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Playing with Capital

Inherited and acquired assets in a jazz audition

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Abstract

A common dream among the youth is to become a successful musician. By surveying young aspiring musicians trying to enter a prestigious jazz audition, this paper examines assets and dispositions involved in the formation of a music field. In the study we build on Bourdieusian sociological theory and method in order to map out a space of jazz testers and characterize the group(s) seeking to enter. Our findings, based on a specific multiple correspondence analysis performed on 211 applicants, suggest that the space of jazz testers is structured by three important factors: (i) the total volume of music capital, (ii) commitment to the (professional) field of practice and (iii) the familiarity acquired through previous music socialization and training. Using clustering techniques, we further distinguish four groups among the applicants – the *Insiders*, *Outsiders*, *Inheritors* and *Underdogs* – and reveal the success rate of the groups. We find that the acquisition and enactment of field-specific symbolic assets is of particular importance for elite music admissions, while at the same time the sizeable number of musically affluent candidates competing for a small number of places turns the audition into an event underscored with considerable uncertainty.

Keywords: jazz education, selection, music audition, Bourdieu, uncertainty, cultural fields of production

1. Intro

“If you don’t live it, it won’t come out of your born.” – Charlie Parker¹

Jazz has moved through the genre hierarchies over the course of the 20th century, from being conceived as commercial and “low-brow” to gaining acceptance as an expression of legitimate elite culture (Levine, 1988; Hobsbawm, 1989; Lenard, 1962). Parallel to this, the image of jazz musicians has shifted from being seen as disgraceful, populist to one based on the cultural charisma of the true artist and the romantic images of having “personality” or “an unique voice”(Nylander, 2014a; Whyton, 2010). To conceptualize jazz performers as virtuoso improvisers without social constraints can be seen as a modern way to fabricate the artistic identity, as innate qualities of individuality and artistic singularity are considered key (Kris and Kurtz, 1979; Sapiro, 2007). Yet, in the case of contemporary jazz music, this development can be seen as particularly paradoxical as the entry into the professional field, perhaps more so now than ever, rely on standardized educational routes through music conservatories, prep schools and clinic’s (Ake, 2012).

Entering the world of contemporary jazz, as any other mature artistic field, is at the same time considered as highly uncertain and dependent on the recognition of art-specific judgments of gatekeepers (Menger, 1999). In contrast to the strong juridical boundaries that protect established professions such as lawyers, medical doctors or university professors, the social and aesthetic regulation that protects artistic fields tends to operate with a particularly weak degree of “codification” (cf. Bourdieu, 1996, pp. 227ff; Karpik, 2010; Melldahl, 2012). Whereas careers that aim towards professionalized spheres of the labor markets typically select students based on grades, the institutions within art and music typically deal with the question of succession through more idiosyncratic or field-specific means, such as evaluating previously produced art (e.g. portfolios) or through music auditions.

¹ Quoted in Reisner’s (1977, p. 27) *Bird: The Legend of Charlie Parker*.

In this paper we will run a multiple correspondence analysis based on survey data from a group of young aspiring jazz musicians, in order to illuminate the structural conditions of music selection in an educational setting. Drawing on Bourdieu's theoretical propositions (Bourdieu, 1989; 1996; 2004), as well as the relational method that has been described as "a social space approach" (cf. Roose et al., 2012; Flemmen, 2012), our overall aim is to trace the practical foundations of jazz improvisation back to their structural conditions of possibility. As the evaluation processes to jazz auditions do not follow any explicitly formalized or standardized criteria of selection, it is an intriguing area to study empirically. In this paper we ask ourselves: which social groups are compelled to invest in educational pathways aimed at advanced (and highly uncertain) artistic practices? What are the structuring principles within these preparatory stages of artistic consecration? Who is being selected?

The particular audition under scrutiny represents a highly selective test-trial for aspiring Scandinavian musicians at an intermediate level. The data employed is based on a survey of 211 applicants that competed over the 25 places available at the Eight Miles High jazz program² in 2010. In that year, the total number of contenders exceeded 470 individuals. The analysis is set-up according to a two-step procedure. First, we are interested to uncover the factors that are formative in the development of an interest in playing jazz music. To find this out, we run a specific multiple correspondence analysis on the survey data and outline the three most important factors that structure the social space of Swedish jazz testers: (i) total volume of music capital, (ii) commitment to the (professional) field of music and (iii) the familiarity of music acquired through previous music socialization and training.

Secondly, we use cluster techniques in order to distinguish how these factors are embodied and distributed in different social groups and show their respective prospects for becoming admitted. Four kinds of musical dispositions are identified among the jazz applicants - Insiders, Outsiders, Inheritors and Underdogs. Overall, our findings show a strong correspondence between having been brought up in a middle class and upper middle class family and applying to advanced jazz music auditions. It also unravels

² Eight Miles High is a pseudo-name given to the particular folk high school studied for reasons of anonymity.

more subtle relationships between the position contesters uphold in social space and the different instrument-groups of the modern day jazz ensembles. Our findings clearly show that mundane forms of social selection precede the possible entry into advanced music training and the professional field of jazz. Though there is some degree of uncertainty in the music evaluation that warrants these auditions a wide appeal, it does not eliminate the force of inherited and acquired forms of capital.

2. The field of jazz and the question of entry

In a recent sociological account of jazz musicians, Faulkner and Becker (2009, pp. 88-93) note how former generations of jazz musicians learnt their craft by playing at social events, and eventually in jazz clubs, whereas contemporary musicians are dependent on an institutional system of formalized education. This process of institutionalization of jazz is not limited to the North-American continent that gave birth to the genre (Levine, 1988; Faulkner and Becker, 2009), rather it is a development observed in most parts of the western world (Perrenoud, 2003; Nicholson, 2005; Arvidsson, 2012). As both Becker (1982) and Faulkner (1983) point in their earlier work, “artistic worlds” tend to be characterized with a structural overproduction in terms of the number of contesters that seek to enter. Faulkner (1983) suggests that the particularly high degree of competitiveness in the music industry results in early career selection. Against the backdrop of Faulkner’s (1983) and Faulkner and Becker’s (2009) arguments the educational ramifications of contemporary jazz is particularly intriguing to study empirically. How does, for instance, the career trajectories of musicians change as jazz “enters” into educational institutions? Who is attracted to embark on an educational career within jazz? What kind of assets is pertinent for developing an interest in this music? Who is selected to those educational jazz programs that point toward the more professional “bandstands”?

Inspired by Faulkner’s classical 1983 study on the trajectories of freelance composers within the Hollywood industry, Pinheiro and Dowd (2009) explored the career trajectory of contemporary jazz musicians by means of quantitative research methods. These authors report, somewhat surprisingly, that successful jazz musicians in the US rely on “aesthetical and technical generalism” to a much higher degree than the less successful ones, and that conservatory training in jazz is not very generative for prosperous career advancements (neither measured in relation to recognition among critics nor to monetary rewards).

