann's syncretic category. However, Finnish contemporary musicians (and their scholarly cohorts) would argue that their way of creating and performing folk music is much truer to traditional historic folk music than so-called purist approaches. Their contemporary folk music, constructed through imagination and improvisation, is, in their minds, more authentic than the so-called traditional folk music performed by groups dressed in national costumes performing folk tunes exactly as they are notated on the sheet of music in front of them. Finnish musicians realize that, several centuries ago, folk musicians would not have been self-conscious of playing "pure" folk music, but rather would have played any music that they heard, learned, and liked, naturally mixing musical fragments and elements from whichever musical styles to which they had been exposed.¹² Baumann's sharp dichotomy does not allow for the perspective that "syncretism" may be the "purist," or most historically faithful, quality of the traditional music being revived.

Jenny Wilhelms, the lead singer of the internationally successful band Gjallarhorn, which plays contemporary arrangements of medieval Scandinavian ballads and markets itself as "world music from Finland," explained to me that:

As a modern folk musician, you get sometimes comments from these so-called purists that are worried about what is going to happen with the

¹² See Chapters 9 and 12 to learn about how Finnish folk music has appropriated elements from Finland's western and eastern neighbors throughout history. See Chapter 10 for ethnographic accounts of the freedom for personal expression in historical folk music.

tradition and what do young people do and what happens when you put it in a band and all of that stuff.... Anyone can come to me and ask or say anything they want about the traditional singing. Because I will probably know more than most of them because I have been listening so much to the archive recordings.... So if someone is worried about the tradition, then I will be happy to talk for 12 hours about that with that person. [JH: If I were to come and complain to you that your music isn't traditional enough, what would you tell me?] I would tell you to go listen to the original tapes and then I would tell you to come back. [Laughs.] And then I would also try and explain why I feel that it is not a bad thing to make a musical sound pattern underneath a ballad. I would try to explain why I don't think it takes anything away from the function of the song (Jenny Wilhelms, personal interview, May 31, 2004).

Contemporary folk musicians do not find any contradiction in playing musical syncretisms and simultaneously living up to their ideals of the essential folk music creative process and of what it means to be a folk musician. They believe themselves not to be impure or inauthentic or untraditional, but rather continuing the traditional way of living music.

In his analysis of revival literature, Owe Ronström distinguishes between object-oriented and process-oriented studies of revivals. The more sizable object-oriented literature focuses on "objects, styles, forms, and their origins," and "stresses tradition as the handing over of the set repertoire of objectively existing, bounded cultural objects, ceremonies, rituals, customs and habits from 'the folk' or the 'old peasant society' as a valuable cultural heritage to be protected." The smaller body of process-oriented literature presents traditions as constructed, revivals as cultural expressions and communicative processes, authenticity as the result of legitimation processes, and the relationship between society and cultural heritage as symbolic instead of natural (Ronström 1996:6-8). Considering the roles academic and amateur scholars and

researchers have played in revivals (as collectors, selectors, compilers, editors, and publishers of source materials, as legitimizers of authenticity, and as educators, organizers, presenters, activists, and musicians themselves), it is not surprising to find similar ideologies and approaches in revival practices as well as revival literature, despite conflicts between scholars and musicians. In another article, Ronström (1998:40-41) explains a transition from object-oriented to process-oriented revival ideology amongst folk musicians in Sweden:

The aim now became to enter into the tradition as a creative process and continue it, rather than to merely reproduce the collective leftovers stored in museums and archives. But to do that, it was necessary to develop a better understanding of how this [*sic*] creative processes worked. Therefore, many young boys and girls started to do in practice what folklorists have been doing in theory for some years, to study folk creativity and formula improvisation. By learning not only the vocabulary of folk music and dance, but also its grammar and syntax, they believed it would be possible to create a new music and dance in traditional and "authentic" style.

This stress on improvisation is, as I see it, the single most important factor that shaped the folk dance and folk music revival movement. It made the participants concerned with what was happening here and now, instead of only looking back to remote places in past days. This in turn led to a change in how authenticity was to be perceived. Before "authentic" referred to the material, and was used to legitimize the exact reproduction of old recorded forms. Now, it could also refer to how this material was treated, that is, not to reproduce, but to produce anew according to the vocabulary, grammar, and syntax of old traditional music. Thus, the stress on improvisation became in a way a stress on self-determination and reestablishment of the individual roles . . . dancing and music-making became a field where individuality could be developed and expressed, in a society which seemed to leave too little room for individual expressivity.

The Finnish and Swedish contemporary folk music scenes share these emphases on entering the folk creative *process, continuing* (instead of preserving) the tradition, improvisation, and individual expression (though Swedish musicians tend to adhere more

to traditional forms in their improvisations while Finnish musicians tend to abhor placing any boundaries on their musical expression).

Finnish contemporary folk musicians highly value the process of creating and performing folk music; it is through these processes that they define folk music, perceive historical continuity and authenticity, and identify themselves as folk musicians.

Although I never heard Finnish musicians, scholars, or audience members discuss authenticity (except in the few instances in which I introduced the subject), I did hear a great deal of rhetoric describing ideal folk music and the ideal folk musician, rhetoric which served to legitimize a wide range of musical styles and activities as folk music. Most simply stated, the folk process as they define it entails the musician learning the tradition and then performing/expressing it in her or his own individual, personal way. Improvisation (*improvisaatio*), from melodic variation (*muuntelu*) to unstructured free improvisation (*vapaa improvisaatio*), is highly valued (it is inspired and justified by historical accounts of both types of improvisation). The other key musical ideal is that, in order for folk music to be living and relevant to people living in today's world, folk musicians must be free to incorporate and express whatever musical and extra-musical influences they have experienced in their contemporary lives. Thus, the ideology shaping Finnish contemporary folk music is founded on an ideal musical process, an ideal way of being a folk musician, and an ideal relationship of folk music to contemporary society.

To a certain extent, these ideals are constructed from imagined historical folk music practices and processes. Like early music revivalists, contemporary Finnish folk musicians have had to piece together limited information from incompletely documented

musical cultures of the past, and fill in the rest with their imagination. Speaking of early music, Richard Taruskin (1982:343) argues that

music has to be imaginatively recreated in order to be retrieved.... Research alone has never given, and is never likely to give... enough information to achieve that wholeness of conception and that sureness of style – in a word, that fearlessness – any authentic, which is to say authoritative, performance must embody.... The modernist, avant-garde, historical reconstruction of *Messiah* can only invoke the pastness of the past, and will therefore appeal not to the esthetic sense but merely to antiquarian curiosity – unless it derives its sustenance not only from whatever evidence musicological research may provide, but from imaginative leaps that will fill in the gaps research by its very nature must leave. Otherwise we will have not a performance but a documentation of the state of knowledge.... the most authoritative and compelling reconstructionist performances of old music, as well as the most controversial, have always been those that have proceeded from a vividly imagined – that is frankly to say imaginary – but coherent performance style. They provide themselves with Tradition, in the [T.S.] Eliot sense [i.e. depersonalization, defined as the surrender of the artist in the moment to tradition], and distill authenticity upon themselves. Where such performers do not know the composer's intentions they are unafraid to have intentions of their own, and to treat them with a comparable respect.

Most contemporary Finnish folk musicians hold the same beliefs as Taruskin. Many of them have used the vague and scanty historical accounts of folk music as the foundation and inspiration to create a historically informed yet nevertheless imagined folk music. For example, historical accounts of a single fiddler playing *polskas* (a triple-meter dance genre) virtually nonstop for three days and nights at traditional wedding festivals have led contemporary folk musicians to surmise that, rather than having a repertoire of the thousands of tunes it would be necessary to have to play for 72 hours, the fiddler must have had the tools and skills to improvise/compose *polskas* while performing. And so several contemporary musicians have experimented with and tried to teach themselves how to improvise *polskas*. Historical accounts of a solo kantele player sitting in a corner

playing for hours as if in a trance, or of a shepherd playing tunes *omasta päästä* (from his own head) on his flutes, have both inspired and legitimized free improvisation and composition.

Contemporary folk musicians have no individual composer to whom they feel obliged to be faithful, in stark contrast to early music revivalists. Folk melodies and texts belong to the public domain, as is suggested by the titles of the primary sources *Suomen Kansan Sävelmiä* (Melodies of the Finnish People) and *Suomen Kansan Vanhat Runot* (The Old Poems of the Finnish People). Although these sources provide the name of the performer from whom each song and tune was collected, contemporary folk musicians consider the printed text and notation to be that individual performer's version and expect each musician to perform her or his own version. Finnish copyright laws do not protect the rights of the performers from whom the songs were collected, even on published albums of field recordings. Furthermore, the scholars and collectors who contributed to the above volumes intended their transcriptions to be descriptive and not prescriptive. Contemporary folk musicians think of them as source material that they can use as they please.

Contemporary musicians' understanding of folk music process, composition, and performance shares similar principles with Albert Lord's theory of oral composition and James Cowdery's reinterpretation of tune family and recombinant principal of melodic composition. Lord (2003 [1960]) demonstrated that long epics and narrative songs existing in oral traditions were composed orally in the moment of performance with the singer-poet drawing from an orally transmitted store of traditional metric phrases or

formulas, narrative themes, and story patterns to spontaneously construct the song anew. "Each performance is more than a performance; it is a re-creation." The songs' "outward form and their specific content are ever-changing. Yet there is a basic idea or combination of ideas that is fairly stable.... 'Oral transmission,' 'oral composition,' 'oral creation,' and 'oral performance' are all one and the same thing" (Lord 1983:160-161). Lord's ideas directly influenced Finnish folklorists and Heikki Laitinen (the ideologue and pedagogue who shaped contemporary Finnish folk music) who believed that oral composition theory explained ancient Finnish kalevala *runolauluja* (epic sung oral poetry – see Chapter 5 for historical information and Chapter 9 for musical details). They used Lord's theory as inspiration in their attempts to perform and re-create kalevala *runolauluja* (see Chapter 10 for their methods of recreation).

Based on intricate analysis of melodically similar traditional Irish tunes, Cowdery's reinterpretation of tune family demonstrates how tunes are constructed from a store of related melodic moves, motifs, and phrases that tend to be ordered in specific ways – what I would call a melodic vocabulary. Cowdery explains that by applying what he terms the recombining principle, "we may start to understand more completely the processes by which folk music continues to thrive and replenish itself.... The actual *process* of composition is suggested by complex permutations based on melodic pools.... Certain melodic moves are seen to belong together not as a fixed chain of events, but more as a system of potentialities. These motives can recombine in various ways, expanding or contracting, to make new melodies which still conform to the traditional sound" (1984:499, emphasis in original). Finnish musicians have tried to re-create such a

process by playing and listening to several traditional tunes before composing and improvising their own so that traditional melodic patterns and motifs will be fresh in their mind and ear and come out in their newly composed/improvised tunes.

Lord's and Cowdery's theories describe creative processes in continuous, living oral traditions. They explain how musicians immersed in the tradition creatively create, compose, improvise, and perform songs and tunes that sound traditional and fit traditional forms and structures, thereby, in Cowdery's terms, "continually imbuing [the tradition] with new life and meaning" (Cowdery 1990:133).

Finnish musicians may believe in the principles of these creative folk processes, but they have not inherited a continuously living tradition. In their attempt to restore and continue traditions that had almost entirely died out, they have had to experiment with and invent their own ways to transmit-compose-improvise-perform folk music according to their ideal of creative folk music processes. Their methods for creating folk music draw on a variety of resources, including archive recordings; museum instruments; material collected, catalogued and transcribed by 19th and early 20th century romantic nationalist scholars; fieldwork with the handful of living traditional master folk musicians; their own imaginations; and extensive structured and unstructured improvisation.

Contemporary folk musicians do not wish to *preserve* folk music statically as an object in a museum, or worse yet, a mausoleum. Instead, their ideals of how folk music and folk musicians should relate to society dictate that, if folk music is to be a *living* tradition, it must be relevant to people today, and in order to achieve contemporary

meaningfulness, folk musicians must be free to express themselves personally, and in order to truly express themselves they should be free to incorporate into their music making all of the musical and extra musical influences that have touched them.

Contemporary musicians have not grown up immersed in (only) folk music; rather, the aural and musical world to which they have been exposed most of their lives is a broad spectrum ranging from classical music to jazz to popular musics to world musics to folk music. They have no folk music sound ideal towards which they are striving, so as long as they embody the folk musician ideal and the folk process ideal, the music they make can sound ancient, or avant-garde, or like a world music fusion, or anything else. Many musicians in the Sibelius Academy Folk Music Department self-identify very strongly as folk musicians, and assert that their foundation and point of departure is folk music, but when asked to categorize or define the music they make, they often say that "it's just music." Historically, traditional folk musicians would not have consciously or intentionally played specifically *folk* music; they just played music. And so, in a similar spirit, contemporary folk musicians play just music.

Thus, contemporary musicians are free to incorporate and explore a variety of contemporary musical cultures. In actuality, the non-Finnish folk music styles that have been most prominent and influential in the contemporary scene are (1) avant-garde and experimental art music and (2) folk and traditional musics from other cultures (though the work of some individual folk musicians also shows influence from jazz or popular music). These musics have more or less similar performance practices, creative processes, and philosophies. Avant-garde and experimental music has tended to be very

process-oriented. Aleatory and chance techniques result in each performance's being a unique creation, performers often (though not always) have a fair amount of creative freedom during performance, and improvisation is greatly valued. Contemporary Finnish folk musicians share the same belief in living music as that expressed by John Cage in "Composition As Process" (1961:44):

contemporary music is changing. Like life it changes. If it were not changing it would be dead, and, of course, for some of us, it is dead, but at any moment it changes and is living again. Talking for a moment about contemporary milk: at room temperature it is changing, goes sour etc., and then a new bottle etc., unless by separating it from its changing by powdering it or refrigeration (which is a way of slowing down its liveliness) (that is to say museums and academies are ways of preserving) we temporarily separate things from life (from changing) but any moment destruction may come suddenly and then what happens is fresher...when we separate music from life what we get is art (a compendium of masterpieces). With contemporary music, when it is actually contemporary, we have no time to make that separation (which protects us from living), and so contemporary music is not so much art as it is life...

Though Finnish musicians may disagree with Cage's notion of art, because it is also their goal to be artists and develop folk music as an art, they do believe that folk music must constantly change in order to live, and that folk music is a way of life. Finnish folk musicians also believe that Finnish folk music is a part of "global folk music" and shares many characteristics with folk and traditional music from neighboring countries and other parts of the world. As folk musicians, they can identify with, for example, traditional musicians from Ghana, Tanzania, or Cuba (see Chapter 12).

Despite the emphasis on change and innovation, and despite syncretisms and fusions with other musical genres that lead to new creations that are far beyond the parameters of traditional folk music, the music is still called folk music (*kansanmusiikki*),

or contemporary folk music (*nykykansanmusiikki*), the musicians identify very strongly as folk musicians (*kansanmuusikot*), and these very philosophies of change, innovation, exploration, syncretism, and breaking of boundaries are propagated by the Folk Music Department. In her general theory of music revivals, Tamara Livingston suggests that it is

when there is no longer an overriding concern for "authenticity" (i.e. style markers that are consciously employed for historical reference) and the "tradition" is felt to be too constricting of a reference point by the majority of revivalists, that revivals break down into different styles. In such cases revivals may stimulate new innovative styles and thus cease to exist primarily as a revivalist genre. On the other hand, revivalist strains of the genre, distinguished by the term "traditional," may exist alongside new styles generated by, or merging with, revivalist genres (1999: 80-81).

Stylistically, Finnish contemporary folk music should be one of the "new innovative styles" that has grown out of the "tradition" when the tradition was considered to be too constricting, following Livingston's model. Yet there is still a strong claim for historical continuity, authenticity, in contemporary folk music. Scott Deveaux, speaking of jazz, provides an explanation for why new musical styles cling to the names of earlier revived traditions:

There is a certain logic, after all, to the argument that an idiom so thoroughly transformed ought perhaps to be considered a new genre and given a new name, as bebop was... bebop was such a departure that to consider it a new type of music, deriving from jazz but separate from it, was not out of the question. This, needless to say, is not the way the narrative of jazz history goes. An equally logical case for considering bebop as a subset of an overarching category, "jazz," can and has been built by underscoring continuity wherever possible.... In emphasizing continuity over discontinuity, and the general (jazz) over the particular (bebop), the jazz community made a choice that determined how the music would henceforth be described and understood.... In the long run, it proved as much in the interests of the modernists to have their music legitimated as the latest phase of a (now) long and distinguished tradition,

as it was in the interests of the proponents of earlier jazz styles (whether New Orleans jazz or swing) not to be aside as merely antiquarian.... Thus a new compromise was forged, and the term *jazz* further extended – its definition now more than ever dependent on ideas of continuous evolution and growth (Deveaux 1998: 494).

Because Finnish folk music has been defined as an ideal process, instead of a specific style, folk musicians claim the freedom to transform their music and go beyond traditional parameters and boundaries while still maintaining claims of historical continuity and legitimacy to define their newly created music as folk music. Envisioning folk music as a regenerating, revitalizing, progressing entity with a long, cherished, and ancient history provides additional status, authority, and legitimacy (as well as readier access to institutional and state support). Continuity and change are not opposites, rather change is continuity, and individual creativity is the means for creating both.

Authority to Be Creative

Given that folk music is defined as a creative process, brought to life by the creative contributions of individuals, certain individuals must possess or somehow earn the authority to create and innovate folk music. In my previous experiences studying and performing a variety of different art and folk music traditions from around the world, I have at times in the past distinctly felt that I was not being given such authority. So when I came to study at the Sibelius Academy, I found myself wondering how contemporary folk musicians were given (or gave themselves) authority both to be innovators within the tradition and to use elements from the tradition in musical creations that go beyond the boundaries or parameters of the tradition.

We must have a working definition of creativity before seeking to understand how individuals are entitled to use it. Peter Webster, who has written extensively on creativity in music education, points out that the term "creativity" has been used in so many different ways that there is no clear or commonly accepted definition. Some advocates of music and art education have argued that any and all musical and art activities are creative, including, for example, the rendering of a piece of band music exactly to the score's and the teacher's specifications. Webster would call this "convergent thinking," or finding the one and only right solution to a problem -- in other words, not a creative activity at all. In his view, creativity requires "divergent thinking," in which a student explores and invents multiple solutions. For clarity, Webster uses the phrase "creative thinking in music" to refer to "generative, divergent music behaviors such as composition, improvisation, and creative listening" (Webster 1992:267). In the spirit of Webster's definition, I will use the terms creative and creativity in reference to any instance in which an individual musician creates or performs music in her/his own way with her/his own modifications or innovations. This encompasses the interpretation of precomposed music (in the Western art music sense of determining what tempos, dynamics, articulation, tone qualities, etc., when performing precomposed pitches and rhythms); ornamenting and varying a melody; arranging precomposed material; composing and improvising drawing on existing motifs and other musical elements within a tradition; fusing different musical elements together in new ways; and freely improvising and composing; as well as collaborating with dancers, developing new

instrumental and vocal techniques, designing and building new or modified instruments, creating theatrical stage presentations or performance art, and so on.

Authority is a conferred right, freedom, or power to do something that is granted and constructed by certain members of a community and society, in this case, the Folk Music Department leaders, teachers, peers, and individuals themselves (and, less directly, the State in its institutional support). Part of the process of legitimization discussed above, the authority to be creative – founded on communal and societal values and ideology – may be granted according to factors such as social status, skill and knowledge, training, ethnicity, nationality, heritage, and other affinity and identity markers, spiritual intervention, or simply respect and ethical intentions.

In an anonymous East Coast United States music conservatory, permission and acceptance to creatively interpret music is largely determined by social standing granted by artist-teachers. Henry Kingsbury reveals that when music students are expected to and judged on how they express their musicality and "play with feeling" -- something that is supposed to be an individual, personal attribute -- they are really supposed to feel what the composer and their teacher want them to feel and then play with that feeling (Kingsbury 1988:92-95). "Playing with feeling" comprises interpreting a score through various nuances and manipulation of dynamics, timbre, tone quality, articulation, etc. Composers are the only ones given free rein to be creative, and their scores hold the ultimate authority. Certain artist-teachers also have the authority to creatively interpret these scores, and to approve or dismiss others' interpretations as "correct"/"good" or "poor"/"unmusical"/"lacking feeling." Their authority is based on their status and power

within a social hierarchy determined by perceived musical skill and talent. Kingsbury writes:

In the conservatory, musical performance and rendition [interpretation] are inextricably intertwined with the negotiation and reproduction of social inequality. The reproduction of a hierarchy, or perhaps more generally, social diversity, in a particular cultural knowledge and competence must be taken as an integral element in the meaning of musical performance.... Thus, while playing with feeling is at the core of the meaning of musical performance, it must be emphasized that this is so only as this feeling mediates the social power relations that exist in musical performance situations. The free play of fantasy and imagination, playing with feeling, are never "free" in musical performance. Musical feeling mediates social relationships, including the elements of power in those relationships, which constitute the situations of musical performance (ibid.:105-106).

In other words, only those musicians holding power and status within the social hierarchy have the authority to be creative, within the cultural system of the conservatory. While Finnish folk musicians find themselves in a department in a conservatory that functions in a similar way, the leaders of the Folk Music Department have consciously rebelled against this limitation of creative authority that is standard in much Western art music – and have engaged in polemical arguments with music education administrators decrying Western art music education in Finland for stifling and killing the creativity of 50,000 children (the estimated number of children in Finland's music school system, see the more detailed discussion in Chapter 7). In the Sibelius Academy, social status is indeed linked to perceived musical talent and skill amongst both classical and folk musicians, but the Folk Music Department's values and teaching methods grant all students equal authority to interpret, compose, improvise, arrange, and "play with feeling" (see discussions of the department's curriculum in Chapter 8, ideology in Chapter 9, and teaching methods in Chapters 10-12).

Acquiring knowledge and skill are often prerequisites for being allowed to be creative. At the Sibelius Academy, folk music students receive extensive training and gain a great deal of knowledge about contemporary and historic Finnish folk music, but they are taught to improvise and compose from day one while they are acquiring that knowledge, not afterwards. David Hughes and Mantle Hood both express a belief that outsiders to a tradition must gain knowledge *before* improvising or composing so that they can compose music within the tenets of tradition and be creative "appropriately."¹³ While the ability to improvise and compose within the specific musical structures of a tradition does indeed require knowledge or at least familiarity with that tradition, it is important to realize that acquiring knowledge about a tradition is not required for learning to be creative. All cultural constructs and values aside, knowledge, skill, competence, and experience are not technically necessary for creativity. Peter Webster, researcher of creativity in music education, demonstrates that:

There is no evidence of significant linear relationships between the ability to think creatively in music and cognitive intelligence... There is no evidence that a relationship exists between scores on traditional aptitude tests in music (measuring the ability to hear tonal and rhythm patterns) and creative thinking in music. In other words, children who possess advanced levels of music audiation are not necessarily the same as those who can think imaginatively about music (1988:34-35).

It can be said with some confidence that creative thinking in music is a definable and measurable entity that should not be confused with

¹³ Mantle Hood explains that "I got over my initial 'stuffy' attitude that you shouldn't write Javanese or Balinese music. However, I believe some composers are not sufficiently informed about either Javanese or Balinese music to write it.... you should stay within the tenets of a tradition, no matter how refreshing and different you want to be. Unless you are trying to capture and keep those tenets, I feel you haven't really done the job" (Hood, interviewed in Trimillos 2004:286). Hughes writes that, "as in any genre of music, improvisation must be based on knowledge of the parameters of the genre; whether one then works within those parameters or challenges and expands them is another question" (Hughes 2004:281).

traditional music aptitude, performance achievement, general intelligence, or academic ability (1992:277).

The results of my questionnaire, based on responses from 234 folk musicians, dancers, and enthusiasts of all skill levels, show that the amount of creative activities in which individuals engage have statistically significant correlations to their ideology and not to their self-reported skill levels or competence. Requirements that musicians should be knowledgeable, skilled, and competent in order to obtain the authority to be creative are socially constructed. These "prerequisites" likely derive from a desire for continuity (for it would be difficult for a musician to remain within traditional musical parameters without thorough knowledge of those parameters) as well as the wish that the music representing a community will be of the highest quality, and, at least in some cases, a belief that "artistic progress" will be made by the creative innovations of geniuses and prodigies.

In some cases, ethnicity and nationality may determine who has the authority to be creative with a particular tradition. This may be taken for granted when a musician grows up immersed in a particular musical culture, but the issue comes into stark relief when a musician who did not grow up in the musical culture, a so-called outsider, takes up the tradition. The claims to authenticity and legitimacy that appear in the context of revivals may be, at least in part, attempts to establish such authority within the adopted tradition. It is not uncommon for Finnish musicians to grow up immersed in Western popular music and schooled in Western classical music with a handful of summer camp workshops in folk music, and only later, at the age of, say, 18 or 19 start studying folk music. They soon after become not only tradition bearers but innovators in Finnish folk

music. I believe that their authority to innovate Finnish folk music, despite their relative outsider status to the tradition, is based on two factors. First, Finnish folk music is considered to be their "own" tradition on the basis of their nationality and ethnic heritage. Romantic nationalist scholars and their school teachers taught them that these traditions belong to the Finnish people. The titles of their main source materials, "Old Poems of the Finnish People" and "Melodies of the Finnish People," reinforce this belief. Second, they have gone through a transformative experience at the Sibelius Academy Folk Music Department, gaining the necessary knowledge and internalizing the proper ideologies (see Chapter 10).

The notion of who has the "right" to use traditional musical material for creative, artistic expression or other purposes (such as magico-religious or commercial, for example) is based at least in part on concepts of ownership. In folk music, that ownership is often held by a community or group whose membership is frequently based largely on ethnicity. Anthony Seeger (1992, 1996), Hugo Zemp (1996), and Sherylle Mills (1996) have discussed legal and ethical conflicts between communal, collective ownership of traditional songs by indigenous groups and US and international copyright laws designed to regulate the remuneration of copies of compositions and performances owned by individuals. Copyright laws, as explained by Seeger, Zemp, and Mills, perpetuate the familiar first world/imperialist/exploiter to third world/colonized/exploited power imbalance: identified, individual creators receive protection under the laws, while music that belongs to a community (lacking a single living or recently deceased individual creator) is in the public domain, and may be used freely, in any way by

anyone. Seeger, Zemp, and Mills provide examples of how traditional music in the public domain can be and has been exploited by commercial Western artists. Implicit in their arguments is the notion that ownership of musical traditions that are in the public domain should be limited to the particular community or group in which it was created and not open to all of humanity, specifically not open to (exploitative) people from other cultures. But what are the membership requirements for being one of the communal owners? Setting aside legal definitions (which are themselves culturally determined and usually designed to benefit those in power), ownership and entitlement are constructed by customs ("what people do") and ethics ("what people should do" or feel they should do) (to borrow Seeger's glosses, 1992:346). For the Suyá Indian community in Brazil's Amazon basin, determining who has a legitimate claim to be a communal owner of a song may be fairly straightforward: they have a geographically bounded community distinctly identified as separate from neighboring communities; community members actively perform traditional music; and they have specific cultural concepts of collective music ownership (see Seeger 1992). However, in a cosmopolitan, urban setting where musicians hail from several different regions and belong to a number of overlapping communities, most of which do not participate in collective community-based music-making, who has the authority to use material from the public domain? Should it be determined by residency in a community, direct descent from ancestral musicians, cultural or ethnic heritage, ethnic or linguistic identity, nationality, affinity, knowledge, experience, desire?

Just as notions of ethnic and national ownership authorize Finnish contemporary folk musicians to be creative with Ostrobothnian and Karelian traditions, non-natives to any tradition often feel that they do not have such rights.¹⁴ Music educators Boyce-Tillman (1997) and Walker (1992) have expressed concern about multicultural and world music education frameworks that value the use of other cultures' music for self-expression and artistic creativity while disregarding the music's cultural significance and heritage. Ethnomusicology ensemble directors who teach music from cultures and ethnicities other than their own to students who are often also cultural and ethnic outsiders feel insecure in their authority to be creative and to teach their students to creatively engage the musical material. Ted Solís observes that "as Westerners, or even as Western-employed non-Westerners, we [world music ensemble directors] are vulnerable to accusations of cultural appropriation and misrepresentation" (2004:17). They sense "an angst born of serving as ambassadors (or least local consuls) for cultures to which they only equivocally belong... Our personal doubts and insecurities elicited when we direct ensembles usually lie more in the sphere of cultural heritage -- our not quite bicultural credentials" (ibid.:12). Insecurities born of lack of ethnic heritage lead most world music ensembles in American universities to be "meticulously imitative in nature"; as Gage Averill argues, "at best a pale simulacrum of 'the real thing,' the implicit goal is to maximize 'authenticity' by performing near exact replicas of musical models from other cultures" (2004:100). (Note that this common conceptualization of authenticity – which Averill does not support – is based on an ideal sound, an ideal

¹⁴ Ostrobothnia and Karelia are areas in Western and Eastern Finland, respectively, that are strongholds of distinct regional musical traditions, and the main sources for "national" Finnish folk music.

musical product, and not on an ideal musical process.) David Hughes, displeased with these uncreative imitative practices, asserts that "if our students do not aspire to and achieve some degree of creativity, then world music ensembles lay themselves open to the potential charge of doing little more than producing bad copies of Zimbabwean (or Japanese, or Javanese, or Indian...) musicians" (2000:281). But he also expresses a deep uncertainty arising from his not belonging to the culture: "it took me a long time to become comfortable with even such minimal creativity [as traditional rhythmic variations in solo vocal passages]: it seemed incredibly daring to tamper with another culture's music in that way" (Hughes 2000:264). These fears of misrepresentation, inauthenticity, and "tampering with another culture's music" are based on a perceived outsider status – not only their outsider status to the musical tradition, but to the ethnic group/culture/nation that "owns" the tradition.

When performing and creating musical material as an outsider to the "legitimate" cultural and ethnic "owners" of the source tradition, the authority to be creative is challenged not only by fears of inauthenticity and misrepresentation, but also by ethical concerns and accusations of exploitation. Feld elegantly describes the double-edged sword of cross-cultural musical creativity: "musical appropriation sings a double line with one voice. It is the melody of admiration, even homage and respect, a fundamental source of connectedness, creativity, and innovation.... Yet this voice is harmonized by a counter melody of power, even control and domination, a fundamental source of asymmetry in ownership and commodification of musical works.... Appropriation means that the question 'whose music?' is submerged, supplanted, and subverted by the

assertion "Our/my music" (Feld 1994:238). Examples of exploitative cross-cultural appropriation include cases documented by Hugo Zemp (1996) and Steve Feld (1994, 2000) in which Western European and American artists utilized music from third world countries or minority groups (for example, Solomon Islanders and Cajun-zydeco musicians) without permission, without crediting the traditional musicians, and/or without giving them a proportional share of the profits. Some scholars and third world artists feel that musicians should not have the authority to do creative cross-cultural appropriations when power imbalances and large sums of money are involved because there is the potential for them to be unethical and exploitative or because their motivations are "wrong" (e.g. commercial instead of artistic) (see Zemp 1996). The cases described by Zemp and Feld concern albums that literally sold millions of copies, benefiting the Western pop artists exponentially more than the traditional artists. However, when fusions are not commercial, or not lucrative, perhaps being creative with "another culture's tradition" is not so problematic. Writing about the possibility of a Westerner exploiting indigenous people by copywriting their songs, Seeger proposes that "it only really matters when the song is a hit or is used in a film" (1992:355). In Finland, the vast majority of contemporary folk musicians create fusions for artistic, not commercial purposes; most do not even earn enough to support themselves from these musical creations, if they make any money at all, so perhaps their authority to use music from other cultures is less likely to be challenged.¹⁵ Finnish musicians often do not feel

¹⁵ The exceptions are the bands Värttinä, Gjallarhorn, and JPP, which participate in the commercial world music market with relative success. The nature and significance of Gjallarhorn's and various Finnish artists' foreign musical appropriations are discussed at greater length in the section on identity and cross-cultural relationships in this chapter and in Chapter 12.

knowledgeable or skilled enough to create music within the tenets of a foreign tradition, but they certainly have no qualms against using others' traditions for inspiration and for source material for their own compositions.

Nations and nationality are "imagined communities," socially constructed through print media and other forms of discourse and sentiments of belonging, as Benedict Anderson has demonstrated (1991). Finnish musicians imagine communities not bounded by national borders and stake their claims of identity and communal belonging on shared cultural values (with other Nordic countries), linguistic heritage (with other Finno-Ugric peoples), and other forms of affinity (e.g. global folk musician). Assuming that Finnish citizenship/ethnicity/heritage entitles one to innovate Finnish folk music, does a strong sense of belonging to a transnational Finno-Ugric community entitle a Finnish musician to the same right to creatively perform Mordvin, Ingrian, and Estonian music? If contemporary Finnish musicians strongly feel that they are a part of a "global folk music" community, does that authorize them to use the music of their fellow "global folk musicians"? Since authority, like identity, is socially constructed, answers to these questions will vary between and within communities. What some scholars consider unethical or exoticizing, Finns may see as purely artistic expression or a connection with their heritage and fellow human beings. The restrictions for creatively utilizing musical elements without the intention of "accurately" performing or "representing" the "original" musical tradition seem to be less stringent, and may be based on affinity or simply respect and good intentions (e.g. not exploiting). When outside of the music's home culture, there is less public scrutiny and peer pressure to adhere to social and musical norms. In

my research on traveling Andean musicians, I found that when musicians were at home they followed traditional practices while under the scrutiny of their community; they were restricted to the demands of their audiences when playing for money abroad; but in private spaces, with no pressures or expectations, they made their own unique fusions, improvisations, and compositions (see Hill 2001). By endorsing, encouraging, condoning, allowing, or prohibiting, the social environment has determined how much authority (or inhibition) individual musicians feel they have to be creative. The appropriation and methods of incorporating non-Finnish musical elements reveal not only Finnish musicians' values concerning who has the authority to be creative with what musical elements, but also their perceived relationships with other cultures from around the world.

Whether or not newcomer or outsider musicians may stake a claim of ethnic heritage, a certain amount of knowledge of traditional material is often a prerequisite for the authority to be creative *within* a musical tradition. Outsider status may also be tempered by knowledge and even transformed by experience. The Sibelius Academy Folk Music Department provides a transformative experience for young musicians who come with backgrounds in classical, jazz, popular, and some folk music and graduate as contemporary folk musicians. Ethnomusicologists have often sought to transform themselves and their understandings by learning to play other musics. The most famous of these was Mantle Hood, with his goal of bimusicality and his implementation of world music ensembles at UCLA for the purpose of teaching students deeper cross-cultural understanding through the experience of performing and learning music (Hood 1957).

Drawing on the appropriating and reflecting processes described by hermeneutic scholars, Tim Rice explains how the experience of learning to play Bulgarian bagpipes transformed his understanding of the music and of himself: "I eventually moved beyond both Western concepts and the few words of explanation older musicians have for their music to a much more complete understanding of the tradition than I began with. That new understanding is neither an insider's (emic) nor an outsider's (etic). It is the provisional endpoint of a hermeneutical arc that allows me to explain the previously opaque nature of gaida ornamentation and to understand one way that it can be acquired and produced.... I expanded my horizons until at least a partial fusion of horizons occurred; the distant tradition was brought closer and made demands of its own on me, the interpreter" (1994:72, 87). Just as we scholars gain deeper understandings of other musical cultures and partially "go native" through experiences and the process of acquiring knowledge, Finnish contemporary folk musicians undergo similar transformative processes while studying in the Sibelius Academy Folk Music Department. In addition to teaching skills and knowledge of folk music, the department has teaching methods with the intent to transform individuals through specific types of improvisational, experimental, vocal, and other experiences. The social environment of the department, dominated by artist-teachers, department heads, and successful student-musicians, allows, encourages, approves of, requires, and teaches creativity and gives students the authority to create their own music using Finnish and others' folk musics (see Chapters 8 through 12).

Teaching Creativity

Pedagogy, and the ideology driving it, can encourage or discourage individuals' creativity, and teaching methods can shape the way students create and express themselves through music.

Unfortunately, much of mainstream music education, in my own country and in Finland, does not actively encourage creative activity in musicmaking. Peter Webster writes that "it is ironic that arts educators, particularly music educators, are the most guilty of avoiding and even discouraging creative thinking" (1988:33). Patricia Shehan Campbell concurs that "music instruction... frequently deemphasizes or dismisses the development of aural and creative skills" and "students have few occasions within their lessons or classes to produce and develop original musical ideas" (1991:xiii, 19). "School music instruction seldom encourages divergent or critical thinking; instead it emphasizes the convergent thinking needed for performance and knowledge *about* music" (ibid.:96). Rather than encouraging more creative activities, "music reading and the performance of notated music in solo and ensemble settings appear to be important practical goals of school music" (ibid.:17). The observations of these music education scholars summarize my own Western music training; by age 17 I was technically proficient on my instrument and an outstanding sight reader, but I had absolutely no clue how to play by ear, make up my own variations or ornamentations, improvise, or compose (it was not until I reached Wesleyan University and delved into experimental jazz and world music that I was encouraged and taught how to do these things).

The new guidelines for the Music Educators National Conference stress more

creativity than previously, and there have been several projects designed to bring creative activities such as improvisation and composition into schools.¹⁶ But these changes have not been implemented into music curricula on a widespread basis. According to Christopher Azzara, "many music educators have advocated the development of students' creativity and improvisation skills in music classrooms... [but] despite such advocacy, much of the literature on the topic of improvisation in music education points to the fact that it is rarely part of the core of music education curricula" (2002:171). Campbell's book *Lessons from the World: A Cross-Cultural Guide to Music Teaching and Learning* (1991) is an attempt to bring more emphasis on the development of aural skills and improvisation into mainstream music education by providing models of how these skills have been taught in traditional music learning practices around the world.

During the formation of the Folk Music Department in the 1980s and the evolution and establishment of a folk music curriculum in the 1990s, the leading pedagogues in Finnish contemporary folk music were (and still are) reacting against the same problem that they perceived in mainstream Finnish music education, namely the discouragement of creativity and passive instead of active music learning (though the head administrators of the Finnish music school system disagree with the folk pedagogues' assessment of their programs). Drawing on concepts of oral transmission, folk creativity, Albert Lord's theory of oral composition, and his own training in composition and avant-garde art music, Heikki Laitinen, with help from students and

¹⁶ See Campbell (1991:8-16) for descriptions of these projects, including Composers and the Schools, the Yale Seminar, the Comprehensive Musicianship Approach, the Manhattanville Music Curriculum Project, the Tanglewood Symposium, and the Ann Arbor Symposium.

colleagues, created a pedagogy, curriculum, and teaching methods for the Sibelius Academy Folk Music Department that would shape a new generation of musicians who would be confident and capable musical explorers, improvisers, and composers. The tremendous success of this program and the impacts that it has had on music professionals and amateurs both within and beyond the Academy make it an excellent case study and model for how to teach creativity.

Webster postulates that musical creativity requires "enabling skills" and "enabling conditions." Enabling skills include the music student's abilities, aptitudes, and conceptual understanding; Webster lists tonal imagery, rhythmic imagery, syntax, extensiveness, flexibility, and originality. Enabling conditions are motivation, personality, subconscious imagery, and environment, specifically environments that encourage divergent thinking in music (Webster 1988:35-36). The Sibelius Academy Folk Music Department uses techniques that provide for both enabling skills and conditions.

Skills required for improvisation, which is the predominant creative activity in contemporary folk music, include knowing and being able to apply (1) a melodic (or rhythmic or harmonic) vocabulary, the smallest musical units that are the building blocks for generating new compositions, and (2) an understanding of the stylistic, structural, and other parameters of the specific musical tradition. Different traditions have different methods for acquiring melodic vocabularies. Jazz students build up a storehouse of licks in their aural memories by imitating and practicing solos of previous artists. Persian music students systematically memorize their teacher's radif consisting of 300 small

melodic units (Nettl 1985). In Bulgarian bagpipe playing, kinesthetic hand movements assist the learning of ornaments and rapid melodic fragments (Rice 1985:119). In Irish traditional music, musicians learn small melodic phrases that can be combined in different ways to make new tunes by growing up and spending a lifetime immersed in the tradition (Cowdery 1990). In the Sibelius Academy, teachers have devised techniques that are designed to simulate the cognitive processes that a musician might undergo when immersed in the tradition. They take advantage of early Finnish musicologists' method of classifying melodies to teach students multiple versions of the tune, and then they rely on the nature of students' aural memories to remember small motifs and phrases (a memory process psychologists refer to as "chunking"), confuse and mix them up, and spit them out in a new order, in a new creation.

Such vocabularies, or the small melodic building blocks of improvisation, are usually pieced together into larger structures. Azzara explains that students should comprehend the larger framework and context of music, "grouping notes into patterns, patterns into phrases, and phrases into the context of the overall tonal and rhythmic form of the music. When putting content into context students began to attain the skills necessary to improvise with meaning [within a particular tradition]" (2002:182).

Improvisation is frequently defined as the spontaneous creation of music within specified musical parameters (Azzara 2002:171). Clearly it is possible to improvise, to spontaneously create music, without remaining within specified musical parameters – Finnish contemporary folk music gives us many examples of this, as do free improvisation practitioners who invent new parameters for different pieces. When

students grow up enculturated into multiple musical cultures (European art music, Finnish popular music, folk music, etc.), they will not naturally create music within only one of these traditions to the exclusion of the others without an intentional effort to do so and an understanding of how to do it. In most educational settings, however, it is important for music students to learn to create music according to the norms of the tradition they are studying.

The parameters of a musical tradition may be acquired informally and unconsciously (as often happens in oral transmission) or taught through music theory (as is more typical of formal music education). Both Bruno Nettl and David Hughes have found that when traditional music is institutionalized, teaching methods must become more explicit because students do not have the same opportunity for immersion and they have a restricted time period to learn the tradition (Nettl 1985:72-75; Hughes 2004:281). Becoming "more explicit" often means creating rules or guidelines to understand something that before might have been done only by intuition. The teaching methods at the Folk Music Department of the Royal College of Music in Stockholm, Sweden, are an excellent example of this process. The director of the Swedish folk music program, Sven Ahlbäck, has created a music theory to assist folk music students in reaching a deeper and more thorough understanding of the musical structures and forms of traditional Swedish folk music. Swedish contemporary folk musicians have a process-oriented ideology similar to that of Finnish musicians, believing that contemporary musicians should improvise, compose, and creatively perform folk music in order to keep the tradition alive. Ahlbäck observed that the improvisations of many young urban musicians were

departing drastically from the tradition, and that nonacademic master musicians were telling people that it was not possible to learn their local traditions without growing up immersed in both the music and the culture (an opinion with which Sven, as a traditionally trained master fiddler himself, disagreed). So he constructed a music theory that would give contemporary Swedish folk musicians the tools to improvise and creatively perform within the musical parameters of the local traditions. Today folk music students at Sweden's highest music academy all study Sven's theories (Ahlbäck, personal interview, May 24, 2004). Similarly, students of classical music composition may study Western music theories that were once descriptive of earlier composers' work and later became used as prescriptive guidelines to teach others to create within the same style and structure.

Finnish contemporary folk musicians have not created such explicit theories or rules for teaching students to compose. Some theory is taught, covering the main genres of Finnish folk music, modes from many different musical traditions, Western chord progressions, and a variety of arranging tools, but students are not given explicit guidelines for how to adhere to the musical parameters of Finnish folk music. On one hand, the department's approach is more intuitive. They assume that students will be able to make traditional sounding music after learning orally and listening extensively to archive recordings (and for the most part, students are quite capable of playing traditional-sounding music, when they feel like it). On the other hand, the department is not disturbed when young musicians do not play within the normal parameters of the tradition. Department leaders resist imposing guidelines because they feel that placing

restrictions or musical boundaries on folk music would be artificial and antithetical to creating an authentic living folk music.

All of Webster's enabling conditions are addressed in the pedagogy of the Folk Music Department. Students are motivated to create in every class they take, by their private teachers, through their role models, and with degree requirements (such as a solo recital of their own creative endeavors). The environment not only encourages creativity, but expects and requires it and discourages convergent thinking and conformist playing. The inspiring imagery is present in the frequently conjured images of historical folk figures sublimely expressing their inner power (*omaa mahtia*) for hours on end. "Personality" is also actively developed.

Several music educators speak of the correlation of certain personality types or personal traits to creativity. Such personal attributes include the willingness to take risks, self-confidence, openness, courage, ability to overcome anxiety and let go of fear, and nonconformity (Campbell 1991:14-15, 92; Azzara 2002:173; Webster 1992:268-269). The Folk Music Department works to develop these traits in all their students. Intensive seminars in free improvisation, avant-garde performance art and modern dance, vocal sound exploration, and other projects are some of the pedagogical tools designed to release students' inhibitions, give them courage and self-confidence, and erase any notions they had that there is such a thing as playing a "wrong note." Courage is strongly emphasized in the department, and most advanced students appear to be fearless in their extensive risktaking (a marked change from incoming students, a few of whom appeared quite terrified before undergoing these transformative learning experiences).

Nonconformity is also a highly valued trait in the department. As the department chair Kristiina Ilmonen explained:

We want the students to be able to relate to every kind of style and every possibility, because only from that versatility comes the many styles. If we would just say that this is the right thing to do, this and this and this, it would maybe make people more obedient. And we don't like them to be too obedient. We like them to be a little crazy and creative and have a mind of their own. That's very important. Of course, they have to do what we say here while they study. But the philosophy behind all of the teaching is that there should be personalities that create new things (personal interview, July 16, 2004).

Another way in which the department encourages divergent thinking and creative musicianship is through an active learning process (Finnish folk music pedagogues, much like American scholar Patricia Shehan Campbell [1991], disagree with passive teaching methodology in Western art music education). Teachers do not pass folk music to students as a completed product, but rather teach them to construct it anew, giving students small pieces of source material, tools, and skills to create folk music themselves from scratch, in the spirit of Albert Lord's theory of oral composition and James Cowdery's tune family model and recombinant principle, but with more freedom and fewer musical norms to adhere to. Dynamic teaching strategies that engage the agency of students embody the ideal transmission process that Marie McCarthy describes in Irish music: "the transmission process implies a dynamic transaction between the learner and agency of learning, in other words not a mere passive handing on of material culture but also the development of critical listeners and performers – both vital to keeping musical traditions alive" (McCarthy 1999:4).

Reifying Intra- and Inter-Cultural Relationships

Finnish contemporary folk musicians have complex, multilayered identities defined by their musical ideology and practices, regional backgrounds, perceptions of Finnishness and national heritage, ethno-linguistic ties to other Finno-Ugric peoples, shared culture and history with the Scandinavian countries, marginalized position in Europe, highly technologically advanced society, and access to (or, perhaps more accurately, bombardment by) transnational mass media, Western consumer culture, and international immigration and travel (to name only the more salient factors). These multilayered identities are formed and expressed through relationships as individuals affiliate themselves with some groups and cultures and distinguish themselves against Others.

These perceived relationships are reified and realized in their musicmaking. Christopher Small argues that "musicking" provides people with opportunities to explore, affirm and celebrate their relationships with others, learn their places in the world, and nonverbally feel relationships as they want them to be or believe they ought to be (1998:49, 183). Jane Sugarman (1997) has also demonstrated how singing can construct and enforce hierarchical social relationships between genders and among ages, as well as dissipate socioeconomic relationships, according to the ideals of a specific cultural value system. Small and Sugarman both detail the musical enactment of relationships among people who are present, whether participants in a symphony concert or members of a Prespa Albanian community, but the same reification can happen to relationships between musicians and larger cultural entities or distant Others. When Finnish folk

musicians collaborate and create fusions together with jazz musicians, Norwegian folk musicians, Tanzanian musicians, or Indian classical musicians, they are expressing and reifying relationships not only with those individuals but with their cultures. As Finnish musicians choose to incorporate Swedish melodies, Ingrian (Finno-Ugric) texts, Mordvin or Bulgarian polyphonies, or Cuban drums, with Norwegian, African, or Indian musicians, they are also establishing perceived or idealized relationships with these cultures.

Slobin (1993) proposes that individual identity and musical meaning are shaped through interactions that occur at the intersections of subculture (such as minority groups, affinity groups, or even small nations), superculture (dominant, hegemonic culture emanating from state or industry), and interculture (transnational connections between individuals or cultures, such as diasporas, international movements or interest groups, and industries). The general principles of Slobin's model appropriately describe the multiplicity and interwovenness of relationships that Finnish musicians negotiate at subcultural, national, regional, continental, and transnational and international cultural levels. However, his terms become somewhat confusing when applied to Finland, because Finnish folk music can be simultaneously subcultural (in relation to Western European and American supercultures), supercultural (in relation to Finland's minorities), and intercultural (in relation to other Finno-Ugric music and "global folk music," as perceived by Finnish musicians). As Slobin himself points out, in small countries "the survival of local creativity [is] foregrounded, and the interculture becomes a kind of large-scale superculture where whole societies act the role of subculture" (1993:61).

These types of relationships, and the identities they engender, are contingent upon context. Thus certain identities become more salient and more meaningful in different situations. Timothy Rice (2003b), in his three-dimensional model of space/location, time/history, and metaphor, recognizes that music can adopt multiple meanings from different perspectives and in different contexts. In Finland, as elsewhere, music takes on different meanings at individual, regional, national, transnational, and global levels depending on where, what, to whom, and with whom the musicians are performing.

The main contexts for contemporary folk music are, in order of prevalence: (1) the studios and concert halls of the Sibelius Academy and artsy, formal performance venues in Helsinki (e.g. Ateneum Museum, the Savoy Theatre, the Theater Academy, Umo Jazz House, and Stoa Cultural Center); (2) stages at folk music festivals across Finland, in other European countries, and occasionally in North America and Japan; and (3) on the international commercial "world music" market (i.e. CD sales and marketing, occasional tours). To a much lesser extent, contemporary folk music can also be found in different parts of Finland where Sibelius Academy alumni teach and perform and in the CD collections of public libraries.

In the urban hub of Helsinki, in the context of the Sibelius Academy and the professional music scene, the most important aspect of a contemporary folk musician's identity is as a creative individual, standing out from the hegemonic musical supercultures of Western art music and mass-mediated commercial music which in their opinion stifle individual creativity. When performing for their peers and small audiences in the Helsinki scene, contemporary folk musicians are most concerned with their own

personal artistic expression, individuality, and originality. They feel that their values and active processes of musicmaking differentiate them from people who experience music in more passive ways (such as classical music students and popular music consumers).

Jouko Kyhälä expressed the importance of his identity as a folk musician when I interviewed him following a concert in which he performed experimental free improvisations together with a classically trained violinist and a jazz musician:

I feel always when I'm playing that I'm playing folk music. It doesn't depend on the context. It is my background. I'm using folk music. The idea of music, the way I think of music, is coming from folk music. [JH: And what's that?] I try to explain it all the time. That it should be personal. It should reflect something that comes from your inside. And all the techniques are just a method of expressing your inner voice and feeling. So I think that it might sound like we are playing free jazz to someone, but I still think I am a folk musician. I don't play jazz. It might sound like jazz to someone. I don't care then what other people say. But I feel it (personal interview, October 16, 2003).

Many contemporary folk musicians who grew up studying and playing classical, jazz, or popular music decided to become folk musicians because of the opportunities for creative personal expression that were not available, or were less available, in other musical genres and environments. Even Jouko Kyhälä, who so ardently identifies as a folk musician, played Finnish rock music on a Hammond organ for nearly a decade before switching to folk music. To them, folk music is an alternative to unpersonal mainstream musics – an alternative that allows them to be creative and express themselves as individuals. Pekka Westerholm, who improvises and composes avant-garde-sounding music on his own homemade Finnish folk instruments, sees his music as an alternative to “capitalist cultural imperialism,” insisting that “you shouldn't get involved in something just because some advertising executive is ingenious and shrewd enough to create a

demand for rock and disco and these things” (quoted in Austerlitz 2000:204).¹⁷ Paul Austerlitz (2000:205) asserts that taking the place of demonizing "other peoples," multinational corporations have become the "antihero," or in other words, the Other against which folk musicians are rebelling and defining themselves through the individualistic creative processes available in folk music.

Regional identity has been particularly important for those musicians who hail from the musically rich regions of Ostrobothnia (in Western Finland) and Karelia (in Eastern Finland and along the Finnish-Russian border). Ostrobothnia is known as the thriving seat of Western Finnish pelimanni (fiddle and accordion dance music) traditions, and Karelia is highly esteemed as the treasure trove of the most ancient layer of Finnish folk music, including Kalevala epic singing. Tina Ramnarine (2003) has documented the importance of regional identity for folk musicians from the Ostrobothnian band JPP and from the Karelian band Värttinä, as well as the role of “Karelianism” in the construction of a Finnish national identity. Regional identity seems to be less important for musicians who come from other parts of Finland where folk music has not been thriving or where it had died out completely. It varies from individual to individual; students whom I interviewed from Karelia express much greater concern for representing their regional identity and performance than those from other regions. In the Sibelius Academy Folk

¹⁷ Despite Westerholm's negative appraisal of commercialize music, popular music genres have been appropriated and utilized by Finnish musicians for personal, individual creativity (listen to the amateur Finnish garage bands on the album *Café Veijon Baari – Suomalaista Alkuvoimaa: Underground-iskelmiä 1980-2000-luvulta* [Café Veijo's Bar – Finnish Original Strength: Underground *Iskelmä* Music from the 1980s to the 2000s] for a delightful testament of diverse individual expression in Finnish DIY popular music). Nevertheless, in the folk music community, there is a general feeling (that is not entirely unjustified) that the commercial popular music world stifles – or at least does not provide sufficient opportunities for – individual expression, creativity, and, I would add, musical intimacy in the sense of live, interpersonal musical production and consumption.

Music Department, students are aware of regional differences (western and eastern Finnish traditions are strikingly different from each other), and are generally aware of the localities from which their source materials come, but they feel free to take tunes and songs from quite literally anywhere. The Department does not require or encourage students to become specialists in specific local or regional styles, in contrast to the Folk Music Institute of the Royal College of Music in Stockholm, Sweden, which, according to director Sven Ahlbäck, encourages students to master a local style or styles of their choice, or Ole Bull Akademi in Voss, Norway, where, according to student Jenny Wilhelms (lead singer of Gjallarhorn), her folk song teacher felt incapable and unqualified to sing a song from another district in the same region (Sven Ahlbäck, personal interview, May 24, 2004; Jenny Wilhelms, personal interview, May 31, 2004). Because students come from all over Finland to one centralized location, the Sibelius Academy, where they learn to perform traditions from many different regions, the Folk Music Department has a homogenizing effect, lessening regional stylistic differences and, as a result, perhaps even "nationalizing" Finnish folk music.