Dowd and Pinheiro (2013), on the other hand, seem to find support that extensive formal training in music (graduate degrees) form part of the dominating pool of the contemporary jazz field in the United States (alongside seniority, Afro-American origin, New York or New Orleans residency). Both formal music training and general education was found to be important for the development of professional music networks, something the authors stress as imperative to successfully endure in the field. Though there might be an increasing emphasis on music education in contemporary jazz, the authors' results suggest a less than straightforward pattern of jazz consecration, which highlights the importance of further empirical analysis.

Within quantitative cultural sociology more broadly, an extensive body of research targeting music taste and social stratification has appeared, often either inspired by the work of Bourdieu (e.g. Bennett et. al., 2009) or attempts to criticize his theory (e.g. Peterson and Simkus, 1992; Chan and Goldthorpe, 2007). Here, jazz is often treated as a category of musical preference among others and the focus is on consumption patterns rather than advanced musical production. Although jazz has a rather ambiguous meaning musically, the results of comparing its social usage genre-wise seem to suggest that jazz is preferred more among the middle class and those with relatively high educational attainment, than among the working class and those with a low degree of scholarly merits. For instance, in the case of the UK, jazz is clearly marked in studies from the Cultural Capital and Social Exclusion survey (summarized in Bennett et al., 2009) but interestingly enough, also in studies that have supported the hypothesis of an increasing omnivorousness³ (Chan and Goldthorpe, 2007, pp. 6-7). Similar results on the social usage of jazz music can be found in studies conducted in France and Sweden (Coulangeon, 1999; Coulangeon and Lemel, 2007, pp. 99 ff., Lidegran and Palme, 2012), all indicating jazz music consumption as related to more 'cultivated' dispositions. Based on these earlier findings, we hypothesize that the social composition of the audition of aspiring jazz musicians originate primarily from the higher echelons of the Swedish society.

³ The hypothesis of the "omnivore" is a particularly well-debated topic within the social sciences in the last few decades. For an impressive review of this body of research (including some criticism) formulated by one of its earliest proponents, see Peterson, 2006.

To study music careers sociologically has also been done in other artistic genres than jazz. Particularly relevant to our case study is studies that have focused on auditions or other gatekeeping procedures (Hirsch, 1973; Faulkner, 1983; Reijnders, Rooijakkers and van Zoonen, 2007) and those that have emphasized the uncertainty of artistic career aspirations (Menger, 1999; Janssen, 2001; Zwaan, Ter Bogt and Rooijakkers, 2010; Franssen, Kuipers, 2013; Hennion, 2014). Our own engagement with this literature focuses especially on how career uncertainty, itself, could be regarded as socially stratified. Since much of the authoritative sociological accounts on the jazz repertoire have been formulated by scholars within the research tradition of symbolic interactionism (cf. Faulkner and Becker, 2009; Monson 2009), we consider it particularly important to explore the extent to which external forces structure the entry into the contemporary field of Swedish jazz music.

3. Capital at play: a social space approach

This article largely adheres to the research tradition that, following Bourdieu, adopts a social space approach to cultural practices in order to map out the distribution of the properties recognized and valued within a specific field (Le Roux et al. 2008; Prieur, Rosenlund and Skjott-Larsen, 2008; Savage and Gayo, 2011; Flemmen, 2012). However instead of focusing on questions of music consumption we zoom in on a specialized enclave of cultural producers, namely those striving to become enrolled in prestigious jazz music education programs. If music consumption is a particularly well-studied area in cultural sociology, quantitative studies targeting the social formation of music fields and the generic aspects of musical production seem less common.⁴ Furthermore, our study does not take a heterogeneous population-at-large (or randomized sample thereof) as the basis of comparison; instead it is a close-up investigation of an exclusive group of young aspiring musicians who are in the process of auditioning.

Akin to many of the aforementioned studies, we are inspired by the works of Bourdieu (1996; 2004) and want to explore how his theories stand in relation to contemporary Swedish jazz music practices. For

⁴ Through a qualitative analysis, Rimmer (2012) has however shed some light on what he describes as the formation of a “musical habitus” which bare some similarities to our analysis.

Bourdieu, the concept of capital was meant as a tool for researchers to explore *what* and *who* receives recognition in various social settings. Apart from its embodied state, which can be seen as particularly salient in the case of skilled jazz musicians, the force of capital is also present (and preserved) by institutionalized means (schools, titles, examinations, etc.) and by objectified means (such as in the uneven distribution of material assets) (Bourdieu, 2004; Broady, 1991, p. 160; Palme, 2008).

One intriguing area to study empirically is the nexus between different forms of capital, in this case how extra-musical and musical assets are grouped together both synchronically as well as diachronically. Hence, building on Bourdieu's proposal to put his theory to use in concrete case studies, we will here focus on the distribution and efficacy of field-specific symbolic assets in jazz music auditions. In order to simplify and contextualize our results these assets will eventually be denoted as *music capital*. The field-specific assets appropriated throughout the life-course of a music candidate will be seen as acquired capital, while the possible involvement of (parental) heredity will be designated as its inherited counterpart (Bourdieu, 2010). Successful musicians in auditions can thus be seen as examples of individuals who master the rules of entry to the particular field. However, we are also interested in how field-specific capital might be linked to other types of assets (economic, educational and cultural in a more general sense), assets that are heterogeneous or external to the particular artistic field in question.

Following this theoretical starting point we will assume that the formation of an artistic field of production is related to the institutional infrastructure of educational venues that provide advanced training and qualification. As Sapiro (2013) points out, institutions that cultivate and consecrate artists are one of the most fundamental aspects of the formation of any cultural field.⁵ This is so because different agents are set to compete about the legitimate definitions of the art and the positions within the specific field (Sapiro, 2013; Nylander, 2014b).

⁵ For a full-fledged field analysis à la Bourdieu on the position and position-takings within the French literary field 1940-1953, see Sapiro (2014). The argument that Bourdieu's field concept can be applied to both individuals as well as institutions also appear in Broady (1991).

3.1 Swedish jazz and the institutions of music education

Even though Sweden is often heralded as a country that has successfully produced and exported music, there has been surprisingly little in-depth inquiry into the socio-genesis of Swedish music production. In the case of Swedish upper-secondary music education, Börjesson (2012) has shown how full-time music programs have grown extensively in number and volume over the last 20 years, a morphological change that he claims produces “exclusivity” in the higher forms of art education as these positions do not expand as much as the number of pretenders. Besides upper-secondary school music programs and music conservatories profiled towards music, there are various other institutional arrangements actively cultivating Swedish musicians such as public music education (Kommunala musikskolor) that provides basic extra-curricular training at a low cost for kids and youth aged 6 to 20; study associations that offer financial and technical support for informal music practices in all music genres imaginable; and folk high schools that offer more specialized long-term programs in various genres at a intermediary level (1-2 years).