Finnish folk music has a long history as symbol of national identity in the public imagination, and scholars have been writing about folk music and Finnish identity for five centuries: from 16th-century antiquarians and Fennophiles, to nationbuilding 19th-century romantic nationalists, to 21st-century ethnomusicologists (for example, Paul Austerlitz's article "Birch-Bark Horns and Jazz in the National Imagination: The Finnish Folk Music Vogue in Historical Perspective" [2002] and Tina Ramnarine's book *Ilmatar's Inspirations: Nationalism, Globalization, and the Changing Soundscapes of Finnish Folk*

Music [2003]). While the legacy of folk music's national symbolism and role in past nationalist movements certainly resonates in contemporary folk music – one might say that folk music carries a great deal of national symbolic baggage – it is by no means the most important identity or social significance that contemporary folk musicians find in their music. Indeed, many contemporary folk musicians today try to distance themselves from the overwhelming legacy of national symbolism attached to folk music. Nearly all contemporary folk musicians I met refused to perform in national costume, even when participating in folk music festivals in Eastern European countries (where they have been thoroughly scolded for being out of costume). In numerous interviews, musicians complained of the negative reputation that national symbolism gave to folk music, leading the general public to believe that folk music was boring and old-fashioned. Amongst the general Finnish public, the national imagery connected to folk music has little to do with the music itself, and more to do with mythology and stories about magical powers induced through music in the Kalevala epic. Finnish ethnomusicologist Pekka Gronow maintains that most Finns do not see folk music as a part of their national identity and that "Finnishness" in music is defined by national-romantic art music (such as Jean Sibelius' *Finlandia*) and popular music of the 1940s through 1960s (personal communication, March 21, 2005). Heikki Laitinen, one of the most influential scholars in Finnish folk music today, confided that he felt that scholarship that interpreted Finnish folk music as national symbol was old-fashioned (personal interview, June 18, 2004). In Finland, nationalism is definitely out of style, and furthermore carries negative connotations from nationalist agendas of the early 20th century, such as Hitler's Third

Reich. Finland is now a well-established sovereign nation, and the nation-building nationalist agenda of the late nineteenth century and early to mid-twentieth-century has already been accomplished and is no longer an immediate goal. However, Finns are terribly concerned about, and extraordinarily sensitive to, how outsiders view them. So although nationalism and nationalistic agendas have a bad rap, the concern for national identity has not disappeared completely.

I suggest that Finnish national identity has been subsumed under the guise of ethnic heritage, "roots," that contemporary folk musicians use to align and distinguish themselves while participating in a transnational "world music" milieu. For example, the lead singer of the band Gjallarhorn explained to me that they had decided to market their music as "world music from Finland" because

Sometimes there is confusion with that particular phrase in different countries.... First we had, like, folk music or whatever, modern folk music, and it's sort of general. In some countries, it didn't work, like in the States. It was like "what is this? Singer-song writer? Bluegrass, what do you play?" [Laughter.] Canada, same thing. So we thought, you know, "world music" would mean that this is music with roots from some ethnic music tradition (Jenny Wilhelms, personal interview, May 31, 2004).

In some ways the assertion of roots is not so different from the nationalism of old, for nationalism is as much about participating as an equal player in international relations and distinguishing one's nation as unique from other nations as it is about motivating individuals to identify with others within the same nation. Arjun Appadurai posits that nationalism is driven by relations with other nationally defined groups:

Nationalists construct ethnic categories which in turn drive others to construct counter-ethnicities, and then, in times of political crisis these others demand counter-states, based on newfound counter-nationalisms.

For every nationalism that appears to be naturally destined, there is another that is a reactive bi-product (1993:800).

But the boundaries of ethnicity are different from the boundaries of nationality; they are not contained by or limited to geographical borders. It is true that Finnish ethnicity and Finnish nationality are practically synonymous (at least from the dominant hegemonic perspective that homogenizes or ignores minorities) – as is the case in many European nations (but not in colonized countries where, for example, South African implies a nationality and citizenship but not ethnicity). However, Finns' ethnic heritage stretches beyond Finland's national borders. Finnish cultural heritage can be found in all of Scandinavia, especially in Sweden (Finland belonged to the Swedish Kingdom for over 700 years), and Finnish ethno-linguistic heritage can be found amongst the many Finno-Ugric peoples living around the eastern rim of the Baltic Sea and across northern Russia (see Chapter 4).¹⁸ These transnational roots are a crucial element in what it means to be Finnish. In contemporary folk music, Finnish musicians align themselves closely with Scandinavian and Finno-Ugric traditions and take from them as if they were their "own."

Performing Scandinavian melodies and Finno-Ugric song texts and polyphonies reifies the relationships that Finnish musicians perceive, idealize, or imagine existing between themselves and these other, albeit closely related, cultures. Some power inequities are expressed in these reifications: Finnish musicians often go to Finno-Ugric traditions for historical source material while paying little attention to contemporary developments in those cultures, thereby emphasizing a shared heritage (historical ties) but

¹⁸ Finland's population is relatively homogenous in comparison to other European countries (in my own opinion, which is biased from having been raised in Los Angeles, Finland is extremely homogenous). For information on the non-ethnic-Finnish populations in Finland, including Swedish Finns, Rom, and recent immigrant groups, see Chapter 4.

deemphasizing connections with these cultures' contemporary post-Soviet situation. An obvious lacuna of contemporary borrowing from close neighbors such as Russia, and minority groups such as recently emigrated Somalians and Iranians, also reifies Finns' ideal relationships with these people, that is to say, they would prefer to have none and distance themselves as much as possible. The exclusion of Russian elements in contemporary musical amalgamations is particularly striking considering the tremendous influence Russian music has historically had on earlier layers of eastern Finnish music – an influence that is largely ignored today (see Chapter 12 for details).

As mentioned above, contemporary folk musicians also imagine themselves as belonging to a "global folk music" community. Appadurai notes that in recent decades global imagination and global-scale imagined communities have come to have a very real impact on individuals' lives and identities:

One of the principal shifts in the global cultural order, created by cinema, television, and video technology (and the ways in which they frame and energize other, older media), has to do with the role of the imagination and social life.... The biographies of ordinary people are constructions (or fabrications) in which the imagination plays an important role. Nor is this role a simple matter of escape (holding steady the conventions that govern the rest of social life), for in the grinding of gears between unfolding lives and their imagined counterparts a variety of imagined communities (Anderson 1983) is formed, communities that generate new kinds of politics [and] new kinds of collected expression.... The new power of the imagination and the fabrication of social lives is inescapably tied up with images, ideas, and opportunities that come from elsewhere, often moved around by the vehicles of mass media... The link between the imagination and social life, I would suggest, is increasingly a global and deterritorialized one (1996:54-55).

Finnish musicians' identification with "global folk musicians" is based on perceived affinity (like one of Slobin's interculturalures). Contemporary folk musicians imagine that

they have similar ideology (valuing personal expression), performance practices (like playing from aural memory), creative processes (such as spontaneous creation in the moment of performance), and social positions (in opposition to hegemonic mass-mediated impersonal consumer culture) to folk musicians and traditional musicians from around the world. As a manifestation and demonstration of their connection to the "global folk music community," Finnish musicians often collaborate with various world musicians, and they feel at liberty to incorporate instruments and techniques from around the world. These global folk elements are not incorporated in the same manner as elements from cultures to which Finns feel a strong sense of belonging. When contemporary folk musicians draw upon Scandinavian and Finno-Ugric sources, they take melodies and texts, which they perceive in value as the most important and essential musical elements. When they take musical elements from distant cultures, they are usually in the form of disembodied sounds and timbres, disconnected from their cultures of origin, and the musical role they play in Finnish fusions is often that of soundscape. Thus, musicians quite literally take their Scandinavian and Finno-Ugric roots music and place it in a global musical context. (See Chapter 12 for a more in-depth discussion of these relationships and how they are reified through music).

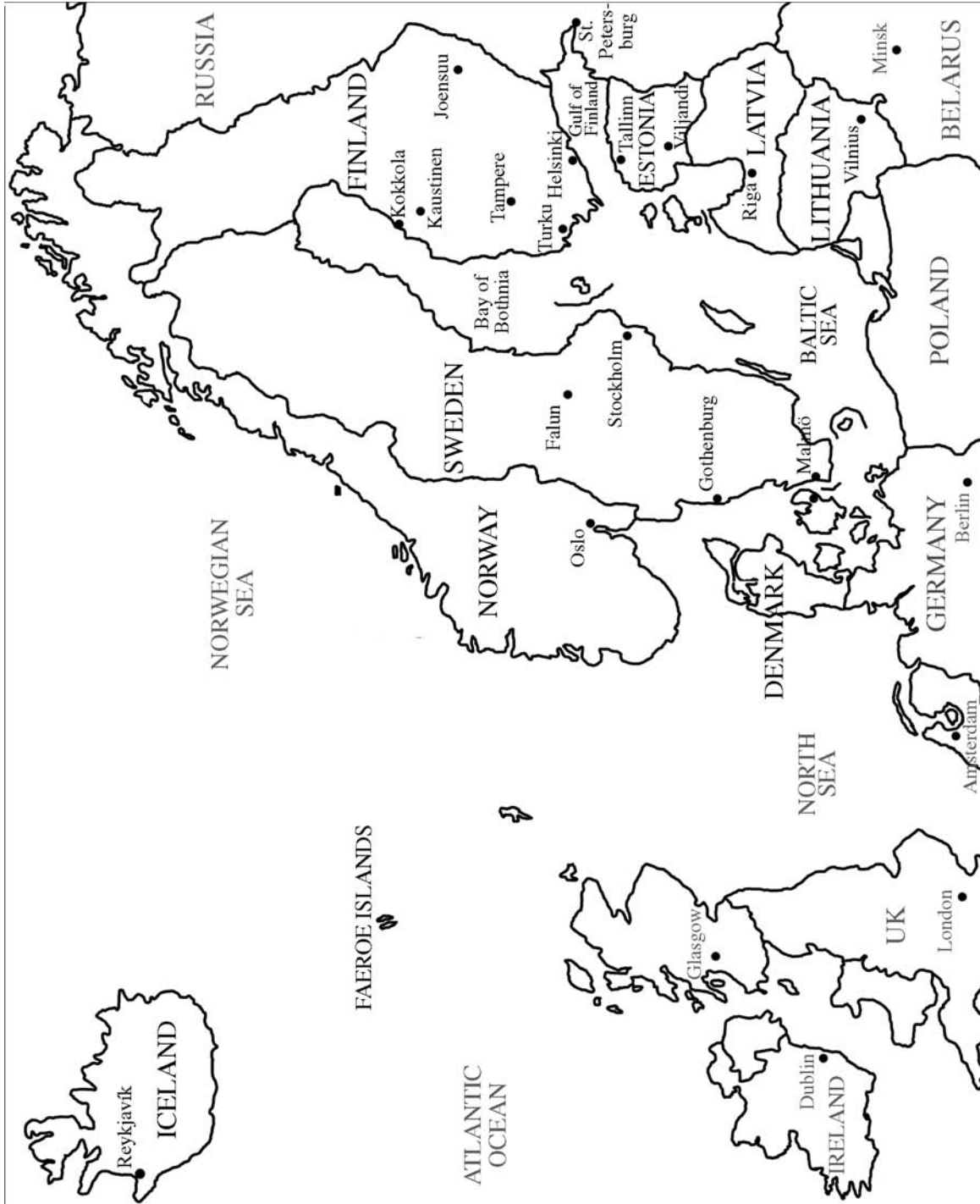
Chapter 4. A Historical Overview of Finland's Ethnolinguistic, Political, and Intercultural Relations

Finland is a small Nordic country on the periphery of northeastern Europe. Many Finns feel isolated from Europe not only because of their geographical location, but also because their language is non-Indo-European. Nevertheless, the last millennium of Finnish history has been largely determined by intercultural relations, with Finland often stuck in the middle of tensions between East and West. Finland has strong ethnolinguistic ties with Finno-Ugric peoples living in eastern Europe and northern Asia, cultural and political ties to Scandinavia, careful relations with Russia, and, as a member of the European Union and a highly technologically advanced country, increasing contact with other European countries and the rest of the world.

Geography

Finland's neighbors include Sweden to the west across the Bay of Bothnia, Estonia to the south across the Gulf of Finland, Russia to the east, and Norway and the Barents Sea to the north [see Figure 1.4.a, Map of Nordic/Baltic Region]. Finland's southernmost point is the same latitude as Anchorage, Alaska, and Lapland makes up 30% of Finland. The majority of Finland's 5.2 million inhabitants live south of the Arctic Circle, but even in southern Finland a dark winter night can last twenty hours and daylight can shine for up to twenty-two hours on a long summer's day. Sparsely populated with an overall population density of only seventeen people per square

Figure 4A. Map of Nordic/Baltic Region



kilometer, most of the land is covered by forests (nearly 70% -- the highest proportion in the world) and 187,888 lakes (Brewer and Lehtipuu 1999:21, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Finland 2004). Geography has a strong impact not only on intercultural relations, but also on Finnish culture: Finns are known for their appreciation of solitude, their love of nature, and their *sisu* (inner strength, endurance), through which they have survived long cold dark winters and difficult historical situations.

Ethnolinguistic Ties

The Finnish language has been of tremendous importance to Finns' national identity, to their sense of heritage and belonging to a larger group beyond their small country, and to their feeling of outsidership or otherness in respect to the rest of Europe. Likewise, linguistic studies have been extremely influential in folklore, oral poetry, and folk music research.

Finnish is in the Finno-Ugric language group, which comprises a variety of Finnic and Ugrian languages. Finnish is most closely related to the other Baltic-Finnish languages that have been spoken around the eastern rim of the Baltic Sea, including Karelian, Ingrian, Estonian, Livonian, Vepsian, Izhor, Vot, and Lule. Other Finnic languages include: Lapp or Saami, which is spoken in Lapland; the Volga-Finnish languages Mordvin and Mari, or Cheremis, which are spoken primarily in the Volga River Valley and the Ural Mountains; and the Permian-Finnish languages Udmurt, Komi, and Komi-Permyak, which are spoken in Russian Central Asia and the western Ural Mountains. The Ugrian languages consist of Hungarian and the Ob-Ugrian languages

Figure 4B. Family Tree of Finno-Ugric and Other Uralic Languages

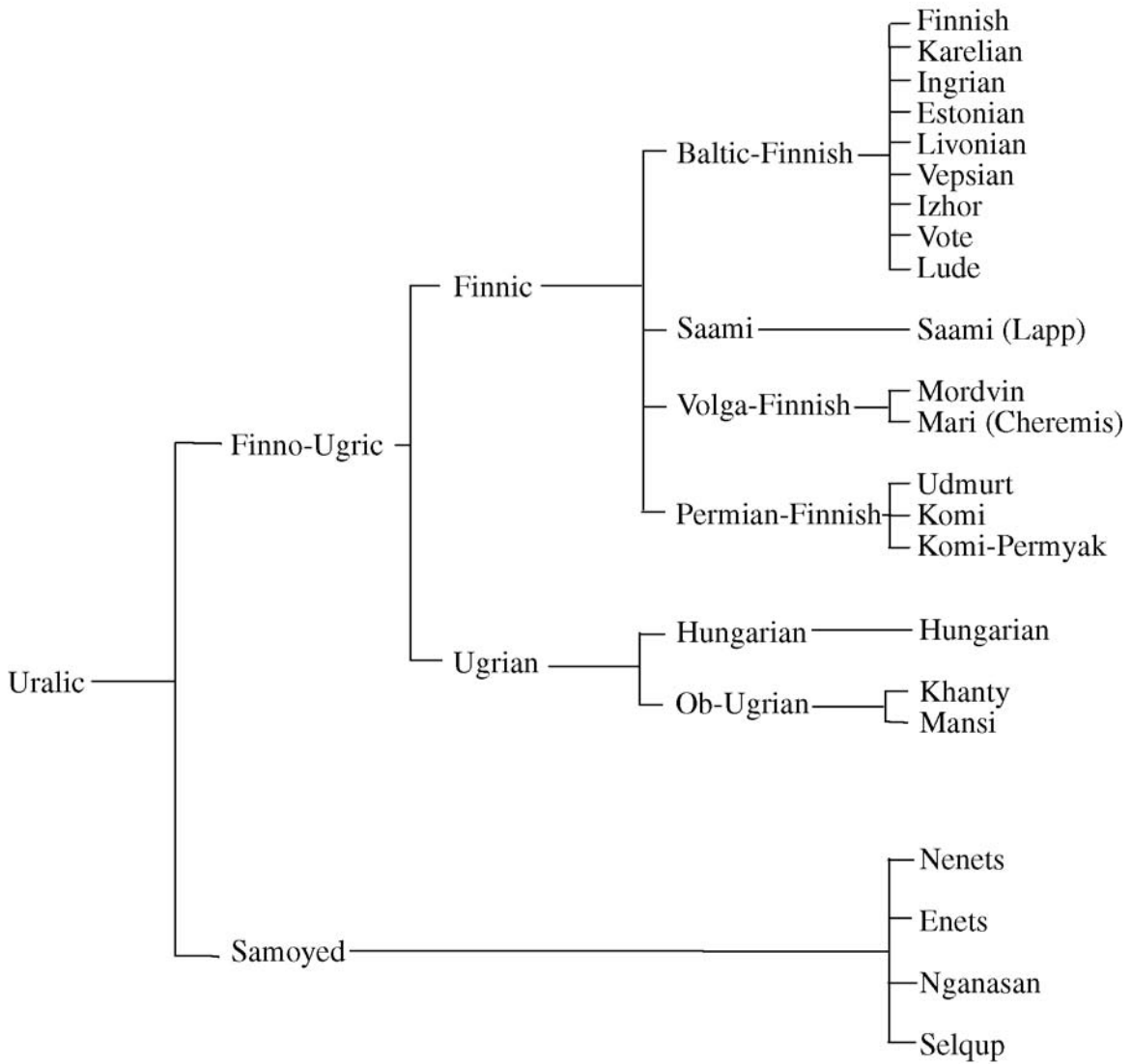
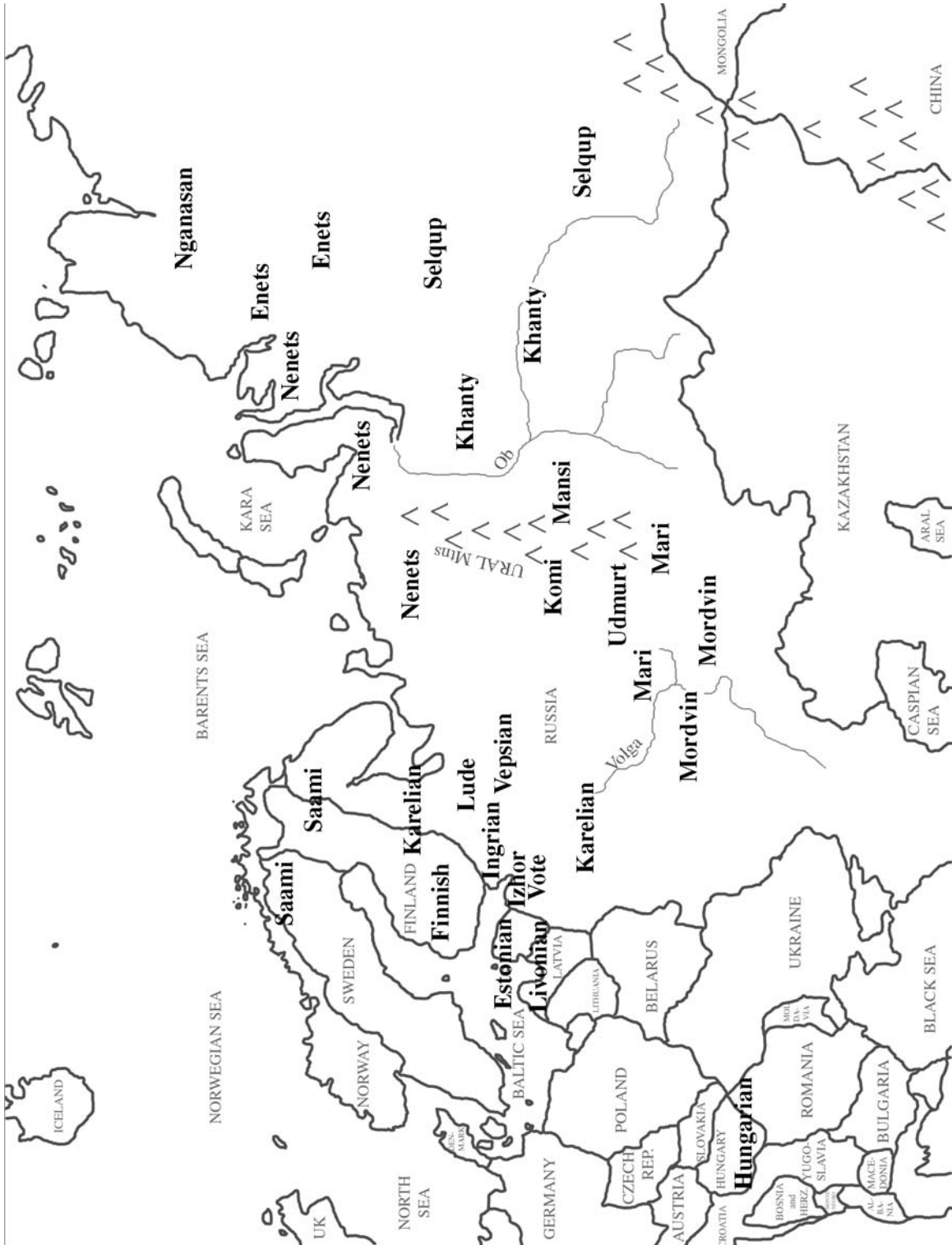


Figure 4C. Map of Finno-Ugric and Other Uralic Language Groups



Khanty and Mansi, which are spoken in western Siberia. These Finno-Ugric languages together with the Samoyed languages (Nenets, Enets, Nganasan, Selkup), which are spoken in Siberia and along the Arctic coast, make up the Uralic languages (Honko 1993:22, Branch 1993:25-41). [See Figure 4B Family Tree of Finno-Ugric and Other Uralic Languages and Figure 4C Map of Finno-Ugric and Other Uralic Language Groups.]

As Finnish is a non-Indo-European language, it is not related to the Scandinavian languages (Swedish, Norwegian, Danish, and Icelandic), which are Germanic, nor to Russian, which is Slavic, nor to the Baltic languages Latvian and Lithuanian. Despite Finnish attempts to keep their language "pure" by inventing new Finnish words for foreign inventions and concepts, Finnish does have loan words from all of these language groups, reflecting a long history of interaction with neighboring cultures.

Finnish linguistic connections to other Finno-Ugric languages have frequently been interpreted as ethnic and cultural connections to the speakers of those languages. From the 1700s, when linguistic studies began in Finland, up through the present day, Finnish and other Finno-Ugric scholars have held the assumption that Finno-Ugric languages and peoples share a common origin. This may or may not be true. Historical documentation is sparse and Uralic language specialists have had to do a fair amount of theoretical deduction and guesswork. Mikko Korhonen argues that there is enough linguistic evidence to construct a theory of specific linguistic affinity, or linguistic similarity, but that there is not enough lexical evidence to conclude that linguistic affinity is a result of common linguistic origin (it could equally be the result of the merging of

separate, unrelated languages in the distant past). He maintains that conclusions should not be drawn from linguistic affinity, particularly regarding nonlinguistic cultural phenomena, without taking into account the vast periods of time during which the various Uralic languages have developed apart from other Uralic languages and in frequent contact with other languages and cultures (Korhonen, cited in Branch 1993:31). Indeed, bioanthropological research using DNA testing has found that only about one quarter of the genetic stock of Finns is Uralic while the other three quarters are Indo-European, suggesting that Indo-European people mixed with the ancient Finns and adopted their language and some of their culture (Horn 2004). This challenge to a common or shared Finno-Ugric origin, culture, and ethnicity, implies that different Finno-Ugric groups may be more closely related culturally and/or ethnically to their non-Finno-Ugric neighbors than to their linguistic cousins living far away.

Mikko Korhonen and Michael Branch acknowledge the differing cultural and ethnic influences on linguistic affinity groups by identifying four distinct cultural zones inhabited by speakers of Finno-Ugric and other Uralic languages: (1) the Baltic cultural zone, where the Baltic-Finns (e.g. Finns, Karelians, Estonians, Ingrians, Livonians, Veps, Votes) lived in close contact with the ancient Balts (forerunners of the Latvians and Lithuanians) before the Common Era and in close contact with the Scandinavians and Slavs from the Dark Ages onwards; (2) the Volga cultural zone, where the Mordvins, Mari and Udmurt lived in close contact with Turkic peoples, such as the Tartar and Chuvash, and later Russians; (3) the Arctic zone stretching across Eurasia, where the Saami (Lapps), Komi, Khanty, Mansi, and Samoyeds have been relatively cut off from

outside contacts, with the exception of a small amount of influence from the Norse in the West and the Russians in the East dating from the Middle Ages onwards; and (4) the Danube region, where the Hungarians have been exposed to Slavic, German, Romance, Greek, Turkic, and Semitic groups (Branch 1993:32-33). Based on my field research observations of Karelian, Estonian, and Finnish traditions, there is no doubt in my mind that these neighboring Finnic peoples living in close contact around the northeastern part of the Baltic Sea have similar and shared cultural heritages. However, the Finns' cultural and ethnic links to groups such as the Mordvins and the Hungarians, and especially the Nenets, are somewhat more tenuous. Branch makes a useful analogy between Finno-Ugric and Indo-European languages: he compares the difference between Finnish and Karelian to that between Swedish and Danish, the difference between Finnish and Hungarian to that between English and Russian, while the difference between Finnish and Selkup at opposite ends of the Uralic scale is comparable to that between Hindi and English (ibid.:31).

Whether or not research shows that Finns share a common linguistic, ethnic, and/or culture origin with other Finno-Ugric speakers is somewhat irrelevant. What is important is that for the last two to three centuries many Finns, particularly intellectuals, have identified strongly as Finno-Ugric, just as contemporary German citizens might identify as European. Finns believe that they have a shared cultural and ethnic heritage with Karelians, Ingrians, Estonians, and to a lesser extent with Hungarians, Mordvins, and other Finno-Ugric groups. This belief has been widespread in scholarship, if not amongst the general population, from the 18th century through today, and it explains why

generations of folklore scholars, 19th-century romantic nationalists, early 20th-century nation builders, and even contemporary folk musicians from Finland have done research on the oral poetry and musical traditions of their Finno-Ugric "relatives," especially in areas where older traditions were preserved longer. That Finnish folklorists and folk musicians often refer to Finno-Ugric peoples as "our relatives" (*meidän sukulaiset*) implies and reflects a feeling of shared heritage and common ancestry, in spite of contemporary cultural differences.

A History of Intercultural Relations

The history of Finns' relations with other cultures can be traced back to well over a thousand years ago.¹ From 800 to 1050 A.D. coastal areas of contemporary Finland were on the eastern route of the Vikings. In the 12th century, the Swedes began extending their Kingdom and religion into Finland.² The Swedes made three crusades into Finland, bringing with them the Roman Catholic Church and Swedish settlers. In the first crusade in 1155, the Swedes extended their influence to southwestern Finland; in the second crusade sometime between 1238 and 1259 the Swedes took over south-central Finland; and in the third crusade in 1293 the Swedes conquered Karelia in Eastern Finland (these thirteenth century Swedish settlers are ancestors of the contemporary Swedish-speaking population living along Finland's western and southwestern coast).

Finland remained a part of the Swedish Kingdom for nearly seven centuries. Sweden had

¹This construction of Finnish history is based on information presented in Zetterberg 2002, Klinge 1997, Brady 2002, and Brewer and Lehtipuu 1999.

² Stories of and references to pre-Christian Finnish deities, shamans, and magical beings live on in kalevala song texts and mythology. See Chapter 5 on the suppression of such pagan songs in Finnish history.

a tremendous influence on Finnish culture and society, particularly in religion, civil laws, and the organization of government and society, as well as in music. During this time, the elite were predominantly Swedish while most Finns were peasants. Finnish culture and language, the language of the peasants, was entirely oral until Reformation ideology reached Finland and Bishop Mikael Agricola translated the New Testament of the Bible into Finnish in 1548.

While Finland was a part of the Swedish Kingdom, Sweden and Russia had several wars and border disputes, with Russia often occupying Finland during times of war and Finland's eastern border frequently changing. Border disputes and wars with (Russian) Novgorod, and later with Russia, occurred in 1149, 1186, 1323, 1495-1497, 1555-1557, 1617, 1700-1721, 1788-1790, and 1808-1809. In 1809, the Swedes lost control of Finland to Russia. The Russian czars made Finland an Autonomous Grand Duchy and used it as a buffer zone on the northwestern edge of their empire. Russia gave the Finns a fair amount of independence and encouraged them to develop a Finnish identity independent of Sweden so that, if Sweden were to attack and try to extend/reclaim the eastern reaches of their Kingdom, Finland would fight back against Sweden. While under Russian rule, Finland retained the Lutheran religion, Swedish as its official language, and Swedish-influenced civil laws and parliamentary government. Nevertheless, Russia's strategy worked, for in the 1850s during the Crimean wars, Finland remained loyal to Russia.

In their autonomous position under the Russian empire, Finns built up a strong sense of Finno-Ugric identity and Finnish national identity. The nineteenth-century

romantic nationalism that was sweeping through Europe took root amongst Finland's intellectuals. Inspired by the ideas of Herder, they conducted field research amongst the Finnish folk to discover their so-called national heritage and literature. Elias Lönnrot's publication of the *Kalevala*, which became Finland's national epic, was a source of inspiration for national literature, music, and art. This period became known as the Golden Age of Finnish Art, during which composers (such as Jean Sibelius), poets (such as J. L. Runeberg), authors (such as Aleksis Kivi), and painters (such as Akseli Gallen-Kallela) romanticized and glorified Finnish landscape and folklore. Though most Finnish intellectuals and elite were still Swedish speakers, they held a strong Finnish identity and championed the use of the Finnish language. Finnish became codified and institutionalized and was adopted as an official language with the same standing as Swedish in 1863. In 1906 Finland acquired its own national parliament elected by equal and universal suffrage (making Finland the second country in the world, after New Zealand, to grant women the right to vote, and the first in the world to grant women the right to run for office).

Finland finally gained its independence in 1917 after roughly seven centuries of Swedish rule and one century of Russian rule. In 1919, following a civil war in which the Bolshevik-inspired Finnish Red Guards were eventually defeated, Finland adopted a republican form of government, which became Social Democratic in 1926. During the Second World War, the Soviet Union attempted to take over Finland, but they succeeded only in taking a small portion of Eastern Finland (displacing 10% of the Finnish population) and Finland's access to the Barents Sea. Despite an official "Friendship"

Treaty between Finland and the Soviet Union, tense relations continued throughout the Cold War. As a small country situated precariously on the border of East and West, Finland had to be very careful about upsetting its large, threatening neighbor. Nevertheless, Finland made strong alliances with Western Europe. In 1955, Finland joined the Nordic Council, which virtually eliminated border restrictions between Finland and the Scandinavian countries. Finland's connection to Scandinavia was strengthened by its bilingual status, with both Finnish and Swedish official languages and all students required to learn both Finnish and Swedish. In 1955 Finland also became a member of the United Nations. However, Finland did not join NATO (NATO membership was still a controversial issue when I was in Finland in 2002-2004), nor did it enter into any military alliances that would upset the Soviet Union.

When the USSR dissolved in 1991, Finland built strong ties with Estonia, and communications with Finno-Ugric peoples living in the former Soviet Union increased dramatically. In 1995, Finland joined the European Union and in 2002 it adopted the euro as its currency.

Regional Differences within Finland

For the purpose of contemporary folk music studies, the most distinct and influential regions in Finland have been Karelia in the East, Ostrobothnia in the West, urban centers such as Helsinki in the South, and, to a lesser extent, Lapland in the north.

Karelia occupies a somewhat unusual position. It is a region and province within Finland located along Finland's eastern border with Russia, and it is also a region and

Republic in northwestern Russia (Finnish Karelia and Russian Karelia, respectively). Since the border running through Karelia has been a major border of former kingdoms, empires, and world powers, it has moved many times throughout history, so which areas of Karelia have been in Finland and which in Russia has fluctuated considerably. Karelian (spoken on both sides of the Finnish-Russian border) is a language distinct from Finnish, yet closely related to and, for the most part, mutually intelligible with Finnish. Though Karelia is both a part of and not a part of Finland, it has been the primary source for Kalevala epic poetry and kantele traditions, which have been synonymous with Finnish national identity for over 150 years. Older Finnish/Karelian traditions survived longer in this eastern border region than in other parts of Finland because it was farther away from Swedish influence and because the Eastern Orthodox Church, introduced by Novgorod/Russia, was fairly tolerant of local traditions.

Ostrobothnia and other areas of Western Finland have had much more Swedish influence and closer ties with Sweden. This is reflected in regional differences in the music. Swedish-influenced fiddle music, dance genres, and ballads are much more prominent in Western Finland and are also found across Southern Finland. The pagan magico-religious themes of the song traditions, particularly Kalevala-style sung poetry, died out earlier in Western Finland where the intolerant Roman Catholic Church was strongest.

Northern Finland is host to Saami cultural traditions, while urban centers on the southern coast of Finland are fairly cosmopolitan, having had the most contact with international travelers, minorities, and immigrants from different regions in Finland and

from other countries.

Minorities in Finland

Though Finland is overall a very homogenous society, it is also home to so-called "old minorities" or "national minorities," who have lived in Finland for many centuries, and "new minorities," who are refugees and other immigrants who came to Finland since the 1970s. Old minorities include Saami (Lapps), Swedish Finns, Roma (Gypsies), "Old Russians," Jews, and Tartars. Recent refugees and immigrants are relatively small in number but diverse in origin, and include, in order of population size from largest to smallest: Russians, Estonians, Swedes, Somalians, persons from the former Yugoslavia, Iraqis, British, Germans, Americans, Iranians, Vietnamese, Turks, Chinese, Thai, Ukrainian, and others (Koivukangas 2003).

The Saami are an indigenous people living in Lapland in northern regions of Finland, Sweden, Norway, and Russia. Of the total Saami population of over 75,000, about 6500 live in Finland. The Saami are Finno-Ugric, though, as I discovered in my fieldwork, not all Finns acknowledge an ethnolinguistic relation to them (nor do all Finns admit that Saami are the indigenous people of Finland). Since the majority of the Saami live in northern Finland, and the majority of the Finns live in southern Finland, I did not observe very much daily interaction between the two groups. Though the Saami are still deprived of some civil rights at the legislative level, I found that most Finns had a positive attitude toward Saami (which cannot be said of general attitudes towards other minority groups).

The Swedish Finns, or Swedish-speaking Finns, are technically not a minority since Swedish and Finnish are both official languages. However, Swedish Finns are *de facto* a linguistic minority making up roughly 6% of Finland's population. Most live around the southwestern/western coasts of Finland or in the capital Helsinki. Though they do maintain a separate identity, they are culturally very similar to and well integrated with Finnish culture and life (as opposed to many minorities in Finland that have not been accepted or integrated into Finnish society), as became apparent during my residency in Finland. Since Finnish independence, Finnish-speaking students have learned Swedish as their first foreign language and Swedish-speaking Finns have learned Finnish in school, which has aided in their integration.³ See the photo in Figure 4D for an advertisement for Helsinki's Swedish language newspaper demonstrating what it feels like to be a Swedish-speaking Finn.

The Roma living in Finland are of the Kàlo group and have a population of roughly 10,000, about 0.19% of the population of Finland. The Roma arrived in the Kingdom of Sweden in the 16th century and were forced to migrate to the Kingdom's eastern hinterland (i.e. Finland) in the 17th century. In the late 18th century and early 19th century, the Finnish government tried to assimilate the Roma into Finnish society by taking Roma children away from their parents and banning the Romani language. In 1995, laws were passed prohibiting discrimination and protecting the rights of the Roma (and Saami and other minorities) to maintain and develop their own language and culture,

³ During my fieldwork, university bathroom stalls were covered with scrawled demands to do away with mandatory Swedish, and in 2005 the nationwide mandatory university exam requirements on Swedish for Finnish speakers and Finnish for Swedish speakers were eliminated.

Figure 4D. Advertisement for Swedish-language newspaper in Helsinki. A Swedish-Speaker (represented by a small Swedish-speaking yellow rubber ducky) is surrounded by Finnish-speakers (represented by pigeons). The rubber duck asks, "Is there no one who speaks Swedish in this city?"



but today there is still tremendous prejudice and discrimination against Roma (Horn 2004). The majority of Finnish Roma live in urban centers in southern Finland and, despite their small numbers, they have a noticeable visible presence in the cities with their distinct traditional styles of dress.

Finland's "new minorities" comprise refugees and other immigrants to Finland since 1973, when Finland first started accepting refugees from Chile. Since governmental agencies do not collect data on ethnicity (in accordance with personal privacy laws), information is only available on individuals' citizenship, country of birth, and native language. In 2002, Finland was home to 103,682 foreign citizens, 152,057 people who were born abroad (this number includes Finnish citizens born in other countries), and 117,013 who spoke a native language other than Finnish, Swedish, or Saami (Siirtolaisuusinstituutti 2003). In other words, immigrants make up approximately two percent of Finland's population, which is not surprising considering that Finland has tried to limit its refugee quota to 750 per year, significantly lower than other European countries (Koivukangas 2003). Based on native language statistics from the Finnish Institute of Migration, in 2002 there were over 33,000 Russians, nearly 12,000 Estonians, and 6700 people from other Eastern European countries. There were 7300 Somalians and roughly 1000 people from other African countries; over 12,400 people from the Middle East; over 17,000 from Asia, particularly Vietnam, China, and Thailand; over 9000 Scandinavians; and nearly 15,000 from other Western European countries and North America (Siirtolaisuusinstituutti 2003). Nearly half of Finland's foreign population live in the Helsinki area.

Contemporary Society and Identity

In many ways, Finland seems like an ideal society: it is a successful social democracy and welfare state; there is very little poverty and crime; it is the most technologically advanced country in the world; the government supports education, public transportation, the arts, national health care, and environmental protection; and it is one of the most gender egalitarian societies in the world.

One of Finland's biggest faults, and one of its biggest problems, is racism and xenophobia. Based on my own observations, I would say that immigrants from Somalia, elsewhere in Africa, and Muslim countries, as well as Roma, suffer the worst discrimination, though I have also witnessed hostile sentiments towards Russians on more than one occasion. Some Finns fear that immigrants will take jobs away from Finns (a rather unfounded fear, considering that job discrimination has led to 30% unemployment amongst immigrants, nearly 4 times higher than the unemployment rate amongst Finns). Some also fear that immigrants will take advantage of their social welfare system. Furthermore, women's subjugated position in Somalian families and the continued practice of female genital mutilation (which has been publicized by Finnish media) have not been well received in Finnish society, one of the most gender egalitarian societies in the world.

I discovered that over a decade after the dissolution of the USSR and 60 years after the war many Finns of all generations still harbor resentment, suspicion, and even open hostility towards Russians. Some of this anger was renewed after the fall of the Soviet Union when Finnish self-censorship lifted and historical information on the USSR's

actions became more available (Laitinen, personal interview, June 18, 2004; Asplund, personal communication, August 20, 2005). After Estonia and nine other Eastern European countries joined the European Union in 2004, I heard young educated university students complaining that Russians were going to sneak into Finland through the newly open borders with Estonia and speaking derogatively about the Russians who "killed their grandparents." Finns have been eager to affiliate with Western Europe and disassociate from Russia; many express the fear that foreigners mistakenly believe that Finland is part of Russia.⁴

Not all Finns are racists, and many are extremely cosmopolitan, well-traveled, and knowledgeable about the outside world. Most educated Finns speak three or more languages fluently (Finnish, Swedish, English, and often another European language or two). According to the United Nations' Human Development Report's Technological Achievement Index, Finland is the most technologically advanced country in the world, based on how well technology is integrated into society and how accessible technology is to the whole population, as well as innovations (Fukuda-Parr 2001:48). Thus, the majority of the population has daily access to international media, entertainment, and Internet. Many Finns also travel frequently around the Baltic Sea, as well as to southern Europe, Africa, and other southern destinations, usually in search of sun.

Finno-Ugric identity is still quite important. On May 1, 2004, when ten Eastern European nations joined the European Union, making some well-off welfare state citizens

⁴ This fear is not entirely unfounded. I met a Danish film student who, upon learning that I had lived in both Denmark and Finland, asked me what differences I had perceived between Denmark and Finland. When I told her that Finland was more different from Denmark than I had expected, she replied "oh, it's more Russian."

rather nervous, Helsinki's main newspaper *Helsingin Sanomat* ran features in the front page section on a family from each of the ten new EU countries, showing what EU membership meant for those families, and putting a human face on the foreign nationalities. The very front page of the paper had large photos of Hungarian and Estonian flags, families, and cities. This was no accident; the newspaper journalists were playing to Finns' sense of affinity and kinship with the two new Finno-Ugric member states.

When Finns speak about Finland's joining the European Union back in 1995, they often refer to it as "joining Europe." Their geographical location and linguistic differences still lead Finns to feel isolated from and outsiders to the rest of Europe. In general, Finns tend to be very sensitive about their identity and concerned about how foreigners view them. This concern about how others view them is reflected in a common joke that I heard many times in Finland. It goes something like this: a Finn, a Swede, and a Norwegian are standing in front of a large elephant. The Norwegian is wondering how he can make money off of the elephant. The Swede is concerned about whether the elephant might pose a safety threat. The Finn is wondering, "what is that elephant thinking about me?" [See Figure 4E below.]

Figure 4E "What is that elephant thinking about *me*?" wonders a Finn standing in front of this elephant. This framed picture of a newspaper clipping references a well-known joke that pokes fun at Finns' over-concern with how others perceive them.



Chapter 5. Constructing a History of Finnish Folk Music

The history of Finnish folk music is closely intertwined with the history of Finnish folklore and folk music scholarship. Finnish folk music is generally divided into two historical layers: the autochthonous "old traditions," which may be up to two to three thousand years old, and the "new traditions," which were appropriated from Scandinavia and Central Europe starting in the seventeenth century. Scholars have had to reconstruct much of the histories of these traditions, particularly the old traditions, due to lack of historical documentation. Finnish culture was peasant culture and entirely oral up until the Romantic Nationalistic and Public Enlightenment movements of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries; there was no Finnish-language court or upperclass while under Swedish rule, and Finland's elite remained primarily Swedish-speaking until the late nineteenth century. The earliest historical references to folk singing were by sixteenth-century Reformationist clergymen (who disapproved of the pagan song themes) and seventeenth-century antiquarians (who erroneously attempted to connect ancient Finnish culture to ancient Greek and Roman civilizations). Extensive documentation was not undertaken until the romantic national period in the nineteenth century, by which time many traditions were already beginning to die out, a process accelerated by radical changes in Finnish society caused by modernization, national education and "public enlightenment" (*kansanvalistus*) endeavors, industrialization, and urbanization. In the twentieth century, the folk music revival of the 1960s and '70s and recent scholarship have been influential in setting the stage for today's contemporary folk music scene.

Old Traditions and the Kalevala Era

The old traditions, or ancient traditions, include epic and lyrical sung poetry in the kalevala meter (trochaic tetrameter), spells and charms, laments, and herding calls, as well as instrumental music played on the five-string *kantele* (zither), *jouhikko* (bowed lute), and various shepherds' flutes (see Chapter 9 for musical details). Most of these traditions are shared by the Baltic-Finnish peoples, i.e. the Finns, Karelians, Ingrians, and Estonians.¹ Historical scholarly attention has focused predominantly on kalevala sung poetry. Kalevala *runolaulut*, literally poem-songs, can be defined narrowly as heroic epic poem-songs about the characters in the national epic Kalevala, or they can be defined more broadly as any songs having the same meter as the Kalevala epic (Anttonen and Kuusi 1999:15).² I will use the latter, broader definition of runolaulu.³

Finnish folklorists have divided the Kalevala Era into four historical periods of development. These historical periods are not intended to date specific poems, which are created anew to a lesser or greater extent each time they are performed, but rather to date the development of poetic styles and themes, which continued to be performed long after the period in which they developed. In the absence of written historical documentation of these periods, folklorists have constructed historical theories based upon content analysis

¹ Note that the term "Baltic" in the phrase "Baltic-Finnish" refers to the Baltic Sea and not to the Baltic states (Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania), nor to the Baltic languages/peoples (Latvian and Lithuanian) -- although the Baltic peoples did have some influence on Baltic-Finnish cultures. The Finnish term for "Baltic-Finnish" is much less confusing; *itämerensuomalaiset* literally means "Finns of the East Sea" (the Finnish name for the Baltic Sea), as opposed to the Finnish peoples living farther inland in central and northern Eurasia.

² When referring to the Kalevala national epic that was compiled by Elias Lönnrot and published in 1835, I will use an uppercase "K." When referring to the kalevala runolaulu genre and kalevala meter I will use a lowercase "k," except in the titles of the various kalevala historical periods (e.g. the Kalevala Golden Age).

³ "Runolaulut" is the plural nominative and accusative, "runolauluja" is the plural partitive, "runolaulu" is the singular nominative, and "runolaulua" is the singular partitive. All of these may appear in this text. Basically, if there is a "t" or "ja" at the end of the word, it means that it is plural.

of themes, place names, and historical persons and events; poetic style and meter; linguistic analysis of vocabulary, grammar, expressions, and dialects; and archaeological and linguistic evidence of migration and settlement patterns of different Finnish cultural groups. The influential Finnish folklorist Matti Kuusi has identified the following stylistic layers of historical development: the Early Kalevala period, the Kalevala Golden Age, the Medieval Kalevala period, and the Late Kalevala period. Though there is still controversy over these periods, Kuusi's theories are cited widely by other Finnish folklorists (Kuusi, Bosley, and Branch 1977:44-46; Anttonen and Kuusi 1999:19-20; Siikala 1994:18-19; and Asplund 1981a:19-21).

This is when the kalevala meter first came into use, in a somewhat simpler form than that used in later periods. Song themes are mythical, magical, shamanic and include, for example, origins songs about the birth of the world, humans, animals, and the kantele, bear skinning ritual songs, and songs about shamans going on quests to the other world. This period probably lasted up until the time when the ancestors of the Finns settled on the northern shores of the Gulf of Finland (present-day southern Finland). Laments, spells, curses, lyric runolaulut, and wedding runolaulut also appear to have taken shape in this period.

The Kalevala Golden Age or Middle Period (*sydänkalevalainen*, literally "heart of the kalevala") seems to have developed and flourished during the first millennium of the Common Era, from the early Iron Age until the arrival of Christianity with the Swedish crusades to Finland. The famous heroic epics describing the adventures of legendary characters such as Väinämöinen belong to this period. Stylistically, there is an increasing

use of dialogue, a more flexible syntactic structure, and realism in the portrayal of people and their environments.

The Medieval Period lasted from the conversion to Christianity (the late twelfth century in Western Finland, but considerably later in Eastern Finland) until the sixteenth century. Thematically, Roman Catholic teaching is incorporated alongside pagan figures, and stylistically, Christian legends, ballads, and refrain songs are recast in and adapted to *kalevala* meter.

The Late *Kalevala* period began in the sixteenth century and is characterized by historical poem-songs about war, serfdom, the Swedish Kingdom, and lost love. There is noticeable influence of rhymed poetry from the West and there seems to be a decline in virtuosity and performance/composition skill.⁴

Runolaulu traditions were once practiced across Finland, as well as in Karelia, Ingria, and Estonia. *Kalevala* singing died out early in Western Finland -- sometime in the seventeenth to eighteenth centuries -- where the church was intolerant of their pagan themes and where they were replaced by newer Western-influenced song genres and dance music. In Eastern Finland, *runolaulut* survived longer, perhaps because of isolation, or perhaps because, in parts of Karelia that came under Slavic influence, the Eastern Orthodox Church was more tolerant of indigenous traditions. In the early nineteenth century, field researchers were able to collect tens of thousands of *kalevala*-metered songs in different regions of Karelia on both sides of the Finnish-Russian border

⁴ Information on *kalevala* stylistic periods has been woven together from the following sources: Kuusi, Bosley, and Branch 1977:44-46; Anttonen and Kuusi 1999:19-20; Siikala 1994:18-19; and Asplund 1981a:19-21.

and in Ingria (near St. Petersburg). Today, all of the traditional contexts for this singing have disappeared, but some elders living near the Finnish-Russian border still remember *runolauluja* and are visited by young contemporary folk musicians doing field research.

New Traditions: Pelimanni Music

The term "new traditions" in Finnish folk music refers to the instrumental dance music genres, instruments, and vocal genres that were adopted and appropriated from the West during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Swedish cultural influence in Finland, especially in Western Finland, increased dramatically in the 1600s for two reasons: (1) as the Kingdom of Sweden became a great power, its economic growth led to increases in trade, cultural life, and urban centers, even in the eastern realm of the kingdom (i.e. Finland); and (2) after the Reformation, the Lutheran clergy took much greater interest in the Finnish peasants than the Roman Catholic clergy had, leading to the eventual wiping out of pagan *kalevala* songs in Western Finland.

The first new dance genre to take hold in Finland was the triple-meter *polska* (Sweden's national folk music and dance) in the 1700s. The minuet also caught on in the eighteenth century as a slow dance that precedes the faster *polska*. In the nineteenth century, a number of central European dances and corresponding music genres were introduced to Finland through Sweden, including the waltz at the turn of the nineteenth century, the quadrille and the *potpourri* in the early 1800s, the *polka* in the 1840s, and the *schottische* and *mazurka* in the 1850s (Asplund 1981c:125-151). Collectively, this dance music is known as *pelimanni* music. The term *pelimanni* comes from the Swedish

spelman, meaning folk musician. In Finland, "pelimanni" is only used to describe folk musicians who play pelimanni music (as opposed to folk musicians who play ancient kalevala music or contemporary folk music). Pelimanni music is performed on instruments that were also introduced during this era, including violin, clarinet, accordion (one-, two-, five-, or seven-rowed), mandolin, and/or harmonium (pump organ), as well as on a modified kantele with anywhere from eight to thirty-nine strings (as opposed to the traditional five-string kantele models).

As runolaulu was repressed and died out in Western Finland, new vocal genres took its place. Unlike the more narrative runolaulut, the new song genres were primarily characterized by rhymed and strophic verses (see Chapter 9 for details). One of the first new song forms to take hold in Finland was the ballad. Scandinavian ballad traditions date back to the thirteenth century, and stories from Swedish ballads were often incorporated into runolauluja, but it was not until the kalevala tradition started dying out in the 1600s in Western Finland that Finnish folk singers began adopting the Swedish ballad style, form, and melody as well as narrative content. In the 1700s, polska songs and the *rallatus* (diddling, or singing of instrumental music using vocables) of polska dance tunes became common. The most popular folk song in the 1800s was the *rekilaulu*. Though rekilaulu literally means "sleigh song," its origin is actually in the German *Reigenlied* (Asplund 1981d:64-98). (For a discussion of the musical characteristics of the above-mentioned instrumental and vocal genres see Chapter 9 on musical points of departure.)

Early Documentation: Clergymen, Antiquarians, and Fennophiles

What we know of the history of Finnish folk music is derived from documentation that was collected in four main waves, each with its own philosophy and goals. The first and earliest documentation comes from the records of 16th century clergymen who disapproved of the non-Christian gods and magic of the kalevala songs. In 1551, Michael Agricola, a Reformer who studied with Luther and translated the New Testament into Finnish, published a list of the Finnish "pagan gods" in the foreword of his translation of David's Psalter. His source of information for these gods were ancient runolauluja, and included in his list are Väinämöinen and Ilmarinen, who are central figures in the Kalevala national epic. Similarly, in the preface to the first Finnish hymn book from 1583, Jacobus Finno, a.k.a. Jaakko Suomalainen, derogatively describes the Finns' ugly pagan songs and how the devil has put a lot of runolauluja in the mouths of the Finns (Hautala 1969:11-12; Anneli Asplund, personal communication, January 21, 2005).

In the seventeenth century, a second wave of documentation occurred motivated by antiquarians, who used oral folk poetry as historical evidence of the magnificence of Finland's past, and by "Fennophiles," who had strong feelings of patriotism but no political aims. Daniel Juslenius (1676-1752), the most famous of the Fennophiles, used folk poetry as proof of Finland's ancient civilization, made comparisons of Finnish folk poetry to Hebrew and Greek poetry, and claimed that these languages were related to

Finnish. One example is a manuscript of a transcribed runolaulu dating from the late 1600s, *Piispa Henrikin Surmavirsi* (The Murder Ballad of Bishop Henry), that recounts an event from 1150. Antiquarians generally considered runolaulut to be historic accounts of actual events, and so urged clergymen to collect runolauluja. But since the same clergy had been working to destroy superstition and witchcraft, most peasants were suspicious of them and reluctant to tell them anything (Hautala 1969:12-14; Hautala and Kuusi 1958:7).

These early sources are scant both in numbers and in their coverage of historical folk songs, and they provide little information about song texts, music, or performance practices. However, they do tell us that 400-500 years ago the kalevala song culture was thriving enough to be of concern to the church and to be a source of admiration for the scholars who were infatuated with ancient Greek poetry. They also tell us that the runolaulut reflected the mythology and possibly the belief system of the Finnish peasants.

The following waves of documentation, first of song texts, then of music, were much more extensive, but they are still colored by specific political and scholarly interests.

18th- and 19th-Century Scholarship: The Romantic Nationalist Spirit

The nationalist philosophies sweeping through Europe in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries made their way to Finnish intellectuals. Students and professors at Uppsala University in Sweden and Turku University in southwestern Finland studied German philosopher Johann von Herder's ideas about the spirit of a nation that could be

uncovered in the culture of the folk, as well as principles from the French Revolution about a state that could derive its power from a national people. Finnish scholars were also influenced by European collections of poetry such as Thomas Percy's publication of English and Scottish songs in 1765, Thomas Macpherson's *Songs of Ossian* from 1765, and Johann von Herder's *Stimmen der Völker in Liedern* from 1778.

In the last quarter of the 18th century, Turku University Professor Henrik Gabriel Porthan embarked on the first academic attempt to analyze Finnish oral poetry. In *Dissertationis de Poesi Fennica*, published in 1766-1778, Porthan expands upon the poetic structure, performance practices, and performance contexts of runolaulut. As in almost all other documentation and scholarship of runolaulu from the 1500s until the late nineteenth century, Porthan focused primarily on the texts of the songs and paid little attention to the music. According to Koiranen, Leisiö, and Saha, his information about the music itself raises more questions than it answers (Koiranen et al. 2003:114; Hautala and Kuusi 1958:6-7).

In the nineteenth century, romantic nationalist ideology dominated intellectual and artistic circles in Finland. As an Autonomous Grand Duchy of Russia (1809-1917), no longer under Swedish rule, the Finns were encouraged by the Russian czar to develop a national identity, and the Finnish language, previously the language of peasants, was made into an official language. In 1831, the Finnish Literary Society (SKS, *Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura*) was founded to support, through research and publication, Finnish language, Finnish literature, and Finnish folk poetry/folklore with the firmly held Herder-inspired belief that the Finnish national character resided in the language and literature of

the people, and the literature of the people was to be found in the age-old poetry (songs) of the folk. Another important belief guiding scholarly research, fieldwork, and collection was that the Finno-Ugric peoples shared a common origin and heritage. SKS, the center of folklore research, paid out research stipends and supported numerous summertime field research trips around Finland and the Baltic-Finnish area for the collection of Finnish, Karelian, Ingrian, Estonian, and other Finno-Ugric oral poetry.

Elias Lönnrot was the most central figure of the Finnish Literary Society, and an extremely influential figure in Finnish folklore and Finnish history. He made several field trips collecting runolauluja from different regions of Karelia on both sides of the Finnish-Russian border. By compiling and editing runolauluja that he collected in 1831-1835, Lönnrot constructed *The Kalevala* (first published in 1835, revised by Lönnrot in 1849). The Kalevala later became Finland's national epic, an influential work of national literature inspiring composers, painters, poets, authors, street names, and even a state-proclaimed Kalevala Day (February 28). Lönnrot also compiled and published other collections of Finnish folklore materials, including the *Kanteletar* (1840), a compilation of lyric poetry (songs) in kalevala meter frequently used as source material by contemporary folk singers.

Other collectors and scholars of oral poetry text from the romantic nationalist period include Kaarle Akseli Gottlund, Aksel Borenius (a.k.a. Lähteenkorva), Julius Krohn, his son Kaarle Krohn, A. E. Ahlqvist, and A. R. Niemi. Many of these and other scholars' field notes and field recordings are housed in the Folklore Archives of the Finnish Literary Society, which made the original documented oral poems available to

the public in a mammoth 34-volume publication called *Suomen Kansan Vanhat Runot* (SKVR, the Old Poems of the Finnish People/Folk), which contains over 26,500 pages with over 1,270,000 lines of poetry organized according to the regions from which they were collected (Anttonen and Kuusi 1999:16; SKVR 1908-1997). Though SKVR is a tremendous resource widely used by contemporary folk musicians, the scholars of the nineteenth century focused on folk poetry as a source of literature and knowledge but not as music, song, or performance.

The number of collected song melodies and instrumental tunes is extremely small in comparison to the quantity of collected song texts. The most important collectors of folk music melodies in the 1800s were Kaarle Akseli Gottlund (who, in his 1831 *Otava* work on folk music, lamented that the traditional five-string kantele was falling out of use at that time), Aksel Borenius (a.k.a. Lähteenkorva), and Ilmari Krohn. Krohn became internationally known for his system of analyzing and categorizing songs according to similar melodic characteristics (of which Sibelius Academy folk music teachers have taken advantage; see Chapter 10, "Improvising"). Krohn compiled *Suomen Kansan Sävelmiä* (Finnish Folk Melodies), containing volumes on religious melodies, song melodies, and folk dance tunes, all organized by melody type. Krohn's student Armas Launis published a fourth volume of runolaulu melodies, and Launis's student A. O. Väisänen published a fifth volume of kantele and jouhikko melodies. These volumes are widely used today as primary musical sources, and are available in an online electronic database, *Suomen Kansan eSälvemät* (Finnish Folk e-Melodies), which is searchable by

melodic interval, melodic contour, and text fragments and accessible from the University of Jyväskylä Music Department web site <http://www.jyu.fi/musica/sks/>.

The fourth wave of documentation came in the early twentieth century when Finnish scholars, like scholars elsewhere in Europe, became concerned about the disappearance of their folk culture and undertook field research for the sake of salvation and preservation. Unlike previous documentation trends, this one focused on folk *music* instead of on folk song *texts*. Otto Anderson did research on Swedish-Finnish music and on Finnish, Estonian, and Swedish variants of the jouhikko and other Northwestern European bowed lutes. Armas Launis collected Baltic-Finnish runolaulu melodies, Saami yoiks, and Estonian, Ingrian, and Karelian song melodies, which he both recorded by phonograph and transcribed by ear. Armas Otto Väisänen, one of the most famous Finnish folk music scholars, documented Finnish kantele and jouhikko music and took several field trips with his phonograph and camera to record the folk music and culture of several Finno-Ugrian cultures including Karelian yoiks, Ob-Ugrian song melodies, and Mordvin, Vepsian, Estonian, and Setu music. From the end of World War II until the folk revival in the late 1960s, Erkki Ala-Könni was one of the few active folk music scholars. Ala-Könni was concerned with Finnish music and dance traditions, particularly the polska (a dance music genre in three), which he studied across Finland but especially in Ostrobothnia. He donated his collections to the University of Tampere, became the first professor at the University's Folklore Department in 1965 (which is now called the Music Research, or Anthropology of Music Department), and built up the Folk Tradition Archives in the Department.

Folk Music of the Public Enlightenment, A Frozen National Symbol

As "historical folk music" was dying out, or, in other words, as the traditional contexts in which folk music had been performed disappeared and new popular music genres came to replace folk music, a new form and expression of folk music came into existence. Heikki Laitinen has dubbed this type of folk music as "folk music of the public enlightenment" (*kansanvalistuksen kansanmusiikki*) after the period of Finnish history in which there were large-scale endeavors to enlighten, educate, and civilize the Finnish people (Laitinen 2003b [1988]:200; Laitinen, personal communication, January 27, 2005). "Public enlightenment" folk music began around the 1850s and was practiced actively through the 1950s, and still existed on a smaller scale as late as the 1980s.

Romantic nationalist scholars who had dedicated years to researching and collecting folk music and folk dance came to feel that they were the utmost experts on what and how folk music should be performed. Influenced by Western and Central European art music aesthetics from their formal university training, some scholars were selective in deciding what folk music and dance they deemed "valuable" and "beautiful" enough to be published in their collections, and they also set the standards for how this music and dance should be performed (Anttonen, Leisiö, and Saha 2003:127).

The national project to civilize and enlighten the Finnish people was carried out through youth organizations, societies such as the Public Enlightenment Society (*Kansanvalistusseura*), Rural Civilization League (*Maaseudun Sivistysliitto*), and Laborers' Civilization League (*Työväen Sivistysliitto*), as well as political parties representing social democrats, communists, farmers, and conservatives. These different

organizations would host evening entertainment (*iltamat*) where performers would wear (constructed) national folk costumes and perform "proper" folk music and folk dance exactly the way it was written down in the books. The purpose was to educate people through the music and dance, to teach them to respect the folk traditions of their ancestors and to behave like educated Finns (Timo Leisiö, personal communication, February 8, 2005). Heikki Laitinen considers "public enlightenment" folk music to be an "imagined" folk music.

Folk music became static and rigid during this period. It was a national symbol, frozen in time as a historical object with no possibility to evolve or change. By the 1950s, the political and social climate had changed and the evening entertainment events of "public enlightenment" folk music began to fade from fashion as jazz, rock, and television gained popularity (Laitinen, personal communication, January 27, 2005; Leisiö, personal communication, February 8, 2005). However, youth organizations and other clubs continued, and some still continue, performing this type of folk music and especially folk dance, with performance practices and repertoire regulated by various organizations such as the Friends of Finnish Folk Dance (*Suomalaisen Kansantanssin Ystävät*), the Settlement Youth Association (*Settlementinuorten Liitto*), and the Karelian Youth Association (*Karjalainen Nuorisoliitto*) (Antti Savilampi, personal interview, May 11, 2004).

To this day, folk music and folk dance, especially the kantele, Kalevala, and dancers in national costumes, are little more than national symbols to the general Finnish population, symbols which may be considered boring or even repulsive. Contemporary

folk musicians and contemporary folk dancers have complained to me of encountering and combating these stereotypes.

The Folk Music Revival of the Late 1960s, Roots of Today's Amateur Folk Music Scene

Finland's folk revival, which began in 1968, was spearheaded by an older, rural, politically conservative population, in stark contrast to folk revivals in other parts of the world that were associated with youth counterculture and left-wing politics.⁵

Industrialization and urbanization occurred relatively late and very quickly in Finland. In the 1960s, many rural areas and small towns were depleted of population, public services, and cultural life, and found themselves in an economic and cultural depression. In the small town of Kaustinen in Western Finland, inhabitants tried to brainstorm ways of improving the town's economic situation. A local resident, Martti Palo, who worked in tourism and had attended the Llangollen International Folk Song and Dance Competition in Wales, suggested that the town host its own international folk music festival. The idea was well-received and in 1968 the first Kaustinen Folk Festival was held, modeled after the Welsh festival. Since the festival's director Viljo S. Määttäälä also happened to be the director of the Central Ostrobothnian regional radio station and had strong connections with the national media, the festival was extremely well publicized across Finland through television and radio. The first festival was a tremendous success. The organizers had anticipated approximately 2000 people, but in

⁵ The revival was not officially affiliated with any political party. However, several of the Kaustinen Festival's organizers and overseers have been from the Farmers' Party, which is now called the Central Party, and event organizers sometimes feel pressure to appease or cater to certain public officials in order to receive funding.

fact there were 10,000 in attendance. The phenomenon spread like wildfire across Finland. In 1968 there were only five rural cultural festivals in all of Finland, but by 1972 there were over 800 festivals in rural areas across the country (Anneli Asplund, personal interview, May 27, 2004; Heikki Laitinen, personal interview, June 18, 2004; Ramnarine 2003:52).

The folk music revival centered on pelimanni music, specifically in the style played by Kaustinen's folk musicians. Kaustinen's Konsta Jylhä and his ensemble Purppuri Pelimannit became the star and idol of the revival and small ensembles popped up all over the country modeled after his two fiddles, accordion, upright bass, and harmonium. The repertoire was mostly dance music dating from 1890 to 1930. Traditional/historical folk music had almost completely died out, and scholars had paid little attention to the pelimanni "new traditions," focusing instead on the older kalevala traditions. The line between pelimanni music and old dance music was fuzzy, and many revivalists played popular music from the 1920s to the 1940s, including waltzes, polkas, and schottisches. There was a lack of knowledge of local traditions, and many ensembles relied on sheet music books published in Helsinki. In the early period of the folk revival, there was also a great deal of amateur composing of folk tunes, both inspired by the idol Konsta Jylhä, who was known to compose his own pieces, and encouraged by folk music scholar Erkki Ala-Könni, who made his definitions of folk music publicly known. Heikki Laitinen considers this practice of middle-aged and older untrained amateur musicians performing their own compositions onstage at festivals to be quite remarkable, particularly in a country where composition is typically restricted to conservatory-trained

prodigies. Laitinen dubs the early folk music revival period of the late 1960s and early 1970s as a "great therapeutic process" that renewed cultural life in the rural areas and allowed untrained individuals with little musical background or technique to express themselves and participate in musical performances and creative processes (Laitinen 1994:34-37; Laitinen, personal interview, June 18, 2004).

Ideology from the nationalist period of "public enlightenment folk music" still prevailed in the folk music revival movement. According to Vesa Kurkela, the following myths were prevalent in both the late 19th century and at the Kaustinen Festival in the early 1970s: (1) the Finnish people have a national culture that is unique, exceptional and surpasses all other things in value; (2) the folk life of the past was harmonious, pure, noble in spirit, and profound; (3) authentic folk music is of high artistic value, serious, melancholy and beautiful; (4) folk music has an educating and morally uplifting power; and (5) the antithesis of folk music is cultural decay, in other words, folk music is a reaction against and anecdote for foreign elements and modernity (Kurkela 1994:28-29).

The folk music revival was entirely amateur. Shortly after the revival started in 1968, amateur folk music activities started to become institutionalized in organizations. National pelimanni associations were founded, and many small towns and municipalities around the country founded their own pelimanni organizations or clubs where people would play folk music together. Ensembles grew larger and larger, so that large pelimanni orchestras and teams of fiddlers similar to the Swedish *spelmanslaget* became

more common than the small Konsta Jylhä-inspired quartets.⁶ These large ensembles are still popular today in the amateur folk music scene and can be seen performing at summer folk music festivals. They typically play pelimanni music from notation either in unison or simple arrangements while dressed in costumes resembling national folk costumes or historical peasant garb.

While the folk revival planted the seeds that would later lead to today's amateur folk music scene, it also spurred on certain scholarly and artistic activities (some inspired by the revival and others reactions against it) that would eventually lead to the development of the professional contemporary folk music scene.

Foundations for Professional Contemporary Folk Music and Research

The folk revival of the late '60s and early '70s created a great need for accessible source material and publication of archival material from specific locales so that folk musicians could learn repertoire that had once been part of the local traditions from their areas. In 1973, the Folk Music Institute was founded in Kaustinen to support Finnish folk music research, publication, and education, with Heikki Laitinen as the first director. Other important centers for research and publication were the Tampere University Folk Traditions Department, led by Erkki Ala-Könni, and the Finnish Literary Society

⁶ *Spelmanslaget*, or fiddlers' teams, have existed in Sweden since the 1920s. According to Swedish scholar Krister Malm, the phenomenon of several dozen fiddlers playing together in unison got its start when hordes of American tourists started arriving in Sweden and, in the absence of electrical amplification technology, musicians simply added more players together to gain the volume needed to project to the crowds of tourists (Malm, personal communication, November 4, 2004). It is quite possible that the Swedish *spelmanslaget* influenced Finnish pelimanni organizations (*pelimanni yhdistykset*), though the Finnish organizations were founded some 40 years after their Swedish counterparts. Teams of fiddlers playing in unison are not an uncommon sight at Kaustinen Festival, which is located in Western Finland where Swedish influence is strong.

Folklore Archives in Helsinki, where Anneli Asplund was based. The lack of general knowledge about folk music in the early period of the revival triggered an increase of interest in conducting research on historical folk music instruments and practices, but this time the main research goal was not the nationalistic glorification of the ancient traditions of the Finnish people but rather practical application in performance.

Though the revival was centered on the "new tradition" of pelimanni music, a handful of folk music scholars, folklorists, and instrument builders became interested in reviving and learning to perform ancient songs and (at that time obscure) ancient instruments with as much historical authenticity as was possible to reconstruct. The first such endeavor was inspired by the recording of a cassette of Kalevala songs for elementary school children. In honor of the Kalevala Society's theme "year of the folk song" in 1967, the society's director, folklore professor Matti Kuusi, and his student Leea Virtanen decided that the Kalevala Society should publish a recording of kalevala-runolauluja to be used by Finnish language and literature teachers. It was decided that the old archival recordings with their poor sound quality and elderly singers' voices would turn young people off, so the archive material was to be re-sung, word by word and note by note, by folklore scholars who had musical background. Thus folklorists Pirkko-Liisa Rausmaa and Anneli Asplund, together with other singers they had rounded up, recorded *Pääskylintu Päivälintu: kalevalaisia lauluja* (Swallowbird, Daybird: Kalevala Songs, 1968), the first contemporary recording of runolauluja and one of the first treatments by scholars of Kalevala material as music and not just text (though it is

noteworthy that even this recording was intended for literature teachers and not music teachers).

After making the initial recording of runolauluja, Pirkko-Liisa Rausmaa and Anneli Asplund met Heikki Laitinen (then director of the Folk Music Institute) and folklorist Seppo Knuutila (then working in the SKS archives), and together they formed the group Nelipolviset, meaning "the tetrametereds" after the kalevala meter, in the late 1970s. Anneli Asplund relates how the scholarship of the time combined with their performance experience altered their ideology of how to study and perform runolauluja:

We soon realized that it was not possible to sing by teaching each and every sound from the [archive] tape like we did in *Pääskylintu Päivälintu*. That *Pääskylintu* project taught me at least that it can't work that way, that it is impossible to sing in the manner in which one learns every single note there from the tape and then sings. Rather, it was necessary to learn the rules in the custom, the rules for producing the tradition. Just like what we were also reading at that time from Lord, like in the *Singer of Tales*. Albert Lord, you must know, the big book.... It was a great experience when that book was found.... [Lord] tells about Yugoslavian epics and how these old Yugoslavian singers produced music, produced songs. That it was necessary to learn these rules and this formula technique and then sing accordingly. It was also the theoretical background for our singing when we noticed that we had to of course learn the songs, the text, and the melodies, but then we also had *permission to create* the music according to these rules. It is clear that nowadays we don't live in an oral tradition, rather we live in this culture in which books and text are always the most important thing. So we also learned that if we wanted to learn the old poems then we had to take SKVR [the 34 volume collection of original documented runolaulu texts]... and study the text there.... We tried to learn to study the process. That was the theoretical Lordian system to produce music. It was in the air at that time, all folklorists were impressed by this book *Singer of Tales*, it was the course book. If you read the articles and books of the '60s, '70s and even '80s, very many song researchers were speaking of the *Singer of Tales* and the Lordian system. And that was also beginning when Heikki started [teaching at the Folk Music Department] in the Sibelius Academy, when he started to create the system of how to teach folk music (Anneli Asplund, personal interview, May 27, 2004, my translation and emphasis).

This process-oriented approach focusing on creating ancient material anew with each performance became fundamental to the ideology behind the pedagogy that Heikki Laitinen instituted in his teaching at the Sibelius Academy Folk Music Department, which in turn shaped the development of contemporary folk music. Laitinen concurs that Lord's *Singer of Tales* changed his own thinking in the early 1970s when he was studying folklore at the University of Helsinki, and that the work that he did in the Nelipolviset group and in different runolaulu courses was broadly influenced by Lord's theories (personal communication, January 27, 2005). Nelipolviset was primarily a vocal ensemble of researchers singing runolauluja as a hobby, though they soon turned their efforts towards education and awakening interest in the musical performance of the old oral poetry tradition. They achieved their goal, for by the time the group stopped singing in the mid-1980s there were several others singing runolauluja.

In the 1970s and '80s there were also important research and education projects that revived ancient instruments such as the kantele, shepherds horns and flutes, and jouhikko. The Folk Music Institute in Kaustinen, with Heikki Laitinen as its director, decided to make the traditional five-string kantele popular. Though the kantele was the national instrument, hardly anyone played it at that time. Laitinen wrote in 1975 in the folk music magazine *Kansanmusiikki* that "once proclaimed the national instrument, the kantele ceased to be a real object and turned into an empty concept. Deprived of its factual content this concept was loaded with all kinds of false sentiment, deep-rooted bias and unfounded contempt. It is time that we free the kantele from the bondage of being a national instrument played only by people wearing national costumes and let it seek its

own reality" (cited in Saha 1994:d). The Folk Music Institute had one hundred five-string kanteles made for the Kaustinen Folk Music Festival, and Heikki Laitinen and Hannu Saha took turns teaching people of all ages with little or no musical background to play melodies and improvise on the kantele. The Folk Music Institute also provided five-string kanteles and instruction books written by Laitinen and Saha to schools all over the country. The goal of this partially successful Kantele Project, which began in 1982, was to incorporate the kantele into nursery school and elementary school music education (Laitinen and Saha 1988; Ramnarine 2003:64; Heikki Laitinen, personal interview, June 18, 2004—see Chapter 7 for more details on this project).

The revival and current widespread use of the jouhikko within contemporary folk music circles was instigated by the instrument builder Rauno Nieminen. Nieminen studied old instruments housed in museum storage and conducted extensive archival research. He built jouhikkos, making them available to musicians, and developed the instrument by, for example, improving the tuning mechanism and adding microphone pickups. In 1984 Nieminen published a book that detailed how to play and how to build jouhikkos and provided notation compiled from transcriptions of archived field recordings, which had been done by earlier scholars such as A. O. Väisänen before the tradition died out in the early 20th century (Nieminen 1984 and 2004; personal interview, July 2, 2004).

Timo Leisiö, current professor and chair of the Tampere University Music Research Department, conducted extensive research to recover and rediscover ancient Finnish woodwinds. He studied instruments housed in museums and placed ads in local

newspapers for anyone who had old instruments up in their attic left behind by their grandparents. His published dissertation *Suomen ja Karjalan vanhakantaiset torvi- ja pillisoittimet* (Finnish and Karelian ancient horn and woodwind instruments, 1983) provides information on 120 different wind instruments. In 1985, Leisiö teamed up with Rauno Nieminen to create, with the support of the Folk Music Institute, an exposition of over 90 ancient Finnish instruments and the book *Rapapallit ja Lakuttimet* on the instruments from the exhibit. Leisiö's work inspired the instrument builder Pekka Westerholm, who has since become a specialist in building and developing ancient flutes and reed instruments (Furnald 1994).

Researcher-musicians Hannu Saha, Heikki Laitinen, and Rauno Nieminen formed the Primitive Music Orchestra (PRIMO), in which they taught themselves how to play traditional music as well as their own music on a variety of ancient instruments. Other bands in the 1970s and '80s also experimented with ancient Finnish and Karelian instruments and traditions, often departing significantly from traditional folk music to create their own folk-influenced free jazz and avant-garde music. The band World Mänkeri Orchestra, a.k.a. Etno Pojat (the Ethno Boys), founded in 1984, performs free-jazz-sounding original compositions and improvisations on ancient single-reed instruments (such as the *mänkeri* and *liru*) and birchbark flutes made by band member and instrument builder Pekka Westerholm. Austerlitz (2000:196) describes the most prominent jazz-folk fusion artists, whom he calls "avant-garde traditionalists":

The group Piirpauke and its leader Sakari Kukko spearheaded this [experimental wing emphasizing Eastern Finnish and Karelian sources], clothing traditional Finnish melodies in jazz garb while adding African, Arabic, and Latin tinges. Inspired by the British folk-rock group Fairport

Convention as well as by jazz, baritone saxophonist Seppo Paakkunainen and drummer Edward Vesala founded the band Karelia in 1970. Karelia combines traditional Finnish instruments such as the kantele, *jouhikko* (a bowed lyre similar to the Welsh *crwth*), and fiddle, with saxophone, electric bass, accordion, synthesizers, trap drums, and Latin percussion. Foregrounded in the instrumentarium are herdsman's instruments similar to those that Teppo Repo [famous traditional player of shepherd flutes] played. Asked whether his music is jazz or Finnish folk music, Paakkunainen says that "it's neither."

All of these research, education, and experimental performance initiatives in ancient instrumental and vocal music provided some of the resources, instruments, and inspiration for the tremendous variety of folk music studied at the Sibelius Academy and performed in the contemporary folk music scene.

The bands Värttinä and JPP, both formed in the 1980s, ushered in a new era in Finnish folk music. For the first time in the twentieth century, large numbers of youth became interested in folk music (the revival of the late 60s had been dominated by the middle-aged and older). There was a change in mentality: folk music no longer stood in opposition to transnational popular music, but instead was open to influences from different international and contemporary music styles, and Finnish folk music bands were participating in the international commercial world music scene. Värttinä from Eastern Finland was a vocal ensemble of young women backed by a somewhat modern band (fiddler, accordion, saxophone, drumset, and electric bass) performing traditional Karelian songs in contemporary jazz and Balkan-music influenced arrangements. JPP, or Järvelän Pikkupelimannit (the "little folk musicians of Järvelä" village), is a virtuosic instrumental ensemble from the Kaustinen area in Western Finland playing a combination of traditional pelimanni tunes and their own contemporary compositions on

several fiddles, upright bass, and pump organ. Both bands reached unprecedented popularity both domestically and internationally in the early 1990s. Though they are still popular today, the boom of the '90s has passed. JPP and Värttinä have strong ties to the Sibelius Academy Folk Music Department (several of the musicians from these bands have been students and/or teachers in the department), but they have also been independent, distinct phenomena, active in the world music market abroad as well as at home.

The Folk Music Department of the Sibelius Academy, founded in 1983, was the first institution to offer formal training in folk music for musicians. Heikki Laitinen was brought from the Folk Music Institute to be the folk music department chair and, in the early years, the department's only professor. The ideology of Heikki Laitinen and the training from the Sibelius Academy Folk Music Department have shaped contemporary folk musicians who are virtuosos on multiple traditional instruments, knowledgeable about a variety of Finnish and other folk music traditions, creative experimentalists, and performers with lofty ideals for creating their own personal artistic expressions. The department's protégés are influencing folk music education, ideology, and performance practices across the country (see Chapter 13 for the impact of the department outside of the Academy).

Folk music research for the purpose of practical application in performance has continued at the Sibelius Academy and elsewhere in Finland. For example, Arja Kastinen, one of the first to receive a Doctor of Music degree in folk music performance, conducted acoustic experiments on a 15-string kantele modeled after museum pieces

(Kastinen 2000). Other Sibelius Academy folk music students have conducted "artistic research" comprising fieldwork, archival, ethnographic, or theoretical research that culminates in a performance or series of performances instead of in a scholarly paper, for example doctoral student Maari Kallberg's research and performances of traditional Karelian songs and Timo Väänänen's exploration of the past and present symbolism of kanteles and kantele players in popular Finnish imagination. Contemporary kantele player Hannu Saha, former director of the Folk Music Institute after Heikki Laitinen, did his dissertation for Tampere University on the relationship between the creative process of variation and oral memory in kantele playing, a topic of particular interest to contemporary folk musicians and teachers who highly value improvised melodic variation (Saha 1996).

American ethnomusicology has also influenced folk music research in Finland, particularly at the University of Tampere and Åbo Academy in Turku, the main centers for academic folk music research.⁷ One result of the ethnomusicological valuing of cultural context and subjectivity has been a proliferation of biographies of folk musicians (see, for example, Helistö 1997; Kolehmainen and Valo 1990; Asplund, Kangas, and Valo 1990). Other ethnographic work on Finnish folk music has been done by Vesa Kurkela (1989) on folklorism and folk music ideology in Finnish organizations and youth societies; by Helmi Järviluoma (1997) on grassroots identity and discourse in a local

⁷ Within Finnish institutions, the artistic study of folk music has been fairly separated from the scholarly study of folk music, with Sibelius Academy providing training for professional folk musicians and universities in Tampere, Turku, and elsewhere offering training for folk music scholars. Despite this institutional segregation, there are a number of leading figures, such as Heikki Laitinen and Hannu Saha, who are both researchers and musicians. The tutkijakoulu also brings folk music artists and scholars together.

amateur folk music community; and by American Elizabeth Tolbert (1988) on magico-religious content in the Karelian lament tradition. Finland's long heritage of musical analytical work continues with scholars such as Pekka Huttu-Hiltunen (2004) who has recently been doing work on models of different types of melodic contours in Karelian kalevala singing, and the continued interest in Finno-Ugric connections is evident in Finno-Ugric symposiums, seminars, collaborative work, and research trips to Estonia, Russian Karelia, and Mordva.

Though many Finnish scholars are doing research on traditional Finnish folk music, historical and contemporary Finnish popular music, musical analysis, minority music in Finland, and musical practices in other countries, no local scholars have published ethnographic research on contemporary Finnish folk music, other than short commentaries in magazines, to my knowledge. The only scholars to have done substantial research on the contemporary folk music phenomenon in Finland are Finnish-American Paul Austerlitz and Tina Ramnarine from the UK (who is half-Finnish). Austerlitz (2000) reveals the intersections between jazz and folk music, particularly in the performance of modern and traditional woodwind instruments, from historical and contemporary perspectives with an eye towards imagined national identity in light of transnational American-Finnish encounters. Ramnarine also examines local and national identities with an awareness of transnational trends, as well as issues related to authenticity, revival, and potent non-musical symbols of national identity such as landscape. In her dissertation (1994), Ramnarine compares the contemporary folk music communities in urban Helsinki and rural Kaustinen of 1991-1992. In her book (2003),

which draws on her earlier field research as well as subsequent interviews, Ramnarine summarizes the use of folk music symbols in nationalist art music, the development of the folk revival, and the Sibelius Academy Folk Music Department as it was in the early 1990s. She then goes on to present in-depth case studies of Värttinä and JPP, drawing on interviews and biographies, with attention to local dynamics, gender politics, authenticity, and the participation of the bands in the international world music market.

The research conducted by Austerlitz, Ramnarine, and myself is fairly complementary, as we each hone in on different trends and manifestations of contemporary folk music: Austerlitz focuses on the intersections of contemporary folk music and jazz, Ramnarine specializes in the most popular folk music bands that operate in more commercial scenes (Värttinä and JPP), and I have studied the contemporary folk music that originates in the Academy and behaves more like an elite art music.

In my construction of the history of Finnish folk music and folk music scholarship, I have tried to demonstrate how both musicians and scholars have constructed and reconstructed different layers of folk music history. Folk music scholarship, education, and performance have exerted a great deal of mutual influence on one another, especially in professional institutional settings, and particularly in a country as small as Finland where everyone knows everybody. (One day on a dirt road in the boonies of rural Eastern Finland in about the eighteenth month of my field research, I exclaimed to Heikki Laitinen "I see you everywhere I go!" to which he replied with a grin "then I guess you're going to all the right places.") The history of the development of contemporary folk music will continue in Chapter 8 on the Folk Music Department,

and the importance of the extent or lacuna of research and source material on certain historical folk music traditions will reveal itself in Part III "Creative Processes."

Part II
Within the Institution

Chapter 6. Educational and Musical Institutions in Finland

The primary context in which contemporary Finnish folk music has developed is Finland's highest music education institution, the Sibelius Academy. Alumni from the Sibelius Academy Folk Music Department have begun to teach folk music in other music education institutions across Finland. Though the content and pedagogy of these folk music programs is usually fairly independent, they still operate within the structure of Finland's general music education system (sometimes leading to ideological conflicts, but also often benefiting both folk music and classical music education). In order to illustrate the position of contemporary folk music and folk music education in Finland, I must explain Finland's general music education system (in which Western art music dominates), but first I must describe the structure of Finnish education in general.

Finland's Education System

Finnish children are required to begin school at age 7. Before that, most children participate in organized day care since both parents in most Finnish families work outside the home and local authorities are obligated by law to provide a day care place for every child under the age of seven (Palonen 1993:18). Compulsory comprehensive schools provide a nine-year general education program, with an optional tenth year, for students age seven to sixteen or seventeen. Classes in comprehensive schools are taught by teachers with generalized training and follow a standard national curriculum. [See figure 6A.]

Figure 6A. Diagram of Finnish general education system and music education system

level	years	General Education System		Music Education System		
pre-school	0	day care				music play school <i>musiikkileikkikoulu</i>
	1					
2						
3						
4						
5						
	6	preschool				
comprehensive/basic education (age 7-16)	1	compulsory comprehensive education				extracurricular music school <i>musiikkiopisto</i>
	2					
	3					
	4					
	5					
	6					
	7					
	8					
	9					
	(10)					
upper secondary	1	upper secondary school (high school) <i>lukio</i>	vocational school <i>ammattikoulu</i>	music <i>lukio</i>	extracurricular music school <i>musiikkiopisto</i>	conservatory (often linked to polytechnic)
	2					
	3					
	(4)					
higher education	1	university (master's degree)	polytechnic <i>ammattikorkeakoulu</i>	Sibelius Academy (Master of Music)		polytechnic (often linked to conservatory)
	2					
	3					
	4					
	5					
	6					
	7	university (doctoral degree)		Sibelius Academy* (Doctor of Music)		
	8					
	9					

*Sibelius Academy is the only institute in Finland that offers M.M. and D.M. degrees in musical performance and composition. M.A. and Ph.D. degrees in musical research or musicology are offered at universities in Helsinki, Tampere, Turku, and Jyväskylä, and in music education at Oulu.

Students may then choose to go to *ammattikoulu*, vocational school, or *lukio*, upper secondary school. Ammattikoulut offer three-year vocational training programs and award basic diplomas (*perustutkintoja*) in specialized fields. Lukio is approximately the same level as American high school grades ten through twelve, or ten through thirteen. It is usually completed in three years, but can take up to four. Teachers have specialized training in specific subjects, and schools can have special curricula emphasizing the arts, science, languages, and other fields. Graduates from both lukio and ammattikoulu are eligible to go on for higher education studies (CIMO 2003:4-5).

Finnish higher education is divided into two parallel sectors: polytechnics (*ammattikorkeakoulut*, or AMK) and universities. Finland's twenty-nine polytechnic schools provide three to four years of specialized professional and practical-oriented training and award "polytechnic degrees" (*AMK, ammattikorkeakoulututkintoja*) in specific fields, for example "engineer AMK" or "music teacher AMK."

There are twenty universities in Finland. Of these, ten are multi-faculty universities, and ten are specialist institutions, including three universities of technology, three schools of economics and business administration, and four arts academies: the Sibelius Academy (*Sibelius-Akademia*, or SibA) for music, the Theater Academy (*Teatterikorkeakoulu*, or TeaK) for theater and dance, the Academy of Fine Arts (*Kuvataideakatemia*, or KuvA), and the University of Art and Design (*Taideteollinen korkeakoulu*, or Taik). The standard undergraduate degree awarded by these universities is the Master's, or *maisteri*, degree, which typically requires 160-180 credits (one credit being equal to approximately 40 hours of work) and takes five years minimum to

complete. Before completing the Master's, there is an optional lower degree called *kandidaatti*, which roughly corresponds to the Bachelor's degree and requires 120 credits and three years minimum of study (the Bachelor's degree is somewhat uncommon in Finland, and not always recognized, but the move for standardization of higher education within the European Union is changing this).¹ Both of these degrees typically consist of studies in one major subject and one minor subject; in other words, undergraduate study is more specialized in Finland (and in much of Europe) than in the broader American liberal arts system. Postgraduate, or graduate, degrees include the Doctor's (*tohtori*), typically requiring a minimum of four years' research and study after the completion of the Master's, and an optional lower degree requiring only two years' full-time study called the *lisensiaatti* (Licentiate's, roughly the equivalent level to doctoral candidate) (CIMO 2003:4-27).

At the doctoral level, the national *tutkijakoulu* (researcher school, or graduate school) system launched in 1995 provides scholarships and opportunities for scholars and doctoral students from several different universities to network and collaborate within their field. The Folk Music and Popular Music Graduate School is one of 114 *tutkijakoulu*a, and as an honorary member I had the opportunity to interact and share feedback with both Ph.D. and DMA students in related musical fields from around Finland.

¹ In compliance with the 1999 agreement signed by the European education ministers in Bologna, a two-tier degree system is being introduced in which all students will first receive a bachelor's degree followed by the masters. Finnish universities are also in the process of transitioning to the European Credit Transfer System (ECTS) (Sibelius Academy Annual Report 2003:39).

The Finnish education system also provides many opportunities for continuing education for adults of all ages at *kansanopistot* or *kansalaisopistot* (folk schools or civic schools), *työväenopistot* (workers' schools), and non-degree open universities and university extension programs.

General Music Education

Organized formal education in Western music is carried out in Finland by the following institutions: music play schools (*musiikkileikkikoulut*), music schools (*musiikkiopistot*) and institutions (*musiikki-instituutit*), music high schools (*lukiot*), conservatories (*konservatoriot*), polytechnic music programs (*ammattikorkeakoulujen musiikinkoulutsohjelmät*), and the Sibelius Academy.

Music play schools teach general musical concepts and fun musical activities to small groups of children ages three through six. They generally meet once or twice a week, and their main goals are to awaken a love of music, prepare children for learning music, and introduce children to concepts of rhythm, melody, harmony, movement, etc. There are also music schools for babies (*vauvamuskarit*) ages 0-2 (Veijola and Klemettinen 2001).

Music schools provide extracurricular music education for school-age students (i.e. 7-16 years). They offer individual lessons in main instruments and side instruments, ensemble playing, music theory, and music history. Most music schools also run music play schools, and some offer adult music education (Veijola and Klemettinen 2001).

Finland has 89 state-funded music schools and approximately 80 private music schools

(Klemettinen, personal communication, April 28, 2005). Nine conservatories also offer basic music school education in addition to professional training, and some music institutes offer music school programs in addition to organizing amateur or semi-professional orchestras and other ensembles, sponsoring cultural events, and supporting projects such as research and archiving.

In the general comprehensive schools, music plays a relatively small role. There are no specialty music teachers before the seventh grade, though general subject teachers may include a small amount of music. From the seventh through the ninth or tenth grade, students may choose music as an elective. However, according to Palonen (1990:20) "before the school reform [in the 1970s] there was much voluntary music-making in the secondary schools. Almost every school had its own orchestra and choir, but not anymore. Voluntary music-making has now moved from the comprehensive school to the music schools, along with the specialist music teachers." The number of music schools in Finland rose from twenty in 1960 to over 170 in 2005 (Palonen 1990:21-22; Klemettinen, personal communication, April 28, 2005).

At the high school and vocational school level, Finland has ten high schools (lukiot) specializing in music and twelve conservatories. The conservatories award professional/practical basic diplomas in musician training and music technology. Classical music is offered at all of the conservatories, except for the Pop and Jazz Conservatory in Helsinki. Popular and jazz music education and training is available at nine conservatories, music technology at four, church music at three, dance at two, and

folk music at two. A small, select number of exceptionally gifted students are also admitted into the Sibelius Academy's Junior Academy.

At the higher education level, ten polytechnic schools have music departments offering training and polytechnic degrees in musical fields. In most cases, polytechnic music programs work very closely with conservatories, sharing facilities and resources (Suomen Konservatorio Liitto 2005). They award the degrees "musician AMK" and "music teacher AMK," which might be considered comparable to an American Bachelor of Music degree.

The "scientific" or scholarly (*tieteellinen*) study of music is separate from the "artistic" or practical (*taiteellinen*) study of music. Helsinki University, Tampere University, Åbo Academy, Jyväskylä University, and Turku University offer M.A. and Ph.D.s in various fields of music scholarship, such as musicology, ethnomusicology, or cognitive music research.

The Sibelius Academy

The Sibelius Academy is the only university-level institution in Finland that provides professional musical training and offers Master of Music and Doctor of Music degrees. As such, it is very competitive (only 16% of applicants are accepted) and extremely prestigious. Founded in 1882 as a private institution, Sibelius Academy is the oldest music school in Finland. Today, with over 1700 students and 240 instructors, it is the third-largest music academy/conservatory in Europe (Sibelius Academy Annual Report 2003:59). It has a very high reputation in all of Finland and in Europe, and wields

tremendous influence on music education and musical life in Finland.² According to Palonen, "the Sibelius Academy was almost solely responsible for the professional training of musicians and music teachers up to the 1970s, when the first conservatories were founded in Finland.... When new music schools were later founded in Finland, they took their educational models from the Sibelius Academy. Because the music teachers in the new institutes were graduates of the Sibelius Academy, the educational system at the 140 Finnish music schools was standardized all over the country" (1993:24, 28). A similar process is now occurring in folk music education with graduates from the Sibelius Academy Folk Music Department, the first institute to offer formal folk music education, teaching at newly established folk music programs at other schools in Finland. It would not be an exaggeration to state that the Sibelius Academy, its teachers, and its graduates dominate both classical music and contemporary folk music in Finland.

The Sibelius Academy underwent a degree reform and other changes following its transition from a private to a public institution and incorporation into the state university system in 1980.³ These changes included increased funding, the construction of new buildings, doubling the number of teachers, standardizing the degree programs, reforming the curriculum, and, in 1983, the founding of the first Jazz Department and Folk Music Department (Palonen 1993:32-33). Today SibA has twelve departments (ten in Helsinki

² The Sibelius Academy has a particularly high international reputation for its conducting program. 70% of all Scandinavian orchestras have a Finnish conductor, and even the orchestra of my hometown in the US, the Los Angeles Philharmonic, is conducted by a Sibelius Academy alumnus, Esa-Pekka Salonen (Amberla 1999:45).

³ Sibelius Academy was one of the last private colleges in Finland. Today all education at the university level is under the auspices of the state (Palonen 1993:32).

and two at its satellite campus in the city of Kuopio) with the following number of undergraduate (bachelor's and master's) students enrolled in each specialization:

Figure 6B. Sibelius Academy Departments and their Undergraduate Enrollment

Departments at the Sibelius Academy	Bachelor's and Master's students enrolled in 2003⁴
Orchestral Instruments (including conducting and early music)	417
Music Education	272
Church Music (including departments at both Helsinki and Kuopio campuses)	205
Piano music (including guitar, accordion, and large concert kantele)	134
Vocal Music	91
Composition and Music Theory	69
Jazz Music	55
Folk Music	54
Music Technology	27
Arts Management (in Helsinki; a second Arts Management Department was started at the Kuopio campus in 2004)	23

State Funding

Finnish music education institutes, organizations, projects, events, and artists receive a great deal of funding, subsidies, and grants from the federal government and local authorities, as well as from the European Union. In the Nordic countries, the prevailing ideology holds that it is the duty and responsibility of the State to provide a sufficient level of basic services to all citizens. These basic services include things like education, healthcare, welfare, pensions, libraries, public transportation, and also the arts.

⁴ Data from the Sibelius Academy Annual Report 2003 and the Sibelius Academy web page www.siba.fi.

With its small and scattered population, Finland's domestic commercial markets support only popular music (rock and "light music"), though popular musicians also receive state funding. Despite the relative popularity of classical music in Finland, the domestic market is too small to support classical music soloists, let alone folk musicians. The State subsidizes salaries for many orchestras, over 25 individual composers, operas, two jazz bands, and one folk music ensemble (Tallari) (Amberla 1999:44-45; Palonen 1993:2-4, 10). State support for the arts is allocated by the Ministry of Education to institutions and festivals, and by the Arts Council of Finland for artistic work and projects by individuals and organizations and royalties (Karhunen 2004:1). The Arts Council gives grants for artists and projects in a variety of musical fields, including classical music, avant-garde/experimental music, jazz, popular music, and folk music. (The current director of the Arts Council is now Hannu Saha, part-time teacher at the Sibelius Academy Folk Music Department, former director of the Folk Music Institute, kantele player, and folk music scholar.) The Ministry of Education heavily subsidizes music education, so that tuition prices at extracurricular music schools are extremely low and tuition is free for all degree-seeking students at conservatories, music polytechnics, and the Sibelius Academy (Veijola and Klemettinen 2001).

Unlike former Soviet governments that heavily subsidized but strictly controlled and censored arts institutions, the Finnish government "does not interfere in the day-to-day operation of orchestras or other arts institutions. The State guarantees continuity and provides financial security but leaves the decision-making powers to the local authority and the institution itself. The State does not concern itself with content. This means that

the state liberates the arts instead of restricting them" (Amberla 1999:44). Palonen concurs, affirming that the Ministry of Education has no special system of control for the curricula of the arts universities (1993:34). Thus, in Finland, institutionalization and state support have the potential to allow musicians to develop and pursue their art without the constraints of catering to commercial markets. This is the case for the vast majority of contemporary folk music that is developed in the Sibelius Academy.

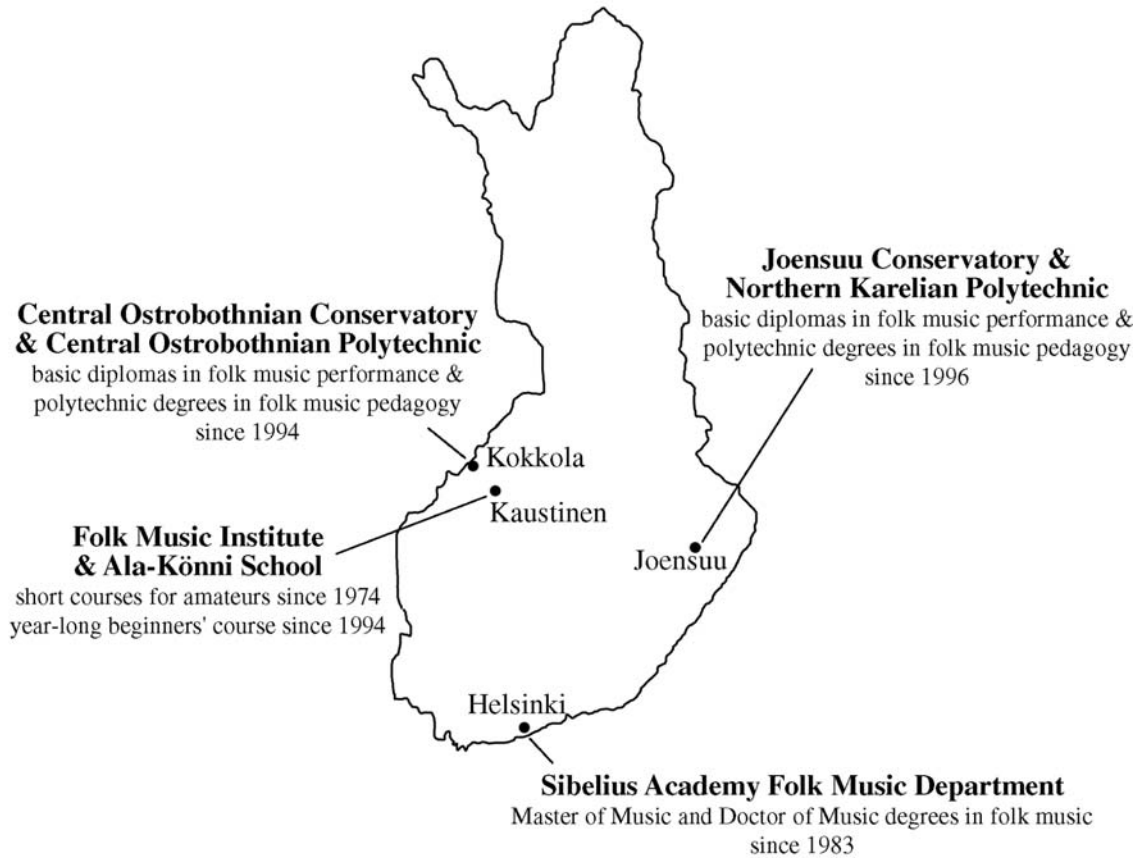
Chapter 7. Folk Music Education Programs in Finland

Institutional folk music education has developed rapidly in recent decades. The Sibelius Academy Folk Music Department has pioneered the advanced training of professional folk musicians and the development of folk music pedagogy, while the Folk Music Institute in Kaustinen has been instrumental in teaching beginners and amateurs and disseminating educational materials. Their influence and initiatives have reverberated across the country, leading to the founding of two conservatory and polytechnic folk music programs, folk instruments in comprehensive schools, and dynamic debates about creativity in music school curricula [see Figure 7A Map of folk music education programs].

While the contemporary folk music boom of the 1990s, in which folk music crossed over into commercial popular music markets, is a trend that has faded and passed, contemporary folk musicians are having an ever increasing impact on music education and musical life in Finland by working in the formal channels of arts and educational institutions. The ideology of the Sibelius Academy Folk Music Department, including values, aesthetics, and pedagogy, is being disseminated around the country; *Sibislaiset* (people from SibA) are teaching at all of the programs offering professional training in folk music in Finland.¹

¹ The professional contemporary folk music scene is somewhat separate from the amateur folk music scene, particularly pelimanni organizations. Many pelimanni ensembles are affiliated with folk/civic schools or workers' schools, most of the directors of which have no affiliation with the Sibelius Academy. See chapter 13 for a more detailed discussion of the relationship between Finland's professional and amateur folk music scenes, and the impact of the former on the latter.

Figure 7A. Map of folk music education programs in Finland



Specialized Training and Degree Programs in Folk Music

In its original historical context, folk musicians received their training informally through oral transmission. Singers and instrumentalists typically learned from their grandparents, or sometimes other elders in the village, and also in the context of events, particularly traditional weddings.²

The history of formal institutional training in folk music begins in the 1970s. The Folk Music Institute was founded in 1974 and first directed by Heikki Laitinen. Its goals included, and still include, the education and dissemination of information about folk music. In addition to publishing research and educational materials and producing recordings, the Institute offered short courses in folk music and organized workshops at the Kaustinen Folk Music Festival. Also in the 1970s, folk musician and professor of music education at the Sibelius Academy Martti Pokela began teaching a few folk music courses and directing a folk music ensemble in the music education program at the Sibelius Academy.

The Sibelius Academy Folk Music Department was founded in 1983. In the first year of the program, there were six students and only one teacher, Heikki Laitinen, to teach all subjects. Because the Sibelius Academy offers the highest level of music training in Finland, and because there was virtually no folk music training available at beginning or intermediate levels, the vast majority of incoming students in the early years of the department had musical training in some other type of music, such as classical,

² I would like to thank Pekka Huttu-Hiltunen from the Folk Music and Popular Music Research School (tutkijakoulu) for sharing the findings of his research with me (personal communication, March 9, 2005). For more on traditional transmission, see Pekkilä 1988 and 1990 and Saha 1996.

jazz, or rock. By 2005, the Folk Music Department had fifty-nine current master's students and thirteen doctoral students, and had awarded fifty-nine Master of Music degrees and two Doctor of Music degrees in folk music. Incoming students now have much stronger backgrounds in folk music before entering the Academy as more and more folk music education opportunities have become available at lower levels. Several of the 124 students and graduates from this department now teach folk music privately, in music schools, in conservatories and polytechnics, and in summer camps and festival workshops around the country.

In the mid-80s, the Folk Music Institute founded the Ala-Könni school in Kaustinen, named after the folk music scholar Erkki Ala-Könni. Initially, the school offered short courses, such as week-long summer courses, and was one of the only places in Finland where amateurs could go to study folk music (the Sibelius Academy was only for professionals-in-training). In 1994, the Ala-Könni school started a year-long program in folk music for beginners. Since this program is a *kansanopisto* administered by the Etelä-Pohjanmaan Kansanopisto (Southern Ostrobothnian folk/civic school), it is a non-degree program open to anyone age 17 and up. Most students have little background in folk music and are between the ages of 19 and 30, though there are older students as well. The current director and main instructor of the program, Pauliina Kauhanen, is a former student of the Sibelius Academy Folk Music Department and applies much of the same ideology and pedagogy of the Department in the Ala-Könni school. Members of Tallari, Finland's only state-supported full-time professional folk music ensemble, also teach there. However, even though Kaustinen is the most active center of the Western Finnish

pelimanni tradition, local pelimannit typically do not teach at the school, though students may do fieldwork projects on them. A number of students from the Ala-Könni program now go on to apply for one of two recently developed folk music programs at conservatories in Ostrobothnia and Karelia (they are typically not at an advanced enough level to be accepted into the Sibelius Academy after the one-year Ala-Könni program) (Kauhanen, personal interview, July 15, 2004).

In 1994, the Central Ostrobothnian Conservatory started a folk musician training program awarding vocational diplomas in folk music. Located in the town of Kokkola in Western Finland not far from Kaustinen, the Conservatory is in the heart of the pelimanni tradition, in the vicinity of the Folk Music Institute, the Kaustinen Folk Music Festival, Tallari, JPP, and many amateur pelimanni organizations and ensembles. The Conservatory works very closely with the Central Ostrobothnian Polytechnic, and a few years after its founding, the latter began offering training for folk music teachers, awarding the degree “folk music teacher AMK.” The first lecturer in the folk music program at the Conservatory was Sibelius Academy alumna Helen Ruhkala, and the current director of the Polytechnic folk music education program is SibA alumna and current doctoral student Minna Raskinen (Ruhkala, personal interview, July 16, 2004; Keski-Pohjanmaan Konservatorio 2004; Keski-Pohjanmaan Ammattikorkeakoulu 2005).

In 1996, Joensuu Conservatory founded a folk music program and began awarding folk musician vocational diplomas. The Conservatory works closely with Northern Karelian Polytechnic, which began an AMK degree program in folk music pedagogy in 2001. Located in the city of Joensuu in Karelia, Eastern Finland, this

program is in the heart of the Eastern-Finnish/Karelian kalevala runolaulu and kantele traditions, not far from the small town of Rääkkylä, which is home to the Kihaus Folk Music Festival and Värttinä. Sari Kaasinen, of Värttinä fame and also alumna and current doctoral student at the Sibelius Academy, has been active in folk music education in the region since before the founding of the Conservatory and Polytechnic folk music programs. Current teachers at the Conservatory and Polytechnic in Joensuu include several Sibelius Academy students and alumni and members of Värttinä. The pedagogy and goals of the program reflect the ideology and approach emanating from the Sibelius Academy Folk Music Department: the folk music page of the Joensuu Conservatory web site reads, "During the course of studies, the student is initiated into the mastery of different folk playing styles and techniques through the study of repertoire. The goal is to support the students' own musicianship and to stimulate their own production of traditional and new folk musics. During the time of study, students are introduced to and delve deeply into variation and improvisation skills, and are emboldened to make their own interpretations and compositions" (Keski-Pohjanmaan Konservatorio 2004, my translation).³

Thus the influence of the Sibelius Academy Folk Music Department has been spreading through these educational programs and can be heard in different regions of Finland. The performances that I documented of students from Kokkola and Joensuu at summer folk music festivals are much more reminiscent of the style of contemporary folk

³ "Opintojen kuluessa opiskelija perehdytetään erilaisten kansanomaisten soittotyötylien ja tekniikoiden hallintaan kattavat ohjelmiston kautta. Tavoitteena on tukea opiskelijan omaa muusikkoutta sekä kannustaa tuottamaan perinteistä ja uudempaa kansanmusiikkia itsenäisesti. Opintojen aikana perehdytään sekä syvennetään opiskelijan muuntelu- sekä improvisaatiovalmiuksia ja taitoja sekä rohkaistaan omaan tulkintaa ja omien sävellysten tekemiseen" (Keski-Pohjanmaan Konservatorio 2004).

music emanating from the Sibelius Academy than of the folk music played by amateur pelimanni organizations.⁴

Folk Music in Comprehensive Schools and Music Schools

In the early 1980s, the Folk Music Institute embarked on an ambitious project to provide every comprehensive school in Finland with a five-string kantele. They hired instrument makers to build them and donated the kanteles to the schools. Heikki Laitinen and Hannu Saha (1988) created and disseminated an instructional guide for five-string kantele playing, and the Institute offered short teacher training courses.

Citing this Kantele Project and the Sibelius Academy Folk Music Department, Tina Ramnarine argues that since the 1980s the formal transmission of folk music has been implemented "at all levels of the state education system in Finland" (1996:141). While formal folk music education is now available in a few places for a variety of age levels and skill levels, it is not readily accessible to most students and it is not a part of the official curricula at comprehensive schools, upper secondary schools, or music schools. The above-mentioned folk music programs are small: Joensuu Conservatory admits ten students per year in folk music, and the Sibelius Academy Folk Music Department takes only around six each year. Though the Kantele Project was an impressive endeavor, realistically, it is not practical to teach students to actually play the kantele when there is only one instrument for an entire school, and, as Finnish scholar Pekka Gronow states, "the kantele campaign has long since run its course" (2004:661).

⁴ See Chapter 13 for a discussion on the relationship between professional and amateur folk music and the impact of the Sibelius Academy Folk Music Department on folk music in the rest of Finland.

Helen Ruhkala, director of the Kaustinen Folk Arts Center, agrees that "it was a very impressive project, but unfortunately it has been so that most of those kanteles are kind of items in the bookshelves" (personal interview, July 16, 2004).

The comprehensive schools do teach the national epic Kalevala, but they teach only the text and treat it as literature. Rarely is the Kalevala taught or presented as *sung* poetry, as music. As recently as 1999, the Äidinkielen Opettajain Liitto (Association of Finnish Native Language Teachers) published a teachers' guide called *Elävä Kalevala* (the Living Kalevala), in which they suggest fun, interactive methods and exercises for teaching the Kalevala. Activities they recommend include dramatizing/acting, drawing, writing stories, discussing and debating, making games, interfacing with the Internet, having quizzes and contests, drawing cartoons, and making a video, but (to my utter disbelief) not once do they suggest actually singing the Kalevala poem-songs.