In relation to the professional scenes of Scandinavian and Swedish jazz, Nicholson (2005) argues that there has been prosperous development in Sweden – compared to other countries – in the last few decades, an outcome he attributes to the relatively “generous cultural grants” and the existence of “free music education”. The introduction and transmission of jazz music to Swedish audiences date back to the early 1900s, while the music style grew in popularity foremost in the 1930s, predominantly as background music for different kinds of dancing activities like Onestep, Charleston and Swing (Kjellberg, 1985; Arvidsson, 2012). In the 1960s and 70’s, jazz gradually made its entry into music educational institutions such as universities, study associations and folk high schools. This development seems to coincide with the establishment of jazz as a legitimate cultural expression in other European countries such as France (Coulangeon, 1999) or Great Britain (Whyton, 2010b).

The jazz program at Eight Miles High folk high school represents one among the most renowned music educations at an intermediary “prep school” level in Sweden, i.e. often attended prior to music conservatory and after upper-secondary school training. Eight Miles High applicants were chosen as an empirical base for the survey as the school was found to have the most selective program among the

preparatory music programs in Sweden (Nylander, 2010). The school's strong position in the Swedish educational landscape is, at least partly, a result of relatively high success rates in the music scene among their alumni, for instance as measured by field-specific prizes. Out of the prize categories appointed to newcomers within Swedish jazz between 2000-2010 all but one individual among the winners had music qualification from the top tier folk high school training campuses studied here, which can be taken to simultaneously underscore and reproduce these institutions 'selection power' (ibid). Consequently, the auditions at Eight Miles High are very competitive and gather candidates from all over Sweden as well as from neighboring countries.

4. Mapping out assets among jazz applicants

In order to map out this space of jazz testers, we relied on responses from a questionnaire sent out to all candidates of the audition at Eight Miles High's jazz program that took place in 2010. Out of the 472 applicants that competed over the 25 places available, 227 completed the survey. After investigating the quality of the answers, our final sample was narrowed down to 211 individuals, representing 45 percent of the original testers.⁶ Among the applicants in our sample, there seems to be a certain bias towards those that succeeded in the audition. While the survey gathers responses from 16 of the 25 candidates that were finally admitted (65 percent)⁷, the response rate of the less successful candidates was lower (44 percent). There could be several reasons as to why candidates did not choose to respond to the survey. First, the ratio of successful candidates to unsuccessful candidates approximates 1:20. As the candidates knew the outcome of their audition at the time of our inquiry, the negative associations of an unsuccessful performance might lead to reluctance to respond. There could be similar sampling biases present within the 'rejected' group as well, as those who got admitted into other prestigious programs or received relatively encouraging feedback (but were not enrolled) might be more likely to participate than those who received a series of outright rejections. Would these speculations regarding possible sample biases be true,

⁶ This exclusion of 16 individuals was due to the lack of information gathered from foreign applicants, and a few other cases where too many questions were left unanswered.

⁷ Note that the data gathered on the outcome of the audition (successful/unsuccessful) is informed by the respondent, i.e. self-reported.

they would mean that we systematically underestimate the social differences active in the space of jazz testers. Overall the material is more reliable for characterizing the winners of the auditions than in describing the less fortunate candidates.

4.1 Multiple Correspondence Analysis

Since the purpose of this article is to analyze the distribution of and relations between the testers' possession of pertinent properties (field-specific capital and general forms of capital), the use of a relational methodology is essential. We have employed a version of multiple correspondence analysis (MCA) called specific multiple correspondence analysis (Le Roux and Rouanet, 2004; 2010). By this method, whose "elective affinities" with Pierre Bourdieu's mode of thinking has repeatedly been emphasized (e.g. Lebaron, 2009, pp. 12-14; Bourdieu, 2004, p. 33), a multidimensional space of properties is constructed using the data from the survey of the applicants to the particular school.

The structure of the space of jazz testers is thus determined by the relations between the active variables that are each based on a set of survey questions related to the candidate's musical experience, their family of origin, educational routes, musical preferences and visions for the future (see Table 1 below). Into this space, we have also projected two demographic variables – age and gender – that help us to interpret how the space of testers is related to other social and mental structures. These 'supplementary variables' do not contribute to the structure of the space but help us expose where different qualities are located within the space (Le Roux and Rouanet, 2004, p. 237). As a final stage of the analysis, a Euclidian classification is performed that helps us distinguish four different clusters among the applicants (Le Roux and Rouanet 2004, pp. 106-115). In this study, the clusters are statistically founded tools to help analyze how characteristics are grouped together to form distinct groups and how they are related to the testers' chances of admission. To further assist our interpretation, we have also benefited

from ethnographic fieldwork, interviews and audition recordings that the first author conducted at the site of the auditions.⁸

4.2 Construction of the Space

An important aspect of this study concerns the selection of active variables. Twelve variables are used to construct the space of testers. In Bourdieu's theory it is important to analytically separate acquired capital (accumulated by the individual) from inherited capital (accumulated in the family of origin) in order to relate them to each other.⁹ The first two headings in Table 1 (below) correspond to this analytical separation, gathering eight of the twelve variables. Especially important for the entry logic of artistic fields, according to Bourdieu (1996), is the conviction among newcomers that the game is worth playing at all costs. To explore the possible role of such artistic *illusio* four additional variables are introduced.¹⁰

Put in more general terms, *inherited assets* relate to properties most closely connected to the family home of the respondents. Here, three variables are included: the social class of the tester, as classified by the applicants; a measure of the intensity of musical acquisition in their family of origin, based on how many in the respondent's family are considered "musical" and; the total number of music records in the household, as estimated by the respondent. The classification of inherited assets used in the analysis is thus based on the subjective view of the candidates' class position provided in a rather crude estimate of social origin as a hierarchical order (Upper middle, Middle, Lower Middle, Working class, N/A).

Under the second heading, we group five variables indicative of *acquired assets*. The age at which the respondent started playing music provides information on when the socialization towards the musical world began, while the question on whether or not they have studied at any public music school reveals if they have followed this Swedish standard route to musical proficiency. The question of which study

⁸ For those interested in the judgments and valorizations of the gatekeepers in these auditions, see (Nylander, 2014a).

⁹ Analytic distinctions between inherited and acquired capital are present all throughout Bourdieu's oeuvre. The most axiomatic depiction is found in Bourdieu, 2010.

¹⁰ For a detailed account of the active variables and categories that have been included under each of our overarching headings, see Table 1, below.

program they followed during upper secondary school is particularly relevant, as it gives an indication of their already vested interests in a music career. As mentioned above many upper secondary schools in Sweden offer specialized music programs, which is why it is important to separate those who have attended specific music classes from those who went to theoretical or (other) practical programs.