Tensions and Debates between Folk Music and Classical Music Educators

There has been a fair amount of tension and debate between folk music education advocates and Finland's music education administrative leadership. The three issues at stake have been: (1) whether or not folk music should be taught institutionally, (2) whether or not folk music pedagogy is compatible enough to work within the existing music education structures, and (3) whether or not the art music-dominated music school system inhibits musical freedom and creativity, and whether folk music education can provide a successful alternative.

Many music schools have resisted incorporating folk music into their official curricula. As recently as 1993, the director of the Association of Finnish Music Schools Aimo Ritaluoto argued that folk music should not be taught in music schools because (1) if it were taught, folk music would lose something fundamental to its existence and stop being folk music; and (2) if folk music were taught systematically as its own subject, then people would argue that pop and jazz should also be taught, and the music schools did not have enough resources nor were they the right arena in which to teach those subjects (Ritaluoto quoted in Kuusisaari 1993:20). Similarly, the Minister of Education Anna-Liisa Piipari contends that "the teaching of folk music in music schools is problematic under the current course-examination system. Folk music by nature exists in a group of people, it is played together, sung together, and also danced together [actually, historically the majority of Finnish folk music consisted of solo traditions]. Folk music is extremely difficult to carry out in courses and exams.... Folk music's deepest essence comes from the music tradition's – folk music tradition's – transmission from one generation to another through the custom and practice of playing music, not as an authorization of music schools" (Piipari quoted in Laitinen 1989:5, my translation).

Heikki Laitinen, who has largely shaped folk music education in Finland, argues that folk music should be taught for the following reasons: (1) because Finns have a right to know their own musical tradition; (2) because in our education-based culture, only commercial things can live and develop without education; (3) so that Finnish folk music can become "Finnish music" in the sense that it is listened to and practiced by all sections of society all across the country; (4) for the sake of education and enlightenment, so that

musicians and music teachers do not graduate believing that Western art music is the zenith of all of the world's musical history without knowing anything about folk music or world music; (5) for the enrichment of musical culture, so that students do not believe that there is only one music theory, one correct technique, or one way of playing; and (6) to *rescue creative expression in music* (Laitinen 1989:4, 9, my emphasis).

Some advocates of folk music education have been reacting against the entrenched music education system in Finnish music schools, which some perceive to be conservative, old-fashioned, and not encouraging of, and even inhibiting, creativity and personal expression. An anonymous writer to *Rondo*, a classical music magazine, professes that "folk music's professionalization and professional teachers signify an alternative to the extremely old-fashioned music pedagogy of the music schools" (1997:15, my translation). Heikki Laitinen argues that the teaching of folk music, which enriches music culture through musical versatility, multiple values, multifacetedness, open-mindedness, and multilingualism, stands in direct contrast to the music education system's single-valued 19th-century utopian belief that music has specific set rules. Laitinen proclaims that "art music is based on the *eradication of the creativity* on the part of some 50,000 children [the approximate number of children enrolled in music schools in Finland].... The music education system is founded on *repetition, obedience, subjugation and conformity*... and these submission and obedience requirements in the music education system have become exceedingly more strict in the last ten years. New and more exact regulations are constantly appearing for what at each age level should be obeyed and repeated." Laitinen proposes that folk music education is a possible

alternative to a music school system that "sets children up for failure;" the teaching of folk music could "become the *salvation of musical creativity*" (Laitinen 1989:9-10, my translation and emphasis). In response to this type of criticism, Aimo Ritaluoto, director of the Association of Finnish Music Schools, enters the debate in an article entitled "Music is cruel," insisting that it is "pure nonsense that properly done classical music teaching would kill creativity, or that folk music and light music would need any different teaching than what they already get from the cradle to the grave" (Ritaluoto quoted in Laakkonen 1989:25, my translation).

Folk music teachers from the Sibelius Academy and the Folk Music Institute, such as Heikki Laitinen and Hannu Saha, might be considered activists working to increase the level of creative and artistic expression in music education. One of the goals of the Kantele Project was to encourage creativity. Saha asserts, "it is a bad development if the amount of active musical involvement decreases and passiveness grows. Creative music making should be emphasized in the schools, and the possibilities for variation and improvisation in five-string kantele playing provide a good foundation for this" (quoted in Kuusisaari 1993:20, my translation). I have also witnessed Heikki Laitinen giving rousing speeches to music students and amateur musicians inciting them to "demand the right to be creative."

Improving Position of Folk Music in Music Education

In the early 1980s, when the Folk Music Department was founded at the Sibelius Academy, there was a general conception that there was nothing in folk music to teach.

Kristiina Ilmonen, head of the department from 1998 to 2004, explains:

when the department was founded, everybody thought that folk music is only something you can research, you can study as a science, because there is nothing to play in it. It is too easy and too naïve, too stupid. But after that, 20 years have passed, and I think now more and more people believe that it can be played quite well, that there is good music in it, in both the tradition and the new music aspect. I think we are the most versatile department in the Academy. Many people say we are the most innovative (personal interview, July 14, 2004).

In 1998, the Folk Music Department was singled out as the top department in artistic activity in the Sibelius Academy. A jazz piano student from the Sibelius Academy Jazz Department told me that, even though he hates everything I study (i.e. various folk music genres), he strongly believes that the Folk Music Department is the best department in the Academy, doing the most innovative and artistic work out of all the departments. The tremendous success of the Sibelius Academy Folk Music Department has immensely increased folk music's status and reputation in Finland and has proven to people that folk music can be taught in an institution.

In 1996, the Folk Music Department published a model folk music curriculum for music schools. In it they outline courses and subjects that should or could be taught at each level and what techniques and skills should be emphasized in each course (see Näreharju 1999). The Association for Finnish Music Schools, which includes all state-supported music schools, has now adopted and published Folk Music Curriculum Guidelines and Assessment Criteria (*Kansanmusiikin Tasosuoritusten Sisällöt ja*

Arvioinnin Perusteet), which it developed in cooperation with the Sibelius Academy Folk Music Department. In addition to the teaching of folk music genres, modes, rhythms, playing styles, instrumental techniques, and ensemble playing, the curriculum guidelines emphasize improvisation, variation, composition, accompaniment, arranging, multi-instrumentalism, musical versatility, learning by ear, and the students' own personal musical development and own music making (Suomen Musiikkioppilaitosten Liitto r.y.). However, according to the current director of the Association, Timo Klemettinen, folk music does not have a "real subject position;" music schools are not required to teach it, nor is there extra funding to support it. Only two state-supported music schools have full-time teachers dedicated to folk music: Leena Joutsenlahti, Sibelius Academy Folk Music Department teacher and alumna, teaches at Pakila Music School in Helsinki, and Sari Kaasinen, Sibelius doctoral student and former artistic director of Värttinä, teaches at Central Karelian Music School in Rääkkylä. Another 15 full-time teachers teach a mixture of classical and folk music at these two schools, and 96 part-time teachers teach folk music at various schools around the country (Klemettinen, personal communications, April 28 and May 2, 2005).

Folk music is still not taught systematically across the board at music schools, nor are there enough qualified folk music teachers to teach the 50,000 students enrolled in the roughly 170 music schools around the country. But a growing number of folk musicians from the Sibelius Academy do teach in music schools and other music institutions. The Association of Music Schools has declared that the theme for 2004-2005 is folk music and folk dance, and they are collaborating with the chairs of the Sibelius Academy Folk

Music Department and the *Kansanmusiikki Liitto* (Folk Music Association, umbrella organization amateur folk music organizations around the country). So relations are improving. Though folk music may only be taught in a few places around the country, it has become accepted as a suitable subject and line of study within music education institutions.

Chapter 8. Sibelius Academy Folk Music Department¹

Ambience

After a twenty minute bus ride from the city center, or a pleasant 15-minute walk on a wooded path from the Sibelius Academy dormitory, one arrives at the Sibelius Academy "P-House," home to the Folk Music Department, Jazz Department, Music Education Department, and Arts Management Department. While the more established classical music departments and formal concert halls are situated in the Sibelius Academy buildings downtown, the relative newcomers and renegades find themselves in the semi-residential, semi-industrial Helsinki neighborhood of Pitäjänmäki.

Most halls of the Academy are relatively plain, decorated here and there with various concert publicity posters and announcements, but not the second floor of the west wing of P-House. Upon entering the lobby of the Folk Music Department, one is struck with its colorfulness, playfulness, personality, and homeyness. A large sun-sculpture made of woven twigs and yellow strips of fabric adorns the ceiling, the pillars are hand-painted with caveman designs, and the couches, arranged in a semicircle, are covered in colorful tapestries and typically occupied by students drinking tea, gossiping, and reading

¹ The information presented here is based on my experience as a student for three semesters, fall 2002, fall 2003, and spring 2004, in the Sibelius Academy Folk Music Department, as well as on personal interviews and conversations with the Department's former and current department chairs, lecturers, teachers, staff, alumni, and students, including (but not limited to): Heikki Laitinen, Kristiina Ilmonen, Juhani Näreharju, Vesa Kurkela, Anna-Kaisa Liedes, Leena Joutsenlahti, Outi Pulkkinen, Antti Savilampi, Anneli Asplund, Pirkko Moisala, Hanni-Mari Autere, Sven Ahlbäck, Roger Tallroth, Tuulikki Bartosik, Arnold Chiwalala, Arja Kastinen, Pauliina Kauhanen, Anne-Mari Kivimäki, Anneli Kont-Rahtola, Sanna Kurki-Suonio, Jouko Kyhälä, Kari Kääriäinen, Heikki Lahti, Rauno Nieminen, Helena Ruhkala, Vilma Timonen, Hannu Tolvanen, Timo Väänänen, Valteri Bruun, Sara Puljula, Ingrid Vaher, Jenny Wilhelms, Maari Kallberg, Riitta-Liisa Joutsenlahti, Maija Karhinen, Pauliina Lerche, and Veera Voima. Individuals are only cited in the text when I quote them directly; however, input from all of these persons added to my understanding of the department's goals, ideology, history, and development.

music magazines and Donald Duck comics (which are said to be better in the Finnish translation than in the original version). Various items in the room catch the eye: a giant papier-mâché rock, old-fashioned rocking chairs, antique skis, a harmonium (pump organ), and several kantele-type instruments. The walls of the department are covered with enlarged photos of historic folk musicians taken by 19th and early 20th-century field researchers, as well as Soviet propaganda posters, including picturesque Estonians happily picnicking and dancing in folk costumes under Stalinism and a life-size Lenin with a JPP-Väsen grape leaf taped over his pubic region (these posters are regarded as jokes). Classrooms, studios, and practice rooms feel homey with colorful handmade curtains, plants, wicker lamps, a giant mural, old furniture, and cabinets and cabinets of Department-owned folk instruments available for student use. In addition to the lobby, three main classrooms, a recording studio, professors' offices, various instrumental studios, practice rooms, a small student lounge, and a kitchen, the department has its own folk music library right down the hall filled with a wealth of folk music and world music audiovisual recordings and books to serve as source material and inspiration. [See Figures 8A through 8F for photos of the Sibelius Academy Folk Music Department.]

The overall impact of the decor is a sense of a space and a small community set apart from the rest of the Academy. The construction of this personalized living environment within the Academy underscores their ideology: an emphasis on personal expression, the view of folk music as a *lifestyle* of individual creative music making, and the greater significance of the definition and self-identity of a folk *musician* over any definition of folk *music*.

Figure 8A. Photo of wooded path leading from the Sibelius Academy dormitory Clavis to "P-House," home of the Folk Music Department.



Figure 8B. Photo of the Sibelius Academy "P-House" in Pitäjänmäki. The Folk Music Department is on the second floor of the left wing.



Figure 8C. Photo of the Folk Music Department lobby. The vividly painted orange, yellow, and red walls and furniture, along with the "ancient" pictographs, rocking chairs, giant papier-mâché rock, antique skis, and pump organ, make for a fun, quirky, homey environment with lots of personality.



Figure 8D. Photo of Soviet propaganda posters and kanteles in the Folk Music Department lobby. Note that the life-size poster of Lenin has a maple-leaf-shaped cut out from a poster advertising Finnish and Swedish bands irreverently taped over his groin.



Figure 8E. Photo of the kantele studio in the Sibelius Academy Folk Music Department.



Figure 8F. Photo of Folk Music Department Library. Hundreds of LPs, CDs, tapes, and videos serve as source material and inspiration for folk music students.



The Department's History: The Early Years

Before the Folk Music Department was created, some folk music had been taught at the Academy by music education instructor Martti Pokela, who had a traditional folk music background and had been one of the only musicians performing the old folk music traditions in the 1970s. As Hannu Tolvanen explained to me, Pokela brought folk music into the Sibelius Academy through the backdoor (in other words, folk music was not initially taught in the Academy due to an official decision of the administration).

The Folk Music Department was founded during the evaluations and reforms that accompanied the Sibelius Academy's transition from a private to a state institution in the early 1980s. The committee that made the law outlining the various study programs at the Sibelius Academy had just decided to add jazz to the existing programs in classical music, church music, and music education. As the story goes, after deciding that jazz music should be taught in the Academy, the committee fell silent. Someone asked, "is there anything else missing here?" Out of the blue, somebody responded, "why don't we include folk music also?" And so it was decided that Finland's highest music education institution would teach folk music, even though, at that time, there was no folk music taught at any music schools or music institutions in the country (with the very small exception of short courses at the Folk Music Institute in Kaustinen). Following the passage of this law in 1980, a committee including Heikki Laitinen and Hannu Saha, among others, was formed to figure out what it meant to teach folk music at the Academy (Hannu Tolvanen, personal interview, April 20, 2004; Heikki Laitinen, personal interview, June 18, 2004, my translation).

The Sibelius Academy held an open search for someone to teach and run the new folk music program. There were two applicants: Antti Koiranen, a folk music scholar and musician now teaching at Tampere University Music Research Department, and Heikki Laitinen, who, at the time, was the director of the Folk Music Institute. Tolvanen speculates that Heikki was chosen because of his ambitious goals about what folk music should be (personal interview, April 20, 2004). When the department started in 1983, Heikki was the only teacher. He planned the curriculum and taught all subjects, together with the help of the first-year students.

For the first year, 1983-1984, six out of twelve applicants were accepted into the folk music program: Maria Kalaniemi (accordion), Arto Järvelä (fiddle), Anna-Kaisa Liedes (voice, kantele), Leena Joutsenlahti (recorder and shepherd flutes), Liisa Matveinen (voice), and Anu Itäpelto (kantele). Together, this first-year class became known as the folk music ensemble Niekku (and several of them are now distinguished soloists in contemporary folk music). They were the guinea pigs, but they also had a great deal of input in the formation of the department.

In the beginning, no one could fathom how folk music could be taught, how students could be trained to be professional folk musicians, or what should be included in the curriculum. Heikki recalls, "at that time it was completely impossible to imagine what we would do in five and a half years [the typical length of studies for a degree]" (personal interview, June 18, 2004, my translation). The general opinion in the Sibelius Academy was that folk music was something to be researched, but that there was nothing in it for a professional musician to play. A negative reputation and stereotyped image of

untrained, unskilled musicians playing easy tunes poorly had unfortunately developed based on some of the amateurs and hobbyists who had been involved in the folk music revival; a number of older alumni from the department recounted that their first childhood exposures to folk music had been amateur pelimanni groups that had left them with neutral or negative impressions. As Kristiina Ilmonen explained above, it was thought that folk music was "too easy and too naïve, too stupid" (personal interview, July 16, 2004).

The initial general curriculum guidelines, which had been laid out by the Sibelius Academy committee preceding the start of the folk music department, included a great deal of classical music training in addition to folk music. Heikki elaborates, "in that first curriculum, for example, classical music was a really big part. [JH: Like theory and history?] And playing. For example a violin student had 12 credit units of classical and six credit units of traditional, more classical than folk music. We were opposed to this, but it had been decided and that's what we started with.... In the beginning, it was the Sibelius Academy's opinion that folk music was more research than performance."

Despite the Academy's doubts and initial imposition of classical music training, Heikki emphasizes that "we had total freedom to make it into whatever we wanted."

We made the curriculum one year at a time.... Each year, according to our experiences, we wrote more, and when six years had passed, then it was ready. It was terribly exciting, because all the time we got to imagine what should be here. Once we discussed for a long time, maybe in the teachers' meeting in 1985, whether improvisation belongs in folk music and we decided together that improvisation does belong in folk music. [JH: All types of improvisation? Not just variation?] Yes, all types of improvisation. So that's how we decided. We discussed this for many years, what should be included. And even after that, it has been constantly

changing and we have given more thought, that now there should be this or that (Laitinen, personal interview, June 18, 2004, my translation).

The first-year students had greatly varying degrees of experience in folk music, and all had more or less training in classical music. The six of them and Heikki engaged in intense practical and philosophical discussions about what folk music is, what it should be, and what it could be. Leena Joutsenlahti relates:

All of Heikki's lectures, all the lectures and all of the teaching those two days [per week when Heikki taught folk music to them at the Academy], were revolutionary. Heikki taught us everything, so that the thoughts in Heikki's head just came to us and it was shocking, thrilling, so... do you know, my conception of the world fell apart. I had always thought that classical music was the highest music, beautifully developed and all that stuff, and then comes Heikki with speeches and theories and all these discussions. We had discussions all the time. Heikki set a microphone on the table and all the time we discussed what folk music is and all of these philosophical things. And my head got all mixed up. We all got confused... He brought forward those issues, things that no one had told me, about what Finnish folk music is like, and what it could be like, or what it had been like. Because no one had said that there are those types of folk musicians or those kinds of music, that you can/should make variations in Kalevala songs, and that there are 2000 different Kalevala song melodies, and so many songs are lying in the archives. Because I knew only what had been taught to me in school: "the sky is blue and white," "the maiden wears a red string when she goes to the dance" [folk songs appearing in most school music books] – that that is Finnish folk music. No one had told [us], I had never heard, that some Finn knew how to sing Finnish folk songs (Joutsenlahti, personal interview, June 6, 2004, my translation).

One of the early goals of the department was to bring ancient Finnish music back to life, to transform historical folk music from long-dead traditions preserved as unplayed instruments in museum storehouses and archived cylinders into living musical practices. In answer to my question as to why the preservation of old instruments was a goal, Heikki explains:

I myself felt that it was a task that had been given to the department when tax money was allocated for this education of professional folk musicians. So this parliament decision, that now professional folk musicians will also be educated, includes specifically the idea that one extremely important task of the department is to perform/present Finnish music history, which partly includes that which has already disappeared. And then that includes those instruments which are nowadays only in museums, those playing styles and singing styles that are no longer heard except in archives. That Finns have a right and a possibility to hear those also. That is one of the department's tasks, though not its only one" (personal interview, June 18, 2004, my translation).

Multi-instrumentalism was important in the department's early years for resuscitating historic instruments and their traditions. According to Heikki, "since we have so few students, six each year, and Finland has dozens of folk instruments, if we take here only 'main subject' instruments, and they play that one instrument their whole life, then many instruments in Finland will die. They will not be able to revive the jouhikko and jaw harp and pitkähuilu (transverse fipple overtone flute), and many other instruments. No one played those instruments then, and that's why in the beginning, for the salvation of those instruments, the curriculum was founded on multi-instrumentalism, each student playing many instruments, not emphasizing one instrument. Then in the '90s it became like this, that one instrument was emphasized more than previously" (personal interview, June 18, 2004, my translation). Heikki taught a number of instruments, whether or not he himself knew how to play them well. The first-year students also gave lessons to one another on instruments such as kantele, fiddle, accordion, and woodwinds.

Along with multiple instruments, students were, and still are, required to learn folk singing and folk dancing. These teachings had a radical impact on students who had

been brought up in the mainstream classical music education system. Leena Joutsenlahti, flautist from the first incoming class, shares her experience:

I remember, for example, that our singing lessons were such that we each had to practice one song each hour.... We sat in a circle. No one was allowed to speak, and we turned the lights off because it was so scary and stressful. Then each person got to start his or her song, his or her own song. When one person finished, the next started, and it went in that manner so that each got to sing his or her own song. And it was so frightening and exciting, it was so astonishing and amazing, everybody singing this. That you suddenly start to sing and trust that you do have a voice and that you can indeed sing, you are allowed to sing. Because before, the concept of singing was that you can only sing once you have had voice lessons and know how to sing, once you have trained your voice. All of these things were new (personal interview, June 6, 2004, my translation).

It was also intimidating for folk music students to be sharing aural space in the Sibelius Academy with classical musicians. Students who had never had any previous vocal training or experience felt intimidated and insecure about practicing folk songs while listening to a trained opera singer practicing arias in the next practice room. Even when playing their main instruments, some students felt uncomfortable working out melodic variations on simple, repetitive three-note or five-note melodies while their classmates were playing virtuosic cadenzas or fancy jazz licks. For these reasons, Heikki felt it was extremely important to create a space and an environment within the Academy in which folk music students would only hear folk music. (Note that this mild hostility towards and reaction against the institutional art music environment contrasts the department's inclusiveness toward world music and other styles, such as the avant-garde, that share similar ideologies, values, and practices to Finnish contemporary folk music.)

The Department's History: Changes and Developments

The department has gradually evolved over the last two decades. The first generation of students and teachers were pioneers, imagining and creating folk music education and folk music itself as they went along. Now, incoming students have several role models that they can emulate or use for inspiration. The skill level, technical proficiency, and knowledge of folk music of the incoming students has also been increasing dramatically as folk music education (usually under the direction of department alumni) has become more available around Finland.

Various trends have passed through the department. First, everyone was interested in exploring ancient music (e.g. kalevala runolaulu, five-string kantele, jouhikko, shepherd flutes and other woodwinds). Then there was a pelimanni phase, in which playing 18th and 19th century dance tunes on instruments such as fiddle, accordion, 39-string kantele, and even clarinet became popular, followed by another wave of interest in ancient music. After a visit from a Tuvan singer and a field trip to Tuva in the late 1990s, Tuvan throat singing became incredibly popular. During my stay at the department, I found vocal free improvisation and especially the use of loop-delay machines in solo performances to be incredibly trendy.²

Some alumni from the '80s who are now teachers and staff complain that there is less of a sense of community in the new building in Pitäjänmäki, that teachers take less time to mentor students, and that students are less knowledgeable about and do not spend enough time questioning what folk music is.

² According to Robert Fink, the use of loop-delays peaked in avant-garde circles in the 1980s (personal communication).

The curriculum no longer contains any classical music requirements (though students are free to take classes in other departments of their own volition). Multi-instrumentalism, though still important, has become somewhat less emphasized as students have become more concerned with virtuosity on their main instrument. Improvisation has become more essential as both a teaching tool and performance practice, and personal creativity and individual expression have become pivotal goals.

The department is only 21 years old and is still in a developmental stage (as is contemporary folk music itself). The department leadership, Heikki Laitinen, Kristiina Ilmonen, and Juhani Näreharju, have established and are satisfied with the department's goals and ideals, but are they still working to develop and improve their strategies for reaching those goals (just as I was leaving in summer of 2004, they were planning a pedagogy research project for the coming year). Their pedagogy, teaching methods, curriculum, and degree requirements are continuously evolving and under review.

Goals

The department has two main goals for their students: (1) that they have knowledge of and skills to perform Finnish folk music genres, styles, and instruments from both the "older traditions" and "newer traditions," as well as the ability to conduct their own research on these traditions for artistic purposes; and (2) that they have the artistic skills, courage, and freedom to create and perform their own personal (folk) music, and in doing so create new (folk) music. The department is interested in educating and training musicians, and thus they are concerned with shaping and molding

folk musicians more than folk music itself. Their ideal folk musician is a versatile musician who can play all roles in the musical process, including performing traditional material, arranging, composing, performing new material, conducting field research and archival research, building instruments, playing multiple instruments, singing, dancing, and teaching. The department stresses versatility, both because it reflects their ideal of what master folk musicians once were and should be, and because it opens students up to greater creative possibilities. Kristiina Ilmonen explains:

We like it to be as versatile as possible. So we don't give any kind of orders of what is the right way to play, what is the right way to make music, what is the right music. That is something we totally do not want to do. So I think that has been the idea from the beginning, and it still is, that we want people to be able to do many things. I mean, it is good if some person wants to concentrate in some style or some era of folk music. But we want the students to be able to relate to every kind of style and every possibility, because only from that versatility comes the many styles. If we would just say that this is the right thing to do, this and this and this, it would maybe make people more obedient. And we don't like them to be too obedient. We like them to be a little crazy and creative and have a mind of their own. That's very important. Of course, they have to do what we say here while they study. But the philosophy behind all of the teaching is that there should be personalities that create new things. We have also pedagogically the view point that already a student can be an artist. I think this is what differs from classical music quite a lot. Because many of the people there think that you are only an artist after you have graduated, or if you are world famous and you are giving solo concerts. But we believe that already children can be artists. So our perception of the world is quite different (personal interview, July 16, 2004).

The department also strongly believes that folk musicians should have the same artistic freedom that classical and jazz performers and composers have to develop their music. Heikki strongly emphasizes this point:

there cannot be any borders or limits, rather the folk musician must be just as free as the jazz musician and classical musician. A classical composer

is allowed to do anything whatsoever, no limits at all. Same with a free jazz musician who can do anything whatever, no limits at all. It must be the same way in folk music also" (Laitinen, personal interview, June 18, 2004, my translation).

The department brochure highlights the department's emphasis on using folk music as a foundation for individual creativity and artistic development:

The short history of our department has been full of experiments, and adventures, as well as the challenging and dissolving of barriers. The musical bases have been the Finnish and global folk music traditions. Our key function, however, is to make our own, new music. Interaction with other fields of music and the arts in general is paramount.

The basic degree studies focus on both historical and contemporary folk music. The approaches are based on aural memory, improvisation, and exploring one's own, original musicianship.

Current Curriculum

The folk music degree programs, Bachelor of Music, Master of Music, and Doctor of Music, heavily emphasize performance. The primary course formats are individual lessons and small group and ensemble studio courses, supplemented with seminars, guest lectures, and workshops. In addition to practicing and performing, students engage in some field research and archival work, and do a very small amount of reading and writing.³ Students are evaluated primarily through a series of concert-exams. Though the program overwhelmingly stresses musical skills, it is also possible (if uncommon) to specialize in pedagogy or research.

³ There has been more written work in the past, and the department is considering reinstating written exams, but during my time in the department it was possible for a student to graduate without having read one entire book. Some department teachers and outside scholars are critical of the lack of reading and writing and education of cultural historical background, of Finnish music but especially of other cultures from which contemporary folk musicians appropriate musical traditions.

The most important required subject is study of a main instrument, which accounts for 20% of the total required credits for the B.M. and 24 % of the total required credits for the M.M.⁴ Students may specialize in kantele, violin, wind instruments, voice, harmonica, harmonium, percussion, mandolin, guitar, bass, clarinet, or another instrument if approved. Students enrolled in instrumental or vocal studies at the bachelor's level are expected to: master styles and repertoire of older and newer traditions; develop familiarity with new techniques and stylistic possibilities; become acquainted with sound reproduction and studio work; learn to arrange traditional materials creatively; develop composing and improvising skills. Students at the master's level are expected to: expand skill and knowledge; increase versatility in musical expression; learn to conceptualize, create, rehearse, and produce artistic works; be prepared to work as professional artists.

Students are required to give three juried solo concerts on their main instrument: one half hour concert of music from the "old traditions" (e.g. runolaulu, five-string kantele or jouhikko melodies); one half hour concert of music from the "new traditions" (e.g. pelimanni music, *rekilaulu*), and one forty-five minute concert of the student's own

⁴ Based on the curriculum and degree requirements for the 2005-2006 academic year, students are required to study their main instrument for 12 credits (roughly 320 work hours) per year for three years for the B.M. and another 18 credits (480 hours) per year for two years for the M.M. These credits are measured according to the new European Credit Transfer System (ECTS). In compliance with the standardization of degrees and credits in the European Union, the Sibelius Academy is switching in August 2005 from the old Finnish credit system, in which one credit or "study week" (*opintoviikko*) is awarded for approximately 40 hours of work, to the new ECTS system, in which one credit or "study point" (*opintopiste*) is equal to 26.7 hours. Under the old Finnish credit system, one semester of full-time study is around 20 Finnish credits (*opintoviikko, ov*) or 800 hours, while under the new EU system, one semester of full-time study is an average of 30 ECTS credits (*opintopiste, op*) or 800 hours. Students must complete 180 ECTS credits for the B.M. and another 150 ECTS credits for the M.M.

compositions and/or improvisation.⁵ Students must then give a solo concert of their choice each year during their fourth and fifth years of study.

Ensemble playing is sacred (to quote former department chair Kristiina Ilmonen), and makes up a minimum of 18% of the bachelor's and 12% of the master's total required credits. Incoming students are intentionally and carefully selected in order to create an ensemble, and each student is required to study and perform in her or his year-course band. (Many of these year-course ensembles go on to become professional gigging and recording bands.) Students are required to study and perform in their folk music ensemble for six years, giving two juried ensemble concerts. The official goals of ensemble study are: "[1] to learn the old and new Finnish folk music traditions and the role of each instrument in ensemble playing; [2] to learn to orchestrate, arrange, and compose both through pre-composition and spontaneous playing in the ensemble; [3] to gain experience as the ensemble's solo singer and as an accompanist to a singer; [4] to develop improvisation skills; [5] to study experientially and theoretically the nature of performance, the different forms and modes of performing, and different creative processes for soloists and ensembles in performing arts and inter-art form productions; [6] to learn sound production and studio techniques; and [7] to learn to work as an active member of the group." The goals for master's students in ensemble playing include: "developing independent and personal ensemble work; learning to analyze and judge

⁵ See Chapter 5 for the historical development and Chapter 9 for musical descriptions of the "old traditions" and "new traditions."

one's own performance; and preparing to work as a leading/directing member in a high-level folk music group and as a musician *taking care of the future of folk music.*"⁶

Other required core courses comprise folk singing, study of a secondary instrument, and composition and arranging. Minor subjects, that are required but take up less of the study time, include folk music theory, folk music history, Finnish folk music (general overview and research techniques), music history (Western art music and European folk musics), folk music pedagogy, folk dancing, instrument building, and study of additional secondary instruments. Students may round out their studies by choosing from the following electives: advanced improvisation, advanced instrument building, advanced music theory, advanced composition and arranging, performance forms, work life, dramatic music productions, advanced secondary instrument study, special studies in folk music research, special studies in folk music pedagogy, folk music today, colloquia, Finland's folk traditions, Finnish dialects, history of Finnish popular music, European folk music, advanced field research, studio techniques, sound reproduction, studio work, multimedia, advanced folk dancing, folk dance directing, folk dance choreography, vocal techniques and care, advanced vocal techniques, ensemble directing, choir directing, and world music cultures.

⁶ These excerpts from official course descriptions are from an unpublished draft of the Folk Music Department's 2005-2006 curriculum and degree requirements that was provided to me by Heikki Laitinen and Anne Etelatalo of the Sibelius Academy in spring 2004 (my translation and emphasis).

People

The Folk Music Department has had four heads. Heikki Laitinen led the department from its conception in 1983 until 1989 when he received a prestigious "artist-professor" grant from the state to work full-time on his own artistic projects. Juhani Näreharju was then chair from 1989 until 1996, followed by Sinikka Kontio for two years, followed by Kristiina Ilmonen from 1998 to 2004, followed by Juhani again.⁷ In reality, Heikki, Kristiina, and Juhani share the leadership of the department (Sinikka has been away, occupied with raising her family). The three of them are all present and, according to Kristiina, are very tight.

The professors and lecturers whose presence I felt and noticed the most during my stay in the department were Heikki, Kristiina, Juhani, Anna-Kaisa Liedes, and Outi Pulkkinen, and, to a lesser extent, Vesa Kurkela, Antti Savilampi, Maija Karhinen, Timo Alakotila, Rauno Nieminen, Arto Järvelä, and Maria Kalaniemi, as well as a number of current doctoral and master's students who also teach part-time in the department.⁸

Over the years, the department's teachers have increasingly been alumni from the department. Initially, master pelimannit were invited to give workshops and individual lessons, and outside scholars taught classes and gave lectures. Though some pelimannit are still listed as part-time teachers and occasionally give individual instrumental lessons to students, and scholars such as Anneli Asplund and Risto Blomster are occasionally asked to give lectures in the department, the vast majority of newly hired teachers

⁷ This chronology has been constructed from the memories of interviewees; dates should be considered approximate rather than exact.

⁸ Part-time teachers providing instrumental lessons will of course have varying degrees of influence on individual students according to their instruments.

nowadays come from the department's own ranks. Of the department's fifty-nine alumni, thirty-three teach in the department (five in full-time or permanent faculty positions, and twenty-eight as part-time teachers), and another seventeen current students (ten master's and seven doctoral) also teach part-time in their own department, usually giving individual lessons on their main instruments.

Whenever folk musicians from other countries pass through town, the department usually invites them to give workshops and master classes. There are frequent guest teachers/artists from Sweden, Estonia, and Finno-Ugric areas in Russia, as well as visitors from Cuba, Tuva, the Republic of Georgia, Ireland, England, Norway, Egypt, East Africa, and North America (to name those I am aware of).

The vast majority of Finland's professional folk music bands have one, if not several, members who have studied or are studying at the Folk Music Department. Bands with member(s) from the Sibelius Academy include Värttinä, JPP, Gjallarhorn, Hedningarna, Frigg, Troka, Tallari, Tsuumi, and Rimparemmi. Bands that formed at the Sibelius Academy Folk Music Department include (but are not limited to) Niekku, MeNaiset, Loituma, Spontaani Vire, Trepaanit, Kyläpelimannit-Trio, Sväng, Helsinki Mandoliners, Hyperborea, Plektronite, and Puhti. Most folk musicians in Finland who have had relative success as solo artists also hail from the Academy: Maria Kalaniemi (accordion), Kimmo Pohjonen (accordion), Arto Järvelä (fiddle), Sari Kaasinen (voice), Markku Lepistö (accordion), Sanna Kurki-Suonio (voice), Anna-Kaisa Liedes (voice), Leena Joutsenlahti (flutes), Marianne Maans (fiddle), Liisa Matveinen (voice), Rauno Nieminen (jouhikko and flutes), Tellu Turkka (voice), Timo Väänänen (kantele), Johanna

Virtanen (accordion), Olli Varis (guitar and mandolin), and Tapani Varis (jaw harp and bass), among others.⁹ [See discography for some of the recordings by these SibA artists.]

Few folk musicians are able to earn their living by performing and selling records (Gjallarhorn and Värttinä are likely two of the only ones). A few support themselves with grant money, such as Kimmo Pohjonen, who has a grant from the Finnish government, and the Kyläpelimannit-Trio, which receives funding from the European Union. A few take jobs in arts administration or folk music event organizing. Some folk musicians are able to find more paying gigs by playing different types of music, including jazz, rock, popular, and older generation Finnish dance music. Many graduates from the Folk Music Department go on to teach at music schools, music camps, and music conservatories and polytechnics. Others take "day jobs."

Impacts of Being in the Institution

Being in the tremendously prestigious Sibelius Academy bestows a considerably high status upon the folk musicians in the department, and it has also raised the general esteem of folk music itself. Along with the distinction of being among Finland's top musicians in all fields of music comes pressure and expectations for folk musicians to create and perform music at a high level both technically and artistically. This has an impact on students' goals and self-expectations, encouraging them to strive for technical virtuosity, to be an "artist," and to make their own "great art."

⁹ Wimpe Saari is probably the most prominent and noticeable contemporary folk musician who is not affiliated with the department – but the Saami contemporary folk scene is relatively separate from the Finnish. Members from older bands, such as the World Mänkeri Orchestra, have not studied at the department but are affiliated as part-time teachers.

Folk music's position in a publicly funded institution provides financial support for the education and training of folk musicians, for the employment of folk musicians as teachers, for the development of folk music, and for the sponsorship of numerous concerts and other performance events. The reputation of the Academy also makes it easier for department alumni and teachers to obtain outside support from the state or other sources. The Academy's reputation carries weight both within and beyond Finland; I interviewed one Estonian folk musician studying in the department who wanted a degree from SibA specifically because it would be advantageous for her career in other northern European countries.

Being in Finland's only university-level school of music facilitates collaborations with parallel institutions in other art fields. The Folk Music Department has particularly taken advantage of opportunities for collaboration with modern dance and theater departments from TeaK, the Theater Academy.

Within the Sibelius Academy, there is some collaboration between the Folk Music Department and the Jazz Department as well as the Music Education Department (mostly because these three departments all share the same campus in the outskirts of Helsinki). Interdepartmental collaboration occurs mostly in the form of cosponsored events, for example a series of multicultural music education seminars with the Music Education Department and concerts celebrating the 20th anniversary of both the Folk Music and Jazz Departments. The Folk Music Department is actually quite independent. Students are not required to take any classes outside of the department, although some choose to take individual lessons on their instrument in one of the classical departments (to develop

their technique) and some take instrumental pedagogy courses in the Music Education Department (for example, if a folk music student wants to become a violin teacher). However, there are quite a few opportunities for socializing with students from other departments, especially in the Sibelius Academy dormitory and student housing. A number of folk music students have formed bands together with jazz students and music education students, and more than one Folk Music Department alumna is married to a jazz musician. Many in other departments in the Academy think of the Folk Music Department as one of the most creative and artistic, indeed one of the best departments in the Sibelius Academy.

Despite being in an institution overseen by the state, the department has tremendous freedom. Teachers are free to teach what and how they want, and musicians in the department are free to develop their music without the pressures of the commercial market. Some of Finland's most renowned artists in folk music have come back to the department to pursue doctoral degrees specifically because it provides them the opportunity and freedom to develop themselves artistically, to focus on their own music, and to focus on things they want to work on in their own playing – these are opportunities that most musicians do not have when they are trying to make a living from music in the "real world."

Although the institution allows and encourages students to make their own music and to express themselves personally in their music, institutionalization has still created some degree of musical homogenization. Because the department is so insular, with all students studying under a handful of full-time teachers, most of whom studied with

Heikki Laitinen, certain performance trends and schools of musical styles and creative approaches have emerged. The result is an elite circle of highly skilled, expressive, artistic, actively creating individual musicians who perform a wide variety of sonic styles but draw from the same ideology and following recognizable patterns, particularly in their creative processes.

Part III
Creative Processes

Chapter 9. Points of Departure for Creating Contemporary Folk Music

Contemporary folk musicians often explain that folk music is their *lähtökohta*, point of departure, and *pohja*, foundation, for creating music. This chapter elaborates on the ideological and musical foundations and points of departure for the creative processes that are illustrated in the following chapters.

Ideological Points of Departure

The most fundamental ideological point of departure for creating contemporary folk music is that folk music should be a *living* tradition. If folk music does not change and if it is not relevant to people today, then it will be dead, nothing more than a lifeless object in museums and archives. In order for folk music to be alive and relevant in today's world, folk musicians should know the traditions, but express them in their own individual, personal ways. Through this personal expression, which will naturally incorporate musical and extra-musical elements from each musician's own life, contemporary folk music will be current and connected to society today. Historical folk music is the foundation and jumping off point for personal creative music making.

In my questionnaire, I asked folk musicians to define folk music, identify the limits of what could be considered folk music, and specify what makes a musician a good or bad folk musician. The following excerpts from responses given by Sibelius Academy

students and alumni illustrate their ideology (after which I provide a summary).¹ In the musicians' own words:

Question: How would you define folk music?

Folk music is music that takes influences from its own time period and elements from its surroundings. Folk music has also always been a regenerating musical tradition.

Contemporary folk music is created by using and arranging the ways of folk music traditions into new expressions in which personality is brought out.

Folk music is music played by peasants in the 18th century and earlier, and music founded on this tradition.

Folk music is music carried forward from a foundation in one's own national tradition.

Folk music is music in which tradition is an endless treasury and inspiration for the making of music.

Folk music is music created on the basis of peasant music from the olden days.

Folk music is the folk/people's own music.²

Folk music is music that is based in some way on tradition.

Folk music is tradition, interaction, and creativity in the present moment.

Folk music is ordinary people's own music. Anyone can do it.

Folk music is music played in any way by anyone.

Folk music is any kind of music that folk/people play and listen to.

¹ The following quotes were all written by Sibelius Academy Folk Music Department current students or alumni in response to the questionnaire that I distributed in 2004, all translations mine.

² The Finnish word *kansa* translates as both "folk" and "people" and is the same root for words such as folk music (*kansanmusiikki*), nationality/ethnicity (*kansallisuus*), and nationality/citizenship (*kansalaisuus*).

It is not possible to define folk music, nor do I even want to think about the whole issue. If there were only music, there would not be real musical boundaries.

Question: Are there limits on what can be considered to be folk music? Are there characteristics, traits, or qualities that folk music must have, or must not have, in order to be considered folk music? If so, what are they?

I'm not interested in defining what is folk music and what is not. It doesn't matter.

I would rather dissolve than define the boundaries of folk music.

Nowadays nearly all music is a fusion of many different musical genres. If the music has folk music characteristics in the opinion of the performer or the listener, then it can be considered folk music.

Folk music has no clear boundaries.

I don't want to put folk music in a box. In the contemporary world there are hardly any stylistically pure musical genres.

Folk music should preferably be very broadly conceived instead of tightly limited.

One can do what one wants to folk music. The listener's subjective experience defines what type of music it is in the listener's mind.

Folk music has no boundaries.

Question: Is there such a thing as bad folk music or a poor folk musician? In your opinion, what would make something be bad folk music? What would make someone be a poor folk musician?

Directly copying archive tapes or other styles is bad folk music in my opinion. I believe a musical work should always start more from the basis of what sounds good than from thinking about what has been done before.

A stagnant perception of music.

In my opinion, this sort of definition does not suit folk music at all. Everyone plays their own interpretation of their own music in their own way, regardless of skill.

Yes, poor playing is always poor music, in folk music also.

No. Except if, for example, a group does not have any sense of tradition.

Yes, music that is poorly played without passion or goals.

I don't know if there is such a thing as bad folk music, there is just poorly played music. Though some traditional pieces are, in my opinion, pretty bad. Amateurs have a perfect right to play and to perform, but from time to time I definitely have heard endlessly bad performances that are not suited to be performed on stage.

Folk music becomes bad when the performer is insecure, does not believe in his own ability, and does not have confidence towards the audience. Naturally the criteria is in some ways different when music is made professionally as opposed to as a hobby. You have to take the context into account.

Uninteresting expression or arrangements. Artistic level is not the final thing that matters if there is an effort made to move the audience, or at least one's self... in other words, bad music does not exist because somebody always digs it. Folk music can always be separated from the function of performed art music; playing happens purely for one's own enjoyment. In this case, you can't talk about "goodness" or "badness" because no one does something that she doesn't like herself.

If a musician makes music truthfully and sincerely, then it is always good.

In my opinion, you can't say that a folk musician is bad or not good. Each one of us is a different kind of musician, and in my opinion that is more of a richness than a bad thing.

Question: In your opinion, what makes someone be a good folk musician?

A good folk musician believes in himself and wants to really develop himself.

A musician is a good folk musician if she can make music come to life, and if she knows where the music comes from and what its original stylistic characteristics were.

A good folk musician in my mind is the same as a good musician: good mastery of an instrument and versatility (not however according to classical music rules), the ability to use an instrument to produce one's

own music, and individual traits as well as a broad knowledge of traditional music.

A traditional player should have familiarity and knowledge of the tradition, and know how to make good use of the tradition in his own individual way.

A good folk musician should have knowledge of the tradition, technical skills, the ability to express herself, improvisation and composition skills, and versatility.

A good folk musician has expressive power, the same as what makes a musician good regardless of the genre.

A good folk musician should have something personal, whether it's a sound, a style, compositions, or arrangements.

A good folk musician has an open perspective and easily becomes enthusiastic about new and stranger things.

A good folk musician has mastery of stylistic features, but does not copy them.

Life and its multiplicity should be heard through the playing.

A good folk musician should have innovation, personality, and his or her own voice, the same as in any other kind of music.

A good folk musician knows how to take influences from traditional folk music and, on the basis of them, create his or her own version of folk music without defining styles beforehand or censoring his or herself.

Although there is a diversity of opinions, most share the same basic ideology.

Note that whenever musicians mention traditional or historical music in their definition of folk music, they do not specify that folk musicians should strictly adhere to those traditions, but rather start from them and progress or develop forwards. The above quotations demonstrate how contemporary folk musicians define folk music, but many of those same musicians do not necessarily consider the music that they make themselves to

be folk music. Several of them told me in interviews that the music they create is "just music," with no boundaries, limitations, or definitions. They self-identify as folk musicians, they use folk music as their point of departure, they follow an ideal of folk music creative processes, but the resulting music that they make defies categorization. Hannu Tolvanen, who has worked in the Folk Music Department for many years, semi-jokingly referred to music made by SibA students and teachers as "freak music," not knowing what else to call it.³

Conversely, some participants in the contemporary folk music scene believe that any music that is made through the (imagined/reconstructed) creative processes of (historical) folk music may be considered folk music. For example, Riitta-Liisa Joutsenlahti, SibA alumna and staff member, feels very adamantly that the avant-garde improvisations and free-jazz-sounding original compositions of the World Mänkeri Orchestra are folk music because the band members play *omasta päästä*, "from the musician's own head," in other words, the music is spontaneously composed by the performer – a practice made famous by the traditional folk flute player Teppo Repo (personal communication, February 20, 2004).

The above quotes also reveal that folk musicians feel they should be held to the same artistic and expressive expectations as (professional) musicians in other fields of music (mainly classical and jazz). Indeed, contemporary folk musicians believe that folk music requires more individual personal expression than any other type of music, and

³ While some of the "freak music" may be described as avant-garde, I do not believe that most contemporary folk musicians would use the term as a title or label for their music, even if it is a descriptive adjective. Furthermore, some of their experimentations and individual creations are stylistically different from avant-garde art music.

many musicians have chosen to be folk musicians for that very reason. (Note that these essential qualities of folk music, as perceived by contemporary folk musicians, contrast starkly with nineteenth- and early twentieth-century perceptions of folk music as the collective creation of anonymous folk.)

Finally, these questionnaire responses exhibit a sensitivity to context and an awareness of the subjectivity of criteria for valuing and judging folk music. The realization that how folk music is valorized is relative gives contemporary folk musicians greater freedom and lessens the importance of public opinions or acceptance of their work.

Whether or not the resulting music is classified as folk music, it is clear that contemporary folk musicians place greater significance on a musician's background, personal expression, and creative music making process than on stylistic, aesthetic, or sonic attributes or definitions.

Heikki Laitinen was extremely influential in disseminating this ideology to his students and his students' students, who now realize these beliefs and values and serve as living role models to the up-and-coming generation of contemporary folk musicians.

Musical Foundations and Source Material: Historical Finnish Folk Music

During their first few years in the Folk Music Department, all students learn about and learn to perform a wide variety of Finnish folk music traditions. The following

paragraphs describe the musical characteristics of the traditions they study, the material that becomes their musical foundation and point of departure.⁴

The "old traditions" include the vocal genres runolaulu, herding calls, and laments, as well as instrumental music played on small kanteles, jouhikkos, and a variety of shepherd flutes and other woodwinds.

Runolaulu

Runolaulu text comprises narrative, non-strophic verses in trochaic tetrameter (four poetic feet, or pairs of syllables, with the stress on the first syllable in each pair/foot). The text is characterized by *alkusointu*, literally "beginning harmony," in which the first "sounds" of the words match, for example "va-" and "va-" or "la-" and "la-" (more than English-language alliteration in which just the first consonant of a word is repeated). There is no intentional rhyming (*loppusointu*, literally "ending harmony") at the end of lines (except in a few very late runolauluja that show heavy influence from song genres from the West). Narrative descriptions in the text are frequently reiterated or paraphrased in slightly different ways. Standard runolaulu meter, *alkusointu*, and paraphrasing can all be seen in this excerpt taken from a runolaulu collected by Elias Lönnrot in Karelia in 1834 (Kuusi, Bosley, and Branch 1997:183):

⁴ Most of the information on Finnish folk music presented in this section was taught to me in voice lessons with Anna-Kaisa Liedes, in singing classes with Outi Pulkkinen, in woodwind lessons with Leena Joutsenlahti, in kantele lessons with Vilma Timonen, in a jouhikko course with Lassi Logren, in runolaulu seminars with Heikki Laitinen, in folk dancing classes with Antti Savilampi, and in Finnish folk music survey and research classes with Maija Karhinen and Juhani Näreharju. I referred to the following sources to verify and supplement what I was taught at the Sibelius Academy: Asplund 1981a and Kuusi, Bosley, and Branch 1997 for runolaulu; Leisiö 1981 for herding calls; Väisänen 2002 [1928], Saha 1986, and Linnaranta 2002 for small kanteles; Väisänen 2002 [1928] and Nieminen 1984 for jouhikko; Leisiö 1981 and 1983 for ancient woodwinds; Asplund 1981c for pelimanni music; and Asplund 1981d for new song traditions. I have chosen musical examples for this section that were either taught to me by Sibelius Academy teachers or that appear as archival material in the most commonly used source books in order to demonstrate some of the specific source material that contemporary folk musicians use.

Vaka vanha Väinämöinen	Steadfast old Väinämöinen
teki tieolla venettä	made a boat with his wisdom [magic]
lato purtta laulamalla	built a craft with his singing

In spoken Finnish, stress always falls on the first syllable of a word. So in the first line of this runolaulu, the natural word stress coincides with the trochaic poetic stress: **Va** ka | **van** ha | **Väi** nä- | **möi** nen. This is a normal trochaic tetrameter line (*trokeesäe*). In the second line, the natural word stress (indicated in underlined text) does not coincide with the poetic stress (indicated with boldface): **te** ki | **tie** ol- | **la** ve- | **net** tä. This type of broken line (*murrelmasäe*) has a syncopated feel. The third line is another normal trochee: **la** to | **pur**t ta | **lau** la- | **mal** la. Together, these normal and broken trochaic tetrameter lines make up what is known as the kalevala meter.

When runolaulu text is sung, there is usually one syllable per note. There are rarely long melismas, though short ornaments are often added. The most typical rhythm for an eight-syllable line is to sing the first six syllables as three pairs of eighth notes and the last two syllables as two quarter notes, resulting in a measure in 5/4 time:

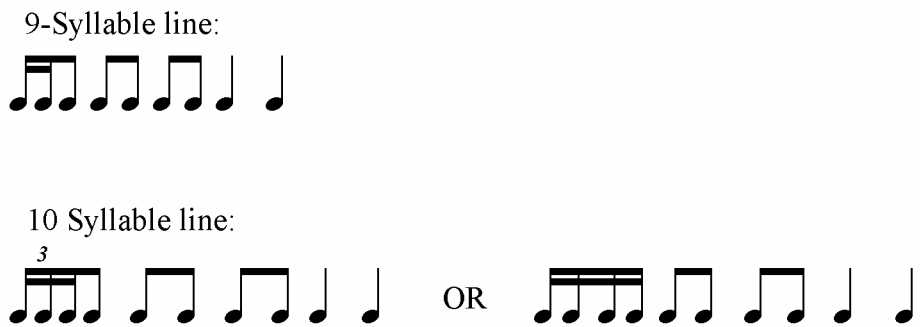
Figure 9A. Common kalevala rhythm



Another characteristic of the kalevala meter is that the first poetic foot of the line is exceptional and may contain two, three, or four syllables. If a line of the text contains more than eight syllables, or if a singer wishes to add additional syllables for emphasis, the extra syllables are sung quickly at the beginning of the line, almost like pickup notes.

If we take, for example, the eight-syllable line "oli vanha Väinämöinen" ("old Väinämöinen was") and add a ninth syllable "pa" for emphasis, like this "olipa vanha Väinämöinen," then the first two syllables will become sixteenth notes. If we add a tenth syllable "han" for even more emphasis, like this "olipahan vanha Väinämöinen," then the first three syllables "olipa" may become triplet sixteenth notes or all four syllables in the first foot "olipahan" may become sixteenth notes:

Figure 9B. Kalevala rhythms for runolaulu lines with nine and ten syllables



Runo melodies usually have a small range, typically a minor pentachord, though the third may also be major or neutral, and the melody may occasionally descend a major or minor seventh or fifth below the tonic. Melodic movement is characterized by intervals of a whole step, second, or third; larger intervallic leaps are uncommon. The tempi of runolauluja vary tremendously; on archive recordings, quarter note equals 60-80 is common, while in contemporary renditions the tempo may vary from quarter note equals 60 to highly energetic performances of quarter note equals 150. The following melody that I learned from my voice teacher at the Academy is one of the most prevalent kalevala melodies:

Figure 9C. Basic kalevala melody taught to me by Anna-Kaisa Liedes



This very similar kalevala melody was transcribed by Jaakko Tengström in the late 1700s:

Figure 9D. Oldest Documented Kalevala Melody from the 1700s. Printed with permission of the Finnish Literary Society Folklore Archives.



A runo melody is usually one or two measures long (corresponding to one or two lines of text). During the performance of a runolaulu, a melody such as this will be repeated over and over again with numerous small variations until all of the lines of the text have been sung. Heikki Laitinen writes that "in the musical world of few pitches and

small melodic ranges, the real richness of content comes from endlessly varying repetitions" (cited in Asplund 1981a:28, my translation). There are many different versions of this melody type, both within a given performance of one song and in different songs.

Runolaulu melodies and texts are interchangeable. The main source for runolauluja, the 34 volume SKRV, contains only texts with no musical transcriptions. Contemporary folk musicians usually listen to archival recordings of runo singers to get a feel for how the melodies go and then make up their own similar-sounding melodies for the old texts.

Herding calls

Herding calls, or *karjankutsut* (literally "cattle calls"), were originally used by women to summon their cattle. Musically, Finnish herding calls are characterized by free rhythm, descending melodic lines, and long melismas (Leisiö 1981:60). Karelian herding calls, which are often in kalevala meter and reminiscent of kalevala melodies, and the extremely high-pitched *kulning* genre of Swedish herding calls have also been used as source material by contemporary Finnish musicians. Figure 9E contains three examples of Finnish herding calls.

Figure 9E. Finnish herding calls. Archive material published in Leisio (1981:61), reprinted with permission of the Finnish Literary Society Folklore Archives.

Andante

Si - u - u - huu. Si - - - u - u -

huu. Si - u - u - - - - huu.

Tul - Kaa pois, pii - ka-ni. tuu! _____

Tuu. tuu! _____

$\bullet = 108$

Huu - - - huu - - huu huuu! _____

Small kanteles

The oldest kantele is the five-string kantele, also known as Väinämöinen's kantele from the Kalevala. According to A. O. Väisänen (2002 [1928]:VIII), additional strings were not added until the 1800s when new musical influences motivated players to develop the instrument in order to play new melody-types. The most common small kanteles in use today are five-string, ten-string, and fifteen-string models, both wooden acoustic and electric, though historically kanteles could have 8, 9, 11, 12, or any other number of strings (the large kanteles with over 30 strings were developed later and are used to play both art music and pelimanni music). [See photos of kanteles in Figures 9F through 9H.]

Figure 9F. Traditional small kanteles. Savonranta, Finland, 2004. Photo by J. Hill.

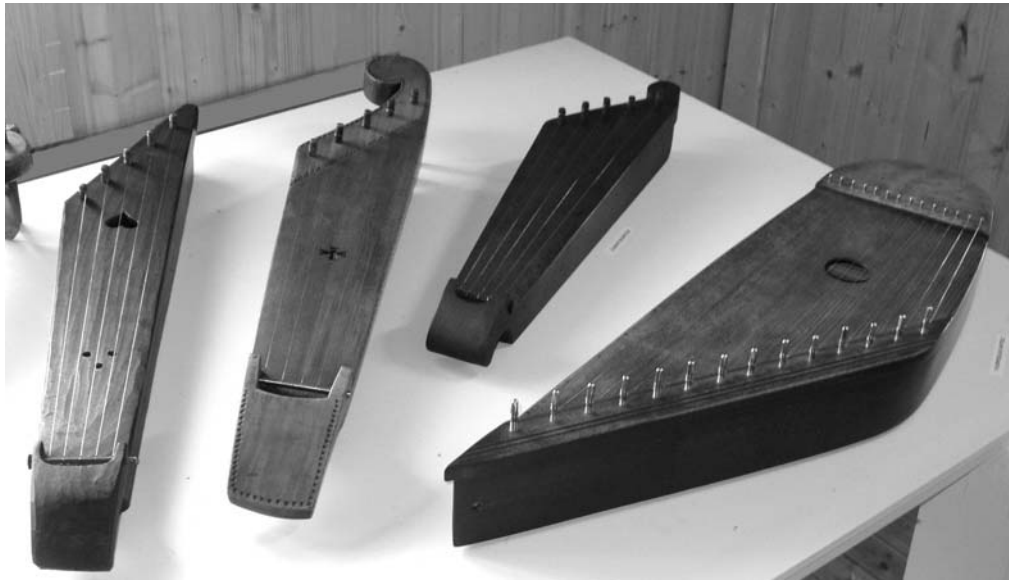


Figure 9G. Five-string electric kantele. Helsinki, Finland, 2004. Photo by J. Hill.



Figure 9H. Pentti Ojajärvi playing five-string kantele. Savonranta, Finland, 2004. Photo by J. Hill.

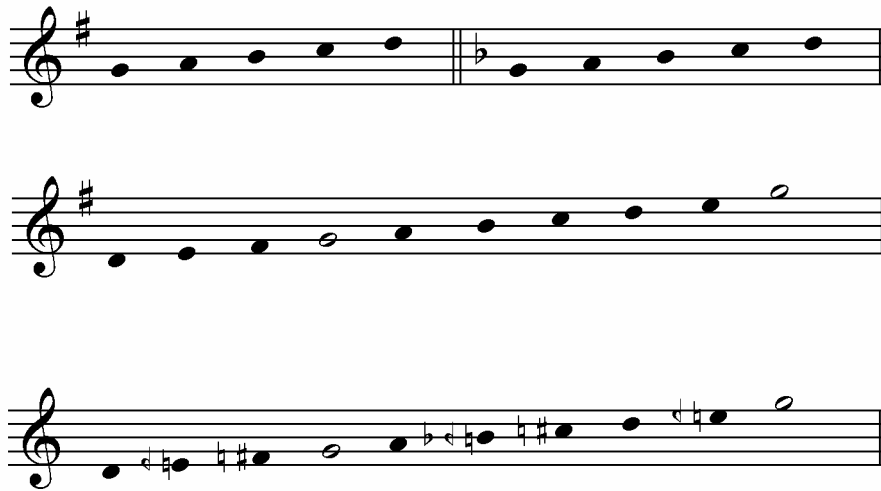


The traditional five-string kantele has a melodic range of a fifth and is tuned to a pentachord, with the third string being tuned up or down to a major, minor, or neutral third according to the tune and will of the player. The most common tuning for the ten-string kantele is as follows: fifth, sixth, and seventh below the tonic, tonic, second, third, fourth, fifth, six, and octave. The third and sixth could both be major, minor, or neutral, and the seventh could be lowered or raised, apparently without changing the nature of the

music in the player's mind (Saha 1986:36) [see Figure 9I for common kantele tunings].

Following suit, contemporary players will often change a melody or song from major to minor or vice versa as suits their own preferences.

Figure 9I. Common tunings for five- and ten-string kanteles



There are three main techniques for playing the kantele: (1) using the finger pads (or nails, for contrast) of both hands to pluck one or more strings at a time; (2) strumming chords by muting certain strings with the left-hand while strumming all or some strings with the forefinger of the right hand (much like a manual autoharp); and (3) mixing together and interchanging these two techniques.⁵

The historical repertoire for small kanteles includes dance tunes and accompaniment for runolaulu singing. [See Figure 9J for a dance melody played on the

⁵ For an extensive discussion in English of kantele playing styles see Rahkonen 1989.

Figure 9J. *Ripatska* dance melody for five-string kantele. Archive material published in Väisänen (1928:28), reprinted with permission of the Finnish Literary Society.

The musical score is written in 2/4 time and consists of seven staves. The first staff begins with a treble clef and a 2/4 time signature. The melody is primarily composed of eighth and sixteenth notes, often beamed together. There are two first endings (marked '1.') and two second endings (marked '2.') throughout the piece. The second ending of the first staff leads to the beginning of the second staff. The second ending of the fourth staff leads to the beginning of the fifth staff. The second ending of the sixth staff leads to the beginning of the seventh staff. The score concludes with a double bar line.

five-string kantele.] Individuals also played kantele at home for their families and especially *omaksi iloksi*, for their own pleasure, playing both tunes and free improvisations. There are descriptions of kantele players playing for hours and hours at a time, often by themselves off in a corner in their own world – these accounts have been a tremendous source of inspiration for contemporary players (see Chapter 10). The main sources for kantele melodies are A. O. Väisänen's collection *Kantele- ja Jouhikko-Sävelmiä* (Kantele and Jouhikko Melodies), which is the fifth volume of *Suomen Kansan Sävelmiä* (2002 [1928]) and Hannu Saha's five- and ten-string kantele instruction and repertoire books (Saha 1986 and 1987; Laitinen and Saha 1988).

Jouhikko

The jouhikko is a bowed lute that was originally played in eastern regions of Finland (Savo and Karelia), as well as parts of Estonia and Sweden where it is known as the *hiukannel* and *talharpa*, respectively. [See Figure 9K for a photo of a traditional jouhikko.] The jouhikko typically has three strings, though a fourth string is sometimes added to extend the melodic range, and an old two-string model can be found in museums. The middle string is a drone string tuned to a fourth or a fifth below the tonic and bowed simultaneously with the melody string so that the drone always sounds. The innermost string is the melody string tuned to the tonic, typically A. The melody string is the only string that is fretted; the player inserts four fingers through the hole in the body of the jouhikko (the thumb remains outside the whole and grips the instrument) and frets the string with the backside of his fingers in between the knuckles and the first joint [see Figure 9L for a photo of Rauno Nieminen playing the jouhikko]. When the hand is in a

Figure 9K. Jouhikko (traditional model built with one modern improvement for finer tuning). Savonranta, Finland, 2004. Photo by J. Hill.

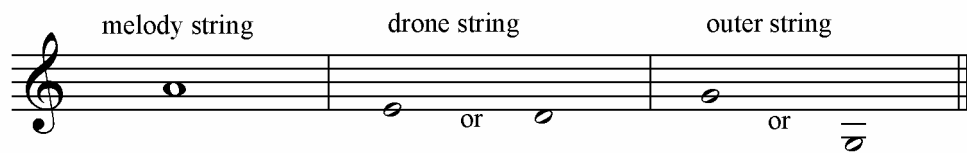


Figure 9L. Rauno Nieminen, the instrument builder and musician largely responsible for the resuscitation of the jouhikko, plays in the same spot where scholar A. O. Väisänen documented the "last living jouhikko player," Juho Villanen, in the early 20th century. Savonranta, Finland, 2004. Photo by J. Hill.



natural position, the melodic range is a fifth with the four fingers playing the second, third, fourth, and fifth degrees of the scale, though the player may reach farther to play higher pitches as desired. If there is a second melody string, then the musician must reinsert her fingers through the hole in the body of the jouhikko so that the fingers rest on the proper side of the string. The outermost string is used less frequently; it is usually tuned to a lowered seventh below the tonic, allowing the musician to play the lowered leading tone if the melody requires it. [See Figure 9M for common jouhikko tunings.] There is a fair amount of microtonal variation in the fretted pitches, adding a distinct character to jouhikko melodies (it is somewhat difficult to be precise when playing with the backside of one's fingers, so that even contemporary musicians who have a just-tempered Western scale deeply ingrained in their ears will play a scale modified to suit where their fingers fall more naturally on the string).

Figure 9M. Common jouhikko tuning



Jouhikko melodies share many musical characteristics with old kantele melodies: small melodic range, no preset forms or phrase lengths, and extensive variation and improvisation on motifs. [See Figures 9N and 9O for examples of jouhikko melodies.] The jouhikko was primarily used as a solo instrument to accompany a similarly free-form

Figure 9N. Jouhikko melody taught to me by Leena Joutsenlahti (similar versions of this traditional melody also appear in Nieminen 1984:21 and Väisänen 2002 [1928]:111).



Figure 9O. Jouhikko melody that I learned in a master class from Rauno Nieminen and Styrbjörn Bergelt (a similar version of this traditional melody is published in Nieminen 1984:22).



type of step dancing, and it may also have been used to accompany kalevala singing. Väisänen states vaguely that "assumptions about the jouhikko's being linked to runolaulu are founded on the relatively rare references given in runolaulu lines" (2002 [1928]:L), though many contemporary singers accompany themselves with the jouhikko when singing runolauluja. After the 1800s, new musical genres with set forms and precomposed melodies were played on the jouhikko (most musicians, however, switched to the fiddle to play new tunes). Very few traditional jouhikko melodies were actually collected. In 1928, folk music scholar A. O. Väisänen wrote that only 48 jouhikko melodies had been collected from five different players and that the last living jouhikko player, Juho Villanen, was really a fiddler who was not even certain of how the jouhikko should be tuned (Väisänen 2002 [1928]:L-LI).

Ancient wind instruments

A tremendous variety of woodwinds existed in Finland, Karelia, and Ingria. Their constructions, shapes, sizes, and scales differed from region to region and maker to maker, but the basic types included simple clarinets, fipple flutes, whistles, and wooden horns or trumpets with and without finger holes. The wind instruments that have been revived and reconstructed by contemporary instrument builders include the *mänkeri* and *liru* (both single reed instruments), *tuohihuilu* or birchbark flute and *paimensoitin* or "shepherds flute" (both fipple flutes), *puusarvi* or "wood horn," and *pitkähuilu* ("long flute," a transverse overtone flute with no finger holes) [see Figure 9P for photo of various ancient woodwinds]. The traditional repertoire of these instruments mostly consisted of solo improvised melodies, sometimes referred to as "little warblings" (*pikku*

lurituksia), as well as signals that people use to communicate with one another across large expanses of forests and fields (Leisiö 1981:54-57). The most inspirational figure for contemporary players has been Teppo Repo (1886-1962), who played shepherd flutes wrapped in birchbark with five finger holes that he made himself, as well as other wind instruments. After moving from Ingria to Finland, Teppo Repo was "discovered" by folk music scholar A. O. Väisänen and became a public national-romantic figure famous for his improvisations and compositions on traditional woodwinds. His collected melodies (Louhivuori and Nieminen 1987) and recordings of his playing are sources of inspiration for contemporary musicians.

Figure 9P. Remakes of ancient Finnish wind instruments owned by the Folk Music Department and available for use by students. From left to right, two birchbark/shepherd flutes, a *puusarvi* (wood horn), two simple clarinets, and a *pitkähuilu* (overtone flute). Photos by J. Hill.



Most ancient Finnish wind instruments are not commonly played today and rarely appear in contemporary folk music ensembles, although there are a handful of virtuosos, such as Leena Joutsenlahti, who teaches these instruments in the Folk Music Department, and instrument builder Pekka Westerholm and Heikki Syrjänen, who both play in the World Mänkeri Orchestra. The exception is the widely popular pitkähuilu, a transverse fipple flute. Easy to build and easy to play, has made its way into a number of contemporary folk music recordings by both Finnish and Swedish bands [see Figure 9Q for a photo of Swedish contemporary folk musician Ale Möller playing a bass pitkähuilu in concert with his band, and Figure 9R for a photo of pitkähuilu instrument building workshop].

The pitkähuilu, which has no finger holes, is played by alternating between two different overtone series by covering and uncovering the end whole. When the end whole is not covered, the player can produce the following pitches, from lowest to highest, by regulating her airstream: fundamental, octave, fifth, octave, major third, fifth, lowered seventh, octave, major second, major third. With the end whole covered, the player can produce from lowest to highest: a fifth, major third, lowered seventh, major second, augmented fourth, sixth, raised seventh, minor second, minor third (one would not want to play higher for fear of blowing out the eardrum). When the two series are combined, alternating between open and close, the resulting scale is what folk musicians call the "natural" mode: tonic, major second, major third, augmented fourth, perfect fifth, major sixth, lowered seventh (a raised seventh is possible in the higher register, but the lowered is used more frequently), octave [see Figure 9S]. Folk musicians often utilize

this pitkähuilu-inspired "natural mode" in their compositions for voice and other instruments.

Figure 9Q. Ale Möller (left), renowned Swedish contemporary folk musician, playing a bass overtone flute with his band at the Haapavesi Folk Festival. Haapavesi, Finland, 2004. Photo by J. Hill.



Figure 9R. Girls try out their new pitkähuilut in an instrument building workshop taught by Rauno Nieminen (right). Haapavesi, Finland, 2004. Photo by J. Hill.



Figure 9S. Pitkähuilu overtone series and scale

playable pitches in open overtone series

playable pitches in closed overtone series

pitkähuilu scale in key of D

Pelimanni music

The instrumental music of Finland's "new traditions" is pelimanni music (remember that "new" is relative to 1000+ year old traditions). The term pelimanni music is used to refer to a variety of dance music genres dating from the eighteenth through the twentieth centuries, including polska, minuet, waltz, mazurka, *katrilli* (quadrille), schottische, polka, and *jenkka* (Finnish foxtrot). The musical genres, accompanying dances, melodic and phrasing structures, and instruments in the pelimanni traditions were all imported from Sweden and show heavy Central European influence.

The oldest genre of pelimanni music is polska; played originally by a solo fiddler, it dominated the musical culture in Western Finland in the 1700s. The polska is a dance in 3/4 time with six beat, two measure melodic units or phrases. The larger structure of the polska is relatively loose, as dancers may alternate between walking and turning steps at will. In the Swedish polska, beats one and three are heavily emphasized, the second beat feels more like a drawnout beat-one than a separate beat, and the rhythmic phrasing of the melodies are much more smooth and fluid than in other 3/4 dance music genres such as the waltz and mazurka. Many types of Swedish polskas have uneven beats, with one of the three beats being either longer or shorter than the others, which lends the music swing and a tug-and-pull feel that adds momentum to the dance. In the Finnish polska, the lengths and emphasis of all three beats are more even than in the Swedish polska. Finnish pelimannit often play both Finnish and Swedish polskas. [Figure 9T for a Finnish polska.]

Figure 9T. Traditional Finnish polska taught to me by Anna-Kaisa Liedes.



The minuet is a slow dance in 3/4 that precedes the faster polska in a dance set. The music matches six-beat, or two-measure, step patterns of the dancers. The larger structure consists of two eight-measure phrases that are repeated. The waltz is a faster-tempo, and the mazurka an even faster, dance genre in 3/4. Dance genres in duple time include the schottische, polka, jenikka, and katrilli. Most of these consist of two or more eight measure phrases.

Pelimanni music was initially played on solo fiddle. Though three-fourths of pelimanni tunes are in a Western diatonic major scale, and almost a quarter in a Western minor scale, the third, sixth, and seventh degrees of the scale were variable and could be

major, minor, or neutral according to the locale or the preference and technique of the player (Asplund 1981c:128). The special modes are particularly characteristic of older polska melodies. However, when the diatonic one- and two-row accordions started becoming popular, this variability of modes started to disappear from use. The newer five- and seven-row large accordions are chromatic and capable of playing, for example, lowered sevenths, but not microtonal neutral pitches. Other instruments gradually became accepted in pelimanni music, including the clarinet, large kantele with 36 or 39 string, and harmonium (via church music), and nowadays mandolin, guitar, upright bass, and occasionally drum set. Though originally a solo, monophonic tradition, pelimanni music is now played in ensembles, either large teams of 20-50 fiddlers (*spelmanslaget*, *pelimanni yhdistykset*), or small bands comprised of any of the aforementioned instruments [see figures 9U and 9V for photos of small pelimanni ensembles and figure 9X for a photo of a large pelimanni organization playing together in unison]. Arrangements are often chordal based (the accordion and harmonium, and occasionally the kantele and guitar, being chordal instruments); harmonies reflect influence from Western church music, popular music, and art music.

One of the most common source books for pelimanni music is Ilmari Krohn's *Vanhoja pelimannisävelmiä* (Old Pelimanni Melodies).

"New" song traditions

Finland's "new" song traditions include ballads, broadsides, and rekilaulu. Scandinavia's several hundred year old ballad tradition was eventually translated into Finnish and adopted by Finnish singers. Ballads were frequently published and

Figure 9U. Small pelimanni ensemble with harmonium, mandolin, accordion, and bass performing at Kaustinen Folk Music Festival. Kaustinen , Finland, 2004. Photo J. Hill.



Figure 9V. Small pelimanni ensemble with mandolin, accordion, bass, and guitar performing at Kihaus Folk Festival. Rääkkylä, Finland, 2004. Photo by J. Hill.



Figure 9X. Large pelimanni organization of fiddles playing together in unison at Kaustinen Folk Music Festival. Kaustinen , Finland, 2004. Photo J. Hill.



disseminated as broadsides. All of these "new" singing traditions are characterized by rhymes and strophic verses, often with refrains, unlike runolauluja. The new traditions are similar to the old runolaulu tradition in that there are few melismas, one syllable of text usually corresponds to one note, and text and music are often interchangeable.

Rekilaulut are in duple meter and many have anywhere from eight to twenty-two syllables per phrase; the rhythm is determined by the text. Polskas may also be sung, either with words or diddled with nonsense syllables. Sometimes the refrains of ballads are also diddled.

Important sources for "new" song traditions include the LP *Finnish Folk Music I, Ballads: The Finnish Ballad Tradition Music and Texts* with extensive liner notes, *Balladeja ja arkkiveisuja: Suomalaisia kertoma lauluja* (Broadsides and Ballads: Finnish

Narrative Popular Songs, Asplund 1994), archive recordings of Tilla Ilkka and other singers, regional books such as *Alavuden laulukirja* (The Songbook of Alavus, Ala-Könni 1978), *Hei Lumpun Lumpun Polskalauluja* ("Hey Rag Rag" Polska Songs), and Volume II of *Suomen Kansan Sävelmiä* (Finnish Folk Melodies), *Laulusävelmiä* (Song Melodies).

Sources

According to the twenty-nine Sibelius Academy students and alumni who completed my lengthy questionnaire, the sources that they use most frequently for obtaining their repertoire are: (1) their own compositions and improvisations, (2) archive recordings, (3) music books and song books, and (4) lessons with their teachers. Sources consulted regularly but less frequently include: (5) band members or ensemble directors, (6) commercially available recordings, (7) jam sessions, (8) friends, (9) workshops and master classes, and (10) their own field research.

The most important printed sources are the 34 volume SKRV (*Suomen Kansan Vanhat Runot*, Old Poems of the Finnish People), Väisänen's *Kantele- ja Jouhikkosävelmiä* (Kantele and Jouhikko Melodies), Ilmari Krohn's *Vanhoja Pelimannisävelmiä* (Old Pelimanni Melodies), the five volume *Suomen Kansan Sävelmiä* (Finnish Folk Melodies) collection, and various regional song books.

The musical transcriptions in these books provide a mere skeleton of historical folk music. Many transcriptions of kantele, jouhikko, and song melodies are only four to twelve measures long; transcribed pelimanni tunes may be a little longer with thirty-two

measures. The notation displays the melody once through, with minimal ornamentation, and little to no variation or arrangement (though different versions of a piece, or very similar pieces, played by different musicians from different locales are usually included). The transcriptions show a single voice, no polyphony, with the exception of the two or three notes that a kantele player may pluck simultaneously and the drone of the jouhikko (the music books that do contain folk music arrangements were written by classically trained musicians in the days of romantic nationalism and "public enlightenment," and would be regarded as inauthentic and untraditional by contemporary folk musicians). There are some transcriptions of improvisations, but, considering the stories of musicians who played or sang for hours or days even, the notated material illustrates a very short excerpt of such performances. How traditional musicians improvised, varied melodies, played for hours, and turned eight-measure melodies into 20-30 minutes or more of music is more or less left to the imagination of contemporary folk musicians (see Chapter 10).

Students do turn to archive recordings to gain a better understanding of the use of melodic variation, ornamentation, microtones, and other stylistic features of historic folk music. The 1950s recordings of singer Tilla Ilkka from the village of Alavus in Ostrobothnia is one such popular source. However, old archive recordings also have limitations: the old wax cylinders could hold no more than three minutes of music, and early scholars were selective in what they chose to record, favoring older singers and musicians and selecting pieces that they deemed beautiful, valuable, and pure.

Over fifty-five percent of the Sibelius Academy students and alumni who responded to my questionnaire reported using archive recordings frequently as source

material, another fourteen percent use archive recordings sometimes, and twenty-one percent rarely. However, when I visited the Sound Archives of the Finnish Literary Society in Helsinki (one of the three most important archives for Finnish folk music, the other two being at the Folk Music Institute in Kaustinen and at the University in Tampere), the archivists lamented that few folk musicians take advantage of the wealth of material they have. According to Asplund, former director of Finnish Literary Society Sound Archives, the department has at least 300-400 hours of their archive material, but in my studies at the department I found that copies of only a few of these tapes were in regular (indeed, frequent) use (personal communication, August 20, 2005). Archivists Risto Blomster and his colleagues observed that, though contemporary folk musicians do study and rely heavily on archive recordings, most of them are using the same few source recordings. Nevertheless, I did take field trips to the Finnish Literary Society archives with my classes from the Sibelius Academy, and even participated in a runolaulu seminar that was team taught by the Academy and the archive and took place in the Finnish Literary Society.

Artistic Research

Students at the Sibelius Academy Folk Music Department learn to conduct archival and field research to collect source materials, stylistic knowledge, and inspiration for their playing/singing techniques and artistic projects. In the class Finnish Folk Music I taught by Juhani Näreharju, which I took together with the first-year students in 2002, we visited the archives at the Finnish Literary Society and conducted

small archival research projects on specific instruments or genres. In Finnish Folk Music II, which I took with the second-year students in 2003-2004, Juhani took us to a small town in Ostrobothnia where each student interviewed and recorded a master pelimanni.

The experience of meeting traditional players or singers and seeing the music in a more traditional context can have a powerful impact on contemporary young folk music students. Leena Joutsenlahti relates what it was like to see a real master pelimanni for the first time when the department's very first students went to visit a kantele player in Kaustinen:

The first experience during my time as a student that really changed me was in the first spring when we had a meeting with master pelimannit. We six students went to Kaustinen for three weeks in the spring or early summer of 1984. Heikki Laitinen had arranged for us to meet different master pelimanneja. The first was Arvi Pokela, a 75-year-old kantele player who played Saarijärvi-style kantele, and he was that genre's last representative, last master pelimanni. He had started to play ten years after his wife died. (His wife had forbidden him to play. When his wife died, he started to play again.) We met with him. Before, Heikki had recorded and photographed him and everything for the [Folk Music] Institute. He met with us to teach us. We each had a kantele in front of us, even though Arto [Järvelä], Mia [Maria Kalaniemi], and I had not played kantele before, but we each had a kantele in front of us anyway. Arvi was there in front of us and Heikki was here. Then Arvi started to play: Trrrrrr. Horribly fast. We couldn't make sense of any of it. Heikki asked him to play slower and even counted "one, two, three." And then Arvi went Trrrrrrr, because he didn't know what "slower" meant. It wasn't until Heikki said, "play more spaced out, not so often," that Arvi played in such a way that in our language we would call slower: Tu-tu-tum-tum. But then we still couldn't get any of it because he played variations the whole time. So Heikki asked him to sing this melody, to sing to us how it goes. So Arvi sang it, and it was not a confusing type of melody at all. But when he put his fingers to the kantele, he varied the melody. For me, it was the first pelimanni, this type of old master pelimanni, whom I had met. And he did naturally those things that I had heard on tapes. I had listened to kalevala songs and fiddle playing; there are lots of archive recordings. You see, the pelimanneja from the civic school pelimanni organizations didn't make variations, they didn't play like that. There

really were these old pelimanneja still left, master pelimanneja, but I had never heard them, I had only heard the civic school pelimanneja. It's kind of a different thing, if you've heard that type of amateur music stuff. Okay, well, in any case, Arvi played for three days. He taught us on Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday. On Thursday came news that he had died. And then I realized. We all grasped the importance of it. It was a horrible big shock to all of us. It was our first year studying folk music, our first pelimanni, three days teaching, and dead. Like that. Such a thing like that. It left a huge impression on me (personal interview, June 14, 2004, my translation).

Doctoral students in the department often do much more extensive field research, the results of which can vary tremendously. In doctoral student Maari Kallberg's relatively traditional solo-voice performances, Maari often remains within the musical conventions of the traditions, bringing to life old songs that she has gathered from her archival and field research.

Others use their research more for general inspiration. For one of his doctoral concerts in 2004, Timo Väänänen examined the symbolism of kantele players in Finnish culture from contemporary and historical perspectives. But the end result of his research endeavors was a completely creative project, the inspiration and conceptualization of which came from his findings on kantele symbolism. In his doctoral concert entitled "mieli • miete, sävelajatuksia kanteleella" ("mind • meditation, music-thoughts on the kantele) at the Sibelius Academy on March 25, 2004, Timo projected a famous nineteenth-century painting of a frightening Väinämöinen, the shamanistic hero of the Kalevala, with a small faceless boy playing a kantele behind him onto a screen while playing ominous, dissonant sounds on his giant red electric kantele. Later in the concert, Timo placed himself and his small electric kantele behind a giant suspended picture

frame, entering into the long line of symbolized kantele players, before tearing the picture frame down [see photo in figure 9Y].

Figure 9Y. Timo Väänänen plays the electric kantele behind a suspended picture frame. His doctoral concert explored the symbolic legacy facing contemporary kantele players. Helsinki, Finland. Photo captured from video by J. Hill.



Another example of field research used for artistic inspiration is Hedningarna's album *Karelia Visa* (1999). Alumna Sanna Kurki-Suonio, one of the singers in the group, told me of a field research trip that members of the band conducted in Viena, a region in northern Karelia on the Russian side of the border. Sanna explains how that trip influenced Hedningarna's album *Karelia Visa*:

It came about because we wanted to do a softer, more acoustic album after [our albums] *Kaksi* [1992], *Trä* [1994] and *Hippjokk* [1997]. A small album. An album in which silence sounded. For the music, we took pieces that were already made, and then we made a trip to Viena-Karelia, from which, as a matter of fact, there is not one song on the album, from Viena-Karelia. But the album has the feeling that we experienced there. In that way it had a big influence.... We met these old runo singers, these

old aunts who sang. We didn't take any of the songs that they sang for us, but that feeling was what was a big inspiration from it (personal interview, July 4, 2004, my translation).

These musical foundations and experiences are the jumping off points for the creation of contemporary folk music, as well as whatever type of boundaryless, undefined music that contemporary folk musicians make. Though there is a wealth of traditional material in terms of instruments, genres, styles, and tunes from different historical periods, detailed knowledge of historical practices is lacking. The traditional material described in this chapter is used only as a skeleton and a foundation on which to stand – the rest is constructed by the imaginations and creative impulses of contemporary musicians.

Chapter 10. Improvising

Improvisation (*improvisaatio*), as the key process in the creation and performance of contemporary folk music, is the bridge linking contemporary practices to historical folk music.¹ It is the primary tool for creativity, for personal expression, and for the achievement of high art – a tool that contemporary folk musicians wield with the legitimacy and authority of historical continuity. Improvisation is also a pedagogical method for transforming students enculturated in Western art and popular music into ideal folk musicians. The ideology surrounding and practices involving improvisation are central to contemporary folk musicians' identity, distinguishing them from the professional and amateur music contexts in which they live and work.²

Heikki Laitinen, responsible for the department's and the scene's tremendous emphasis on improvisation, defines improvisation as creation in the moment of performance (1993:33-34). However, Heikki has a more broadly defined concept that he calls *impro*. *Impro* is the freedom afforded to a musician by the music, the musical genre, and the musical culture. More specifically, it is a musician's room to negotiate,

¹ The Finnish term meaning "to improvise," *improvisoida*, has been adopted from the English; there is no autochthonous Finnish term for improvising, though there are Finnish terms meaning "to compose" (*säveltää*, *sepittää*) and "to vary" (*muunnella*). Nineteenth century scholar Hainari asked a traditional kantele player (who by contemporary accounts was improvising freely) what he was playing. He responded that he was playing his "own power" (*omaa mahtia*, perhaps a reference to the same ideology in the Kalevala, in which shamans enact magic by playing the kantele).

² Heikki Laitinen writes "back in the days when we were considering the possible worlds for folk music on the inside and in the shadow of a concert-music academy, it was clear from the beginning that it was impossible to take as a point of departure classical music's pedagogical conservatory tradition such that folk music notation would merely be substituted for concert-music notation. It was necessary to find folk music's identity – both musical and pedagogical – in some other way. Because from the beginning the central question was shaped by oral – and oral memory based – learning and at the same time shaking notation from the position of master to that of hired farmboy, it was natural for improvisation to become an important concept" (1993:31, my translation).

play, and maneuver between musical freedom and obligation (obligation being rules, guidelines, definitions, norms, and "tradition"), and the exercise of the right to make musical choices (Laitinen 1993:35-36). Contemporary folk musicians in Finland have more "impro," more room to negotiate musical freedom and tradition, than musicians in any other musical culture that I personally have encountered (more than in the free jazz scene because Finnish contemporary folk musicians also have the stylistic freedom to play traditional folk, ancient, avant-garde, free jazz, popular, jazz, and a variety of world music styles). This room to play between restriction and freedom and the pursuance of multiple choices is exactly what Peter Webster (1992, 1988) would call divergent thinking in music, the defining element of musical creativity, and it is employed through one of the following types of improvisation in virtually every class and performance at the Folk Music Department.

I have identified five main types of improvisation utilized in the Folk Music Department: (1) variation of a precomposed melody; (2) simulated oral composition, or the spontaneous re-creation of traditional material; (3) minimalistic motivic- and variation-based free improvisation; (4) avant-garde free improvisation; and (5) improvised accompaniment. The first four types progress along a continuum from most to least structured, and may be combined in different ways during performance. (The fifth type, improvised accompaniment, will be addressed in Chapter 11 on Arranging.)

Variation of Pre-Existing Melodies

The improvised variations of pre-existing melodies can take the form of variations in the melody's pitches, rhythms, articulation, ornamentation, intonation, and/or modality, as well as variations in song texts. Variation, or *muuntelu*, is the most well-documented form of improvisation found in Finnish traditional folk music. Examples abound in archive recordings, and ethnographic research reveals the extensiveness and richness of improvised variation in traditional playing.³ According to some accounts, traditional players were not able to play a melody without varying it (for example, refer back to Leena Joutsenlahti's story of encountering a master kantele player detailed in Chapter 9).

Figure 10A is an example of improvised melodic variation by traditional singer Anni Tenisova (1878-1956) taken from her rendition of the kalevala runolaulu "*Väinämöisen polvenhaava*" about the hero "Väinämöinen's knee wound" (only the first 38 out of 84 lines/measures are shown here). This field recording was released by the Finnish Literary Society Sound Archives in 1995 on the CD *The Kalevala Heritage: Archive Recordings of Ancient Finnish Songs* (the Finnish subtitle translates somewhat differently to "Runolaulua from Finland, Karelia, and Ingria"). Musical phrases consist of two measures in 5/4 time, with each measure containing one line of kalevala-metered text. This two measure melody is repeated over and over with endless subtle variations until the poetic narrative is complete. According to tutkijakoulu scholar Pekka Huttu-Hiltunen, whose unpublished analysis of this piece is given to voice students in the Folk Music Department, the forty repetitions of the first measure of this melody contain

³ See, for example, Hannu Saha's dissertation (1996) on the variation and style of master kantele players from a valley in a Western Finland.

Figure 10A. Improvised melodic variations of the kalevala runolaulu "Väinämöisen polvenhaava" by traditional singer Anni Tenisova (1878-1956).

The image displays eight staves of musical notation, each representing a different melodic variation of the traditional Finnish runolaulu "Väinämöisen polvenhaava". The notation is written in a single system on a grand staff (treble clef). The key signature is one flat (B-flat), and the time signature is 2/4. A tempo marking of quarter note = 70 is indicated at the beginning of the first staff. Each staff contains two measures of music, with a repeat sign at the end of the second measure. The variations show subtle changes in the melodic contour and rhythm of the original piece.

The image displays ten staves of musical notation, all in G minor (one flat). Each staff begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. The notation consists of eighth and sixteenth notes, often grouped in pairs or fours. The first two staves are identical. The third staff has a fermata over the second measure. The fourth staff is identical to the first. The fifth staff is identical to the first. The sixth staff features a sixteenth-note triplet in the first measure. The seventh staff is identical to the first. The eighth staff is identical to the first. The ninth staff is identical to the first. The tenth staff is identical to the first but ends with a double bar line.

twenty-two different variations and the forty-four repetitions of the second measure of the melody contain twenty-one different variations (approximately half of which appear in the transcription here). Each variation remains within the small melodic range (from the lowered seventh immediately below the tonic to the sixth above) and within the 5/4 time signature, though the ABABABAB structure of two complementary measures is occasionally disrupted. The most prevalent type of variation is a small change in the melodic pitches. The rhythm is varied slightly as dictated by the text, and ornaments are only occasionally added.

As traditional folk music was dying out, so did many of the methods of playing it, particularly improvised variation. It was not commonly practiced in the romantic nationalist and public enlightenment folk music of the early and mid-20th-century. In the revival of the late 1960s many of the new folk musicians had to use folk music books published in Helsinki for their repertoire because their local traditions were no longer active. Though some bands composed their own folk music, and some skilled individuals played in their own styles using melodic variation, many amateur folk musicians and especially large folk music ensembles played the folk tunes exactly as they were written in the music books, without incorporating improvised variation or other stylistic attributes. According to Pauliina Kauhanen Syrjälä, director of the folk music school in Kaustinen, many amateur musicians and revivalists learned to play and read music in the school system, and continued the same performance practices when they began playing folk music (personal interview, July 15, 2004). This practice continues today in a number of amateur folk music groups.

The Folk Music Department has made a concerted, and highly successful, effort to bring back the improvised variation that was once part of the tradition but had been lost, or at least underemphasized, in much of the folk music of the twentieth century. In my experience at the Academy, every class teaching traditional material required some degree of improvised variation. In my voice lessons, Anna-Kaisa Liedes sent me to the Folk Music Department Library to transcribe archive recordings of runo singers so that I could understand the nature and extent of variation by traditional singers, and I was made to vary songs and tunes soon after learning them in my voice lessons, flute lessons, and kantele lessons. Amongst contemporary folk musicians, a performance of traditional material without any variation at all would be considered lacking in musicality and originality.

An example of contemporary variations on a kalevala melody can be seen in figure 10C as performed by Anna-Kaisa Liedes, a respected solo vocalist in contemporary folk music and Sibelius Academy Folk Music Department voice teacher (figure 10B contains the basic kalevala melody, while figure 10C contains Anna-Kaisa's improvised variations from her solo sections).⁴ This kalevala meter song, "*Morsiamen itketys*" ("The bride's lament"), was released on the compilation album *Folk Voices: Finnish Folk Song through the Ages*. This song contains the same 5/4 time signature, two-measure melodic phrasing, melodic range, and poetic meter as Anni Tenisova's performance on the above-mentioned archive recording. Anna-Kaisa's performance is shorter only because it appears on a commercial recording; I have heard contemporary

⁴ Anna-Kaisa was among the first class to study in the department starting in 1983, and later "returned" (she was already teaching there) for a doctorate, which she completed in 2005.

Figure 10B. Kalevala melody on which Anna-Kaisa Lieder bases her variations.



Figure 10C. Contemporary variations of first measure of kalevala melody performed by Anna-Kaisa Lieder.



folk musicians sing the same runolaulu for fifteen minutes, thirty minutes, or even an hour, in live performances. Anna-Kaisa has arranged this traditional Finnish melody using a call and response style from Ingria (a Balto-Finnic culture located near St. Petersburg) in which she sings the first measure of the melody as a solo and the chorus answers with the same line of text on the second measure of the melody. Note that every single measure that Anna-Kaisa sings is a unique variation. Though she uses more ornamentation and more rhythmic variation than Anni Tenisova, she remains within the same melodic range, phrase structure, and meter. Anna-Kaisa begins with a concept of what the basic melody is (figure 10B), sings a few very subtle variations with only small changes, and gradually departs more and more from the original melody. When she taught this song to me, she had me learn this basic melody first, and then create variations of it. Traditional singers most likely sang variations naturally and did not have a concept of a fixed essential or original melody, just as Albert Lord (1983) argues that contemporary notions of a song as a fixed a set of notes differ radically from traditional singers' song concept which is based more on an overarching theme and set of characteristics of potentialities (see Laitinen 2003a:289-301). For contemporary folk musicians, these minor variations are done quite consciously and intentionally, and may be used by them for dramatic or musical effect. Otherwise, however, much of the improvised variation of pre-existing melodies by contemporary folk musicians is fairly faithful to traditional renderings.

Simulation of Oral Composition, Spontaneous Re-creation of Traditional Material

Another way in which contemporary folk musicians create personal variations of traditional material is to simulate the process of oral composition, to reconstruct a song or melody in the moment of performance drawing on phrases and fragments stored in the musician's oral memory. Because Finnish contemporary folk musicians have not grown up immersed in a living tradition with such oral processes, as Yugoslavian epic singers (Lord 2000 [1960]) or traditional Irish musicians (Cowdery 1990) did, Folk Music Department teachers have simulated this process by drawing on traditional material that nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century Finnish folk music scholars collected, analyzed, and systematically compiled. For example, the melodies in Figure 10D come from a volume of traditional Finnish song melodies called *Laulusävelmiä* that was published in 1908. This book was compiled by the Finnish musicologist Ilmari Krohn, who was known for his field collecting and melodic and rhythmic analysis. The name above each melody on the left indicates which researcher collected the tune and the name above each melody on the right indicates the town or village from which it came. Some of the towns listed here are on completely opposite sides of Finland. Ilmari Krohn placed these melodies together based on their melodic similarity. In my flute lessons at the Folk Music Department, my teacher Leena Joutsenlahti took advantage of these melodies that were conveniently published in sequence to teach me melodic variation. Leena read these melodies from the book, but taught them to me aurally, one right after the other. She made me play them all back to her from memory, and then made me improvise my

Figure 10D. Archival melody versions from Ilmari Krohn's *Laulusävelmiä* (1908) used as contemporary pedagogical tool. Reproduced with permission from the Finnish Literary Society.

1452

E. Levón *Kuusamo*

1453

L. Pääkönen *Leivonmäki*

1454

E. Sivori *Kivennapa*

1454

E. Sivori *Kivennapa*

1456

F. von Schantz *Liperi*

own variations drawing from these different yet extremely similar melodies that were at that point all jumbled together in my head.

The same technique was used in the department's folk song class. The instructor Outi Pulkkinen gave us a sheet with four different versions of the same kalevala runolaulu, collected from four different singers in the nineteenth century. [See Figure 10E.] Each column contains a different version of the same section of the same runolaulu as sung by different singers. The instructor positioned the text on the page so that the thematic contents line up horizontally and could be easily compared. In our folk song class we were required to memorize all four versions, and then improvise and perform our own versions, drawing on the different phrases swimming about in our heads and on our own understanding of the narrative and poetic style.

While the spontaneous recreation of traditional material is more common in performances of the "ancient" traditions (e.g. runolaulu, kantele, and jouhikko music), some musicians in the Folk Music Department have also been working on improvising the so-called "newer" traditions (e.g. fiddle-based music from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries). Jouko Kyhälä, SibA doctoral student, has been working on a "polska language" that he uses to spontaneously create new polskas in the traditional form, style, and structure during the moment of performance in formal concerts. As he explained to me, he had read scholarly accounts of single fiddlers who played nonstop for three days at traditional weddings, and he imagines that, instead of having a large enough repertoire to play for that time period, which would have required some 3000 tunes, he surmises that traditional fiddlers must have had the ability to spontaneously create

Figure 10E. Runolaulu Variants. Four versions of the same runolaulu used to teach folk music students variation and oral composition. These runolaulu texts were collected from different singers in Karelian villages in 1832-1877. They all tell the same story, using similar phrases, in slightly different ways. Only the first few lines are shown here.

SKRV I.1.393	<p>Vaka vanha Väinämöinen Teki tieolla venettä, Laati purtta laulamalla; Uupu kolme sanoo Salmalla veneen sakaran, Vene koan kokkapuusa. Kalkutteli kalliolla, Ei kirves kiveen käytiä. Kasa hietra kallioon. Käksi seppo Ilmarisen: "Mäne saamaan sanoja Antero Vipuisen suusta." Ei saanut sanoja tietä, Paljon hanhia hävitti, Paljon matkoja pahoja.</p>	SKRV I.1.392	<p>Oli vanha Väinämöine, Tietäjä ijän ikuine Teki tiijolla venettä, Laittoi purtta laulamalla; Uupui kolmea sanoo Peähän purren peästäksensä, Parraspuita pannessaha.</p>	SKRV I.1.395	<p>Tuop' oli vanha Väinämöini Teki tiijolla venettä, Loatipa purtta laulannalla; Uupupa kolmie sanoo, Viittä virren tutkalmutta Parraspuita pannessaha, Peähä laijan peässsähä.</p>	SKRV I.1.387	<p>Oli vanha Väinämöini Teki tiijolla venettä, Loati purtta laulamalla. Uupu kolmie sanoo, Viittä virren tutkalmuo, Parraspuita pannessaha, Peähä laijan peässsähä.</p>
<p>Läksi vanha Väinämöinen, Läksi saamaan sanoja Antero Vipuisen suusta. Ei saanut sanoja tietä, Paljon hanhia hävitti, Paljon matkoja pahoja.</p>	<p>Läksi soamahan sanoja, Joukon tappoi jouhtenia, Parven hanhia hävitti, Ei soanut sanoakana, Eikä puoltana sanoo. Läksi soamahan sanoja, Ortti laumah lampahia, Kinkon kierävillasia, Koppi koppelot mäeltä. Tempoi teeret kankahilta. Ei soanut sanoakana, Eikä puoltana sanoo.</p>	<p>Itse noin sanoiksi virkki: "Ois tuola kolme sanoo, Viis ois virren tutkalmutta Hauvin on suussa, lohen peässä, Joukosen kynän nenässä, Ei ole sieltä ottamoina Mahittoman, muissittoman, Kunnottoman, tiijottoman."</p>	<p>Itse noin sanoiksi virkki: "Mistä soan sanoo kolme, Viisi virren tutkalmuo? Ois tuola sanoo kolme, Viis ois virren tutkalmuo: Lohen suussa, hauvin peässä, Joukosen künän nenässä, Petralaukan peälajella. Ei ole sieltä ottamoina, Tavattoman, tiijottoman, Mahittoman, muissittoman." Läksi vanha Väinämöini; Astu päivän helkütteli Naisten neuulojen nenie. Toisen astu torkutteli Miesten miekkojen terie. Jopa peänä kolmantena, Iltana erähäntenä Suuhu Antervon Vipusen.</p>				
<p>Läksi vanha Väinämöinen, Läksi saamaan sanoja Antero Vipuisen suusta. Ei saanut sanoja tietä, Paljon hanhia hävitti, Paljon matkoja pahoja.</p>	<p>Läksi soamahan sanoja, Astui päivän, astui toisen, Jopa päivän kolmannenki Naisten neuulojen nenä, Miesten miekkojen teriä. Toinen jalka tuukahtavi Vasemitse vaapahtavi Suuhun Antervo Vipusen, Suuhu Antero Vipuisen</p>	<p>Tuopa se vanha Väinämöini Lähtövi sanoja soamah, (Viittä virren tutkalmutta). Astupa päivän helkytteli Miesten miekkojen terijä; Toisenpa päivän torkutteli Miesten tapparan terijä. Jop' on peänä kolmantena, Iltana erähäntenä, Naisten neuulojen nenä. Torkahtihp' on toini jalka, Vaapaht' on vasenki jalka Suuhu Antervon Vipusen.</p>	<p>Itse noin sanoiksi virkki: "Ois tuola kolme sanoo, Viis ois virren tutkalmutta Hauvin on suussa, lohen peässä, Joukosen kynän nenässä, Ei ole sieltä ottamoina Mahittoman, muissittoman, Kunnottoman, tiijottoman." Tuopa se vanha Väinämöini Lähtövi sanoja soamah, (Viittä virren tutkalmutta). Astupa päivän helkytteli Miesten miekkojen terijä; Toisenpa päivän torkutteli Miesten tapparan terijä. Jop' on peänä kolmantena, Iltana erähäntenä, Naisten neuulojen nenä. Torkahtihp' on toini jalka, Vaapaht' on vasenki jalka Suuhu Antervon Vipusen.</p>				

polskas while performing them. Similarly, Timo Alakotila, SibA teacher and composer and harmonium player for JPP, has developed a method for teaching the improvisation of pelimanni tunes. He has students learn several different standard pelimanni licks, motifs, and phrases that can be used interchangeably over specific chord changes [see figure 10F]. Students practice these licks and phrases until they are proficient and familiar enough with the material to create their own.

These are fairly successful techniques that familiarize students with several melodic and poetic possibilities, and attempt to simulate folk music's original *kuulonvarainen* and *muistinvarainen* state. *Kuulonvarainen* and *muistinvarainen* can most accurately be translated as "aural storage based" and "memory storage based," respectively. The performance of music that is stored in aural memories is shaped by the nature of memory storage and recall. Psycholinguistic research has shown that people remember and recall meaning, an abstraction of content, much better than surface form, or the exact wording or notes that they heard (Fletcher 2004). People are also most likely to remember order sequences, familiar units, or "chunks," such as small melodic motifs or poetic phrases, as opposed to individual pitches and sounds (Campbell 1991:84-85; Hoffman 2002). Thus, in an aural memory storage based tradition, musicians and singers are more likely to reconstruct a piece using familiar chunks and phrases – what Lord called formulas – according to their understanding of the overall meaning and content, as opposed to recalling a piece word by word or notes by note, just as Milman Parry and Albert Lord demonstrated (Lord 2000 [1960]). Musicians are also likely to compose/improvise/invent new passages or sections to replace ones they may have

Figure 10F. Teaching material devised by Timo Alakotila to teach spontaneous composition-performance of pelimanni music. Each line provides sample melodic fragments that can be fit into the same melodic phrase and chord changes. Courtesy of Timo Alakotila.

The image displays two systems of musical notation, each consisting of five staves. The notation is in 3/4 time and features a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The first system is marked with a box containing the letter 'A' and includes chord markings for Dm and A. The second system includes chord markings for Dm, B_b, (Gm), A, and Dm. Both systems utilize various rhythmic patterns, including eighth and sixteenth notes, and feature triplet markings (indicated by a '3' over a group of notes). The notation is presented in a clear, black-and-white format suitable for teaching.

B F C Dm B \flat (Gm) A

F C Dm B \flat (Gm) A Dm

forgotten. In our contemporary text-based and recording-based culture, the extensive variation that resulted from these aural memory based processes has been lost. The techniques designed by the department to manipulate students' memories are an attempt to fight the staticizing effects of notation and recordings on music and reclaim the personal variation and uniqueness inherent in aural-memory-based tradition.

Minimalistic Motific- and Variation-Based Free Improvisation, Contemporary "Ancient" Music

Free improvisation is used extensively in contemporary folk music. Minimalistic free improvisation, often consisting of unstructured improvised melodic and motific variations, is often used to embody the process and capture the essence of ancient folk music.⁵

Though there are no full-length transcriptions or recordings of historical extended free improvisations, there are narrative accounts of free improvisation in the field journals and memoirs of nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century folk scholars.⁶ The following description appears in field notes of the scholar O. A. Hainari from 1882:

⁵ I use the term "minimalism" as a descriptive adjective of musical characteristics, without direct reference to the Minimalist school of composers. Though there are stylistic similarities, Finnish contemporary folk musicians have not, to my knowledge, been directly influenced by Minimalist composers such as Phillip Glass. In general, most avant-garde, experimental, and minimalist techniques utilized by folk music students come directly from Heikki Laitinen (who himself was most influenced by his teacher of contemporary art music composition, Erik Bergman).

⁶ At the A. O. Väisänen Symposium in June 2004, Heikki Laitinen told the story of some early folk music researchers traveling through the Finnish countryside. They stopped in a town where they encountered an old man playing one piece on the kantele for hours. They traveled on, and when they passed through the town again three days later, the old man was still playing the same piece. The scholars' transcription of his music, though it shows tremendous variation, accounts for less than 20 minutes of playing time. Heikki posed the question, how do we as contemporary musicians see through this incomplete musical staff and play that piece the way it would have been played?

We wanted to hear a kantele player from Lahti Village near Lake Säämäjärvi whose skill had been praised. After playing a few dances, the man fell silent, claiming that he knew no more. We left him in peace and thought that he had been praised for nothing. The kantele player was forgotten. He sat alone in a corner with his kantele on his lap staring out ahead of him. Gradually, he began to play softly, at times faster with a greater display of feeling and warmth, at others so softly that he was barely audible. When we then said that that was exactly what we had been wanting to hear and asked what it was, he said that it was nothing, that he had just been expressing himself ["playing his own power"]. Then we let him be in peace, each going about our own business. But the kantele player, no longer asked any questions and being left to his own devices, played throughout the evening, and what a pleasure it was to listen to him (Relander 1917, my translation).

Many contemporary folk musicians have been inspired by these accounts to attempt to re-create an imagined historical music, even the imagined ancient music of a thousand years ago, through free improvisation.

Though the music itself is newly created through the contemporary musician's improvisation, liner notes and concert programs often include mentions of "musical journeys through the past," "our ancient music," and "historical moods." Musicians who specialize in this type of historical re-creation through improvisation often perform on limiting traditional instruments (such as small kanteles or five-hole flutes), stick to traditional melodic modes, and play in a very minimalistic style. Before creating their own music they often go to archive recordings to study the use of modes, melodic contours, melodic variation, and ornamentation of respected traditional players from long-ago. Their archive studies combined with their minimalistic approach often gives this freely improvised music a fairly traditional sound.

Arja Kastinen, one of the first to receive a doctoral degree from the Folk Music Department, evokes the field research of early scholars for inspiration and historical

continuity in her contemporary improvisations. In the liner notes to her album *Iro* (1995) Arja quotes an excerpt of the above description, taken from the memoirs of scholar O. A. Hainari, of a nineteenth-century kantele player improvising for hours. The entire CD is one long continuous free improvisation of subtly changing variations and textures performed on a fifteen-string kantele modeled after an instrument she found in a museum (with improvements made from her acoustic research). (See the opening vignette from the introduction to this dissertation for a description of Arja's playing.) Many contemporary folk musicians consider the work by Arja Kastinen and Leena Joutsenlahti to be the best contemporary interpretations of ancient Finnish music.

Figure 10G contains a musical transcription of a small excerpt of variation-based improvisation on the birchbark shepherds' flute (*tuohihuilu*) by Leena Joutsenlahti, SibA alumna and teacher. In the liner notes to Leena's album *Makale* (1999), from which the excerpt in figure 10G is taken, Heikki Laitinen writes:

Makale [the album] is a journey: a road and another road. Endless variations without a theme, melodies soaring over a fundamental note in the lowest depths, aesthetics that have withstood the test of millennia. Poised on the forest path with her pipe is a shepherdess, listening to the echo. Taking her wooden flute from its pouch she confides to the echo her joys and sorrows. A versatile musician: composer, arranger, singer, multi-instrumentalist (there are almost ten of them on this record). A matchless teacher of imaginative variation and improvisation.... This first disc of her very own contains memories of many journeys.

The life of anyone interested in ancient shepherd instruments is not an easy one: the archives are silent, the facts are scattered far and wide. There is little left to catch hold of. Thus the only alternative is to use one's imagination and to journey into the past, to drink in the archaic features of the Finnish mind. Along the way the traveler may be astonished to encounter peasant women as musicians. From the cliffs bounced the melodies heard by [scholar] Carl Axel Gottlund at Juva in 1815 as the maidens played upon their horns, and as they whistled in the forest. Or as

the same lasses set the pace for the dancing at a wedding, while "the peasant lads drank themselves under the table, a few played cards and a few sang the poems of ancient times."

And what about Liisa Pessi, a woman of [age] 72 whom [scholar] A. O. Väisänen met and photographed and whose melodies he jotted down a hundred years later on the Karelian Isthmus, where "as the sun lights up the evening sky, the shrill dance tunes played by the shepherds on their horns can be heard kilometres way amid the tinkling of the cowbells." A firm grasp of the horn and a farseeing gaze: she could be a great-great-grandmother, at least in dreams and music.

The chaos along the road has given way to an ordered musical world: emotion and will, pure and burning, cleansed by the heat. Maybe this world is an unusual one.... Archaic mindscapes in the modern world. [The piece] *Valsi* (Waltz) is like a description of this whole journey of the imagination: the coarse, archaic sound of the beginning being molded by the power of imagination into a pure echo of eras past and the joyous asynchrony of instruments in consort. It is strange how only the very latest music technology [e.g. digital feedback/loop delay machines and studio effects] seems to be able to capture the most archaic sound of all, to accompany the mind on a journey into the past.

The lifelong project of Leena Joutsenlahti to gain insight into the essence of variation relying solely on the memory [i.e. the aural-memory-storage-based variation discussed above], and to appreciate the aesthetics and feel for life of [nineteenth-century musician] Liisa Pessi and the lasses at Juva [documented by Väisänen] has produced music impossible to describe in words...⁷

⁷ This English translation was provided in the liner notes to *Makale*. However, in clauses where the English version differs from the Finnish version, I have substituted my own translation, which more accurately captures the connotations of the original Finnish version.

Figure 10G. Free improvisation based on variation of melodic motifs by Leena Joutsenlahti.

The image displays a musical score for free improvisation, consisting of four systems. Each system features two staves: a treble clef staff for the tuohihuilu (labeled 'tuohihuilu', 'tuo.', or 'tuo.') and a bass clef staff for the harmonium (labeled 'harmonium', 'har.', or 'har.'). The tempo is marked as $\text{♩} = 105$. The time signature is 3/4. The first system shows the initial melodic motif on the tuohihuilu and the accompaniment on the harmonium. The subsequent systems show variations of the melodic motif on the tuohihuilu, while the harmonium accompaniment remains consistent. A triplet of eighth notes is indicated by a '3' above the notes in the fourth system.

tuo.

har.

tuo.

har.

tuo.

etc...

har.