The two final questions in this grouping is whether they have studied at a university or at another folk high school before, providing additional information about the respondent's previous educational investments. Although it could be objected that some of these variables on music acquisition might be dependent on the social and cultural heredity explored under inherited assets (for instance, when an individual learns to play an instrument at a very early age), we are nevertheless compelled to place this question under the heading of acquired capital, as we take the category to represent the life-course of the candidate.

The third and final heading gathers questions that gauge the aspirations and orientations of the respondents. We have labeled this last heading *attitudes/aspirations*, which is taken to include the commitment to pursue a professional music career for the rest of their life, and corresponding attitude towards becoming a music teacher. The two last questions complement the vocationally-oriented questions by giving an indication of the educational horizons of the candidates. The vocational attitudes towards teaching and artistic practices might contain important information on different strategies adopted in a labor market where over-supply is a permanent condition (Becker, 1982; Faulkner, 1983; Menger, 1999). The educational horizon is another area that has relevance against the backdrop of the inherent insecurities attached to the artistic trajectory. By engaging in the social stratification of educational choices, we are able to explore further the tensions exerted through labor market prospects.

Table 1. Active variables and categories in the analysis, absolute and relative frequencies

Heading	Variable	Category	N	Percent
Inherited assets	Social origin ■	Upper middle class	30	14,2
		Middle class	106	50,2
		Lower middle class	35	16,6
		Working class	38	18,0
		<i>Class N/A</i>	2	0,9
	Musical family ◆	Several	97	46,0
		One	68	32,2
		None	44	20,9
		<i>N/A</i>	2	0,9
	Number of records at parental home ●	500-	32	15,2
		180-499	63	29,9
		60-179	75	35,5
		0-59	37	17,5
Acquired assets	Started playing music ■	1-6 y	45	21,3
		7-12 y	125	59,2
		13 y -	36	17,1
		<i>N/A</i>	5	2,4
	Public music education ▲	Public: Yes	172	81,5
		Public: No	38	18,0
		Public: N/A	1	0,5
	Upper secondary education study program ◆	U-S: Music-prestige	34	16,1
		U-S: Music-other	126	59,7
		U-S: Theoretical	39	18,5
		U-S: Practical	12	5,7
	Previous university studies ►	Uni: Yes	27	12,8
		Uni: No	184	87,2
	Previous studies at Folk High Schools ◀	FHS: Yes	75	35,5
		FHS: No	136	64,5
Attitudes/Aspirations	Certainty in career as professional musician ▣	ProfMusic: Certain	138	65,4
		ProfMusic: Hesitate	70	33,2
		<i>ProfMusic: N/A</i>	3	1,4
	Attitude towards becoming music teacher ◆	Teacher: Absolutely	44	20,9
		Teacher: Temporarily	101	47,9
		Teacher: Reluctantly	63	29,9
		<i>Teacher: N/A</i>	3	1,4
	Applied to university ►	AppUni: Yes	35	16,6
		AppUni: No	176	83,4
	Applied to lower ranked Folk High School ◀	AppLow: Yes	127	60,2
		AppLow: No	60	28,4
		<i>AppLow: N/A</i>	24	11,4

Note 1: Categories in italics are set as passive in the analysis, altogether 7 categories, all containing non-responses.

Note 2: The symbols in the table are used to designate the variables in the graphs.

5. The Space of Jazz Contesters

In the following, the space of jazz testers is outlined by interpreting the three most important factors identified: (i) the total volume of music capital, (ii) commitment to the (professional) field of practice and (iii) the familiarity acquired through previous music socialization and training. After providing a sociological interpretation of the categories that contribute to each of the axes we will project two supplementary variables – age and gender – into the constructed space. Finally, these findings are complemented with cluster analysis where four different kinds of musical dispositions are classified and their chances of jazz school admittance discussed.

5.1 Volume of music capital

The first axis is structured by the volume of inherited and acquired field-specific capital, henceforth labeled *music capital*. Almost exclusively, contributions to this axis come from registering inherited and acquired assets, both strongly related to the family of origin since the acquired assets that are related to greater volumes were accumulated at a very young age, while still residing in the parental home.¹¹

¹¹ For the eigenvalues, modified rates and the scree plot, see Table A.1 A.2 and Figure A.1 in the Appendix A. Together these first three axes comprise 72.3 percent of the modified rates.

Figure 1. The Space of Jazz Contesters. Cloud of categories in plane 1-2. Categories contributing above average to axis 1.

To specify the distribution of the contributing categories to the axis, depicted in Figure 1, these are grouped in two poles. To the left categories indicating very early and intense familiarity with both consumption and production of music are located, and to the right categories representing distance to consumption and production of music are found.¹² The opposition is effectively unmasked by the two most contributing variables: the degree of musicality in the family and the point in time when the respondent started playing music. At the left pole, applicants considered several family members as being “musical” while at the right pole none was. We also find to the left a very early introduction into playing music and to the right a very late musical debut. In the same manner, the categories showing previous educational investments are dispersed. To the left we find both having studied at public music school and studies at one of the more selective upper secondary study programs in music (US: Music Prestige) and to the right not having studied at public music school and spent the upper secondary school in a theoretical program, i.e. programs preparing for university studies. Last, emphasizing that differences in relation to

¹² See Table A.3 in Appendix A. for variables grouped by headings and categories retained for interpretation.

music to some extent also reflects differences in economic status, in the left, large record collections are found and also being raised in a middle class home, whereas to the right, small record collections and lower middle class or working class upbringing is located. The rigid polarization of the space along class lines – in which attitudinal and aspirational variables does not play an active part – strikes us as the most important finding in the first axis.

5.2 Commitment to the field

The second axis demonstrates the impact of differences related to the dedication for a musical career, or the general commitment to the field. To this axis, acquired assets and the candidates dispositions contribute the most to the structure. The opposition along this axis cut between, on the one side a hesitant orientation towards a future in music, expressed both by previous investments and by present choices oriented towards other fields (top side Figure 2), and on the other side a greater dedication to a musical career (bottom side Figure 2).

Figure 2. The Space of Jazz Contesters. Cloud of categories in plane 1-2. Categories contributing above average to axis 2.

Four variables are particularly important in this opposition. At the top right-hand side of the graph, we find what seems to be four interrelated categories: having studied at university; being hesitant towards the

prospects of being a professional musician; having applied to university studies and having studied at a theoretical program in upper secondary school. These imply that options other than music-oriented ones are fully open to these testers located close to the top of the graph. This interpretation goes both nominally, for having studied at an upper secondary school program that explicitly prepares for higher academic studies and dispositionally, for applying not only to further erudition in music. Since other extra-musical options are at play, it is not surprising that we also find a reluctant attitude towards the prospect of becoming a music teacher here. We also find that upper-middle class upbringing located up at the top of the graph, perhaps indicating that from the vantage point of the bourgeoisie – especially so in the economical fraction of the middle class – investments in music careers are viewed as particularly ambiguous. In other words, the agents located at the top-end of the axis seem to form another fraction of the middle class than those at the bottom.

At the bottom section of Figure 2, the opposite characteristics surface: here, certainty about wanting to be a professional musician prevails, coupled with an enthusiastic attitude towards becoming a music teacher. Other academic endeavors are distant, since not having studied or applied to the university is located at this end. Instead, the inclination towards a music career is expressed by both having been enrolled in a music program at an upper secondary school and by applying also to lower ranked music programs (i.e. at other folk high schools besides Eight Miles High). In addition, these vocationally embracing inclinations are characteristic of being the only musical member in the family, thus potentially excluding the interpretation of a straightforward social reproduction in musical belief among all candidates.

To sum up our interpretations of axes 1 and 2, we have seen a highly differentiated image of the space of jazz testers where at least three groups surface: (i) to the left of center – the cultural inheritors with much vested interest in music; (ii) to the right – youngsters originating either from working class (downwards in the plane constituted by these axes) or, more commonly (iii) the economical fractions of the middle class (upwards in this plane). The latter two are clearly separated by their commitments, as those originating from the bourgeoisie tend to hesitate to embark on a music career whereas those with less inherited capital are more inclined to wholehearted investments.

5.3 Primary vs. Secondary music socialization

The third axis is structured by differences related to the accumulation of acquired music capital. It produces a cleavage that pits one pool of candidates, who mainly rely on assets derived from secondary music socialization, against another pool who owes much of their preparation to primary forms of socialization (Rimmer, 2012). Upon closer examination of the contributing modalities, we see that the shape of the third dimension mostly pertains to the question of previous music training at other folk high schools (FHS). In short, the opposition of the third axis is largely to be understood as a polarization between those who have been socialized into the world of music at an early stage and those pretenders who made a relatively late entry. It also separates those who seek folk high school music entry for the first time from those who are already experienced “sophomores” students, now trying to “climb the ranks” of the Swedish music school hierarchy.

Figure 3. The Space of Jazz Contesters. Cloud of categories in plane 1-3. Categories contributing above average to axis 3.

Thus, on the top section of Figure 3, we find an entry into the world of music during the age-span 7-12 grouped together with earlier music studies at a folk high schools and not having applied to a lower ranked folk high schools, while at the bottom of the graph, an early socialization towards music (1-6 years old) is accompanied by no earlier studies at a folk high schools and applications to lower-ranked music programs. A rather fierce reluctance towards the prospect of becoming a music teacher, situated among the ones that have not entered the FHS-courses yet (bottom), is placed in opposition with a more pragmatic or realistic attitude towards music teaching among the FHS-sophomores (up in the graph).

5.4 A structure related to age

Another way to help illustrate how the space of jazz testers relates to age is to project age-cohorts as a *supplementary variable* into the constructed space.¹³ Figures 4 and 5 show how all three axes are structured according to age in important regards. That biological age proves to be a crucial factor in this investigation can be read against the backdrop of the rather homogeneous characteristics of the focused population to start with, being dominated by the cultural fractions of the middle class and mostly well-trained in music from a relatively early stage. Younger individuals, given the uneven distribution of field-specific capital, could be considerably more seasoned than older individuals, who are newer to the discovery of jazz as a potential personal future.

¹³ The meaning of distances between supplementary elements in geometric data analysis can roughly be read as: 0.5 = notable, 1 = large. For a short explanation of our use of supplementary variables, see page 9. A more extended description of this method is found in Le Roux and Rouanet (2004).

Figure 4. Age and gender as supplementary element in plane 1-2

Figure 5. Age and gender as supplementary elements in plane 1-3

Along the first axis (left–right in Figures 4 and 5), that according to our initial interpretation relates to the total volume of music capital, we see large differences between the youngest and oldest candidates as well as notable differences between the oldest and all the rest. The reason for the older group to have a relatively late entry effort into Eight Miles High is, consequently, due to the distant pathways that led them to embark on a music career to start with, often accompanied with educational investments oriented towards altogether different fields than music.

In the second axis (top to bottom in Figure 4), that according to our opening analysis seems to cut between the wholehearted and the halfhearted candidates, there is an intriguing gap between the two youngest groups and an emphasized difference towards the mean point of the oldest individuals (Age: 23 years older and older). We see that the side where life-long commitment towards music and music teacher careers find its best statistical expressions corresponds with young age. Yet, some of the youngest candidates, particularly those located in the bottom left quadrant in planes 1-2, seem to have objective reasons to believe in the prospect of a music career (at least more than the other applicants do). It is therefore hard to draw any definite conclusion as to whether it is the naivety of uninformed youth or, rather, the objective expressions of accumulated resources that produce the differences along the second axis.

In the third axis based on the projection of age as a supplementary variable (top–bottom in Figure 5), the cohorts are cut along a crooked line, rendering notable differences between the 21-22 year-olds and the two groups downward in the graph, the youngest (age ≤ 18) and the oldest (Age $23 \geq$). Hence, one intriguing difference sets the two youngest groups apart, locating the ≤ 18 year olds closer to the bottom of the graph than 19-20 year olds. This separation further addresses our interpretation of the school-specific differentiation since we have more evidence of a group of applicants trying to climb the ranks of the music programs and enter a more prestigious school, whereas the opposing group has not yet had the chance to study in any of these preparatory music programs.

From the point of view of a sophomore music student, this move from one program to another can be justified by their desire to play with better musicians. Some of these candidates come from more generic music programs at the folk high schools, who after having experimented with different music styles now attempt to specialize further in jazz (Nylander, 2010). Another aspect of these internal movements among the folk high school programs relates to how well-informed the candidates are when embarking on preparatory music classes. Especially among the students that started their journeys in peripheral positions, geographically as well as artistically, it often takes a year at other music programs for one to become attuned to the educational and cultural hierarchies of the new universe. Another interesting detail is that among the youngest age-group, that are also the most musically affluent ones, a considerable number still have another year before finishing their upper-secondary. One strategy among these inheritors, to further an already vast advantage, seems to be to venture into the most prestigious auditions one year in advance, i.e. familiarize themselves with the repertoire and prepare for upcoming admission tests.¹⁴

Figures 4 and 5 also reflect how gender relates to the structure of the space. The only axis where gender differences seem to play a major part is the second one, separating the half- and wholehearted. One of the reasons for this result is the highly gendered application pattern to the various instruments within