Heikki's romantic description of Leena's musical journey underscores the importance of both imagination and historical scholarship in the contemporary improvisation of ancient music. The imagining of historical sounds, of the lives and creative processes of musicians of the past, and of the "archaic Finnish mind" allows contemporary musicians to "journey" into the past, to explore how their heritage is meaningful to them, and to express their connection with these imagined pasts in their own personal way. Just as early music revivalist and musicologist Richard Taruskin argued, without the use of imagination, we would not have a musical performance but a documentation of the (incomplete) state of knowledge (1982:343).

The frequent invocations of scholarly depictions of historical musicmaking lend legitimacy and authority to the historical continuity that contemporary musicians claim their improvisations manifest. Minimalistic motivic- and variation-based free improvisation is thus a means of connecting the present to the past in an individual, creative, personally expressive way.

Avant-garde Free Improvisation

Improvisation in contemporary folk music does not stop at the reinfusion of variation into traditional music, the re-creation of oral composition, and journeys into the creative minds of the ancients. Though they acknowledge and value their heritage and past, contemporary folk musicians want to engage the present, wish their music to live in the present and be relevant to people today, and desire to create a future for folk music. Unstructured free improvisation, legitimized by the free improvisation practiced by

historical folk musicians, is a primary means for ushering folk music into the present and future by bringing contemporary elements into folk music. In principle, Finnish musicians feel that free improvisation should have no boundaries or limitations and should be shaped by each individual's own personal expressive needs and wishes. In actuality, though individual musicians do have tremendous freedom to pursue whatever kind of music or improvisation they desire, there is a very strong emphasis on experimenting with avant-garde styles and techniques in the Folk Music Department.

Heikki Laitinen is responsible for the performance and pedagogical use of avant-garde free improvisation in the department. Before becoming involved in folk music, Heikki was a composer of contemporary art music. He studied composition at the Sibelius Academy under the avant-garde modernist composer Erik Bergman, who employed improvisation, aleatoric indeterminate and chance techniques, a variety of unconventional vocal techniques and vocal sounds, speech and nonsense syllables, and other twentieth-century compositional methods. Bergman was also interested in world music and "primitive music," and believed that the ancient could be avant-garde.

Heikki has incorporated many of the ideas he learned from Bergman into his teaching at the Folk Music Department. Several of the department's vocalists, most notably teachers Anna-Kaisa Liedes, Outi Pulkkinen, and Heikki himself, have been exploring vocal techniques from other genres and cultures as well as nonmelodic vocal and oral sounds (sometimes referred to as *ei-laulu*, or "non-song"). For example, Anna-Kaisa opened her doctoral concert in October 2002 with an improvised vocal enactment of *Äänen synty* ("the origin/birth of voice/sound") which consisted of: heavy slow

rhythmic breathing; the sounds made in the back of the throat when air barely passes over the vocal chords; harsh throaty rasping, growling, and moaning with echo effects; ethereal high-pitched sighs that dropped into monster-like groans; clicking noises made by the tongue and cheek with the resonant chamber of the mouth changing shape to create different timbres; noises resembling the alien speech of a science-fiction movie; spitting/hacking up sounds; reverberation effects to add a spacious feel to the sound; and the use of a loop-delay device to impose moaning and breathing over the clicking sounds. After seven minutes of vocal and oral sounds building up in "The Birth of Voice," the first distinguishable tonal pitches were sung, gradually growing into an elegant, hypnotic pentatonic melody sung on the nonsense syllables of Anna-Kaisa's own made up language and performed with loop-delay to create a polyphonic effect. This is a perfect example of Erik Bergman and Heikki Laitinen's contention of how the (imagined) "ancient" can be avant-garde.⁸

This concert of Anna-Kaisa's, which fulfilled a requirement for the doctoral degree in the Folk Music Department, was entitled *Maailma on Ääni, Ääni on Maailma*, or "the world is voice/sound, the/a voice/sound is the/a world" – a difficult title to translate into English because there are no articles in the Finnish language, and *ääni* means both "sound" and "voice." In most musical contexts the Finnish term for "song" or "singer" is used when English speakers might say "voice" or "vocals," so the use of the term *ääni* instead of *laulu*, song, may be used to emphasize that the singer is going into

⁸ Similar work by Anna-Kaisa Liedes can be heard in her doctoral project "Sound Images" which can currently be heard online at www.etno.net (from the main Etno.net page, follow the links "in English," "Recordings," "Anna-Kaisa Liedes: Sound Images").

the realm of vocal sounds beyond the conventions of what is usually considered to be a song. In a vocal improvisation (*ääni improvisaatio*) class in the Folk Music Department, Outi Pulkkinen taught us to experiment with, and to become comfortable with, a large variety of sounds besides conventional singing that we could make with our voices, mouths, and throats. Avant-garde free improvisation and experimental techniques are not limited to vocalists [see Figure 10H for a photo of Minna Raskinen using a paintbrush to create unconventional sounds on her kantele and Figure 10I for photo of kanteles being played in several unusual ways in the Electric Kantele Project].

Figure 10H. Minna Raskinen uses a paintbrush to create unconventional sounds on her kantele. Helsinki, Finland, 2004. Photo captured from video by J. Hill.



Figure 10I. Contemporary folk musicians experiment with unconventional ways of playing the kantele in the Electric Kantele Project. Kaustinen, Finland, 2002. Photo by J. Hill.



The avant-garde improvisation of contemporary folk musicians is frequently unstructured, unmetered, and atonal (or nontonal) in nature and may make extensive use of dissonant tone clusters and unconventional and unpitched sounds (thus making it particularly difficult to transcribe in an accurate and meaningful way). Most of it occurs in live performance situations, often in front of small audiences in formal venues in Helsinki or at the Sibelius Academy itself. It does not often appear in recordings; the same artists tend to choose more more conventional folk music, or folk music fused with genres such as techno/electronica, popular music, world music, or jazz – sounds that are more palatable to consumers than the avant-garde – for their more commercial endeavors.⁹ The most illustrative examples of avant-garde improvisation that are available on commercial recordings include Anna-Kaisa Liedes' *Ääni/Merkki*,

⁹ That much avant-garde contemporary folk music is unpalatable to consumers contradicts contemporary folk musicians' ideology that folk music should be relevant and meaningful to contemporary society. However, it is an assertion of their desire to be cutting-edge, technologically advanced, and contemporary.

Voice/Signal (2002), the World Mänkeri Orchestra's *Inky Joy* (2004), and the documentary video *Matka Muinasiin Ääniin* ("Journey to Ancient Sounds/Voices," Metsola 2000) featuring Heikki Laitinen. Some musicians will dedicate entire pieces or concerts to avant-garde improvisation, while others seamlessly blend it with traditional material, though this takes great skill. Sanna Kurki-Suonio's album *Musta* ("Black/From Me," 1998) and Kimmo Pohjonen's album *Kielo* ("Lily of the Valley," 1999) contain exquisite blends of avant-garde and more traditional folk elements, as does Värttinä's album *Ilmatar* (Goddess of the Air, 2000). (See also the description of Outi Pulkkinen's avant-garde improvisation in the second opening vignette in the introduction to this dissertation.)

There has been disagreement over whether some of these avant-garde improvisations should be considered folk music. For example, not everyone feels that the free jazz-sounding improvisations and indeterminate avant-garde compositions of the World Mänkeri Orchestra should be called folk music, even though they perform on handmade ancient Finnish wind instruments (plus drumset and bass) [see figure 10J for a photo of Pekka Westerholm from the World Mänkeri Orchestra improvising on a simple folk clarinet he built]. When I asked Hannu Tolvanen, Folk Music Department staff, he suggested that "maybe it should just be called music" (personal interview, April 20, 2004). However, when Riitta-Liisa Joutsenlahti, Folk Music Department staff and alumna, drove me to her hometown of Nakkila to visit Pekka Westerholm's studio and a rehearsal of the World Mänkeri Orchestra, she adamantly argued that the music they make is folk music because they play *omasta päästä*, just as the traditional folk flautist

Teppo Repo did.¹⁰ To play *omasta päästä* literally means to play music that comes "from one's own head" – an expression frequently used to refer to improvising and composing in the moment.

Invoking the method of performance of the famous master wind player Teppo Repo provides the legitimacy and authority of historical continuity, and demonstrates that the process of creation, *omasta päästä*, is the defining feature of folk music. No matter what sounds they create, as long as they play "from their own head," contemporary folk musicians have a *carte blanche* to play anything. Even if they consider their music to be "just music," they still strongly self identify as folk musicians. As Jouko Kyhälä stated, "it might sound like we are playing free jazz to someone, but I still think I am a folk musician... I don't care then what other people say, but I feel it" (personal interview, October 16, 2003).¹¹ Despite individual discrepancies and disagreements over the definition of its music, the World Mänkeri Orchestra was invited to represent the evolution of the Folk Music Department in one of its twentieth anniversary celebration concerts held at the Sibelius Academy [see figure 10K for a photo of the WMO in concert at SibA]. Furthermore, the majority of these avant-garde improvisations have come out of the Folk Music Department, and satisfy requirements for degrees in folk music.

¹⁰ See Louhivuori and Nieminen 1987 for information on Teppo Repo's background, instructions on how to build and play his shepherd flutes, and transcriptions of his improvisations.

¹¹ There is a well developed history of Finnish jazz and an acknowledged Finnish jazz style, so a distinction between folk music and jazz is not a distinction between Finnish vs. non-Finnish music, but rather one of musical heritage, approach, and creative freedom. In the Sibelius Academy Jazz Department, and in the Helsinki jazz scene, improvisation tends to be highly structured harmonically and metrically and in a predominately cool jazz idiom. The Finnish jazz community does not encourage experimentation, free improvisation, or individualism nearly to the extent that the contemporary folk music community does.

Figure 10J. Photo of Pekka Westerholm from the World Mänkeri Orchestra performing avant-garde free improvisation on a simple folk clarinet that he built. Helsinki, Finland, 2004. Photo captured from video by J. Hill.



Figure 10K. The World Mänkeri Orchestra performing at the 20th anniversary concert of the Sibelius Academy Folk Music Department. Helsinki, Finland, 2000. Photo captured from video by J. Hill.



The Folk Music Department uses avant-garde free improvisation primarily as a pedagogical tool. Not all contemporary folk musicians choose to pursue and develop avant-garde free improvisation, but most are significantly influenced by it during their study at the Academy. Department chair Kristiina Ilmonen explains some of the ideology and results of their teaching methods:

[JH: What do you think is the best way to create this ideal musician who is knowledgeable about tradition and can create his or her own new creative things? How do you go about teaching that to your students?]

I think one very central and very essential thing is improvisation, which is present in every instrumental subject that we have. Improvisation comes up with your main subject, ensemble playing, with everything else. Also with your side instrument and singing. It has very many forms from very subtle *muuntelu* [variations] around a melody or rhythm or theme, and it goes on until avant-garde very free improvisation. We believe it is a pedagogical tool most of all. So we don't want that we only would [teach] people to become free avant-garde specialists, that's not our goal. But we want that everybody tries it, in order to make it a tool of their own. We believe that it is a very good way of finding elements in yourself as a musician that you would not find without improvisation. So through improvisation, you can find your personality as a musician. You get courage to do things you wouldn't do otherwise. And also you get a wider tool box as a musician. You find ways to express yourself and courage to express yourself, [which you can] also [use when playing] traditionally. It doesn't have to be very avant-garde or free. But when you have gone through this experience of making free improvisation, we think that you learn stuff from that process that you couldn't learn otherwise. So that's essential, improvisation.

[JH: Where did this idea of using free improvisation as a teaching tool come from?] I suppose, well, it comes from Heikki Laitinen, obviously. He was my teacher in ensemble playing. I started to study when the department started its third year [1985]. So it was quite in the beginning. And Heikki... somehow wanted to create very much improvised work, and we did kind of avant-garde experimental things with him....

In one big performance, we had an ensemble called Kirkuna, and it was a 7 or 8 day long performance in an art gallery in the center of Helsinki.... Every day we would be in the art gallery for 12 hours and all of the time

improvise all day, nonstop. So people would go backstage only to have a little bit to eat and drink and come back and improvise. And then we had this work called Kalevala Kantaatti in which each night somebody had to break his instrument, literally in pieces. I played violin at the time. I had a cheap violin in my solo and in the end of the solo, it was the assignment to break my instrument. And I still remember how I felt when I did it because it was the most frightening experience of my life. Because a musician doesn't normally break instruments. So even though it was a crap instrument – it didn't have any value at all – but still, when I broke it, it was something like an adrenaline rush that I have never experienced since. I was trembling. But it was that kind of – well we were not breaking stuff all of the time – but it was that kind of extreme. And I think that was for Heikki a beginning of a new kind of thinking. He had had Niekku [the first year ensemble started in 1983] do improvising also, but it was much, much more traditional. This was really like avant-garde stuff. I've also made several projects with him after that with modern dance and stuff, and it has evolved after that. But I think the Kirkuna projects were the start of this kind of pedagogy. Maybe he thought then that we learned something. [JH: And can you hear the difference in people after doing that kind of extreme experimental avant-garde stuff, can you hear the difference when they play folk music?] Yes, I think so. Maybe five or six years ago we created with Heikki and Jouko Kyhälä this intensive course called Esittämisen Muodot [forms/modes of performance/expression]. We go with students to Kallio-Kuninkala Center [a manor house in the countryside used by the Sibelius Academy for seminars and retreats] for a week. And it is very intensive from morning until night. We give them assignments to do every kind of improvisation. We don't break instruments anymore, but we do everything else. We also move our bodies; we have a dance teacher who is giving us improvisational tools in that way. I think it has done a lot of good things for many students. I think maybe 60 or 70% of all of the students have gone through that course. It is not obligatory, but many come through it. The thing that is central there is to be able to create a new relationship with your main instrument, so people move with their instrument and try to come up with new playing techniques and new ideas about their instrument. One very concrete example of what has come from that course is Riku Kettunen's new instrument *vantele* [a cross between a guitar, kantele, and a Madagascar instrument]. He was developing it a lot further after the course and he commissioned an instrument builder who made him this new instrument.... I have seen a lot of other things happen also.

I think it is really a very concrete thing when people put their mind and body and their whole self to this process, it will in 99% of the cases

produce something new — at least a new attitude. Of course, it is allowed that they can also say after the course, I don't want to do this kind of stuff. Many have continued to make very traditional music, but with a new spark in their eye. At least that's what I see. Also the feedback of the course has been very good; the students feel that they have gained something, it is not only in my mind....

Singing is also obligatory for every student. We feel that it is a tool that everybody has that has significance of its own. Everybody has his or her own voice, and it doesn't have to be trained to make music.... So you only have to sing with your voice however weak or however raw it would be — it doesn't matter the quality of the voice. What matters is that you find your own voice and you find your own courage to interpret songs with the voice, whatever it is. Also we feel that, well, improvisation here is also a strand, because vocal improvisation is something that is very strong in our department. I feel it is also something that teaches you a lot about music and about sound, about acoustics and about many things.

[JH: For example, what does it teach you?] As a very weak singer myself, singing was very problematic for me as a student. But gradually, when I started to do vocal improvisation, I found a way to express myself through singing in another way. And I feel it has been very, very relaxing or releasing of energy, so to speak. It gives power to my music also when I'm playing an instrument, not only when I'm singing. I feel that it releases powers inside you, really. And I have seen it in many people. Many times, people who are taught singing in grade school have a very, very problematic relationship with their voice because the teacher might have said that "you cannot sing, you should be quiet. If you go into choir, please only open your mouth and don't make a sound." There are thousands if not hundreds of thousands of people in Finland who feel like this, that they are not at all allowed to sing because they are such bad singers. And when I see these people, complete amateurs go to vocal improvisation courses or classes, I see changed personalities come out. Because it affects your whole image of yourself. It is so much related to your body somehow, your voice, and to your personality, the image of yourself that you have. I feel that if you gain the courage to use your voice, you gain a lot of self-esteem in the process. A lot of positive things (Ilmonen, personal interview, June 18, 2004).

The department uses avant-garde improvisation and vocal improvisation as pedagogical tools because the experience of doing it changes students' attitudes, perspectives, and self-perceptions. It breaks down the preconceived notions of what

music is, what counts as music, and what the standards are for judging music that many students had previously acquired from studying in the music school system and by being enculturated in mainstream Finnish and Western culture. It also gives students courage to express themselves (in my interviews, numerous teachers and students spoke of the importance of having the courage to perform their own personal musical creations). Former student Pauliina Kauhanen Syrjälä, who is now the current director and principal instructor at the Ala-Könni folk music program in Kaustinen, confided to me that the most powerful impact that her studies at the Sibelius Academy had on her was from the intensive avant-garde improvisation seminar (described by Kristiina above). She felt that the experience of learning to do experimental and avant-garde free improvisation has such a profound impact on you as a musician that, even if you do not continue to play it, it affects how you play traditional music; it gives you the courage and self-confidence to do smaller things on a more subtle scale in your music and in your performance (personal communication, July 15, 2004). It frees musicians from the fear of making mistakes, for they realize that anything goes (for example, when Leena Joutsenlahti would teach me tunes, if I ever made any mistakes in repeating the tune back to her she would always exclaim "wonderful variation!"). It opens up minds to new possibilities and to different sounds and gives individuals the permission to be different, to be weird – in essence, the courage and freedom to express themselves and be creative.

Chapter 11. Arranging

How do contemporary musicians transform an eight-measure runolaulu melody with five notes into a nineteen-minute musical work of art for a professional ensemble to perform in a formal concert hall? Much of the available traditional source material, from archive recordings and compilations of transcriptions by early scholars, consists of short, simple, monophonic tunes and song melodies – and contemporary folk musicians desire to create music that is artistic, professional, and suitable for concert halls and commercial albums. They also want to make folk music personal, expressive, creative, contemporary, and "alive." In many countries, including Finland, modern arrangements of traditional folk music have been shaped by Western art music conventions with the goals of "improving," "civilizing," "Westernizing," or "modernizing" folk music during romantic nationalist, "public enlightenment," or Soviet eras. While Western art music's chordal harmonies and aesthetics have influenced Finnish contemporary folk music, they are not the primary models or techniques upon which contemporary folk musicians base their arrangements. Instead, contemporary folk musicians mix and match freely and individually – and frequently orally and improvisatorially – from a toolbox of different arranging techniques that have been inspired by folk, world beat, electroacoustic, avant-garde, popular, jazz, and other musics from Finnish, Scandinavian, Finno-Ugric, Eastern European, and Western music cultures. Through these arranging tools they are able to mold traditional material into contemporary music, develop their music artistically, and express themselves personally.

Contemporary Folk Musicians' Viewpoints on Arranging

I asked contemporary folk musicians why and how they vary, modify, and arrange their music from the original sources. Several felt that it was a way to compensate for the incompleteness and anachronisity of traditional source materials, and to transform them into something more "interesting" and "suitable":

Performances on archive recordings are comparatively primitive and undeveloped, so they aren't performed like that today, rather the material is adapted for ourselves so that it is suitable for our times.

Usually the original version is just a copy of a raspy recording from an old magnetic tape or phonograph in which a large part of the contents and musical information may be destroyed. Also, variation is often precisely what is central to the style according to the customs from long ago.

In order to make them more interesting.

You usually have to arrange the traditional material, because the arrangements are not prepared. There is just, for example, a melody.

Most folk music melodies are intended to be performed only by one instrument. I have to make arrangements to use them with an ensemble.

I adapt and arrange the music to make it more interesting and more marketable.

Most contemporary folk musicians emphasized arranging as a means for them to make folk music personal according to their own styles, own tastes, own expressions, own preferences, and own ways. Through this personalization process, folk music becomes "living" and contemporary:

The tradition lives when it is changed, so you should put something of your own into each performance. Folk music has not been played – and hopefully will not be played – exactly according to notation, and this is precisely what makes folk music into something interesting.

I make the traditional material my own.

I want to interpret music according to my own viewpoint.

Sometimes I modify melodies so that they are more suitable to my own ears. At times arranging a piece in an ensemble changes it so much that the original melody can be difficult to recognize. I adapt them so that the pieces sound good to me, then the music is good and it is enjoyable to perform.

I develop them into my own pieces according to my perspective.

So that the band can get a personalized repertoire.

Players are different, so it is natural that they play pieces in their own way and not like how someone else does. When you learn pieces from a recording, you have to arrange them anyway to make your own music that is suitable for you.

I arrange them in such a way that they feel natural to perform.

I do it according to my own tastes.

Contemporary folk musicians explained that they approach the arranging process as follows:

Sometimes I want to express myself more. Using traditional music as a base, I improvise by adding parallel melodies and voice parts, adding chords and bass figures, varying heterophonically, and adding my own compositions in such a way that the traditional material becomes one thread in the tapestry.

I try to make living music from the basis of traditional melodies, to play the pieces in a new way, such that I add to them my own creativity, my own variations, and my own style of playing.

Often I want to use a melody as a basis for improvisation, other times I make an arrangement within the style or with some other meaning.

I try to preserve the style of the original, but I add the colors that make it feel good and natural. I do it according to my own perspective.

I make my own music more often than I make arrangements, but my own music is founded on traditional material.

I arrange a soundscape around the melody that accentuates different elements of the melody, such as its rhythm, text, or harmonic base.

I try to find the essential substance, the pith, of the melody. Then I carry it out freely.¹

The Folk Music Department's Pedagogical Approach to Arranging

The process of arranging in contemporary folk music is a highly individualized, personalized endeavor. There is no standard set of guidelines. The basic approach by the Folk Music Department is that each musician should have a toolbox, or a bag of tricks, of different arranging techniques that s/he can draw upon at will, and so the department exposes students to different possibilities and techniques that they can add to their toolbox. These techniques derive from styles within Finnish folk music itself (e.g. heterophony, melodic variation, and drones) as well as from other genres and the traditions of various cultures – there are no boundaries or limitations on what styles can be used nor whence they come.

Everyone is expected to have the ability to arrange. It is an important skill of the ideal folk musician, and is developed and honed in the department's ensemble courses, theory courses, and composition and arranging courses, which are all required.

In the ensemble courses, each member brings material to the group. They occasionally write out a complete arrangement in advance, but more often they work together as an ensemble to create an arrangement orally in rehearsal by improvising with

¹ The above quotations are my translation of responses to my questionnaire given by contemporary folk musicians who had studied or were studying in the Sibelius Academy Folk Music Department.

different arranging styles and techniques. Kristiina Ilmonen, who teaches ensembles in the Folk Music Department, explains how the courses are taught:

The case is that every teacher very much teaches in his or her own way. So we don't have only one right method. But thinking about the arrangements and how to make music from scratch, so to speak, in folk music studies we quite often use the method where somebody has to bring something, some idea, and then the band works together to make it a piece. They just have to have a reserve of ideas and tools in their mind, and if they don't have it already when they come here, they have to start to listen to music a lot. Improvisation is one method used here also. So you can just take the theme from the archive and start to work with it, improvising.... There are many ways to approach the thing. You can ask the student to make a final arrangement and have it ready for the ensemble – but we mostly like to work without notation, so that people develop the skill of making music without notation, because we believe that it is something that is very central to the music and the tradition, so that they don't try to make traditional folk music like classical music, like writing big notations with everything written clearly and every voicing spelled out very clearly. We want the arrangements to give freedom to the players also. But I believe, of course, when a person graduates from us, they should be able to do that [make pre-composed, notated arrangements] also. We have quite a high standard of what we want the folk musician to be: they should have almost the same qualities that a classical musician has, but more. They should have the notation skills, and they should have transcription skills, and every skill a normal professional musician skill has, but also a lot more. So it is a high standard. The ensemble teaching, well, people say it is the most difficult thing to teach (personal interview, July 16, 2004).

The Folk Music Department's theory class used to emphasize Western classical music theory and was taught by faculty from outside of the Folk Music Department for the first 15 years of the department's history. Only five or six years ago was the curriculum changed to require "folk music theory" (Laitinen, personal interview, June 18, 2004). Unlike folk music theory in Sweden which has been highly developed by Sven Ahlbäck, Finnish folk music theory is a somewhat vague and abstract concept, still in its developmental stages. In his theory class, Heikki Laitinen emphasizes listening to

archive recordings; the oral analysis of melodic variation, phrasing, and other musical elements that are important in folk music; and philosophical explorations of the concept of folk music (e.g. "what is folk music?"). Outi Pulkkinen, another theory instructor, has, for example, taught students about the melodic modes used in Finnish and Swedish folk music as well as in music traditions from Asia and other parts of the world, and then had students create their own modes and use them as the basis of compositions. The composition and arranging courses are not limited to techniques that are specific to folk music, but rather teach students to use Western harmonies and a variety of polyphonic styles from Eastern European and medieval traditions. In general, students are encouraged to listen extensively and use what ever ideas they have. When I questioned Heikki Laitinen about what cultures' musics are used most often as models for arranging, he fervently replied, "I want to emphasize that from the very beginning I have always said that, for me, it is important that *everything* is possible" (personal interview, June 18, 2004, my translation).

Arranging Techniques

The arranging techniques in the average contemporary folk musician's toolbox might be categorized into three general types of polyphony: (1) melodically based polyphony, which includes parallel and complementary melodic lines, or *stemmoja*, and expanded heterophony (though chords may result from these parts, the chordal harmony is subordinate to the melodic movement in this type of polyphony); (2) Western chord-based harmonizations; and (3) accompanying parts that are placed beneath, behind, or

around a more primary melody, such as drones, ostinatos, "grooves," and soundscapes.² Some types of polyphony adopted from other cultures' traditions (e.g. Mordvin, Setu, Bulgarian) fall across these categories. All of these techniques are often improvised, and improvisation, from melodic variation to the avant-garde, is also the most common arranging tool for solo monophonic music. Individual musicians and ensembles employ and combine the above techniques at will.

Expanded heterophony is a common technique for creating melodically based polyphonic arrangements. Heterophony, the simultaneous variation of a single melody, is found in traditional music, particularly singing. Drawing on this principle, individual singers or instrumentalists in a contemporary folk music ensemble will each improvise variations of the melody that intentionally differ to such an extent that they create a polyphonic texture with incidental harmonies and parts that give the impression of being independent. McNaiset's performance of "*Morsiamen itketys*" ("The bride's lament") on the compilation album *Folk Voices: Finnish Folk Song through the Ages* is an example of this expanded heterophony. In a call and response style common in traditional singing from Ingria (a Finnic culture located on the Baltic Sea near St. Petersburg), Anna-Kaisa Liedes sings a line of kalevala-meter poetry solo for the first half of the melodic phrase, and then that line is repeated by the choir on the second half of the melodic phrase. As the song progresses, the intervallic spacing of the heterophonic variations expands as individual singers vary the melody to greater extents until a relatively wide-ranged polyphony is achieved. The heterophony is intentionally expanded for musical effect so

² I use polyphony in a broad sense, as defined in the *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, to refer to music with more than one part with some or all of the parts moving to some extent independently.

that the maximal intervallic range and differentiation of parts occur at the musical climax of the song. The variations (that become parts) are entirely improvised. This technique of each musician simultaneously improvising melodic variations was used in several concerts of contemporary folk music by both instrumentalists and singers, as well as in many of the classes and lessons I attended in the Folk Music Department. For example, in a folk singing class, the instructor Outi Pulkkinen told us to "expand" our heterophony, with no further explanation of how or in what style to improvise the melodic variations, in order to add intensity to the final verses of a runolaulu in performance.

Another common melody-based polyphonic arranging technique is to play *stemmoja*, parallel or complementary melodic lines. This technique is used especially by fiddlers and vocal ensembles, but other instrumentalists employ it as well. *Stemmat*, a common practice in Swedish fiddling (the term *stemma* is also Swedish), became popular in Finland only in the twentieth century (Logrén 2001:5). *Stemmat* usually parallel the melody line a third or a sixth above or below, but may also create independent countermelodies, and are frequently improvised.³ Figure 11A is a transcription of a polska melody and stemma that I learned from Sanna Kurki-Suonio (SibA alumna and singer in the Finnish-Swedish band Hedningarna). The stemma is a third below the melody throughout the piece, except during cadences where they diverge and then end in unison.

³ Audio and video examples of *stemmoja* may currently be heard at www.tvfolk.net: see the songs "Eliaxen Speli" and "Cross-Country" performed by the band Frigg (these same examples also appear on the band's 2002 CD *Frigg*).

Figure 11A. Polska melody with *stemma* (harmonizing second melody line).

A

Melody

Ya dee-dle dum dee doo dee dum da dee-dle dee-dle doo

Stemma

tra dee -dle dee -dle tum da tum dai dee-dle doo Ya

dee -dle dum dee doo dee dum da dee-dle dee-dle doo

tra dee -dle dee -dle tum da dee -dle dee -dle dai doo

B

da dee dum dee dai dee dee - dle dum dee dai dee -

dee - dle dee dee dle dee dee - dle dee dum da dee - dle dee dee dle dee

da dee dum dee da dee dee dle dum dee dai dee

dum dee dum dee dee - dle dee dai doo

Stemmat also refer to the different voice parts in a choir. In vocal ensemble classes with Sanna Kurki-Suonio, as well as in the vocal ensemble I joined, Kuokkavieraat, we would frequently take a monophonic song and improvise stemmoja together until we found arrangements that we liked, which we would then set and continue to rehearse, in the fluid fixity of an oral-memory-storage-based manner of performing. Anna-Kaisa Liedes and Anneli Kont-Rahtola also described using similar processes in their vocal ensembles (personal interviews, 2004). As these multi-part stemmoja were spontaneously improvised, they were constructed according to what ever sounded good to the singers' ears.

What types of harmonies sound "natural" to musicians depends upon what they have been listening to and into what musical styles they have been enculturated. Thus, contemporary folk musicians' improvised stemmoja may draw from Finnish, Scandinavian, or Finno-Ugric folk conventions such as parallel lines (frequently in thirds or sixths) and drones (often on the tonic or fifth); from the harmonic conventions of Western art/church/popular musics (e.g. major and minor triads, leading tones preceding cadences, etc.); or even more dissonant harmonies such as frequent seconds (if the musicians have been heavily influenced by Setu or Bulgarian singing, for example).⁴ Contemporary folk musicians welcome rather than resist this spontaneous incorporation of non-folk and cross-cultural/intercultural elements. It is a primary way in which folk music is contemporized: musicians and singers improvise arrangements or variations that

⁴ Finno-Ugric influences are discussed in greater detail in Chapter 12. See figure 12B in the next chapter for an example of Mordvin polyphony with multi-octave drones and parallel thirds.

"naturally" draw from the contemporary musical styles to which the artists have been exposed.

A range of chord-based harmonies may be employed in instrumental folk music (especially by chord-playing instruments such as harmoniums, accordions, kanteles, mandolins, and guitars). Western classical music, church music, and popular music of different eras have influenced folk music for centuries, and many amateur and professional folk musicians have training or experience in one of these styles and adapt chord progressions derived from them into their folk music, particularly in the accompaniment of "new traditions" (e.g. pelimanni tunes, ballads, refrain songs, etc.). The following chord progressions are examples used in conventional arrangements of pelimanni tunes by the folk band Leikarit:

"Nuuksion Torpparin Polka"⁵

Part A ||: IV I V I IV I V I :||

Part B ||: I IV V I IV V I :||

"Lindbergin Sottiisi"⁶

Part A in G major ||: I ii V I IV V I :||

Part B in D major ||: I V I V I :||

Part C in E minor ||: i V i V V7 i :||

Hannu Saha's ten-string kantele guide (1986) teaches contemporary kantele players to improvise over some of the following chord progressions:

||: I IV V I :||

||: IV I V I V I V I :||

||: V I V I V I :||: IV I V I :||

⁵ Chord progressions for the traditional pelimanni polka "Nuuksion Torpparin Polka" arranged by Juhani Tiainen and performed by Leikarit on their album *Uusmaalaista Kansanmusiikkia*. For full transcription, see Tarkkanen 1985:19.

⁶ Chord progressions for the traditional pelimanni schottische "Lindbergin Sottiisi" arranged by Tapani Mäkinen and performed by Leikarit on their album *Hevostrokari*. For full transcription see Tarkkanen 1985:29.

Some contemporary players also incorporate jazz chord progressions (examples include guitarist Valtteri Bruun and harmonium player Eero Grunström), while others use more avant-garde tone clusters (such as accordionist Kimmo Pohjonen).⁷ See Figure 10F in the previous chapter for an example of Timo Alakotila's contemporary setting of chords to a pelimanni tune. (See also transcriptions of JPP's contemporary arrangements in Alakotila, Järvelä, and Järvelä 2003 and 2002.)⁸

Another frequently used technique in the contemporary folk musicians' bag of tricks is to build up drones, ostinatos, percussion/rhythms, grooves, and/or ambient sounds under, over, or around a traditional melody, creating an ambient backdrop. Musicians will frequently start with a drone (often on the tonic and/or fifth) and slowly add on other elements such as ostinatos and ambient sound effects, gaining density (and building intensity for the listener) with each layer that is added. These sounds may be acoustic, electronically manipulated or produced, or made acoustically in unconventional ways. Several musicians work with loop-delay machines or with sound engineers, which allow them to create these soundscapes live in solo performances. For example, in solo concerts kantele players may play a textured wash of sound and loop it back continuously, then create percussive rhythms by tapping the sides or backs of their electric kanteles with a wooden tuner, a paintbrush, or their hand and loop it also, and finally play improvised variations of the traditional melody over their soundscape.

⁷ Audio examples of Valtteri Bruun and his band Progele, and of Eero Grunström accompanying fiddler/singer Hanni-Mari Autere, may currently be heard at www.etno.net.

⁸ Audio and video examples of chord-based arrangements may currently be heard at www.tvfolk.net: see the pieces "Multaus," "Särö," "Takomistanssi/Ruunakummi," and "Antelope Island" by Frigg (also available on their 2002 CD *Frigg*), and "Tuikkoristikko" by JPP (also available on their 1988 CD *JPP*).

Others may layer several ostinatos, often manipulating them electronically before looping them back (Timo's album *Matka/Voyage* [2001] is an excellent example of a minimalistic layered ostinato looping technique – in the photo of Timo Väänänen in figure 11B, note the foot pedals under the large electric kantele that Timo uses to manipulate and playback his sounds).

Figure 11B. Photo of Timo Väänänen using the foot pedals under his large electric kantele to manipulate and playback his sounds. Helsinki, Finland, 2004. Photo captured from video by J. Hill.



Musicians may also create grooves, a continuous or repetitive rhythmic pattern using ostinatos, riffs, and/or percussion, in the style of rock, techno, jazz, pop, world beat, or something entirely new. Percussion instruments I have seen used include personalized drum sets; percussive sounds made unconventionally on acoustic instruments;

synthesizers; and live "ethnic" percussion such as frame drums, Cuban cajones, djembes, and other African drums (for an example of grooves made with ethnic percussion, see Gjallarhorn's album *Sjofn* [2000]).⁹ Ambient sound and effects may include breathing, growling, clicking, and other orally produced sounds and a wide range of electronically or electroacoustically produced sounds (for an example of soundscapes with various ambient noises see Värttinä's album *Ilmatar* [2000]). Soundscapes, particularly those with drones, loops, and layers that build with each repetition, are well-suited for pieces structured around a melody with numerous repetitions and variations.¹⁰

These soundscapes are backgrounds, accentuating and dramatizing, adding depth and mood, to more traditional melodies and texts. Most musicians feel that these soundscapes and arrangements do not compromise the traditional material.¹¹ As Jenny Wilhelms, lead singer of Gjallarhorn, explained when I asked her what she would say to the "tradition police" who might disapprove of her arrangements, "I feel that it is not a bad thing to make a musical sound pattern underneath a ballad. I would try to explain why I don't think it takes anything away from the function of the song" (personal interview, May 31, 2004). Soundscapes can, however, be used to make traditional music

⁹ Historically there were no drums in traditional Finnish folk music. (Shamanic frame drums have been used in Saami music, but – though they are sometimes appropriated by Finnish musicians – Saami traditions are separate and distinct from the Finnish.) For a video example of a soundscape containing drones and percussive grooves set to a song taken from a traditional archive recording, see Hedningarna's "Vottikaalina" currently available at www.tvfolk.net (the same example can also be found on Hedningarna's 1992 album *Kaksi*).

¹⁰ For a video example of a soundscape with ambient sounds and ostinatos, see Värttinä's "Äijö" currently available at www.varttina.com/videos (the same example also appears on Värttinä's 2001 CD *6.12*).

¹¹ Guitarist Roger Tallroth from the Swedish band Väsen and Swedish folk percussionist Petter Berndalen both feel that laying a strong repetitive rhythmic groove underneath a traditional polska melody (as several other Swedish contemporary Swedish folk bands do) can potentially obliterate the fine subtleties of rhythm and phrasing in the melody, and thus they advocate creating rhythmic accompaniments that closely follow rather than proceed the traditional melodies. Though the Swedish and Finnish scenes are related and connected in many ways, they are unique. I did not hear this viewpoint expressed in Finland.

sound more contemporary, feel more "ancient" (remember Heikki Laitinen's comment in the liner notes to *Makale* that "it is strange how only the very latest music technology seems to be able to capture the most archaic sound of all"), and appeal to wider audiences.

The most standard arranging tool of all is free improvisation. In a concert, many musicians will simply take a traditional melody and freely improvise variations of it for fifteen or more minutes. Though often done solo, it also works with ensembles: for her doctoral concert entitled "Silta" ("Bridge") on July 31, 2004, Minna Raskinen used transcriptions of archive recordings of simple melodies as the basis for free improvisation by herself on kantele (turning a six-measure melody with four notes into an eight and a half minute piece), in a duet with a four-note wood horn (transforming three six-measure melody variants into a nine minute piece), and in an ensemble with kantele, wood horn, voice, guitar, and upright bass (turning a three line monophonic kantele melody into a fifteen minute ensemble jam).¹² Musicians may also start from a folk melody, improvising variations until they depart drastically from the folk tune into avant-garde free improvisations (a practice that occurs much more frequently in live performances than in commercial recordings).

Soundscapes, grooves, ostinatos, loop delays, free improvisation, improvised variations, expanded heterophony, Finno-Ugric and Eastern European polyphonies, and Western chord-based harmonies are the main techniques that contemporary folk musicians use to arrange traditional source material and to "make folk music from

¹² The solo kantele piece "Soikkola" and ensemble jam "Suistamo-Helsinki" from this concert can currently be heard at www.etno.net.

scratch." However, the manner in which these arranging tools are employed varies from individual to individual. In addition to making the music sound ancient or contemporary, and appeal to different audiences, Chapter 12 will demonstrate how some of these different arranging styles can also be used to express and realize contemporary folk musicians' relationships with other cultures.

Chapter 12. Performing Nordic, Finno-Ugric, and Global Folk Music

Finland's contemporary folk music is not just Finnish; it is also Nordic, Finno-Ugric, European, and "global" folk music. Out of all of the performances of contemporary folk music that I attended during my eighteen months of field research, I found that, though 98% of the 67 contained Finnish folk music material in one form or another, a large percent combined, integrated, or juxtaposed it together with other types of music: 27% incorporated musical elements from Scandinavia; 27% from Finno-Ugric traditions; and 19% from non-Finnish, non-Scandinavian, and non-Finno-Ugric folk musics, including 15% from non-European traditional musics.¹

The processes of learning, incorporating, and performing musical elements from closely, and distantly, related cultures illuminate the nature of the perceived relationships that musicians have with these other cultures. Finnish contemporary folk musicians see themselves as belonging to the contemporary Nordic folk/world music scene and being a part of a contemporary culture shared by the Scandinavian countries. They feel that their roots and heritage can be found in the traditions of Finno-Ugric cultures; they identify as European; many of them would prefer to disassociate from Russia and some of the minorities living in Finland; and they feel that they belong to a global community and phenomenon of folk musicians. Identities, and the relationships that engender and define them, are experienced and expressed differently by each individual. However, there are some general trends that suggest that the way in which other cultures' musics are

¹ Furthermore, 36% of the concerts had experimental or avant-garde elements, 25% incorporated jazz elements, 10% included aspects of classical music, and 9% drew from a variety of popular music styles.

incorporated might correspond to the nature of Finnish musicians' relationship with those cultures.

Scandinavian Cultural Ties: Participants in the Nordic Scene

Finnish contemporary folk music is a part of a larger contemporary Nordic folk music scene. There are noticeable differences amongst the contemporary scenes in the Nordic countries: for instance, Finland has the reputation of being the most experimental, Norway has the stereotype of being the most traditional and "purist," Sweden is somewhere in between these two extremes, while the Danish scene is the most nonexistent (I did not encounter any Icelandic musicians or references to them in my fieldwork).² Also, Finnish contemporary folk music follows a more avant-garde art music model, Swedish contemporary folk music a more commercial world music and rock band model, and Norway has maintained a stronger solo tradition (to make a wide generalization and oversimplification).³ Furthermore, the development of contemporary folk music in each Nordic country has been distinct; for example, the Swedish folk

² These reputations reflect the opinions expressed to me by contemporary Nordic folk musicians of their colleagues from other Nordic countries and of how they believe they are perceived. (The judgment on Danish folk music may seem particularly harsh, but it was confirmed by Danish musicians from the contemporary band Svøbsk [personal communication July, 2004], and when I was living in Copenhagen in 1991-1992 I found folk music to be much less prominent than in the other Nordic countries.) There are of course several exceptions to these stereotypes, but they may nevertheless represent trends and tendencies. In an interesting contrast, the jazz scenes in the Nordic countries seem to be the opposite: Norwegian jazz has a reputation of being very free and experimental while the jazz scene in Finland is fairly conservative (most Finnish jazz is in the style of cool jazz, and the improvisations performed by Sibelius Academy Jazz Department musicians are extremely conventional in comparison to those of the Folk Music Department). It is almost as if each of these small countries has a need for a kind of music that gives total freedom of experimentation to its musicians, and the individuals in that country who desire that type of creative freedom are drawn to that type of music – but that is merely conjecture.

³ For more on contemporary practices in Norwegian music, see Goertzen 1997 and 1998. For more on Swedish contemporary folk music, or "Swedish world music," "folk chamber music," and "drone rock," see Lundberg, Malm, and Ronström 2003:148-171.

revival was spearheaded by youth in the liberal Green Movement while the Finnish revival was a part of a conservative rural movement dominated by an older generation. Nevertheless, Nordic folk musicians share much in common, such as the influence of institutionalization and professionalization (the Sibelius Academy Folk Music Department has parallel, if more recently established, institutions in Sweden and Norway), process-oriented ideologies (particularly in Finland and Sweden), and shared musical, cultural, and linguistic heritages. As a part of the Swedish Kingdom for over 700 years, Finland absorbed substantial musical and cultural influences from Sweden, and from the mid-twentieth -century onwards all of the Nordic countries have had strong political and cultural ties. Also, the Scandinavian languages are mutually intelligible and, though Finnish is not, all Finns are required to learn Swedish (in a sense, it is their ticket for participating in and belonging to Scandinavian culture, though many youth today feel more comfortable communicating in English).

Finnish contemporary folk musicians have their recordings marketed as Nordic music; collaborate regularly with Scandinavian musicians in bands, festivals, and conferences; and play and learn Scandinavian music as if it were their own. The North American distribution company North Side markets Finnish, Swedish, Norwegian, Danish, and Saami bands together as "Nordic Roots Music" and hosts an annual "Nordic Roots Festival" featuring bands from these countries. The North Side web site introduces the outside world to the "movement" of "extraordinary Nordic roots music:"

Welcome to the most exciting music movement on the planet. Scores of young musicians from Sweden, Finland, Norway, Denmark and Sámiland are taking the music and instruments of their ancestors and bringing new

ideas, arrangements, influences and instrumentation to an often lost art (www.noside.com).

A number of contemporary touring and recording bands have permanent members from multiple Nordic countries. For example, the band Hedningarna comprises vocalists from Finland and instrumentalists from Sweden, the band Frigg has string players from both Norway and Finland, and the band Gjallarhorn has members from both Finland and Sweden. The folk music departments of several different Nordic music academies hold conferences every year bringing instructors and students together to share curricula ideas and teaching methods and to perform together and for one another (there have been rumors of ideological conflicts at some of these conferences, such as stories of Norwegians leaving because the Finns were too experimental – as told from a somewhat biased Finnish perspective). Festival workshops and classes, such as those offered at the Haapavesi Folk Festival in Western Finland, are often taught by young professional Scandinavian folk musicians, and Finnish musicians share stages with Scandinavian musicians at festivals across the Nordic countries.

In the Sibelius Academy Folk Music Department, Scandinavian (particularly Swedish) music is regularly taught alongside Finnish music in classes and lessons. I learned about Swedish polska rhythms in the course "Finnish Folk Music 1" taught by Juhani Näreharju; sang Swedish songs in my voice lessons with Anna-Kaisa Liedes; learned Swedish and Norwegian tunes in my flute lessons with Leena Joutsenlahti; danced Swedish polskas and hambos in my Finnish folk dance class with Antti Savilampi; and sang Swedish, Norwegian, and Danish songs in my vocal ensemble directed by SibA students Veera Voima and Tytti Metsä. Prominent Swedish musicians

such as Sven Ahlbäck, director of the Folk Music Department in Stockholm, and Roger Tallroth, guitarist from Väsen, have been teachers at the Sibelius Academy, and it is not uncommon for students to spend a semester or year on exchange in another folk music department in one of the Nordic countries. The Sibelius Academy Folk Music Department Library is well stocked with recordings of all of the major contemporary Nordic folk musicians, and contains some older archival material from Sweden and Norway as well. Contemporary folk musicians frequently include Swedish polskas in their live concerts, on their recordings, and in sets for folk dancing.⁴ Singers will sometimes perform Swedish ballads, songs, mouth music/diddling, and herding calls, and a number of fiddlers have learned to play the Swedish *nyckelharpa* (keyed fiddle) and Norwegian Hardanger fiddle (*hardingfele*, ornate fiddle with sympathetic strings).⁵ Swedish melodic material and rhythms (and sometimes texts) are regular staples in the repertoire of "Finnish" contemporary folk music, and contemporary Nordic musicians are sources of inspiration and colleagues for collaboration.

⁴ Polskas are part of the traditional/historical Finnish folk repertoire. The genre was introduced into Finland from Sweden in the 17th and 18th centuries and subsequently became important in traditional weddings in Western Finland. Over time, as the polska was appropriated by the Finns, a specifically Finnish version emerged. Swedish polskas are easily distinguishable from Finnish polskas by their rhythmic features (in Finnish polskas the three beats in each measure are even and all accented, while in Swedish polskas only the first and third beats are emphasized and the beats are frequently of unequal duration, depending on regional and local styles). Finnish contemporary folk musicians frequently perform identifiably Swedish polskas as well as Finnish polskas. See Ramsten 2003 for information on the historical development of the polska and related Polish dances in Finland, Sweden, Denmark, Finland, and Poland.

⁵ Figure 11A in the previous chapter is an example of a Swedish polska, and Figure 9T is an example of a Finnish polska (though the largest differences – rhythmic phrasing and emphasis, subtle variations in pitch durations, and swing – cannot be captured in notation). Finnish folk music albums that contain one or more Scandinavian tunes or songs include, for example, Gjallarhorn's CD *Grimborg*, Troka's 1994 CD *Troka*, Niekku's 1989 LP *Niekku 2*, and Spontaani Vire's 1996 CD *Spontaani Vire*.

Seeking Roots in the Traditions of Finno-Ugric "Relatives"

For centuries Finns have sought their heritage and bolstered their identity with the traditions of Finno-Ugric peoples who live beyond Finland's national borders (as discussed in Chapter 4; see also Branch 1993:34-41). They feel that their ethnolinguistic ties make them "relatives," and research publications often refer to Finno-Ugric traditions as the traditions of "relative-peoples," or *sukukansat*. Finnish contemporary folk musicians do not identify as closely with the contemporary lives and cultures of their Finno-Ugric relatives as they do with their Scandinavian colleagues', but they turn to Finno-Ugric traditions to find their roots and to obtain sources of texts, melodies, polyphonies, and "moods" or "feelings."

Finns are most closely related to the Karelians and Ingrians, and nineteenth- and twentieth-century researchers extensively documented runolaulu texts from Ingria and Karelia.⁶ The main text source that contemporary singers use for kalevala-metered runolauluja is the 34 volume *Suomen Kansan Vanhat Runot*, The Old Poems of the Finnish People, which includes fourteen volumes of songs collected from Karelia (mostly Russian Karelia but also Finnish Karelia) and nine volumes from Ingria – in other words over two-thirds of the "old poems of the Finnish people" are from Karelia and Ingria. One of the five volumes of *Suomen Kansan Sävelmiä* (Melodies of the Finnish People) is also dedicated to runolaulu melodies from Karelia and Ingria. In 2003, the Sibelius

⁶ Ingria is located in Western Russia south of St. Petersburg (after World War II, many Ingrians immigrated to Finland, and Finnish scholars seized the opportunity to record more of their music). Parts of Karelia are located in Western Russia north of Lake Ladoga and to the eastern side of the Russian-Finnish border, and there is a region of Karelia in Eastern Finland.

Academy Folk Music Department offered a seminar in Ingrian singing that was team-taught by Heikki Laitinen and an archivist from the Finnish Literary Society (SKS); we met at SKS and listened analytically to and discussed old archive recordings of Ingrian singers (the previous year, the seminar had been on Estonian epic songs). Many contemporary performances and recordings that include kalevala material draw on sources such as these (see, for example, Anna-Kaisa Liedes's 1993 CD *Kuuttaren Korut* and Värttinä's 1993 CD *Seleniko*). In addition to using field collections and archival recordings, contemporary folk musicians also conduct their own field research. For example, members of the band Hedningarna traveled to Russia to meet "old runo singers, these old aunts who sang" in Viena-Karelia, and used this research to inspire the "feeling" in their 1999 album *Karelian Visa* (Kurki-Suonio, personal interview, July 4, 2004, my translation). SibA doctoral student Maari Kallberg has also conducted research with old women in Russian Karelia who still remember how to sing runolauluja.

It is generally accepted that Finns, Karelians, and Ingrians have a shared heritage, and it is likely that at least some of the traditions practiced (or in many cases not practiced, but still remembered) in Karelia and Ingria also used to be practiced in Finland but were preserved longer in Karelia and Ingria due to less rapid modernization and greater leniency of the Orthodox Church towards indigenous music. Finns also commonly adopt traditions from Karelia and Ingria that were not practiced in Finland, such as Ingrian vocal polyphony and laments. [Figure 12B, which is discussed at greater length later on, is an example of an archival recording of a polyphonic Ingrian song that

has been used as source material by contemporary bands Värttinä and Hedningarna.] In general, Finns use this material as if it were their own, part of their heritage.

Many Finnish contemporary folk musicians also feel connected and related to other Finno-Ugric peoples, some of whom are much more distantly related and may in fact be related only linguistically and not "ethnically" (in other words, they may not have a common origin and heritage – see discussion in Chapter 4 and Branch 1993:31). Early Finnish folk music scholar A. O. Väisänen (1890-1969) conducted field research trips in Setu country (in Southeastern Estonia), Mordvin country (in the Volga River Valley and the Ural Mountains in Russia), Veps country (in Western Russia), Saami country (in Lapland), Estonia, and Hungary, in addition to Karelia, Ingria, and of course Finland (see Pekkilä 1990). Finnish contemporary folk musicians, especially singers, have been particularly interested in the polyphonic traditions of the Setu and Mordvin peoples. Setu and Mordvin traditional choirs have been invited to Helsinki to give workshops at the Sibelius Academy Folk Music Department. These workshops have been special events with a somewhat exotic flavor: the visiting choirs typically come in full traditional costumes (which most hip Finnish and Swedish contemporary folk musicians would not be caught dead wearing); the Finns and their guests usually speak no languages in common and so translators are required (often an Estonian doctoral student who speaks both Russian and Finnish [most Finno-Ugric peoples in northeastern Europe are bilingual in Russian and their own Finno-Ugric tongue]); and, in the case of the Mordvins and Mari, the lyrics are in Cyrillic and must be transliterated for the Finns to read. Heikki Laitinen, voice teachers Anna-Kaisa Liedes and Outi Pulkkinen, and several doctoral

students in voice from the Folk Music Department have gone on research excursions to Estonia and Mordva, documenting and learning traditional songs and sharing their music with Finno-Ugric musicians. In the department's studio courses on traditional folk singing, Outi Pulkkinen taught us to sing Setu and Mordvin songs and also played us recordings of songs from Uralic peoples living in northern Siberia (for example, Nenets shamanic music). The repertoire of the vocal ensemble MeNaiset includes numerous songs from several different Finno-Ugric traditions (see their 1995 CD *MeNaiset*), and they invited the Mordvin choir Toorama to sing with them on their 2001 CD *Mastorava*. Figure 12A contains the first verse of a Mordvin song that MeNaiset recorded on *Mastorava* and that Outi taught to her students in the Folk Music Department. Many Finns have also been interested in Hungarian traditions (some study the Hungarian language and study abroad in Hungary), and Hungarian dancers are often invited to give workshops at the Kaustinen Folk Music Festival.

That Finns, Karelians, and Ingrians share a common heritage and historical traditions and that Finns are "relatives" of Mordvins, Setus, Hungarians, and even Nenets are the relationships (and Finnish, Balto-Finnic, Finno-Ugric, and Uralic identities) that are perceived – perhaps idealized – by Finnish musicians. The Others may or may not perceive these relationships in the same light. I spoke with Hungarian scholar Irén Kertész, who informed me that, while Hungarian scholars generally acknowledge a linguistic connection with the Finns, they are not nearly so enthusiastic about the "kinship" as the Finns are; she had been taken quite by surprise at the overwhelmingly

Figure 12A. "Kodamo moro" (first verse). Finnish contemporary folk singers learned this traditional Mordvin song and polyphony from the Mordvin choir Toorama.