¹⁴ Unfortunately, we did not ask the contesters how many times they had been trying out for the specific audition under scrutiny. This could, as one reviewer of *Poetics* rightly pointed out, be an interesting variable to elaborate within this kind of case studies.

contemporary Swedish jazz. The intense rivalry amongst women to be enrolled into ‘Song’ and the striking rejection rates that corresponds to that pattern, thus render these testers more inclined to collective disbeliefs (for more on this see 5.5, below). In axis one, related to the volume of music assets, the gender differences are minimal. These findings suggest a fairly equal exposure to previous music practices and gender similarities in the social environments that generate an interest in jazz. The masculine domination within the audition space is largely rooted in a broader socialization towards various kinds of instruments.¹⁵

To sum up our findings so far: three main axes are outlined within a space of young aspiring jazz testers. The first axis displays a polarization between the musical “haves” and the “have-nots” of music capital, understood both in terms of inherited and acquired assets. The second axis opposes those who express a wholehearted attitude to those who hesitate to pursue a career within music. The third axis divides the candidates into primary and secondary music socialization, exhibiting the necessity to examine internal mobility within the local hierarchy of music programs. We also see how the space relates to age in interesting ways. The significance of age seems partly dependent on the time it takes to apply to the top-ranked music program. For some applicants, the awareness of the hierarchy is in itself a type of knowledge that needs to be acquired (by first attending other lower-ranked programs), while for other applicants, this educational route is so obvious that they spend much of their upper-secondary education preparing for this specific music audition. Next we follow up on the question of how the auditioning candidates differ from one another in terms of music dispositions and how they were judged during the audition of Eight Miles High.

¹⁵ The reason why gender is not discussed more extensively in this paper is primarily because it plays out as a *non-*notable line of social differentiation along the first and the third factor of the Specific MCA.

5.5 Characterization of the testers in four clusters

With a cluster analysis based on a Euclidean classification, we have identified four distinct groups among the applicants. In this method, testers are assigned to the groups based on the similarity of their response patterns, as compared to testers classified into other groups. The clustering presented below is based on 5 axes, amounting to 85 percent of the total variation. In the description of the differences of the clusters, we have also utilized additional information – included as supplementary variables – to get at more fine-tuned social and field-specific differences, which is not possible to include as active elements in the analysis.¹⁶

Table 2. Euclidian classification into four groups. Absolute and relative frequencies.

Cluster	n	%
Insiders	82	38.9
Inheritors	67	31.8
Outsiders	34	16.1
Underdogs	28	13.3
Total	211	100

The first cluster, which we have labeled *Insiders* based on their distinctive categories, is the largest group of 82 individuals, representing 39 percent of the sample. A majority among these has already studied one year in a folk high school program. The Insiders typically begin their acquisition of music competence at an early age and have made extensive investment of their own in what seems to be rather field-specific forms of educational capital (participation in public music schools, upper-secondary programs in music as well some previous folk high school training in music).

¹⁶ For a full description of differences in the relative frequencies of the active and supplementary variables between the four clusters, see Table A.4 and Table A.5 in Appendix A.

The experience gained from exiting folk high school programs clearly sets the Insiders apart from the second biggest cluster (67 individuals, 32 percent) that we have labeled *Inheritors*. Although musically affluent – with particularly high figures on parents themselves being professional musicians, the richest density of records at home, with plenty of other family members considered musical and considerable degree of own investments in music – the Inheritors are still often novices in the folk high school music scene. Like the Insiders, most Inheritors have gone through a music-oriented program in upper-secondary school, with a considerable proportion of them having passed through elite upper-secondary music schools.

This group is also characterized by a high percentage (85 percent) applying to lower-ranked music programs. Trying their luck at auditioning in less competitive auditions is also of special importance for the Inheritors as they are over-represented among the most competitive soloist instruments. The clearest overrepresentation among the Inheritors as for instrument choice is ‘Song’ and the ‘Saxophone’/‘Trumpet’. Overall, both Insiders and the Inheritors have succeeded in accumulating a considerable amount of music capital while still being of a relatively young biological age. Together, these two clusters, Insiders and Inheritors, represent 79 percent of our sample. The magnitude of this proportion emphasize the particularity of the population under study, where a vast majority – largely middle class – are already very well acquainted with the world of which they are trying to become active members. This indicates the effectiveness of social mechanisms in the relationship between origins and inclinations towards cultural production activated at an earlier stage (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1979).

Though both the Inheritors and the Insiders predominantly originate from the middle classes, the Insiders are a little more heterogeneous class-wise.¹⁷ A solid middle class origin is a feature also in the third biggest cluster, the *Outsiders*. They consist of a smaller group of 34 individuals, representing 16 percent of the applicants. Like the Inheritors, the Outsiders have a clear inclination towards the soloist instruments (particularly ‘Song’ and ‘Piano’). In sharp contrast to the other two groups described above, the Outsiders

¹⁷ See Appendix A, Tables A.3-A.4 for relative frequencies on active resp. supplementary categories.

are hesitant towards a professional career in music. One major reason for this half-hearted commitment to the field, perhaps best described as a weak or stagnated *illusio* in Bourdieu's sense (Bourdieu, 1996, pp. 286 ff.), can be that they often attended theoretical programs at upper-secondary level and therefore consider alternative future trajectories (for instance at other university programs). Apart from being the high average age, this cluster is also dominated by women (62%). The Outsiders' career trajectory and vocational stance thus point towards a particularly strong sense of ambiguity in relation to the world of jazz music, with an apparent disinclination towards the prospect of working in pedagogical positions.

The last cluster amounts to 13 percent of our sample, or 28 individuals. These are the *Underdogs* who seem to combine a low degree of inherited music capital with a relative scarcity of own music investments. Originating mainly from working class and lower-middle class families, with no or relatively small music collections and rarely any other family member to practice with, they would appear to have slim objective chances of being admitted, given their comparative disadvantage in all field-specific matters to the other groups. However, some of the Underdogs have worked themselves through the preparatory route available at other folk high school programs and their attitudes towards becoming music teachers are much stronger than what we find in the three other profiles. Together with the Inheritors, they also display the highest average on affirming the vision of working as a musician "for the rest of their life", in other words compensating their relative lack of field-specific capital with a particularly intense commitment. The incorporation of accepting a pedagogical role within their own vocational horizons can be interpreted as an inclination to find themselves in their own destiny – in "a choice of the necessary" to speak with Bourdieu (Bourdieu, 1984, pp. 372ff) – but can also be seen as further emphasizing their wholehearted determination to play the game, at all cost. Another striking characteristic of the Underdogs' profile is the high-percentage of bass players and guitarists. The Underdogs in this sample is also the

group least likely to play any of the soloist instruments (i.e. voice, piano, saxophone/trumpet), with no one of the 28 contestants trying out for piano.¹⁸

Let us now turn to the million-dollar question of whom in these four groups that got admitted? Or, more precisely, how is the relationship between the configurations of pertinent assets between these four clusters (Insiders, Outsiders, Inheritors, Underdogs) translated into differences in their probability of being admitted?

5.6 The selected few

At first glance, our results yield an inconclusive answer to the question of admission. Table 4 shows the reported verdicts of the judgments made by the music jury against the four groups.

Table 3. Four clusters and rates of admittance to the school. Number of admitted and share admitted

Cluster	N in cluster	n admitted	% admitted
Insiders	82	8	10
Inheritors	67	5	8
Underdogs	28	2	7
Outsiders	34	1	3
Total	211	16	8

The evaluations by the jury of the four clusters largely mirror their representation among the contestants.

The largest number of admitted students is drawn from the two largest clusters: the Insiders (8 persons, or 10 percent of the cluster) and the Inheritors (5 persons or 8 percent of the cluster). The two smallest

¹⁸ Cultural sociologist Trondman (2004) studied how class related to genre preferences in some earlier cohorts of Swedish students and found that rock, especially hardrock/heavy metal, was particularly well-regarded among working class youth.

clusters, the Underdogs and the Outsiders, thus seem to have a diminished probability of being admitted but the numbers are too small to be considered fully decisive.¹⁹

What the overall results show is rather that the evaluatory judgements of the gatekeepers at this advanced intermediate stage do not change the social composition of jazz much. The outcome of the audition can therefore neither be seen as to operate in a socially compensatory way (by over-admitting individuals with less assets) nor by *only* admitting those with the most ‘privileged’ or cultivated dispositions musically. The selection to the specific jazz program thus seems to follow largely upon the larger group of applicants that appeared in the audition, which nevertheless in itself primarily consist of youth from the dominant classes.

The two biggest groups applying, classified as Inheritors and Insiders, cover 13 out of the 16 admitted positions. As it was amongst these two groups that we found the dominant cultural characteristics as for music capital, the most surprising finding in relation to their enrolment rates is perhaps that their total admittance is not even greater. This is arguably partly due to the sizable number of candidates sharing the same qualified features to start with. It is also important to observe that the dominant groups of the audition are heavily overrepresented on the soloist instruments, which make these contesters compete about much of the same prestigious positions. The surprising enrollment of Underdogs, on the other hand, build upon the inclusion of one guitarist and one saxophonist, whereas the only candidate that made her way into the prestigious jazz program originating from the group classified as Outsiders was a female singer.

Unlike the gender division of jazz labor – where, stereotypically speaking, “she sings and he plays” (e.g. Buscatto, 2007) – socialization to the jazz ensemble builds on social cleavages that are less conspicuous too. In particular, our data indicates that while the formation of a jazz interest tends to rely on middle class upbringing, there are also internal classed patterns within the jazz ensemble. On the one hand, there seems to be a correspondence between generic instrument choices (here represented by ‘Guitar’ and ‘Bass’

¹⁹ Out of the 62 applicants in these clusters, almost 5 percent or 3 individuals are admitted, which is just below average rates.

which have little field-specific character) and desirability among the candidates originating from Swedish working class. On the other hand, there are candidates on soloist instruments such as saxophone, trumpet or piano whose instrument socialization seems to be, if not field-specific, at least more culturally exclusive.²⁰ One thing that seems worth studying further, based on the social composition of the jazz ensemble outlined here, is the class codes of the specific instruments within the jazz ensemble.

6. Concluding remarks

In this article we have adopted a two-step procedure to analyze the selection processes to preparatory jazz auditions. Firstly, we explored what give rise to an interest in playing jazz music and how the space of testers to one prestigious school is structured in relation to inherited and acquired assets among its candidates. Secondly, we deployed advanced cluster techniques (Euclidian classification) to examine how these assets are typically embodied. In this finalizing discussion, we will relate our main findings to existing literature on artistic careers and music auditioning.

Previous research on musicians' career trajectories have emphasized the ways in which artistic evaluation is grounded in estimations of previous track records (Faulkner, 1983; Pinheiro and Dowd, 2009). As the path to becoming a professional jazz musician has grown increasingly institutionalized, the role of schools and their entry requirements warrant in-depth empirical inquiries. It is evident, from this study, that mundane forms of social selection precede the more ceremonial rituals of advanced artistic practice and consecration. Far from epitomizing any boundary-less careers we have found several factors that structure the space of young aspiring jazz testers.

The distribution and embodiment of music capital (Figure 1) is the most important factor structuring this space. Even though we are not unique in calling attention to the relative volume of music capital our analysis has interrogated this concept more thoroughly than before (Dubois and Méon, 2013; Coulson, 2010). Particularly important in our analysis is the tight nexus between inherited and acquired forms of

²⁰ 'Song' has an ambiguous place between these two social poles, as it is both a soloist instrument and a very generic one. For data on how the social structures on instrument choice is distributed among our four clusters, see Table A.5 in Appendix A.

assets in the first axis, something that indicates proximity in social space at the time when these artistic careers are formed. In relation to studies on the music industry that have been formulated from perspectives of art worlds and production of culture (Faulkner, 1983; Grazian, 2004; Dowd, 2004; Faulkner and Becker, 2009), the formative aspects of primary and secondary musical socialization seem worth taking into deeper consideration, particularly so for music education and schooling.

In our case study, a number of properties pertaining to the total volume of musical capital were grouped together, such as the number of CDs and LPs in the family of origin, the year of music enrolment, the number of family members that were considered musical and parents' occupation. In comparison to the average Swedish citizen, those portrayed in the affluent cluster are particularly rare specimens as their music assets, in inherited and acquired form, are highly exceptional. Here we can ally ourselves with Bourdieu (1989; 1996), in that we find reasons for the study of cultural production to take on more nuanced measurements of educational capital and cultural heredity than the singular-variable-approach often used to study the impact of social origin and cultural capital (cf. Chan and Goldthorpe, 2007; Pinheiro and Dowd, 2009).

The second most important axis, isolated by the correspondence analysis, we have interpreted as a separation between those who are committed and those are less committed to the possible future career as a musician. This finding can be seen to affirm that the *vocational-educational prospects* of the candidates are an active element of musical enculturation and social differentiation from relatively young years (Bourdieu and Boltanski, 1981; Menger, 1999; Palme et al., 2012; Ye and Nylander, 2015). The last interpreted dimension of our analysis highlights a cleavage between primary and secondary music socialization, emphasizing the difference between those who have already received post-secondary preparatory schooling in music and those who are trying to embark on it for the first time.

When examining who gets selected, the patterns follow the fundamental structure of the space, summarized in four distinct groups: *Insiders*, *Outsiders*, *Inheritors* and *Underdogs*. Representatives from each of the four groups were admitted to the prestigious jazz program, although their rates differed. 13 out of the 16 individuals who were successful in the audition came from the two dominating groups classified as *Insiders* and *Inheritors*, e.g. those groups that had the most music capital to improvise with from the start.