♩ = 99

Solo

Ko - da - mo mo - ro mi - ni mo - ra

In loud resonant chest voices

a - ta - - - no di ko - da -

a - ta - - - no di ko - da -

a - ta - - - no di ko - da -

a - ta - - - no di ko - da -

a - ta - - - no di ko - da

a - ta - - - no di ko - da

a - ta - - - no di ko - da

This musical score is for a choir, featuring eight staves. The top four staves are in treble clef, and the bottom four are in bass clef. The key signature is one sharp (F#), and the time signature is 4/4. The lyrics are:

mo	ko - da -	mo	mo - ro	us - ta -
mo	ko - da -	mo -	mo - ro -	us - ta -
mo	ko da	mo -	mo - ro -	us - ta
mo	ko da	mo -	mo ro	us - ta
mo	ko da	mo -	mo ro	us - ta
mo	ko da	mo -	mo ro	us - ta
mo	ko da	mo -	mo ro	us - ta
mo	ko da	mo -	mo ro	us - ta

va a - - - ta - - - (ja) - no

va a - - - ta - - - (ja) - no

va a - - - ta - - - (ja) - no

va a - - - ta - - - no

va a - - - ta - - - (ja) - no

va a - - - ta - - - (ja) no

va a - - - ta - - - no

warm reception she received as a Hungarian when she traveled to Finland (personal communication, August 2002). Not all Ingrians feel a strong sense of belonging to the Finnish people. A web site advocating Ingrian autonomy strongly criticizes the Finns for assimilating the Ingrians into their Finnish identity:

The tendency to regard all Finno-Ugrian inhabitants of Ingria as a branch of the Finns, [and] their languages as Finnish dialects, is nothing else but a chauvinism of a greater nation.... The argument that the Finnish nation itself consists of several Finno-Ugrian components, is not any argument, because this nation has been already formed and needs no additional elements. To please the Finns is not a right way. On the contrary, this would be a well-known way of all stronger peoples who want to assimilate weaker peoples. The Finns are not any exception, although they all have been victims of their stronger neighbours many times (Kontinentai 2004).⁷

A relationship in which one group goes digging for their roots in the traditions of others (albeit related others) may often contain power imbalances, especially if the more cosmopolitan, affluent heritage-seekers may perceive the cultures in which "their" traditions have been better preserved as being less modernized, less developed, and perhaps even primitive.⁸ A similar process is occurring in Hungary and Romania, where urban Hungarian revivalists travel to less modernized Hungarian villages in Romania to

⁷ I have not spent any time among Ingrians and do not know how widespread such opinions are, if it all (the total Ingrian population is actually quite small: estimated at 15,000 in 1993 [Branch 1993:28]). I would imagine that the Ingrians who, in the aftermath of World War II, fled the Soviet Union and were welcomed into Finland might have a different opinion. However, it demonstrates that the Finnish point of view that Ingrian heritage is synonymous with Finnish heritage is not unanimously accepted.

⁸ It had occurred to me that this process might bear some resemblance to the social evolutionary anthropologists' and early ethnomusicologists' belief that the heritage of humankind could be uncovered in more "primitive" cultures – but it would perhaps be too bold to make such an analogy. Finns do not believe that Finno-Ugric peoples are at an earlier stage of evolution, but rather that their cultural evolution centuries ago was shared and that some of their sister cultures have simply been more sheltered from modernization and other agents of change.

research their roots and uncover the forgotten musical traditions of their heritage.⁹

Finnish contemporary folk musicians are attracted to Finno-Ugric cultures as sources of traditional material; they seem to be less aware of or concerned with the contemporary developments and fusions taking place in various Finno-Ugric contemporary folk music scenes. This underscores the Finns' primary interest in Finno-Ugric peoples as a means of connecting to their heritage instead of as peers and sources of contemporary inspiration. It contrasts starkly to Finnish musicians' relationship with Scandinavian musicians, in which Finns collaborate together with them in progressive projects, closely follow new developments in contemporary Scandinavian music, and take much inspiration from them.

While Finns feel a kinship with the Eastern European Finno-Ugric peoples, they do not share the same sense of affinity based on a shared *contemporary* culture that they do with Scandinavians. Finns, Estonians, and Russian minorities have found themselves in very different situations in the late 20th century, and have used folk music in different ways for different purposes. While Finland joined the Nordic Council and was struggling to be perceived as a part of Western Europe and disassociate from Russia as much as politically possible (while maintaining an official "friendship" with the USSR), Estonia and Finno-Ugric minorities in Russia were firmly under the oppressive political control

⁹ While doing field research in Hungary and Romania in summer of 2000, I visited a camp in a Hungarian village in the Kalotaszeg region of Transylvania in Romania where university students from Budapest and diaspora Hungarians from Canada and the former Yugoslavia had come to learn traditional music and dance from the local villagers. The internationally successful Hungarian band Muzsikás, like contemporary Finnish bands, has conducted field research in rural Romania (I have encountered them in a Transylvanian village as well as in Los Angeles). They have also utilized Béla Bartók's early documentation of Hungarian traditions in various countries as source material just as Finnish musicians have used A. O. Väisänen's research (see Muzsikás' *Bartók Album*).

and cultural manipulation of the Soviet Union. In the Baltics, the research and performance of "ethnographic" folk music served in the resistance against the ideology propagated by the Soviet-style semi-professional arranged folkloric ensembles, and the singing of folk and national songs by literally thousands of people together was so essential in bolstering anti-Soviet resolve that the Baltic independence movement was named the "Singing Revolution" (see Smidchens 1993). Since independence and the lifting of political obligations and necessities, Estonian folk musicians have had the freedom to experiment more and have taken much inspiration from both Finnish and Swedish contemporary trends, but the relationship between Finns and Estonians is still imbalanced.¹⁰ Finns are invited much more frequently to Estonian music festivals than Estonians are to Finnish festivals; Finns generally expect Estonians to understand and speak Finnish (but most Finns do not trouble to learn Estonian); and Estonian folk musicians seem to be much more knowledgeable about contemporary Finnish artists than vice versa. Those in a position of less power are more likely to learn the language, culture, and traditions of the more powerful culture, while those in the more dominant or hegemonic culture can often get along just fine knowing very little about with the cultures of those with less power – a situation quite common for minority groups and small countries. (A similar though somewhat lesser imbalance may also be found in the relationship between Finland and Sweden: Finns are expected to learn Swedish but

¹⁰ For examples of contemporary Estonian bands, see *Virre*, *Oort*, and *The Weekend Guitar Trio*.

Swedes rarely learn Finnish, and Finnish musicians tend to be more knowledgeable about Swedish folk music than Swedes are about Finnish folk music.)¹¹

The relationship between Finns and Estonians has been changing rapidly, however. The fall of the USSR opened up communication and travel channels, and Estonians's joining of the European Union in May 2004 has done so even more. The hostility and suspicion that Finns harbored towards Estonians in the early 1990s (as described by Ramnarine 2003) seems to have waned, for I encountered none in my fieldwork twelve years later. Estonia has made the most successful rapid economic recovery of all of the post-Soviet nations, due to Finnish aid and investments (changes made easier by its small size of roughly 1.5 million inhabitants).

Russian Karelian bands are frequently invited to perform at festivals in Eastern Finland, but many of them also seem to be in a different place than contemporary Finnish musicians. Though some contemporary Russian Karelian bands, such as *Vataga*, resemble Finnish contemporary folk bands in their combination of traditional instruments and historic material with free improvisation, live electronic manipulation, and fusions with contemporary music genres, others differs substantially. The Russian Karelian bands Santtu Karhu & Talvisovat and Folkswagon, for example, each contain heavy rock influence and perform extremely political lyrics (in one performance of Folkswagon the

¹¹ Many Finnish (and Estonian) contemporary folk musicians know enough Swedish tunes to be able to hold their own in a Swedish folk music jam session. However, when I attended the weekly folk music and dance club in Stockholm on different occasions, I found several Swedish folk enthusiasts to be comparatively ignorant about Finnish traditions. That my Swedish dance partners were surprised that an American could be a decent polska dancer was understandable, but their even greater surprise that I had learned the polska in Finland demonstrated a lack of basic knowledge about Finnish folk music and dance that astonished me, for polska is one of Finland's main music and dance genres. I did also encounter a number of Swedish musicians who were more familiar with Finnish music, and others who were quite curious about learning more about it (and especially to hear the comparisons of an "impartial" outsider) – but I still feel there is somewhat of an imbalance in the level of knowledge that each has of the other.

lead singer was prancing about with a large hammer and sickle flag wrapped about him like a cape) – I have never heard a Finnish contemporary band with an overt political message or politically explicit lyrics (though the emphasis on artistry above all else may be interpreted as an implicit political statement negating the former role that nationalist politics played in folk music).

Perhaps the main factor discouraging Finns from identifying with the contemporary cultures and developments in Finno-Ugric Eastern Europe is their desire to disassociate from Russia and be seen as an ultramodern, advanced Western society and a part of (Western) Europe. Nevertheless, the ethnolinguistic ties and common heritage that Finns perceive as shared with their Finno-Ugric kin is a fundamental aspect of their sense of origin, sense of belonging, and sense of self that is expressed in contemporary folk music.

Global Folk Music

In addition to affiliating with the contemporary Scandinavian scene and connecting to their Finno-Ugric heritage, Finnish contemporary folk musicians also feel an affinity with folk musicians from countries around the world. They imagine that folk musicians around the world share similar values, musical aesthetics, and approaches to musicmaking (such as oral tradition and personal style). Finnish contemporary folk musicians consider themselves members of a larger global folk music community, and enact that membership by collaborating with musicians from distant cultures and freely incorporating techniques and timbres from other cultures' music.

The Sibelius Academy Folk Music Department encourages this ideology and exposes students to folk and traditional musics from countries around the world. The department brochure advertises the folk music program proclaiming that its "musical bases have been both Finnish and global folk music traditions" and showing close-up photographs of a Finnish *pitkähuilu* (overtone flute) and an African mbira. Department chair Kristiina Ilmonen explained to me why she feels it is necessary to teach non-Finnish folk music:

it is important so that they get an idea that traditional music is about the same thing everywhere in the world. It always amazes me when I go somewhere very distant in the world and find music that rings a bell in my ear, it feels somehow kind of familiar. Also some of the same philosophical ideas apply for most of the traditional music throughout the world, such as improvisation and the personal sound of the player. The idea of the sound is mostly not very smooth; it has some rough elements. The same things that appeal to me in Finnish folk music, appeal to me also in African music and stuff. So when I went to Senegal I met this one-string fiddle player and he started to play the polska. It was not a polska, of course, it was African music. But to my ears, it was exactly like jouhikko music. So you always find something similar. When I was playing the flute for them, I played some Finnish polskas, and they said this is African music, how can you play African music?

So it is I think important to make the students realize that this is a community with no national borders at all. It is a community of music around the world, around the globe. So they should be able to relate as persons, as musicians to traditional musicians all around the world, not only in Finland, not only in Scandinavia. And I think it really, really enriches you when you can put things in your tool box also from other cultures. I think it is very, very narrow minded to think that there is something called pure tradition – there is no such thing. Violin came to Finland from elsewhere. Accordion came from elsewhere. Everything has come from someplace. So traditional music is not national at all – that's something we have to try to forget (personal interview, July 16, 2004).

Thus, in the eyes of the department, teaching up-and-coming Finnish folk musicians different folk music traditions from around the globe is: (1) a way to allow and encourage them to connect (and collaborate) with musicians from across the world and participate in the global folk music community; (2) a method for students to gain new ideas, inspirations, and techniques for their own musicmaking; and (3) a means for acknowledging the false construction of a nationally bounded folk music and breaking those boundaries down.

While Scandinavian and Finno-Ugric traditions are integrated, to greater or lesser extent, into the majority of courses in the Folk Music Department, there is no systematic approach for teaching world music, nor does it have an established place in the curriculum (or Department budget). Instead, the department often hires visiting artists who are passing through Helsinki to give short-term workshops and lessons.

Department staff Hannu Tolvanen describes the purpose and organization of such short-term classes:

HT: There are some courses [in world music]. There have been guest lecturers, guest teachers. For example, now there is an Oriental music course going on. This week there is a group coming from Petroskoi [a city in Russian Karelia]. When we had more money, for example, we had a guest teacher from Cuba teach Cuban percussion playing. But if we hear that there will be some interesting groups coming to Finland, and they show interest to come teach here, we quite often organize workshops.

JH: It is usually just a very short-term workshop?

HT: Yeah. Some days long.

JH: What do you hope that students will get out of a day- or week-long course?

HT: Well, maybe they find other oral worlds, or other ways of handling their instrument that would inspire them to play their own music. And it is always refreshing to hear different kinds of sounds.

JH: But it is not so much that students are actually learn how to play those other styles? But rather just to get inspiration?

HT: Yeah, maybe the inspiration is the main thing. Though there are a few that get hooked in these different musics, and they go on to play these things. (Personal interview, May 20, 2004)

A few ethnomusicologists (both Finnish and non-Finnish) have criticized SibA students and Finnish contemporary folk musicians in general for borrowing musical elements from other cultures without bothering to learn more in-depth about the source cultures and their traditions. One European ethnomusicologist accused them of being exoticizing, while a Finnish ethnomusicologist who used to teach in the Folk Music Department was disillusioned and disgusted that students had been uninterested in learning about other musics' cultures. When I asked Hannu Tolvanen about these harsh accusations, he replied: "Well, there must be these sorts of musicians, I suppose. But if that improves your own music, I don't think it is very dangerous" (personal interview, April 20, 2004). Hannu's statement is representative of the majority opinion in the department. Some music educators, not to mention ethnomusicologists, might feel that this is disrespectful to the source tradition and that they do not have the authority to be creative with another's tradition, though some critics may relent a little at learning that their purpose is primarily artistic and not commercial. Though traditions may be used (or even misused) in ways not customary or not allowed in the source culture, there does not seem to be an issue of exploitation. Most contemporary folk musicians are non-mainstream struggling artists, with limited or modest commercial success (with about five exceptions), from a small underacknowledged country on the periphery of Europe; they are not in a position of great power in the international arena and they do not stand to profit financially from collaborating with a Tanzanian drummer, throwing some Tuvan throat singing into an

avant-garde vocal improvisation, or adding a didjeridu drone to their soundscapes.

Finnish contemporary folk musicians' world music appropriations gain them admission into a contemporary world music scene, but, as influential figures in the Finnish music scene and in Finnish music education, they perhaps set a "bad example."

I have found that there are three different ways in which contemporary folk musicians incorporate world music into their musicmaking: (1) by seriously studying a particular tradition and learning how to play *within* that tradition; (2) by collaborating with musicians from other traditions and creating fusions together; and (3) by appropriating musical elements, especially instruments, timbres, and techniques, and incorporating them into their own music. The first method is based entirely on individual personal preferences and motivations. Students that have dedicated time to learning other traditions of their own volition (which often includes field research, self-teaching from recordings, and finding outside instructors) include, for example: vocalist Eero Turkka in Tuvan singing, accordionist Johanna Juhola in Argentinian tango, vocalist Sirkka Kosonen in pygmy singing, fiddler Minna Padilla in Japanese koto, and fiddler Hanni-Mari Autere in Irish music, among others. Collaborations also vary by individual case and depend upon the personal connections that individual folk musicians make with other artists while abroad at festivals or with traveling or immigrant musicians in Finland. Examples include Pauliina Lerche's loosely structured improvisations with North Indian musicians fusing Finnish folk music with Hindustani music (as described in the opening

vignette in Chapter 1), and Topi Korhonen's and Arnold Chiwalala's fusions of Finnish and Tanzanian music.¹²

When Finnish contemporary folk musicians appropriate musical elements from foreign cultures, they rarely take melodies, texts, or samples – things that might be considered others' compositions or copyrightable material. Most of their melodic and textual source material – the essential musical components in this type of folk music – comes from Nordic and Finno-Ugric traditions. Instead, Finnish musicians typically adopt different instruments, vocal and instrumental techniques, and arranging styles from various world traditions and incorporate them in such a way that they add new timbres and sounds, arrangements and soundscapes, without fundamentally altering the Finnish/Nordic/Finno-Ugric material. The band Gjallarhorn offers an excellent example. Their lead singer Jenny Wilhelms performs traditional melodies and texts from Scandinavian ballads, Finnish runolauluja, and herding calls that she has gathered through substantial archival and field research (as well as through her studies at the Sibelius Academy Folk Music Department and in a folk music program in Voss, Norway). The band's violist plays complementary melodic lines, in the Finnish/Swedish style of *stemma* playing, to accompany the vocals. Underneath this, a modified slide didjeridu (that can change pitches for songs in different keys) fulfills the traditional musical role of drone with a new and exotic sound, and "ethnic percussion" such as frame

¹² Collaborations are more common between Finnish contemporary folk musicians and Scandinavians folk musicians, Finno-Ugric musicians, jazz musicians, classical and contemporary art musicians, modern dancers, and film and theater artists.

drums, African djembes, and other non-Finnish percussion add energy, drive, and "hipness" to the more traditional melodic material.¹³

The ethnic percussion and didjeridu do not so much reference a particular culture; rather these disembodied sounds, disassociated from their original cultures and traditions, are familiar markers of "world music" to many listeners' ears. Indeed, Gjallarhorn markets themselves as "world music from Finland," signifying to international consumers that they have ethnic and musical roots from Finland, and to domestic and international audiences alike that Gjallarhorn belongs to the contemporary world music scene.

When contemporary folk musicians incorporate instrumental and vocal techniques from other cultures' traditions, the foreign appropriation may not be so audible to the average listener. When I interviewed Gjallarhorn's percussionist Petter Berndalen, he passionately detailed his commitment to inventing a way of performing drums (which are not traditional in Finnish or Swedish folk music) that would sound as natural and traditional in Nordic folk music as possible. He was taking lessons from master folk fiddlers, learning traditional melodies, and quite successfully imitating the melodic style, phrasing, rhythms, melodic contour, and intonations on his homemade, specially modified drum set, which contains a frame drum played by his left hand. Though Petter admitted to having studied North Indian tabla and West African hand drums in the past (along with jazz and rock), he denied that he was making any attempt to fuse foreign styles into his playing (in the interview, he came across as a strong traditionalist).

¹³ To hear these Scandinavian ballads with viola stemmoja, African percussion, and didjeridu, listen to Gjallarhorn's CD *Sjöfn*. See also the videos "Suvetar," "Dejelill," and "Tora" that are currently available on Gjallarhorn's web site www.gjallarhorn.com under the videos link.

However, when I closely watched and listened to his playing in Gjallarhorn performances, it became obvious under close scrutiny that he had appropriated North Indian tabla techniques in order to achieve such a "traditional" manner of performing Scandinavian melodies.¹⁴ Värttinä's vocal style, which has become representative of Finnish contemporary folk singing, has also incorporated influences from the assertive chest voice vocal timbres, rhythms, and arrangements of Bulgarian women's choirs.

Disassociations and Exclusions

Finnish contemporary folk musicians do not think twice about performing or appropriating elements of Swedish, Norwegian, Danish, Irish, Hungarian, Bulgarian, Estonian, Setu, Karelian, Mordvin, Tuvan, Japanese, Indian, Tanzanian, Ghanaian, Senegalese, Zimbabwean, Australian, American, Cuban, Peruvian, or Argentinian musics; during my stay in Finland I saw collaborations and fusions involving all of these types of music. As I was witnessing this apparent free-for-all of global folk music, those cultures whose music was not incorporated seemed to stand out to me like a glaring exclusion. Russian musicians and Finnish Rom (Gypsy) musicians are in no short supply in Helsinki – why did I not see them collaborating with Finnish folk musicians or performing at Finnish folk festivals? While the presence of Russian and Rom music is scarce in the contemporary folk music scene, the music of recent immigrant groups such as Somalians and Iranians is completely nonexistent. Just as the incorporation of Nordic,

¹⁴ The Finnish band Gjallarhorn has members from both Finland and Sweden. Petter, a Swedish folk musician, is a student at the Folk Music Department of the Royal College of Music in Stockholm (unfortunately, his tabla folk technique cannot be heard on Gjallarhorn's existing albums due to turnover in the band). The same method in which he has adapted instrumental techniques from other cultures' traditions is commonly employed by Finnish musicians (though with less concern for traditionality).

Finno-Ugric music, and trendy world music manifests the desire of Finns to affiliate with those cultural identities, the exclusion of Russian and various minority music also reflects Finns' preference to disassociate from those groups.

Finland is an extremely homogenous country, with what some feel to be embarrassingly low quotas for refugees and asylum-seekers, and racism is an acknowledged problem, particularly towards minorities from northeastern Africa (Somalia) and the Middle East (Iran) who have immigrated to Finland in the last three decades (many of whom are Muslim). Considering that in many other respects Finland is a fairly liberal, progressive, and relatively cosmopolitan society, I was surprised to hear hostility and suspicion expressed against Somalians by even some educated urban youth, who vocalized sentiments such as: "they are taking our jobs and taking advantage of our social welfare system" and "they won't assimilate into our cultural system and lifestyle." Despite the visible and acknowledged presence of these minority groups in Helsinki, I never heard the faintest hint of any Somalian or Iranian music or musicians in any Finnish folk music performance or event (in contrast to immigrant or traveling West African musicians who were invited to many gigs and festivals). The Rom case is somewhat different: as an "old minority" (for centuries in Finland), their music is acknowledged as part of the musical landscape of Finland. The primary textbook on Finnish folk music contains a chapter on Finnish Rom music (Jalkanen 1981:199-206 in Asplund and Hako 1981), and during my 18 months' affiliation with the Folk Music Department we had one guest lecture on Rom music by Finnish scholar Risto Blomster who completed his dissertation on Rom music in Finland (Blomster 2004). While I heard

a few Finnish folk musicians perform a Rom song on rare occasions, I never once saw an actual Rom musician invited to collaborate or perform in a Finnish contemporary folk music concert or event (though I did attend separate Rom music festivals). When I mentioned my observation that Finnish musicians might sing a Rom song but never seem to associate with Rom musicians, my contemporary folk music colleagues responded, "oh no, of course not!" This exclusion and segregation may be mutual to a certain extent. When I interviewed the director of the Kaustinen Folk Music Festival, he explained that any amateur band or artist who wants to participate can fill out an online form, and he had never received any applications from Somalian, Iranian, or Rom musicians (Jyrki Heiskanen, personal interview, July 2004).¹⁵

Finns' relationship with Russian music is much more complicated. Over the centuries, there has been considerable Russian influence on Finland: they have been neighbors for centuries, Finland was a part of the Russian empire for nearly a hundred years, and much of the source material used to define Finnish national music was collected from Karelian and Ingrian villages in Russia. However, hatred and resentment towards Russia has led many musicians to underemphasize and underacknowledge Russian influence on Finnish music (if they are even aware of it) and certainly to refrain from any intentional contemporary performance or appropriation of Russian musical elements.¹⁶ Much of the hostility against Russians dates back to the Winter War (1939-1940) and Continuation War (1941-1944), when the USSR tried to conquer Finland,

¹⁵ Rom musicians have participated with some success in the tango music and popular *iskelmä* music scenes, but Rom and ethnically Finnish *folk* musicians seem to be fairly segregated.

¹⁶ The one and only exception of which I am aware is singer Eero Turkka, who has had his male vocal ensemble perform a couple of Russian polyphonic songs.

causing many Finnish casualties, displacing ten percent of the Finnish population, and annexing large chunks of Finnish land (Zetterberg 2002); and their powerful, bullying neighbor likely did little to ease the Finns' resentment during the Cold War. During my field research, I found this resentment to be strong amongst several of my university-age friends, who expressed their fears about Russians entering Finland once Estonia joined the European Union or spoke spitefully of the Russians who "killed their grandparents." My older Finnish relatives also expressed concern that outsiders would misperceive Finland as being a part of Russia or under the influence of Russia. One Finnish scholar tried to convince me that the reason Russian musical material was not incorporated by contemporary Finnish musicians is that Russian music and culture are simply extremely different from Finnish music and culture – an argument that, in my opinion, underscores Finnish attempts to disassociate from Russia.

Though not intentionally, Russian influence remains present, if well hidden, in Finnish contemporary folk music. Figure 12B is a relatively well-known kalevala-metered song that I heard on different occasions in Finland. The verses are in Finnish dialect, and the singer who taught me the song, SibA alumna Veera Voima, told me that the text of the refrain was nothing but nonsense syllables. However, when I sang the song for Russian folk music scholar Izaly Zemtsovski, he informed me that the refrain was actually the Finnish pronunciation of a common Russian chorus (personal communication, March 2003). Figure 12C is an Ingrian song, "Vot i kaalina," recorded in 1906 by Armas Launis in Soikkola, Ingria, Russia. This archive recording has been used as source material for contemporary arrangements by Värttinä (on their 1989 album

Figure 12B. "Tunja Moi." Kalevala-metered song with verses in a Finnish dialect and refrain of "nonsense syllables" that actually derive from Russian.

VERSE 1 (in Finnish)

$\bullet = 85-90$

ei oo ei oo tei - stä lau - la - ji - sta joo
 kuo - la kuo - la - sui - sta kuk - ku - ji - sta joo
 kun en kun en ai - na mie a - lo - ta joo
 mie a mie a - lo - ta mie lo - pe - ta - joo

REFRAIN (from Russian)

Tun - ja moi Tun - ja Tun - ja ko - le - na
 (ma - tus - ka)

Musta Lindu) and Hedningarna (on their 1992 album *Kaksi* – see also their video of "Vottikaalina" on www.tvfolk.net.) The text of the verses is in an Ingrian dialect (for the most part mutually intelligible with Finnish), but the text of the refrain is an Ingrian pronunciation and Finnish transliteration of Russian. When I showed this Russian refrain to my colleague, Russian music scholar Martin Daughtry, he immediately identified it as a famous Russian folk song (personal communication, July 2005). I originally learned of this particular archive source from Tina Ramnarine (2003:92-93); however, when she discusses Värttinä's contemporary use and arrangement of this archive piece, she does not mention that the song and singer were Ingrian nor that the chorus is Russian. I would not be surprised if many contemporary Finnish performers and listeners were ignorant of its Russian origins — and if they are aware of it, they certainly downplay it. I suspect that a great deal of Russian influence reaches Finnish contemporary folk music through Finns'

Figure 12C. "Vot I kaalina." 1906 archive recording of an Ingrian song, demonstrating Russian influence, that has been used as source material for contemporary arrangements by Värttinä and Hedningarna. (Hedningarna's rendition is nearly twice as fast at quarter note equals 155.)

VERSE 1 (Ingrian dialect)



E - moi kas - vat - ti mi - nui - sta mi - e kas - soi kas - vat - te - lin

REFRAIN (from Russian)



Vot i kaa - li - na dai Vot i maa - li - na —



Vot kaa - li - na vot maa - li - na le - ka ja - ga da ba di - la



vot i kaa - li - na dai vot i maa - li na —

VERSE 2 (Ingrian dialect)



E - moi hel - lyt - ti mi - nuis - ta mi - nä hiuk - sii hel - lyt - te - li

REFRAIN

use of material from bilingual Finno-Ugric minorities living in Russia, in "nonsense" words, refrains, melodic material, and polyphony.¹⁷

Hedningarna's rendition of "Vot i kaalina," or "Vottikaalina" as they spell it – which is based on the archive recording in Figure 12C – is a perfect example of how the different relationships discussed above are reified in contemporary folk music. Finnish, Scandinavian, Finno-Ugric, and Russian influences (as well as historical and contemporary elements) can all be heard in Hedningarna's recording. The vocals, characterized by highly rhythmic, harshly articulated, assertive female chest voices with colorful vocal timbres revealing strong personalities and spunkiness, are typical of Finnish contemporary folk singing. The text of the verses are in standard kalevala meter and the melodic range is very narrow – traditional for both Finnish and Ingrian runolauluja (Hedningarna has replaced the Ingrian text with another kalevala metered verse containing a decidedly feminine message). The instrumental arrangement is characteristic of Swedish contemporary folk music, with a rock-influenced rhythm section, including electric guitar, bass drum and hand percussion groove; quirky percussive sound effects and sampling; folk-style melodic lines on fiddle; and a driving, lively, high energy, full "band" sound. The song structure is characteristically Ingrian, with predominantly monophonic kalevala verses broken up by polyphonic refrains with basically parallel voice parts (traditional Finnish runolauluja never have refrains, and usually the only polyphony in traditional Finnish singing is subtle heterophonic

¹⁷ Asplund observes that a number of Russian and Slavic songs have entered Finnish popular music repertoire in Finnish translation – though these are not used as a source of repertoire for folk songs. There are Russian instrumental folk tunes in the Finnish repertoire, in addition to Russian refrains in Ingrian runolauluja. Asplund concurs that most Finnish folk musicians are probably not aware of the Russian origins of such material (personal communication, August 20, 2005).

variations). Finally, the refrain contains the text of a well-known Russian folk song. Furthermore, the method in which each of these musical elements has been incorporated reflects the Finns' (desired/imagined) relationships with those cultures: the Finnish vocalists are equal collaborators with the Swedish instrumentalists, the Finno-Ugric culture has served as historic source material; and the Russian influence is largely ignored.¹⁸

¹⁸ Listen to the recording of Hedningarna's "Vottikaalina" on their 1992 album *Kaksi* or watch a video of their live performance of this piece on www.tvfolk.net.

Part IV
Beyond the Institution

Chapter 13. Impact of the Sibelius Academy on Folk Music across Finland

Sibelius Academy musicians make up a relatively small portion of folk music practitioners in Finland, yet they have had significant impacts on folk musicians of all ages and skill levels and have influenced how folk music is perceived and created across the country. Most SibA musicians fall into the category of contemporary folk musicians, or *nykykansanmuusikot*. Other types of folk musicians in Finland today include (1) hobbyists, or *harrastajat*, and (2) master, or *mestari*, pelimannit and runolaulajat.¹

Harrastajat, by far the largest category of folk musicians, are amateurs, and may be serious, dedicated amateurs or people who just play or sing a little for fun. Most play pelimanni music, others play kantele music, and some sing in folk choirs (I also know of one jouhikko orchestra). They frequently perform in national or (quasi) folk costumes, and national identity and "Finnishness" is generally more important to them than to other types of folk musicians. I observed two main types of "harrastaja folk music." Perhaps the most common type is large ensembles or orchestras with anywhere from 15 to 50 musicians playing pelimanni music, often from notation. Most of these pelimanni orchestras are associated with local community organizations and national or regional societies, and are in some ways similar to the folk music of romantic nationalist and "public enlightenment" (*kansanvalistus*) times. Some people (such as the practitioners

¹ I use these categories of folk musicians in order to draw an overall picture of trends and behaviors, but it should be understood that these "folk musician types" are generalizations and as such are neither rigid nor mutually exclusive.

themselves) may consider their folk music to be more traditional than contemporary folk music, judging by their repertoire, acoustic instruments, adherence to tunes as they are published in collections, costumes, and other elements. However, many contemporary folk musicians consider such music to be less authentic and less traditional because their process of learning, creating, and performing music differs drastically from historical processes. The general opinion in the SibA Folk Music Department is that harrastaja folk music, which is often played from notation instead of oral memory, is static and unchanging, less creative, and less personal. Heikki Laitinen's assertion that folk music shaped by the public enlightenment and nationalist movements is "imagined folk music" has the effect of delegitimizing the music and practices of some pelimanni orchestras and undermining their claim to traditionality. Like the romantic nationalist and public enlightenment music that they despise, contemporary folk music also draws meaning and inspiration from a selective image of folk music of the past – an image based on research, but elaborated by imagination and manipulated to serve contemporary purposes. The main difference – and conflict – lies in the distinct values and ideology that shape the ideals held by contemporary folk musicians versus nationalists and amateur pelimanni organizations.

Harrastajat also include individuals who play in small ensembles or bands, participate in jam sessions, and are more likely to play by ear and even compose their own tunes, often in the same vein as the Konsta Jylhä-inspired folk revivalists. A number of musicians participate in both types of harrastaja folk music.²

² See Järviluoma (1997) for an in-depth analysis of harrastaja identity and musical activities.

Master pelimannit and singers are often thought of (at least in the Sibelius Academy) as the few remaining survivors of a dying breed of traditional musicians. Stereotypically, they are musicians who learned in the traditional manner of informal oral transmission, whose oral memories are treasure troves of traditional repertoire, and who cannot render a melody without playing endless variations. These musicians were not the focus of my research, but the few master pelimannit whom I did meet were highly skilled and respected older musicians who were active in their community's harrastaja folk music scene and at festivals (many of them had also been invited in the past to the Sibelius Academy as guest teachers/artists). Elderly women living near the Finnish-Russian border who still remember how to sing runolauluja are often subjects of field research projects by both scholars and contemporary folk musicians (see chapters 5 and 9), but I personally did not encounter any master runo singers at any of the amateur or professional folk music events that I attended around Finland.

Contemporary folk musicians are set apart from harrastaja and master musicians by their training and status as professionals. The vast majority of contemporary folk musicians are students, teachers, or alumni from the Sibelius Academy, though there are also now a handful of young contemporary folk musicians graduating from the new folk music programs at the conservatories and polytechnics in Joensuu and Kokkola as well as the Ala-Könni School in Kaustinen.³ Most of these musicians consider themselves to be professional musicians, and there are virtually no folk musicians who identify as

³ There are a few contemporary folk musicians who have not studied in the Sibelius Academy folk music department, or at one of the newer programs, but all of those whom I know are affiliated with the department as part-time teachers or artists-in-residence (for example, Hannu Saha and Pekka Westerholm). Commercially successful bands such as Värttinä, JPP, and Gjallarhorn are also important figures in Finnish contemporary folk music, but all of these groups have multiple members who have trained at SibA.

professional who have not studied at the Sibelius Academy, or one of the new programs in Joensuu or Kokkola.⁴ I asked several professional and amateur musicians, as well as the event organizers who pay (or do not pay) their performers, what the criteria are for determining when a folk musician should be considered professional. Their first response was often that a professional folk musician is someone who earns a living by playing folk music. But, I would point out, fewer than a dozen folk musicians in all of Finland are able to support themselves from concerts, gigs, and record sales (though a few do live on grant money), so there are many professional folk musicians who do not satisfy that criterion. Most of my informants conceded that formal training and education is a – if not the – determining factor. Whether or not professional musicians are able to support themselves from playing, most are insistent upon being paid for performing, even in events where the majority of other performing folk musicians are not paid. For example, Kaustinen Folk Music Festival gives different treatment and forms of remuneration for professionals, amateurs, and master pelimanneja. The professional musicians are paid money. The amateurs receive only free admission to the festival and half-price off meals – sometimes only for the day on which they perform, other times for the whole ten days of the festival (they may also receive floor space at the local school for sleeping). The master musicians do not receive any monetary remuneration – according to the festival director, this would be inappropriate and even offensive – but

⁴ Of the 163 folk musicians who completed my questionnaire, only two who had not studied at one of these institutions self-identified as professional. (There were also six self-identified professional musicians who had studied classical or other non-folk types of music at the Sibelius Academy or other conservatories.)

they do have all of their travel and lodging reimbursed and are given royal treatment and various honors.

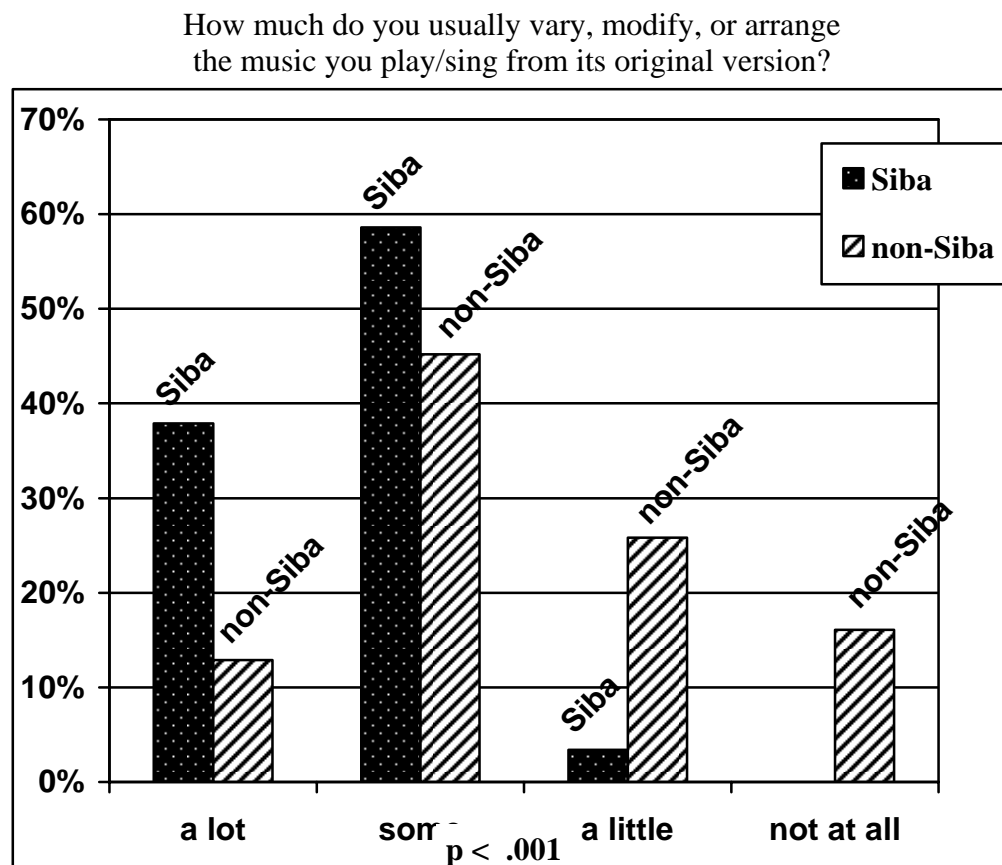
There have been tensions between professionals and amateurs. In the early years of the Sibelius Academy Folk Music Department, some harrastajat felt threatened by SibA musicians, concerned that the young, highly trained musicians would usurp some of the performance opportunities and respect or prestige that amateurs had enjoyed. A few amateurs responding to my questionnaire wrote that sibislaiset are "killing" pelimanni music. Overall these fears have lessened in recent years as it has become apparent that there is room for both contemporary and amateur to flourish, and that all types of folk musicians benefit from the increased interest in and esteem of folk music that the Sibelius Academy has generated.

Ideology, creative processes, and performance practices also distinguish contemporary folk musicians from other folk musicians. Data from my questionnaire demonstrates how sibislaiset differ from folk musicians who have not studied at SibA. The sample includes responses from 29 musicians who have studied in the Sibelius Academy Folk Music Department and 126 who have not (in total, there are 163 folk musicians out of the 234 questionnaire respondents).

There is no statistically significant difference ($p = .92$) between SibA and non-SibA musicians in their agreement that in order for folk music to be authentic, folk musicians should learn traditional styles, repertoire and values and play according to these traditions. However, their notions of what constitutes being traditional vary. Sibislaiset feel much more strongly than non-SibA musicians ($p < .001$) that folk

musicians must have the freedom to express themselves personally and incorporate contemporary influences in order for folk music to be a living tradition. SibA musicians are much more likely to vary, modify, and arrange traditional tunes, improvise, compose their own tunes, and create fusions with other genres of music.⁵ [See figures 13A, B, C, and D.]

Figure 13A. Extent of Variation and Arranging by SibA Versus Non-SibA Musicians



⁵ The value "p" is the probability that the results are due to chance and is determined by comparing the variation within each group to the variation between groups. A p value below .1 is considered a tendency, below .05 is statistically significant, below .01 is highly significant, and below .001 is extremely significant (for it means that there is a 0.1% chance that the answers occurred randomly, or in other words a 99.9% chance of accurately predicting a musician's behavior based on these factors/attributes).

Figure 13B. Frequency and Degree of Improvisation by SibA versus Non-SibA Musicians

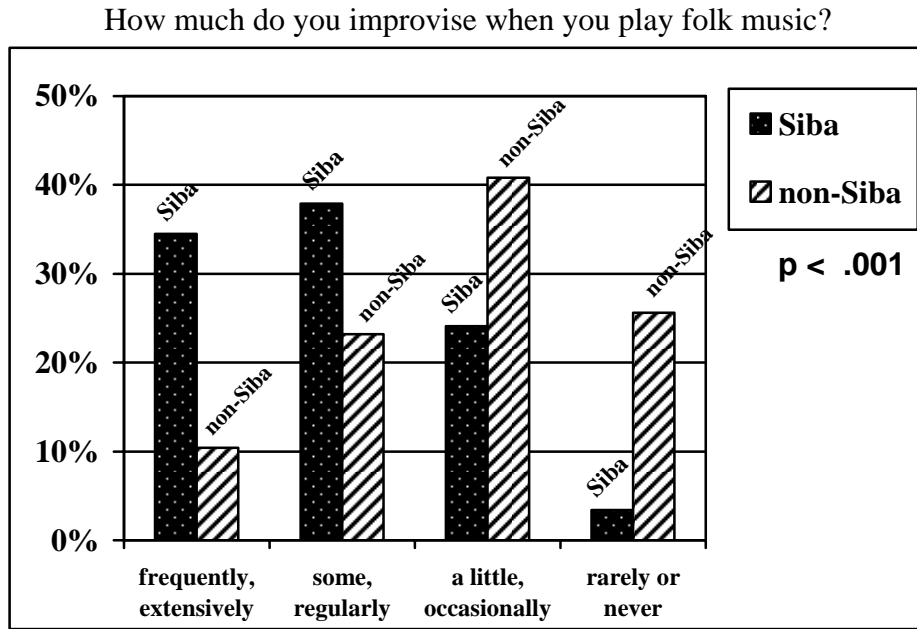


Figure 13C. Frequency of Composition by SibA Versus Non-SibA Musicians

How often do you compose or improvise your own tunes as a source of repertoire?

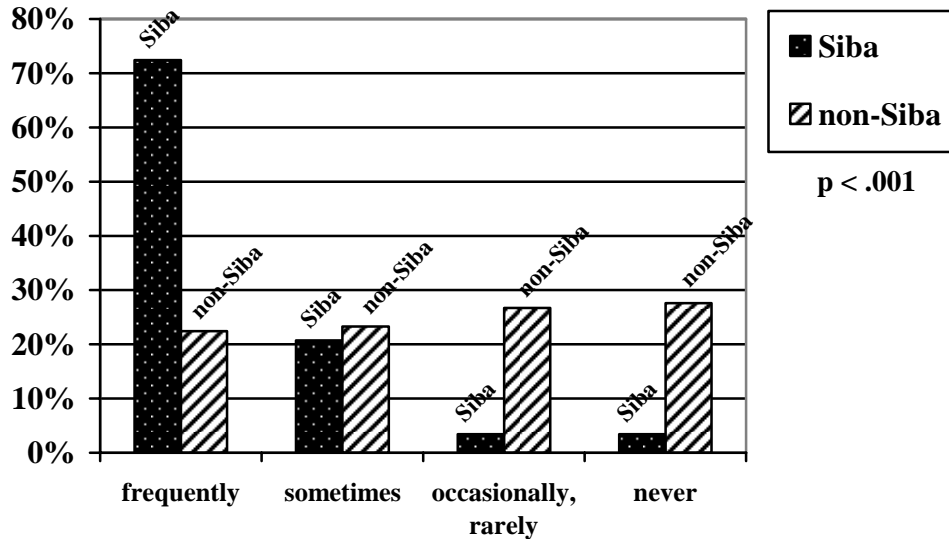
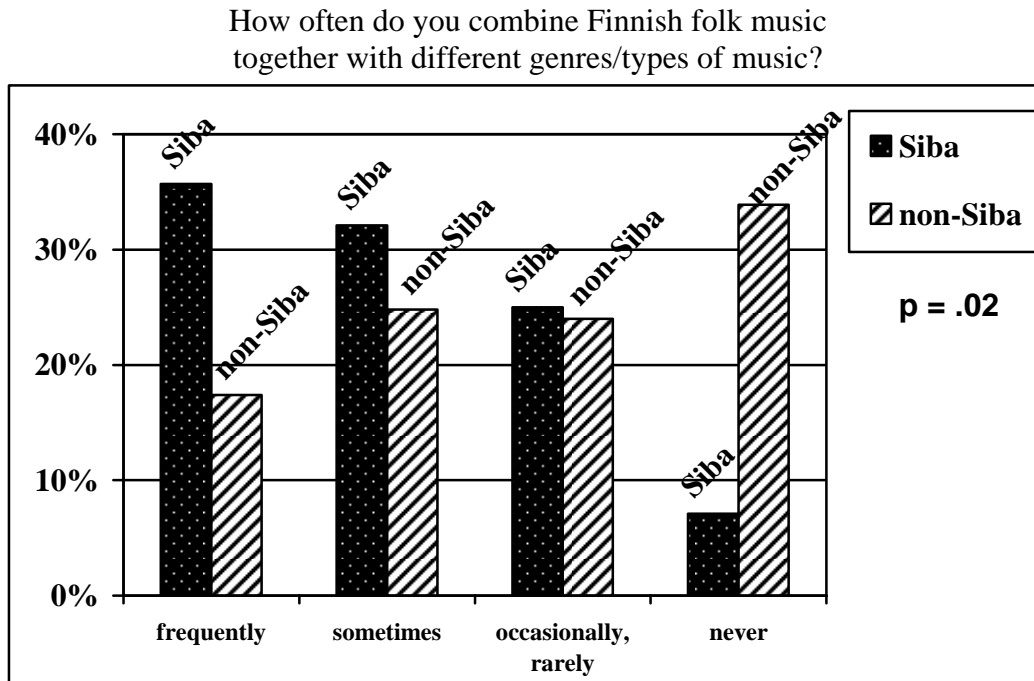


Figure 13D. Amount of Fusions by SibA Versus Non-SibA Musicians



SibA and non-SibA musicians also differ in the contexts in which they play. Sibalaiset are more likely to perform in formal concerts, record albums, and practice seriously on their own, while non-SibA musicians play more frequently in jam sessions and at home for their own enjoyment. [See Figure 13E.] However, both groups regularly perform at festivals, take lessons or classes, perform in bands or other ensembles, and gig

Figure 13E. Context/Activity Comparison between SibA and Non-SibA Musicians

1 = frequently
2 = sometimes
3 = rarely
4 = never

Contexts/Activities engaged in more frequently by SibA musicians

Context/activity	SibA	non-SibA
	Mean Frequency	
Practice seriously	1.41	1.99*
Perform in formal concerts	1.48	2.33**
Record albums	1.96	2.95#

Contexts/activities engaged in more frequently by non-SibA musicians

Context/activity	SibA	non-SibA
	Mean Frequency	
Play/sing at home for own enjoyment	2.43	1.80#
Jam sessions in local community	3.07	2.42*
Jam sessions at festivals	2.89	2.56***
Accompany folk dancing	3.07	2.95*

Contexts/activities in which there is no significant difference between SibA and non-SibA musicians' frequency of involvement

Context/activity	SibA	non-SibA
	Mean Frequency	
Perform in a band or choir	1.55	1.67
Gig at events in local community	1.45	1.94
Perform at festivals	1.62	2.16
Take private lessons or classes	2.29	2.48
Collaborate with artists other than folk musicians	2.18	3.06

- # p < .1
- * p < .5
- ** p < .01
- *** p < .001

at events in their local communities.⁶ Living in Helsinki, I found the Sibelius Academy folk music scene and the amateur pelimanni scene to be very separate with little interaction between the two.

The primary arenas in which professional contemporary folk musicians and harrastajat do interact are at folk music festivals and in educational contexts. Educational contexts include classes, workshops, or lessons, which may be organized privately or as a part of festivals, summer camps, symposia, or music schools and institutes. Folk musicians from the Sibelius Academy are often in high-profile roles in the events that they share with other folk musicians: in addition to being invited performers, they are the leaders, experts, and teachers. They are infamous amongst non-SibA musicians for their skill level and artistry. During my first summer of field research when I was traveling around to different festivals, I was amazed that my college-age amateur folk music friends from northern Finland were able to identify by sight all the SibA musicians who were casually wandering around the festival area. Over the course of my 18 months in Finland, as I attended festivals and other events around the country, it gradually became apparent to me that while the local amateur participants varied, the leading roles were

⁶ Jyrki Heiskanen, director of the Kaustinen Folk Music Festival, describes some of the types of master and amateur folk music activities in the town of Kaustinen: "[JH: Kaustinen has a reputation for having a real lively folk music scene. Can you tell me what the scene is like the rest of the year when the festival is not going on?] Have you ever been to Hietaniemi Cemetery in Helsinki? Kaustinen is the same size, but the Hietaniemi Cemetery is much livelier during winter. Well, of course, the local people... perform here and folk music is part of everyday life here. You couldn't imagine a birthday party or anything or a local opening of the new supermarket without the local folk band, fiddle band mainly. It's part of everyday life anyway in one form or another. Let's say that I have two children and let's say your kid goes to school, let's say between [age] 5 and 15 here in Kaustinen. If you don't play mainly the fiddle, or if you don't be in a local kids' folk dance group or if you don't sing in some choir, you are considered to be queer. What is wrong with that kid? He doesn't know how to play or sing or dance. So it is so normal. It's so everyday. [JH: It is very different from the rest of Finland?] Yeah. Exactly. It is exactly the opposite" (Personal interview, July 14, 2004).

played by the same cast. This really struck home in May of 2004 when I went to Eastern Finland to take an intensive jouhikko workshop. I had traveled for eight hours on a collection of trains and buses from Helsinki to a remote village close to the Russian border. The local organizers came in separate cars to meet me at the gas station that served as a bus stop, documented my arrival with video camera (I was the first participant to appear), treated me to afternoon tea, and delivered me to my host family, whose local dialect was so thick that I could hardly understand them. I felt like I was having a real rural cultural experience. The next morning I trekked down the wooded lane, around the lake, over a wooden bridge, and up to the town hall, where I promptly ran into a slew of my urban cohorts from the Sibelius Academy and the tutkijakoulu. The three-day event, consisting of intensive jouhikko classes, master courses, concerts, lectures, and demonstrations, had been organized by a collection of dedicated locals who had been inspired to build their own instruments and form the world's first and only jouhikko orchestra. Making up in enthusiasm what they lacked in skill, this phenomenal group of amateurs had invited Finland's jouhikko experts to come to their town to teach them. The lecturers included Rauno Nieminen (instigator of the jouhikko revival and now doctoral student at the Sibelius Academy), Heikki Laitinen, and scholars from the Finnish Literary Society (SKS) and Tampere University Music Research Department, and the performers and teachers were all from the Sibelius Academy with the exception of one legendary master jouhikko player from Sweden. I sat in on seminars, including one in which Heikki Laitinen passionately urged the local musicians, beginners and amateurs, to "defend their right to be creative" (Heikki was once a student of theology, and can deliver

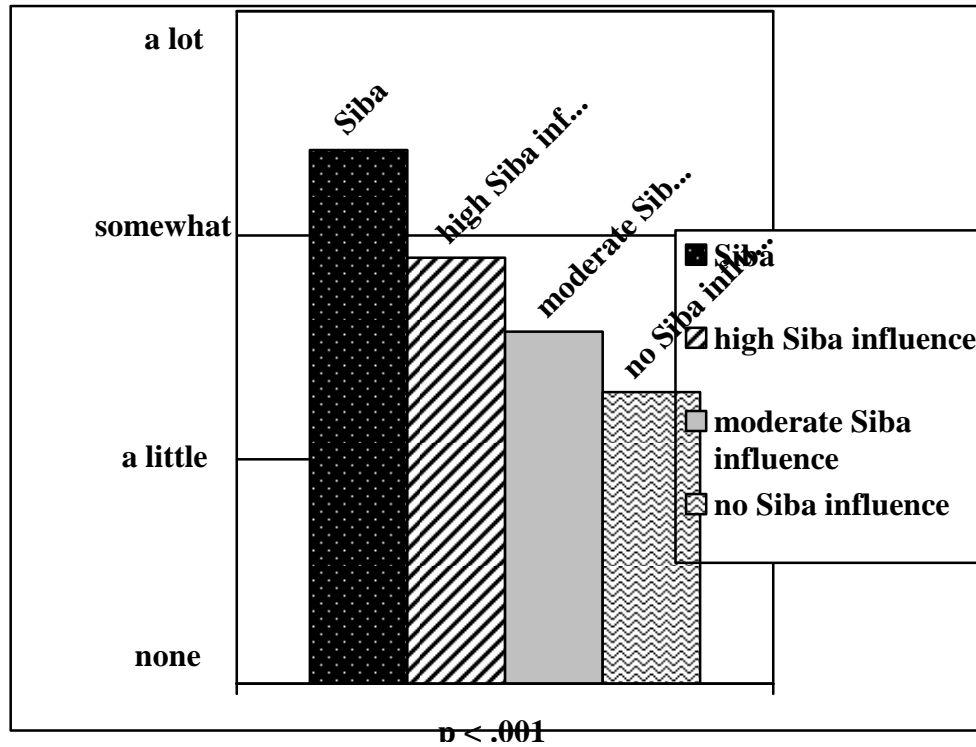
a powerful sermon drawing on historical folk music to advocate contemporary creativity). I also learned to play the jouhikko together with a small group of local adults and children taught by Lassi Logrén, a SibA student and fiddler in Värttinä.

It is through these types of workshops and other classes that SibA and non-SibA musicians engage in personal, intimate interaction, and that sibislaiset have the most direct impact on other folk musicians. In my questionnaire, I asked musicians whether or not they had ever been taught by someone from the Sibelius Academy Folk Music Department, and if so how frequently. I have created four mutually exclusive categories describing different levels of Sibelius Academy influence, including, from highest influence to no influence: (1) musicians who have studied at the Sibelius Academy, (2) musicians who have frequently been taught by musicians who have studied at SibA, (3) musicians who have occasionally been taught by musicians from SibA, and (4) musicians who have never studied with anyone from SibA. In my questionnaire sample, there are 29 (19.6%) in the first category (SibA), 29 (19.6%) in the second category (high SibA influence), 48 (32.4%) in the third category (moderate SibA influence), and 42 (28.4%) in the fourth category (no SibA influence). I have compared the answers of musicians in each of these four categories in order to ascertain the impact that the Sibelius Academy has had beyond the institution's walls.

A statistical analysis clearly shows that the greater the degree of SibA influence, the more likely folk musicians are to make variations and arrangements, improvise, create fusions, and compose their own tunes. [See figures 13F through J.]

Figure 13F. Mean Frequency of Variation and Arranging by Degree of Sibelius Academy Influence

How much do you usually vary or arrange the music you play/sing from its original version?

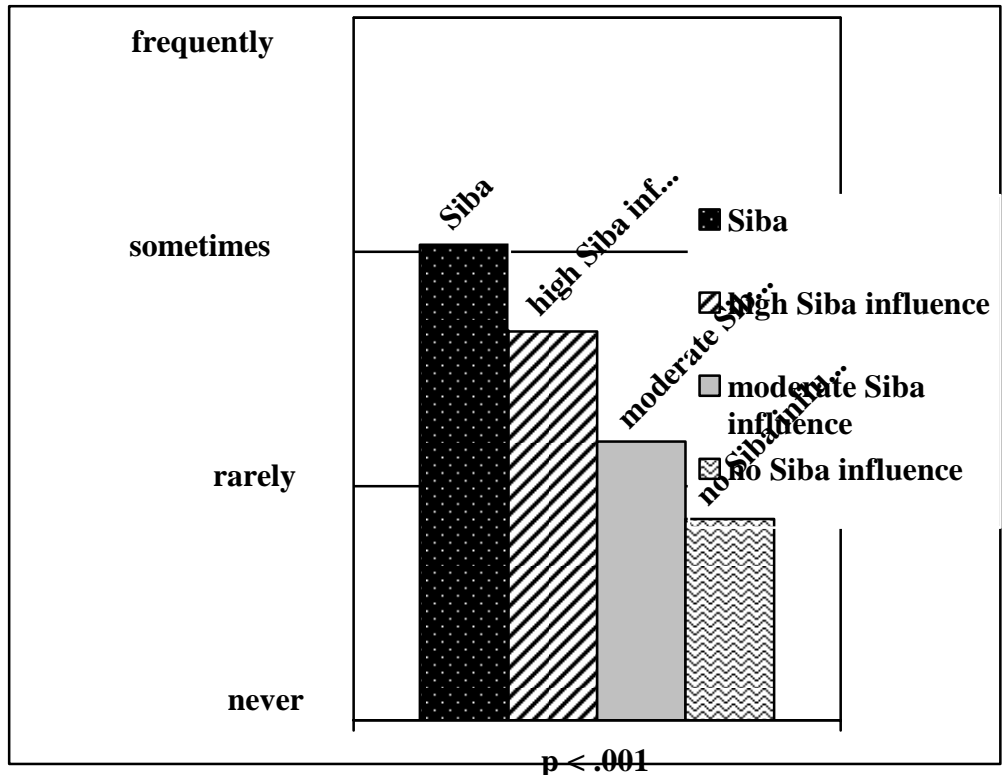


Degree of Sibelius Academy Influence	Mean frequency of variations and arrangements*
SibA	3.38
high SibA influence	2.9
moderate SibA influence	2.57
no SibA influence	2.3

* 4 = a lot, 3 = somewhat, 2 = a little, 1 = none

Figure 13G. Mean Frequency of Improvisation by Degree of Sibelius Academy Influence

How much do you improvise when you play folk music?

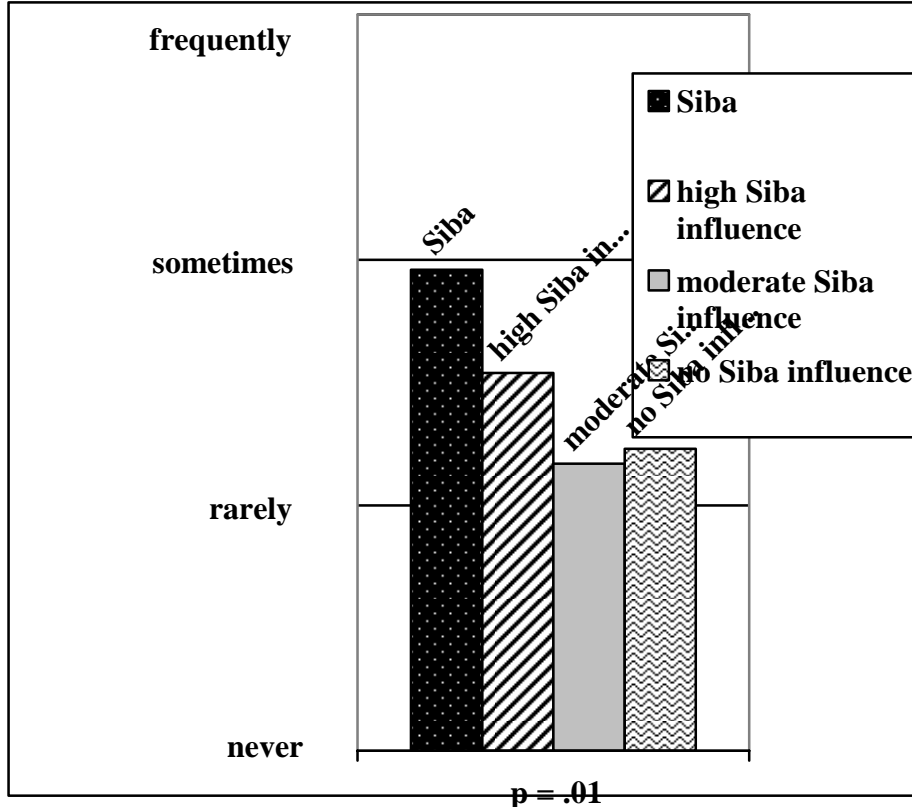


Degree of Sibelius Academy Influence	Mean Frequency of Improvisation*
SibA	3.03
high SibA influence	2.66
moderate SibA influence	2.19
no SibA influence	1.86

* 4 = frequently, 3 = sometimes, 2 = rarely, 1 = never

Figure 13H. Mean Frequency of Fusions by Degree of Sibelius Academy Influence

How often do you combine Finnish folk music together with different genres/types of music?

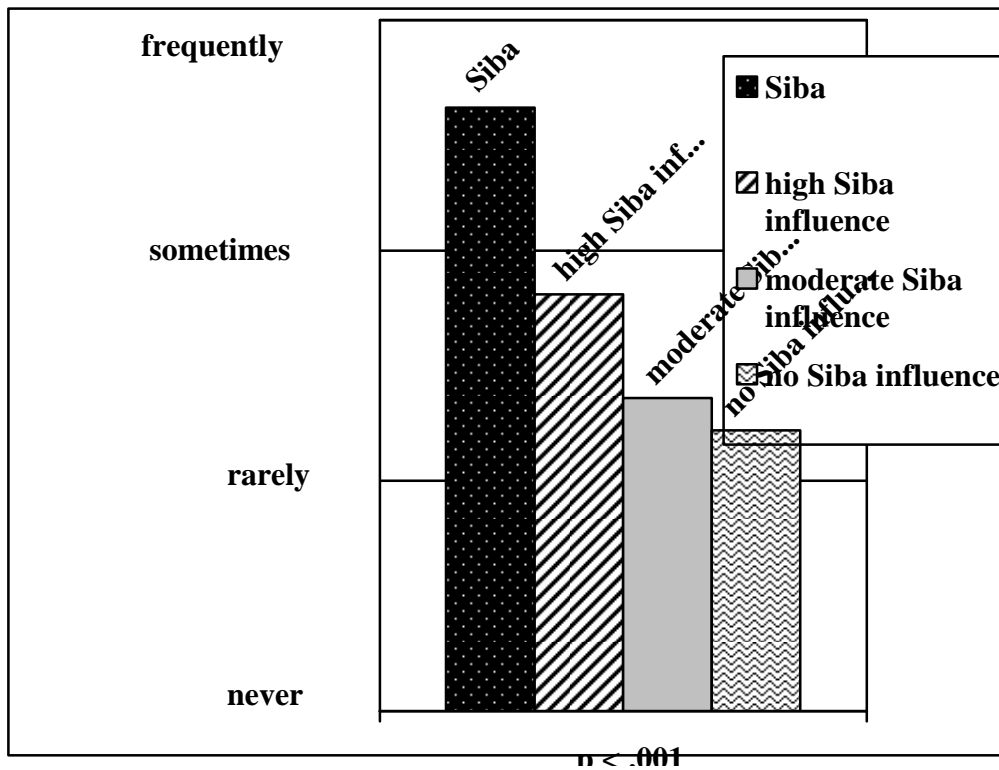


Degree of Sibelius Academy Influence	Mean Frequency of Fusions*
SibA	2.96
high SibA influence	2.54
moderate SibA influence	2.17
no SibA influence	2.23

* 4 = frequently, 3 = sometimes, 2 = rarely, 1 = never

Figure 13I. Mean Frequency of Composing by Degree of Sibelius Academy Influence

How often do you compose or improvise your own tunes as a source of repertoire?

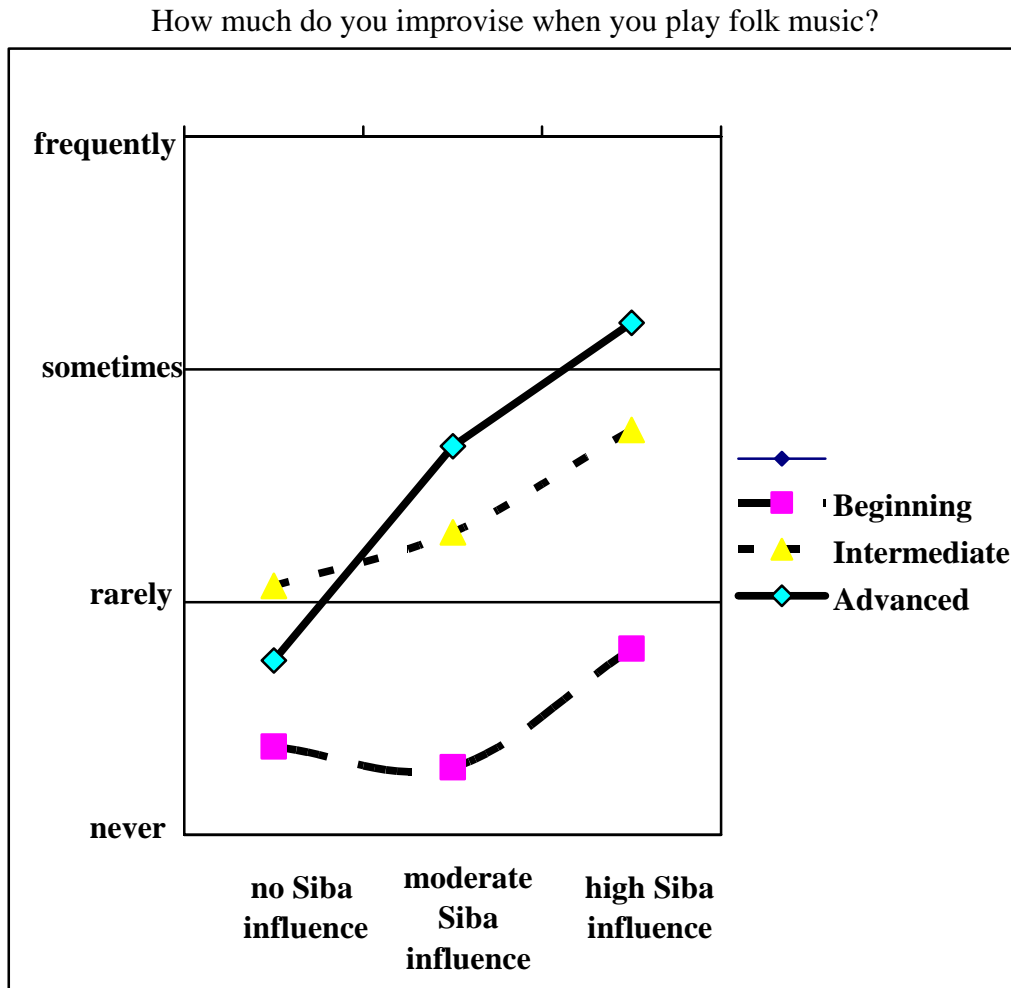


Degree of Sibelius Academy Influence	Mean Frequency of Composing*
SibA	2.62
high SibA influence	1.81
moderate SibA influence	1.36
no SibA influence	1.22

* 4 = frequently, 3 = sometimes, 2 = rarely, 1 = never

The Sibelius Academy Folk Music Department has influenced musicians' performance practices regardless of their skill level. Folk musicians were asked to rate their skill level as beginning, intermediate, or advanced. In comparing the degree of correlation and interaction between the Sibelius influence and skill level on variables such as improvisation, variation and arranging, fusions, and composing, I found that the Sibelius influence and skill level were both highly influential as independent variables, but that there was no significant interaction between SibA influence and skill. In other words, musicians with advanced skill are likely to improvise more frequently than beginners, and musicians with high SibA influence are likely to improvise more frequently than those with little or no SibA influence; however, Sibelius influence increases the amount of improvisation by beginners as much as it does for advanced musicians. See figure 13J in which the three lines representing beginning, intermediate, and advanced musicians each increase their frequency of improvisation with SibA influence. This supports Peter Webster's assertions that creative aptitude is independent of technical skill. Creative activity is affected by ideology and environment. Those that have studied under SibA musicians have stronger opinions that folk musicians must have the freedom to express themselves personally through their music, and they have received support and encouragement for their creative activities from their teachers and role models.

Figure 13J. Sibelius Influence and Skill Level As Independent, Non-Interactive Variables Impacting Mean Frequency of Improvisation



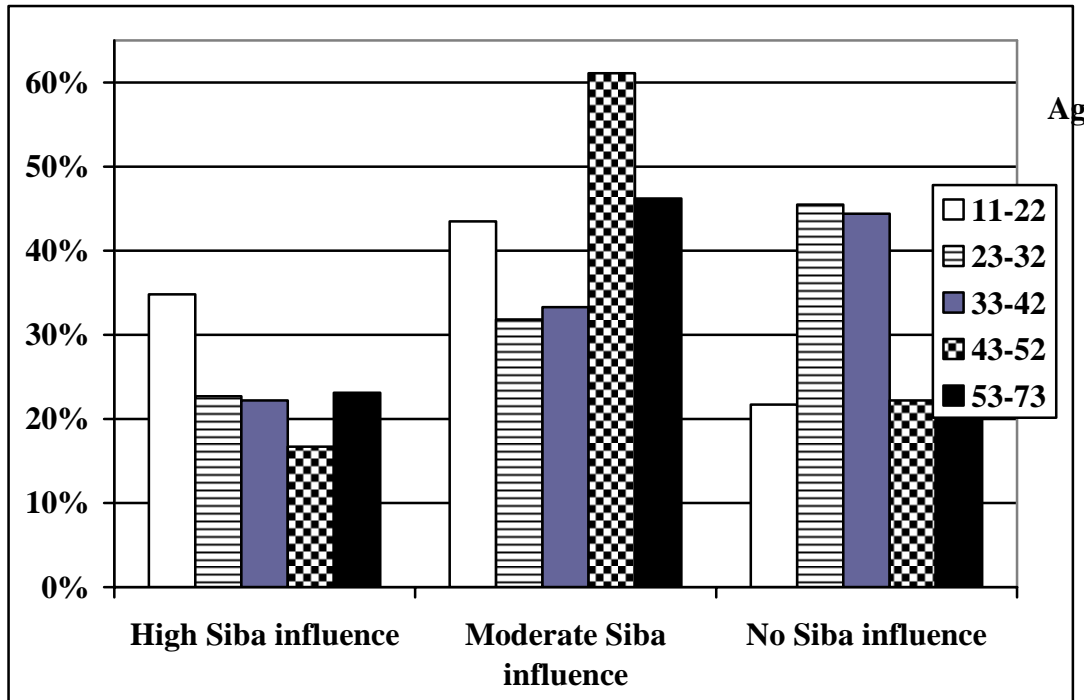
Independent significance of SibA influence on frequency of improvisation: $p = .001$

Independent significance of skill level on frequency of improvisation: $p < .001$

No significant interaction or effect of skill level on SibA influence: $p = .75$

The Sibelius Academy Folk Music Department has also impacted musicians regardless of their age. Questionnaire respondents range in age from 11 to 73, and, though there are larger numbers of people in their twenties and thirties, there is a surprisingly even spread across all ages. I grouped them into five age categories (11-22, 23-32, 33-42, 43-52, and 53-72), drawing the categories so as to intentionally maximize difference between groups. While musicians who have actually studied at the Folk Music Department generally range from around age 18 to 42 (because the department has only been in existence for 21 years), I found that the musicians who are influenced by the department are of all ages. There is no significant difference between the five age groups of degree of SibA influence. This means that the Sibelius Academy as an educational institution is not only influencing the ideology and performance practices of the young generation, but rather its impact is being felt by all ages and generations of folk musicians across the country. [See figure 13K.]

Figure 13K. Percentage of Folk Musicians of Different Ages Who Have Been Influenced by the Sibelius Academy. Note that people of all ages and generations have been influenced by the Academy: just as many musicians in their 60s and 70s have been influenced by the department as musicians in their 20s. Though there is some variation between age groups, it is not statistically significant.



Though my questionnaire results clearly reveal the impact that the Sibelius Academy has had on creative processes in folk music across Finland, I suspect that musicians themselves may not be aware of the scope of these impacts, for they are more a matter of processes and experiences that occur at individual levels than sounds easily discerned by others. The SibA influences that musicians pointed out to me have more to do with larger scale relationships between professionals and amateurs and between folk music and society at large and the social and cultural value of folk music. The following excerpts are free responses to the question: "How has the Sibelius Academy Folk Music Department influenced folk music in Finland?"

It has brought to life styles that had already been almost forgotten and produced skilled musicians who have good and multi-sided knowledge of folk music. It has diversified and broadened the perception and concept of folk music.

People respect the Sibelius Academy as an institution, and through it the esteem of folk music has grown, and of course its level has risen enormously.

Folk music is now taken seriously in Finland.

It has brought folk music to life.

It has increased the level of folk music and diversified musical life.

Folk music traditions are made use of in many different ways.

More folk music teaching has come to the music schools.

In its own way, it has broadened the diversity of folk music and brought forward forgotten folk music genres. There is a lot of folk music elsewhere and the Sibelius Academy Folk Music Department is only a small part of the whole. In any case, it is doing groundbreaking work.

The coming of young professionally skilled professionals to the field of folk music has improved folk music's image. All sorts of experimental

projects have broadened the concept of folk music. Also, the professional-skill teaching of folk music begins to have a lot to offer, and young people are more easily becoming involved.

The respect and appreciation of folk music have risen. Players' skill has grown. Education has spread to conservatories and civic schools, etc. because there are now teachers available. Furthermore, [Finnish] folk music nowadays is also better-known abroad.

From the Academy's viewpoint, "valued" folk music is music coming from the department, and recording of traditional music has almost stopped, even though there is still a lot left to record. Professionals have begun to think of their own compositions as the best folk music, which in my opinion can be criticized. These things have partly estranged "average pelimannia" from professionals. Folk music has been "moved into history" and something else is being made under its name. On the other hand, folk music has begun to be thought of pedagogically as its own thing; it is taught in other music programs. This has been reflected in the inclusion of improvisation and composition as an appreciated part of classical music curricula.

It has raised folk music's value. Other countries are following these models. It has developed and created new dimensions in folk music.

Without the Sibelius Academy there would not be living jouhikko music, a living runolaulu tradition, or a living jaw harp tradition. The Academy has also been influential in that folk music's status in the field of Finnish culture is much stronger. It is not scorned, rather it is itself a clear part of the field of music, like pop or jazz.

Heikki Laitinen is a demigod. Without the Academy folk music in Finland would be laughed away.

It has created space for folk music to exist.

I believe it has strengthened folk music's status and increased its esteem. Also, their work has unearthed the caches in the archives.

The level of scholarly research and of course the search for musical artistry have risen.

Because of the influence of Heikki Laitinen and his students contemporary folk music is totally alive and of a high level.

Well-trained musicians and world-famous soloists.

It has increased the appreciation of folk musicians as players. On the other hand, traditional folk music people are perhaps irritated by the Academy's useless artistry. But the esteem has definitely increased for both sides.

It is an overvalued institution on this island [i.e. in Finland].

It has had good influence, but it is killing pelimanni-ness!

Virtuosity has increased.

In the early days, for example, Niekku [band made of the first students from the Sibelius Academy Folk Music Department] made fine folk music in my opinion, but nowadays there is too much noise and cacophony and [non-Finnish] ethnic music. I would like to find from the crowd more honest, straightforward Finnishness.

It has increased the music's profile.

It has brought some weird experiments.

Professional-skill players have come, but at the same time harrastaja musicians have been left a little in the shadows. But I would prefer to listen to well played music anyway.

Many knowledgeable, skilled players have come to the field. But on the other hand, SibA style has become dominant and in this way it has impoverished the stylistic diversity of folk music.

It has increased the different styles that are played, and brought international tinges.

It has broadened folk music's listenership, as well as the general knowledge and appreciation of folk music.

It has definitely made folk music more visible and broken down people's prejudices.

It has apparently had a lot of influence, because almost all of my teachers have studied at SibA.

By producing high level musicians and teachers a new music field has been born that will come to influence Finnish music in many ways. For example, education is noticeably increasing with more teachers being trained all the time.

Heikki Laitinen and his teachings have totally revolutionized people's minds and along with them music.

Folk musicians perceive the main impacts of institutionalization to be an overall increase in the social position and cultural capital of folk music, increased skill level of folk musicians, revival of extinct traditions and instruments, increase in educational opportunities, and a broadening of the concept of what folk music is. A minority also voice concerns about the loss of regional distinctiveness, the lessening importance of national identity and Finnishness, and threats to amateur pelimanneja by professionalization – concerns that reflect the conflicts that occur when changes (new ideas, values, and practices) are instigated, and reveal the depth and breadth to which the Academy's influence is felt by the young and old, and trained and untrained, folk musicians. As the informant above observes, Heikki Laitinen, his students, and their teachings are revolutionizing the way people understand and create folk music.

Chapter 14. Conclusions

This dissertation details the history and current state of a genre of Finnish music called “contemporary folk music,” an urban, professional music using traditional Finnish folk music as a point of departure for contemporary, individualistic creations. It focuses primarily on the Folk Music Department of the Sibelius Academy, a prestigious music conservatory in Helsinki, where the genre was created and where its most important practitioners have studied or currently teach and work. In addition to providing an ethnographic account of the development and significance of Finnish contemporary folk music, I hope to have contributed to ethnomusicologists’ theoretical understanding of five larger socio-musical issues: (1) the institutionalization of musicians’ training in traditional musics; (2) the construction of legitimacy, authenticity, and historical continuity in revived and recontextualized musics; (3) the ideology, pedagogy, and methods for teaching creativity; (4) how the authority to be musical and specifically to be creative in music is created and allocated; and (5) the expression and reification of transnational and intercultural relationships through musical fusions and appropriations.

Institutionalization

The Sibelius Academy Folk Music Department, founded in 1983, has generated a contemporary folk music with a status, professionalism, virtuosity, artistry, and context similar to art music. The Department has encouraged both professional and amateur folk musicians to compose, practice several different types of improvisation, create their own

personal contemporary arrangements, and draw freely from other genres and world musics. As the primary generator and disseminator of the ideology and performance practices that characterize contemporary folk music, this institution is an example of the tremendous impact that the process of institutionalizing musicians' training can have on a musical-cultural system.

Much of the ethnomusicological work on the institutionalization of folk and traditional musics has focused either on nation-states' use of folk music as a tool for the dissemination of their political ideologies and propaganda (especially in the Communist era), or on the impacts of Westernization on traditional music in non-Western countries (impacts which scholars have often perceived as negative). In Finland, the state has neither used the Folk Music Department for any political agendas nor pressured or censored its activities; rather, the Department's ideology, pedagogy, and goals have come from Heikki Laitinen, a visionary and ambitious man within the department. Nevertheless, despite the Folk Music Department's autonomy, emphasis on artistry, and apparent disinterest in extramusical politics, it has wielded a powerful influence on both conservatory-trained professional folk musicians and amateurs alike – a power enhanced by the state's institutional support and the Academy's prestige, and an influence similar to that exercised by Soviet institutions. Questionnaire responses from professional and amateur folk musicians across Finland reveal that the more exposure individuals have had to the Department's ideology and teachings the more likely they are to improvise, compose, arrange, and make fusions, regardless of their age or skill level. This

demonstrates the power and influence that an educational institution can have in the dissemination of ideology and performance practices, regardless of state intervention.

Westernization, a process frequently linked to institutionalization in non-Western countries, often involves the imposition or adoption of Western art music values, aesthetics, performance practices, and/or teaching methods. Although Finland is itself a Western country and Finnish art music and musicians are a recognized force in Western art music, the institutionalization of folk music at the Sibelius Academy has similarly led to an adoption of Western art music values and ideology. The Finnish case is not about Westernization or Europeanization per se, but, like the institutionalization of traditional music in many non-Western countries, an incorporation of Western art music elements can be viewed as a strategy for "improving" folk music in order to increase the status and reputation of folk music and musicians and present a sophisticated, ethnically rooted music. Following the general Finnish penchant for contemporary art and design, high technology, and desire to be on the cutting edge, as well as contemporary folk musicians' rebellious attitude towards conventional Western art music education, contemporary folk music pedagogues have chosen to embrace avant-garde and experimental art music techniques. Contemporary folk musicians desire to be "artists" with the same freedom to develop their music that jazz and classical musicians have to develop theirs (a desire heightened, if not inspired, by the conservatory environment and competition for recognition, status, and funding within the Sibelius Academy). The goal of being an "artist" reflects an internalization of the fundamental Western art music ethos of the notion of progress through individual creative input. The way in which traditional music

is adapted to Western-style conservatory is determined by ideology, values, and ambitions; despite their adoption of such ideology, the Folk Music Department has rejected conventional Western art music pedagogy and teaching methods, which emphasize notation, create a division of labor between the creators (composers) and executors (performers) of music, and deny or limit students' freedom to create and experiment. The Department teaches and requires students to improvise using a variety of methods, from the melodic variation of precomposed material, to the spontaneous re-creation of traditional material, to minimalist motivic-based free improvisation, to experimental and avant-garde free improvisation. Lengthy solo improvisations are a primary method of individual creation and artistic development for contemporary folk musicians (just as they are for jazz musicians). Improvisation is also the basis of claims for authenticity and legitimacy and a tool linking contemporary folk music to historical folk music.

Authenticity and Historical Continuity

Finnish contemporary folk musicians have revived and reinvented ancient instruments and genres that had died out, they learn and perform in "untraditional" institutional and other formal contexts (such as concert stages and recording studios), and many of them had backgrounds in classical music, jazz, or popular music before coming to the Sibelius Academy to learn folk music. Like musicians in revivals and other instances in which music has been recontextualized and adopted by outsiders, Finnish musicians assert the legitimacy of their new music by identifying and striving towards

specific ideals, ideals which they consider to be the most valuable, defining characteristics of the source tradition. In many music revivals, ideals – which shape the creation process, performance practices, aesthetics, and perception of the recontextualized music – often center on authentic sounds, a sound-product. These product-oriented claims to legitimacy have led to assessments of authenticity based on a "purist" versus "syncretist" dichotomy. In contrast, the legitimacy of Finnish contemporary folk music is founded on an ideal process of creating folk music, as well as an ideal way of being a folk musician and an ideal relationship of folk music to society. Finnish contemporary folk musicians believe that the most authentic approach to creating folk music is to attempt to enter into and continue the process of creating music by learning the tradition and using it as a foundation for their own personal creative expressions, incorporating whatever influences have touched their lives. Through this ideal process, they achieve another ideal: transforming folk music into a living tradition relevant to contemporary society; and they avoid their anathema, or "anti-ideal," the freezing of folk music as a museum piece. When ideals are founded on the process of creation and the personal qualities of a musician, the "pure"/"syncretic" dichotomy disappears, for the so-called "impure" syncretic fusions may be interpreted as being more "pure," authentic, and legitimate than traditional sounding music by virtue of being created through a "more traditional" process. In concert programs, CD liner notes, and daily discourse, Finnish contemporary folk musicians invoke documented historical instances of free improvisation, personal expression, and folk composition, and thereby give themselves carte blanche to create music of any sound or style while maintaining

their status (and institutional and community support) as folk musicians. Defining a type of music in terms of change and process allows musicians the freedom to create new styles and go beyond traditional musical parameters while still retaining historical continuity and a claim to a legacy. The current process-oriented interpretation of Finnish folk music is as selective and "imagined" – and no less or more valid – than the very different interpretations of folk music that served the amateur folk music revivalists of the 1960s and 1970s and the romantic nationalists of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (which contemporary folk musicians devalue as inauthentic and imagined); it is merely shaped to suit different ideologies, goals, and cultural and historical circumstances. In Finnish contemporary folk music, individual creativity and personal expression have been identified and legitimized as key means for both historical continuity and artistic progress.

The Teaching of Creativity

This ideology, valuing individual creativity, personal expression, and folk music as a living tradition relevant to contemporary society, has shaped the pedagogy and teaching methods in the Sibelius Academy Folk Music Department. Folk music students study Finnish ancient and traditional instruments, genres, and musical systems, and then are taught to vary traditional material, create their own traditional-sounding music, and use traditional material as source material, a jumping off point, for new, personalized musical expression and experimentation. Department pedagogues believe in Albert Lord's (2003 [1960]) theory of oral composition, in which epic singers spontaneously

create songs anew in the moment of performance using traditional formulas and themes, but since the performance of Finnish epic singing died out before the founding of the Folk Music Department, instructors have invented their own methods of teaching oral composition, methods that draw on archive material collected by nineteenth-century scholars and utilize the nature of human aural memory (in an attempt to simulate an oral-memory-storage-based culture and learning process). Department teachers also use avant-garde improvisation as a pedagogical tool to encourage students to develop courage, confidence, individuality, and personality in their playing.

In addition to newly invented pedagogical techniques, and methods inspired by and adopted from traditional folk music practices (e.g. oral transmission), the department's teaching methods have been influenced by a reaction against the conventional Western music education in Finnish music schools, which folk music pedagogues believe is founded on "repetition, obedience, subjugation, and conformity" and leads to the "eradication of creativity" of Finnish children, to quote the Department's leader Heikki Laitinen (1989:9, my translation). Thus, the department emphasizes and rewards individuality, non-conformity, the challenging of established musical boundaries, and "divergent thinking in music" (which, according to Peter Webster [1988, 1992], is the key ingredient in definition of to creativity, as opposed to conforming "convergent thinking"). In contemporary folk music, traditional material is used as a source, a foundation, a point of departure, from which musicians make their own music, drawing liberally from their imagination and any other musical styles or elements at hand. Common arranging techniques include melodically based polyphony, expanded

heterophony, Western chord-based harmonizations, drones, ostinatos, grooves, soundscapes, melodic variation, and free improvisation. In these diverse arranging styles, contemporary folk musicians may incorporate musical elements from avant-garde music, electronic music, jazz, popular music, and a variety of world music styles from Swedish to Mordvin to West African to Cuban to American to Australian. On one hand, the designation of traditional folk music as source material, which contemporary musicians arrange to make concert productions and record tracks, may belie an attitude (held by some – not all) that the traditional music from the archives is not sufficiently artistic or good enough to be performed as is (though, in some cases, particularly in ancient music, there is not enough information to play traditional music without a little imagination and arranging). On the other hand, the improvisation and arranging techniques taught in the department allow musicians tremendous freedom for creativity and individual expression and unbounded artistic possibilities.

The Authority to Create

In the Sibelius Academy Folk Music Department, all students are granted the authority to compose, improvise, and arrange folk music and their own music in any way they please. In all societies, authority to be creative is socially determined, constructed, and allocated; musicians must possess or somehow earn this authority in order to compose, arrange, or interpret music creatively, if they want their creations to be accepted and supported by their community and/or institution. Henry Kingsbury (1988) demonstrated that in a U.S. conservatory of Western art music, only selected socially elite

artist-teachers were granted the authority to follow their own feelings when they were told to "play with feeling" and to creatively interpret the scores. In other instances, the authority to be creative may be earned or determined based on skill, knowledge, ideology, social position, or notions of ownership, inheritance, and entitlement. In Finnish contemporary folk music, their very definition of folk music as individual creation and personal expression with traditional material as a jumping off point grants all folk musicians equal authority to be creative. This focus on creative individualism, independence, and freedom is also a rebellion against classical music's division of labor into creative composers and obedient performers, an alternative means of musical production in which each musician is a free agent capable of filling all musical roles.

Many contemporary folk musicians come to the Academy enculturated in classical, jazz, and popular musics with little folk music background (though the folk music background of incoming students has been gradually increasing as folk music education becomes more widely available). In addition to the skills, knowledge, and transformative experiences acquired at the Sibelius Academy that allow them to become tradition bearers of a musical culture in which many of them were not raised, their nationality and ethnicity grant them the right to carry on and innovate Finnish folk music. The romantic nationalists and folklore scholars of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries propagated the belief that traditions from select regions within Finland (and even from beyond Finland's borders) are "Melodies of the Finnish People" and "Old Poems of the Finnish People" belonging to the whole nation (to cite the titles of important folk music and song text collections). Folk music (which, in many countries, can also be

translated as "music of the people") is generally thought to be collectively owned, and indeed folk music in the public domain is. Many scholars take for granted the notion that folk musics are owned by certain communities, regions, ethnicities, and nationalities. In cosmopolitan urban centers characterized more by the passive consumption of myriad local and international musical styles, as opposed to active participation in their "own" local music, ethnic and national ownership of folk music is as socially constructed as ethnicities and nationalities to which the music belongs. It is taken for granted that Finnish folk music belongs to the Finns, regardless of whether or not an individual Finnish person knows to first thing about "his" or "her" folk music. However, Finnish contemporary folk musicians also have identities that stretch across national borders: they feel they belong to both Nordic culture and a Finno-Ugric ethnolinguistic family, and freely take source material from these cultures as if it were their own. Furthermore, contemporary folk musicians in Finland feel an affinity with folk musicians from around the world, and do not hesitate to borrow from their musical cultures as well. On one hand, these transnational identities justify the creative use of a broad range of musical material and styles. On the other hand, they call into question our frequently unchallenged assumptions about collective ownership.

Transnational and Intercultural Relationships

Fusions of Finnish and non-Finnish musical elements often express and reify transnational and intercultural relationships, and the manner in which others' music is incorporated often reveals the nature, or desired nature, of that relationship. Finnish

contemporary folk musicians have complex, multilayered identities: they identify as belonging to a folk subculture within a diverse musical scene, regions within Finland (such as Karelia and Ostrobothnia), the Finnish culture/nation, Nordic culture, and the Finno-Ugric ethnolinguistic group. While there is a powerful historical legacy of Finnish folk music as national symbol, which still influences perceptions of folk music (and probably its institutional position), most contemporary folk musicians disdain nationalism as old-fashioned and make an effort to disassociate themselves from nationalist connotations in folk music (by, for example, refusing to wear national folk costumes when performing). Finnish musicians do identify strongly with contemporary Nordic culture. They collaborate frequently with musicians from Norway and Sweden in recordings, on festival stages, and even through educational exchanges amongst folk music departments. These equal collaborations with live musicians reflect a desire for and egalitarian, participatory relationship with contemporary Nordic cultures. In contrast, Finnish contemporary folk musicians use musical traditions from Finno-Ugric cultures (e.g. Ingrian, Estonian, Karelian, Mordvin, etc.) as source material. This "digging for roots" in Finno-Ugric traditions reflects their belief that they share an ancient heritage with Finno-Ugric peoples. Yet, Finnish musicians seem to be less interested in contemporary developments in folk music in these cultures, which reflects their lack of affinity with other Finno-Ugric peoples' current post-Soviet situations. Finnish contemporary folk musicians also feel that they belong to a community of "global folk musicians" and collaborate with musicians or borrow musical elements from around the world. With the exception of cross-cultural collaborations in which each musician

plays her/his "own" tradition, Finnish musicians tend to perform melodies and texts (which to them are the most valuable and essential musical elements) from Nordic and Finno-Ugric traditions, while musical elements from farther afield (such as African djembes and Australian didgeridus) often take the musical position of background accompaniment, adding textures and disembodied exotic sounds in the form of grooves and soundscapes. Finally, the music of cultures from which many Finns would prefer to disassociate (for example, Somalian immigrants and Russian neighbors) is often excluded entirely – blaring omissions in a scene characterized by so many cross-cultural fusions and collaborations. In the case of Russian musical elements, Russia's proximity to and historical relations with Finland have naturally lead to significant Russian musical influences on Finnish and Finno-Ugric musics. While Russian musical elements can be identified in many Finnish contemporary folk music pieces, their incorporation is often entirely unintentional, underemphasized, and in many cases completely unknown.

Final Thoughts

While the dissertation describes the Finnish contemporary folk music scene and its institutionalization in largely positive terms, the Folk Music Department and the contemporary folk music scene it has shaped are not without faults. While the Department does not encourage the racism and xenophobia found in Finnish society towards certain ethnic groups, neither does it do much to discourage it. The constant need to arrange traditional archival material may reflect opinions held by some (though not all) that traditional folk music is not good enough in and of itself for contemporary

folk musicians. The lack of scholarship and "book learning" required at the Academy, though not uncommon for a music conservatory, means that students are spoon-fed information about folk music from the teachers – a practice which encourages a uniform ideology and approach to folk music, which is further enforced by the fact that many instructors are hired from the Department's own alumni. Many students within the Department are also elitist and cliquish in their attitude toward amateur folk musicians, despite the egalitarian emphasis in contemporary folk music ideology.

Nevertheless, the accomplishments of the Department in its two decades of existence have been tremendous (especially considering that the Department is still very much in a developmental stage). The Department's musicians and activities have exponentially increased the general knowledge about and respect for folk music across Finland, and encouraged the establishment new programs in folk music education. They have revived historical instruments and genres that had ceased to be performed, so that they are now flourishing within the folk music community. Contemporary folk musicians have made important cross-cultural ties in their collaborations with musicians from other countries. Contemporary folk music is a vehicle for rejecting "old-fashioned" identities and asserting contemporary, transnational identities and relationships, and for presenting a new image of Finns as both contemporary and cosmopolitan. The Department's ideology and pedagogy have caused a boom of creative activity, encouraging personal expression, personal development through music, dissolution of inhibitions, artistic freedom, and individual creativity (for both the Department's students and musicians of all ages and skill levels outside the department). In addition to

encouraging and teaching musicians to be creative and individualistic, the Department has provided a space, community support, institutional support, and alleviation from commercial demands. Finally, Finnish contemporary folk musicians have created a new, innovative, passionate, diverse, self-consciously artistic form of music.

APPENDIX

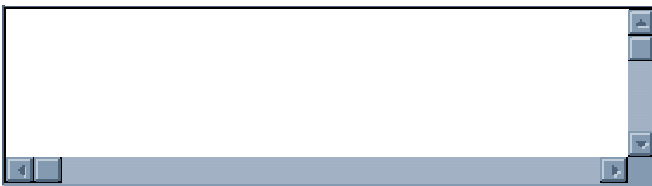
Finnish Contemporary Folk Music and Dance ONLINE QUESTIONNAIRE*

The questionnaire consists of the following sections: introductory questions, questions about music, questions about dance, opinion questions, and (optional) personal information. Some sections are very short, others are a little longer. In addition, there are special sections for musicians only, music teachers only, dancers only, dance teachers only, and festival organizers only -- these sections will only appear if they apply to you. If you wish, you may save your answers and continue later by clicking the "break" button.

1. How did you first get involved in folk music and/or folk dance?



2. What drew you to folk music and/or folk dance? What do you like about it?



3. In what contexts do you usually listen to folk music?

Check all that apply:

- attend folk music/dance festivals
- attend concerts and performances (outside of festivals)
- go to jam sessions
- listen to recordings of folk music at home
- borrow folk music recordings from the library
- listen to folk music on the radio

watch documentaries or programs about folk music or dance on TV

other

4. Do you play or sing folk music?

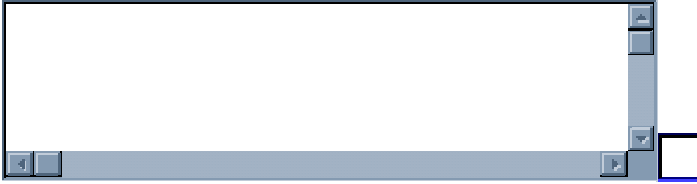
Yes

No

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[Questions for musicians]

1. What instruments (including voice) do you play, and what types of music do you perform on each instrument (or voice), including folk music and other genres of music?



2. What drew you to play folk music instead of other genres of music? Or, if you play different types of music, what does folk music offer you as a musician that's unique from other genres of music?



3. How would you rate your musical skill level?

Beginning

Intermediate

Advanced

4. How would you characterize your involvement as a folk musician?

just play/sing for fun

serious hobby, committed amateur

professional

5. In what contexts do you usually play/sing folk music?

	frequently	occasionally	rarely	never
jam sessions in your community	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
perform in a band or choir	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

	frequently	occasionally	rarely	never
play/sing at home or with friends for your own enjoyment	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
practice seriously on your own	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
take private lessons or classes	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
jam sessions at festivals	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
perform at festivals	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
prepare and record albums	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
perform in formal concerts	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
gig at various community events	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
accompany folk dancing	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
collaborate with other artists (e.g. film, theater, modern dance, popular music, jazz, etc.)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
other	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

6. Where do you get your folk music repertoire? What are the sources of the folk music pieces that you play/sing?

	frequently	occasionally	rarely	never
learn tunes by ear by playing along in jam sessions	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
from the director or other members of your band/ensemble	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
from friends/peers	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
in lessons from a teacher	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
from workshops, master classes, or special courses	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
from archival recordings	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
from commercially available recordings (from a music stores or libraries)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
from folk music programs on the radio or television	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
from music books and/or song books	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

	frequently	occasionally	rarely	never
compose or improvise own tunes	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
from your own field work	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
from other sources	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

7. If applicable, which books and recordings do you use the most as source material?

8. How much do you usually modify or arrange the music you play/sing from its original version?

Choose one

not at all

a little

somewhat

a lot

so much that you probably wouldn't recognize the original version

9. If/when you modify or arrange the music you play/sing, how do you usually do it and why?

10. How often do you combine Finnish folk music together with different genres/types of music?

Choose one

never

rarely


occasionally

frequently

11. If/when you combine Finnish folk music with other types of music, how do you usually go about doing it? What other musical genres do you incorporate and why?



12. If you play or sing music from other cultures, how familiar are you with those cultures? How much do you feel a personal connection with those cultures?



13. How much do you improvise when you play folk music?

I rarely or never improvise

I improvise a little bit, here and there

I improvise a medium amount with some regularity

I improvise frequently and extensively

14. How do you improvise? What types of improvisation do you do (e.g. add ornaments, change a piece's structure or form, follow chord changes or modes, free improv, alone or in an ensemble)? What is the role of improvisation in your musicmaking?

15. Please indicate what type(s) of musical education and training you have had (including folk music and other types of music you may have studied/played).

Check all that apply

- self-taught
- learned informally from family, neighbors, friends, etc.
- took private lessons
- took group classes from a club or organization
- took workshops or courses at music festivals
- learned from playing/singing in an ensemble
- studied at a music school
- studied at a music academy or conservatory. Where?
- other. What?

16. In your folk music training, how much did your music teachers, mentors, and/or directors emphasize the following skills/goals?

	a great deal	a fair amount	a little	hardly at all	not applicable/not sure
learn traditional styles and repertoire	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
learn pieces and styles from other cultures	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

	a great deal	a fair amount	a little	hardly at all	not applicable/not sure
master a specific correct playing/singing technique and tone quality	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
master your instrument technically, become virtuosic	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
learn to play by ear	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
learn to read musical notation	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
add your own ornaments and/or harmonies	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
learn music theory	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
improvise	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
develop your own personal sound and style	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
learn about the cultural and/or historical context of the pieces you play	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
play well in an ensemble with other musicians	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
collaborate with artists other than folk musicians	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

17. Have you studied at the Sibelius Academy Folk Music Department?

Yes

No

18. Have you ever studied under teachers who studied at the Sibelius Academy Folk Music Department?

Yes, frequently

Yes, but only once in awhile

No, never

Don't know/not sure

19. Do you teach folk music?

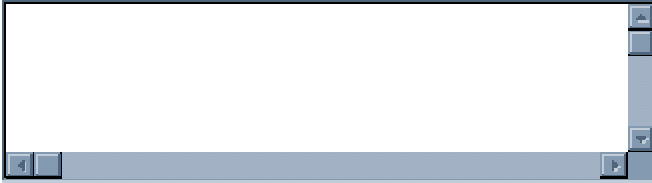
Yes

No

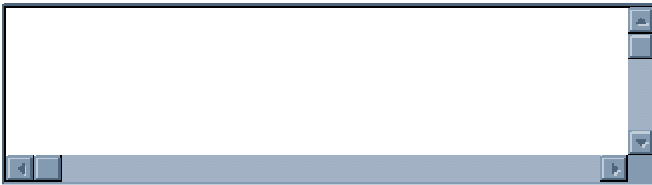
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[Questions for folk music teachers]

1. What kind of training and background do you have that qualifies you to teach folk music?

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2. Where do you teach (e.g. music school, academy, festivals, privately, folk organizations or clubs, etc.)?

An empty rectangular text input box with a light blue border and a vertical scrollbar on the right side.

3. Please describe your pedagogy and teaching methodology. How do you teach folk music? What are your primary goals that you hope your students will achieve? What are your ideal dreams of what your students will be able to do?

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[Questions for everybody about folk music]

1. Who are your favorite folk music artists or bands? What do you like about them?

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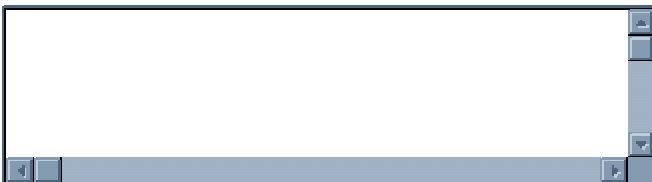
2. What other types of music do you listen to besides folk music? How do you relate differently to the different kinds of music you listen to? What do you get out of one type of music that you don't get out of another type of music?

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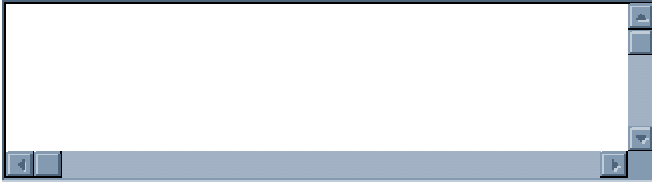
3. What position do you think that folk music holds in Finland today? What position does folk music have in your own country (if you are not from Finland)?

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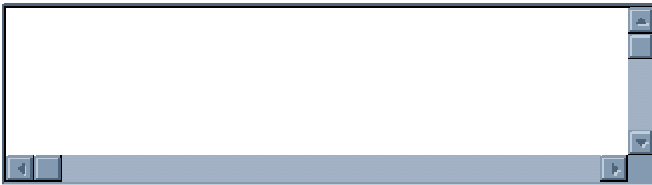
4. How would you define folk music?

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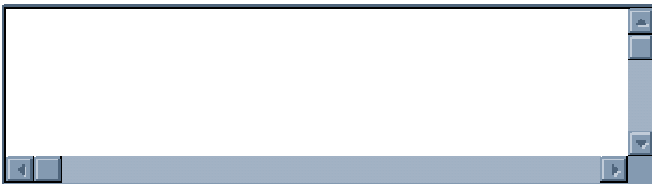
5. Are there limits on what can be considered to be folk music? Are there characteristics, traits, or qualities that folk music must have, or must not have, in order to be considered folk music? If so, what are they?

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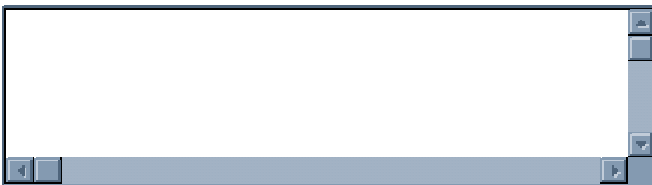
6. Is there such a thing as bad folk music or a poor folk musician? In your opinion, what would make something be bad folk music? What would make someone be a poor folk musician?

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7. Are there limits on what can be considered to be folk music? Are there characteristics, traits, or qualities that folk music must have, or must not have, in order to be considered folk music? If so, what are they?

An empty rectangular text box with a thin black border. The box is intended for the user to type their answer to question 7. It features a standard Windows-style control bar on the right side with a close button at the top and a scroll bar below it. On the bottom left, there are two small square buttons, and on the bottom right, there is a right-pointing arrow button.

8. How do you think folk music has changed in the last few decades?

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9. How have institutions and academies (such as the Sibelius Academy Folk Music Department) influenced folk music?



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[Questions for everyone about folk dance]

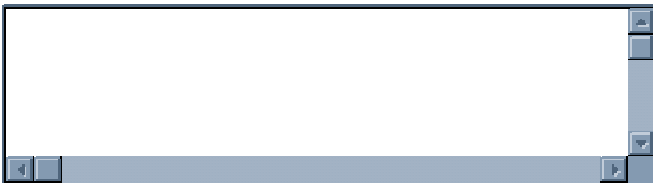
1. How would you define and limit what folk dancing is?

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2. Do you think that folk dancing has changed in the past several decades? If so, how?

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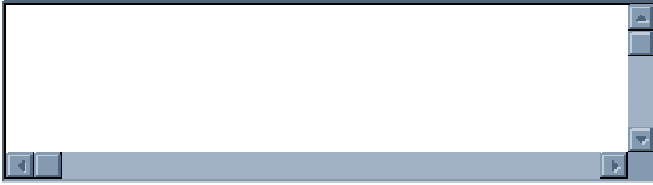
3. How have the changes in contemporary folk music impacted folk dancing and the relationship between folk music and dance? How would you describe the relationship between folk music and folk dancing today?

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4. Do you think that the gender roles expressed in folk dancing are more conservative, less conservative, or about the same as gender roles and values in contemporary society?

- more conservative
- less conservative
- about the same

Please explain and give examples if you can.



5. Do you folk dance? *

Yes

No

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[Questions for folk dancers]

1. How did you get interested in folk dancing?



2. Why do you dance? What are your goals in folk dancing?



3. Please describe your dance background, including folk dance and other kinds of dance.



4. How did you learn the folk dances you know?

- formal training in a dance/performing arts academy
- extracurricular course(s) at a school, university, gym, or community center
- workshops, master classes, special onetime courses
- in a club or organization
- in your folk dance group
- at other folk music and dance events

at other folk music and dance events

from friends/peers

other, please specify:

5. Do you teach folk dancing?

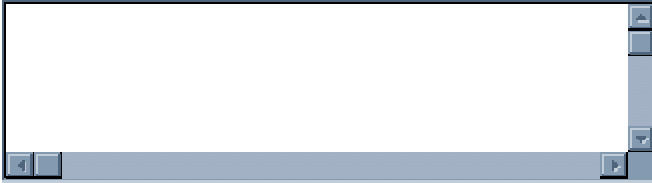
Yes

No

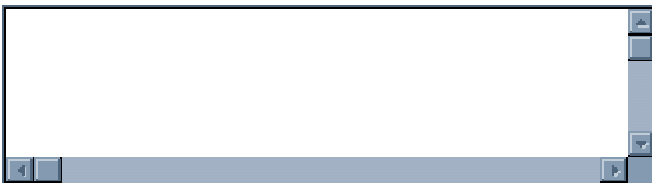
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[Questions for folk dance teachers]

1. What kind of training and background do you have that qualifies you to teach folk dance?

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2. Where do you teach (e.g. folk dance club, performing arts school, university, festivals, privately, etc.)?

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3. Please describe your pedagogy and teaching methodology. How do you teach folk dance? What are your primary goals that you hope your students will achieve? What are your ideal dreams of what your students will be able to do?

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[Questions for festival organizers]

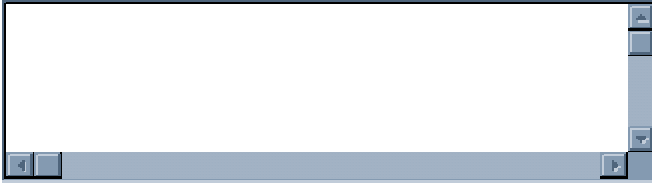
Do you organize or help organize festivals or similar folk music/dance events? *

Yes

No

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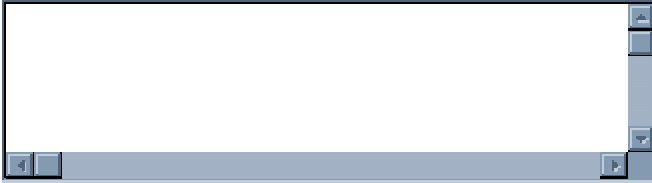
1. What types of events do you organize, or help organize?

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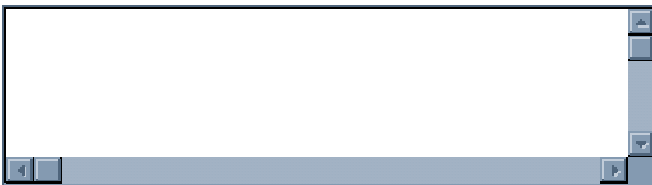
2. How and why did you get involved in event/festival organizing?

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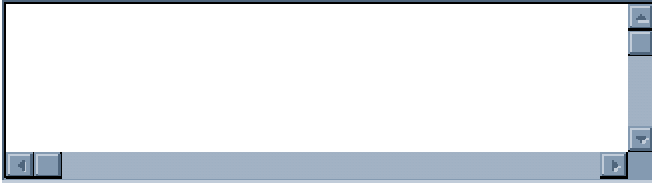
3. What are your main goals in organizing these events?

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4. How do you choose which types of performances to include and which performers to invite?

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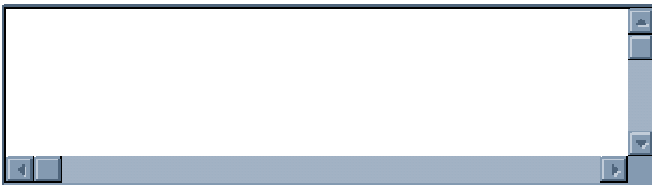
5. What type of audience attendance and participation do you hope for, and what do you usually get?



6. What are your main sources of support and funding?



7. If your festival/event is an ongoing event, how has it changed and evolved over time?



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[Statements of opinion, for everyone]

The following statements and opinions about folk music in Finland have been encountered by the researcher. Some were made by Finnish musicians or scholars, and some by foreign musicians or scholars -- they do not reflect the opinion of the researcher. Please indicate whether or not you agree with the statement. You may explain and support your opinions below.

1. In order for folk music to be a living tradition relevant to people today, folk musicians must have the freedom to express themselves personally through their music and incorporate contemporary influences.

2. In order for folk music to be authentic, it is important that folk musicians learn the traditional styles, repertoire, and values and play their music according to these traditions.

3. Folk music is an important part of Finnish national identity and what it means to be Finnish.

4. The average Finnish person thinks that Finnish folk music is little more than an old-fashioned five-stringed kantele and mythical songs about Väinämöinen.

5. Since the 1990s, folk music has become very popular in the Nordic countries and abroad.

6. Folk music from certain regions (like Karelia or Ostrabotnia) gives people from those regions the feeling that they belong to that region and community, and gives outsiders an impression of what that region's culture and people are like.

7. Traditional and village folk musicians (e.g. pelimannit) often feel threatened by the young professional musicians coming out of the Sibelius Academy Folk Music Department.

8. Finnish musical and cultural roots can be found in the traditions of neighboring Finno-Ugric peoples such as the Estonians, Ingrians, Karelians, Mordvans, etc.

9. Finland shares a lot in common musically and culturally with her Scandinavian neighbors to the West.

10. Very little Russian music has been incorporated into Finnish folk music and folk festivals because Russians are so culturally different from the Finns. This is also why very little music from minority groups in Finland is incorporated into Finnish fo

11. Finnish folk music is a part of the larger global or world folk music scene. Thus, in a time of rapid globalization and frequent transnational communication, it makes sense that Finnish folk musicians should adopt elements from other types of world m

12. When contemporary Finnish folk musicians appropriate music from other genres and cultures without taking time to really learn about the other musical traditions and cultures, they are being disrespectful to the other cultures and exoticizing them.

Please explain why you agree or disagree with the above statements.



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[Demographic questions]

1. In what year were you born?

2. What is your highest level of education?

elementary school

high school

vocational school

polytechnic

3. What is your occupation?

4. What languages do you speak?

Native/mother tongue?

What other languages have you studied?

5. What is your nationality (or nationalities)?

6. What is your ethnicity (or ethnicities)?

7. Where are you from?

Where were you born? where do you live now? Where else have you lived?

8. What is your sex?

Female

Male

9. Do you identify with or belong to any particular subculture(s), scene(s), or special group(s)?

10. Your name:

optional

11. The names of any bands/choirs/dance troupes you perform with:

optional

12. If your answers are quoted, would you prefer for your name and identity to be acknowledged or kept confidential? *

you may quote me by name

please keep my name and identity confidential

13. If you are willing to be contacted for further questions, please provide your e-mail address here

optional

14. Do you have any final comments, opinions, criticisms, questions, advice, etc., that you would like to add ?



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