The major reason why candidates from such musically affluent backgrounds still cannot be anywhere close to certain about the outcome of the audition is that there are so many other testers who share their privileged social characteristics in relation to advanced music production. Most applicants to Eight Miles High share features that are very rare in the population at large. For example, a great interest in and devotion to jazz, an early acquisition of playing an instrument, being born into families where music playing music is naturalized and having specialized further in music studies through public music schools and music programs at the upper-secondary level. However, our results indicate that inherited assets are, alone, not sufficient in extremely competitive auditions. Instead, it is the combination of various kinds of field-specific assets, in particular those that are acquired through intense and advanced training, that seem most generative. In this regard the free post-compulsory education in Sweden (folk high schools, study associations, universities) further enhance the competitiveness among art and music students, although this liberal policy does not seem to alter the social composition of elite educational streams much.

For Bourdieu (2004, p. 35), the entry to cultural fields is determined by “the encounter of two histories”. On the one hand, the historical trajectory of individuals seeking to enter (here represented as assets and abilities among a group of jazz testers), and on the other hand, the historical formation of a specific cultural expertise and their rules of entry (which in this case is defined by a group of jazz connoisseurs functioning as gatekeepers). At face value, the (e)valuation of the performances appear to be based on a purely artistic criteria, internal to jazz as an art form – at least within the relatively sizeable subpopulation that have the objective prerequisites in place. The stubborn opaqueness as for the rules of entry within art and music education can thus be interpreted as a reminder of the relative autonomy of artistic practices in relation to profane or foreign logics (e.g. political, pedagogical or other). Against the backdrop of the large amount of testers that – through the incorporation and embodiment of inherited and acquired musical resources – have reached the level where higher educational enrolment could be expected of them, the selection at the Eight Miles High jury becomes even more charismatic.

However, just like Bourdieu and Passeron (1979) point out in relation to French elite schooling, the fuzzy and non-explicit rules of entry also seem to produce an even greater dependency on embodied forms of cultural capital, here illustrated in the field of jazz music. For instance, it is evident from our data that

those decedents of the economical fractions of the bourgeoisie who have studied in socially exclusive preparatory classes in natural science (Naturvetenskapligt program) during upper-secondary school are often excluded from an educational career within jazz. Since these candidates both hesitate in relation to the overarching vocational commitment and have lost valuable time practicing during the formative years in the gymnasium (upper-secondary), they are systematically filtered out from the selection devices of advanced jazz practice. Improvisational jamming of jazz auditioning can indeed be seen as an extreme case of a charismatic test-format where a belief in the self and one's sense of artistic personality is a simultaneous requisite and outcome of the test.

Questions of how to play the jazz repertoire and who succeeds in artistic tests are very demanding to account for sociologically. Post-Bourdieuian sociological research inspired by pragmatic philosophy has come to stress the radical uncertainty of how questions of value are assessed within cultural fields and art markets (Karpik, 2010; Boltanski and Thévenot, 2006; Hennion, 2014). In the words of Karpik (2010), the jazz audition can indeed be seen as a “judgment device” designed to produce “singular goods” within a market with its own *modus operandi*. Without this radical openness and indefiniteness of music evaluations – as for how the qualities of the performances shall be judged and who shall be selected – auditions would hardly be a test format of such a charismatic and popular appeal (Nylander 2014a, 2014b). Though the autonomy of music evaluation might help explain why the audition gathers so many testers in the first place this, by no means, eliminates the force of inherited and acquired capital in the co-optation of the selected few.

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Appendix A.

Table A.1. Contribution of the three headings to the first three axes

Heading	Axis 1	Axis 2	Axis 3
Inherited assets	42.3	16.6	22.0
Acquired assets	48.9	37.8	53.5
Attitudes/Aspirations	8.8	45.6	24.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table A.2. Eigenvalues, modified rates and cumulated modified rates for axes 1-14

Axis	Eigenvalue	Modified rates (%)	Cumulated modified rates
1	0.167	32.4	
2	0.155	25.1	57.5
3	0.133	14.8	72.3
4	0.116	8.3	80.6
5	0.108	6.2	86.8
6	0.101	4.3	91.1
7	0.095	3.1	94.3
8	0.092	2.5	96.8
9	0.087	1.8	98.5
10	0.082	1.0	99.6
11	0.073	0.3	99.9
12	0.069	0.1	99.9
13	0.068	0.1	100.0
14	0.064	0.0	100.0

Figure A.1. Scree plot of Eigenvalues, Axes 1-14.

Table A.2. Variables grouped by headings and categories retained for interpretation. Axes 1-3.

Axis 1	Ctr	Left side in figure	Ctr	Right side in figure	Ctr
Started playing music	19.31	Started: 1-6 y	3.99	Started: 13 y-	14.38
Public music school	12.73	<i>Public: Yes</i>	2.22	Public: No	10.51
Upper secondary programme	15.01	U-S: Music-prestige	6.35	U-S: Theoretical	6.58
Musical family	17.90	Musical: Several	6.95	Musical: None	10.75
Social origin	13.69	Middle class	3.46	Lower middle class	6.88
				<i>Working class</i>	2.33
Nb of records	10.72	<i>Records: 180-499</i>	2.28	Records: 0-59	7.15
Total	89.36		25.25		58.58
Axis 2	Ctr	Bottom side in figure	Ctr	Top side in figure	Ctr
Certainty in musical career	20.62	ProfMusic: Certain	6.82	ProfMusic: Hesitate	13.80
Applied to university	11.17	<i>AppUni: No</i>	2.84	AppUni: Yes	9.32
Attitude towards becoming a music teacher	9.75	Teacher: Absolutely	6.06	Teacher: Reluctantly	3.66
<i>Applied to lower ranked FHS</i>	4.07				
Academic studies	22.16	Uni: No	2.84	Uni: Yes	19.32
Upper secondary programme	11.32	U-S: Music-other	2.99	U-S: Theoretical	6.60
<i>Social origin</i>	6.24			Upper middle class	4.73
<i>Musical family</i>	4.70	Musical: None	3.24		
Total	85.96		24.79		57.42
Axis 3	Ctr	Bottom side in the figure	Ctr	Top side in the figure	Ctr
Earlier FHS	28.41	FHS: No	10.10	FHS: Yes	18.31
Started playing music	10.98	Started: 1-6 y	7.91	Started: 7-12 y	3.04
<i>Academic studies</i>	5.96	Uni: Yes	5.20		
Applied to lower ranked FHS	13.62	AppLow: Yes	10.62	AppLow: No	3.00
Attitude towards becoming a music teacher	9.55	Teacher: Reluctantly	4.97	Teacher: Temporarily	4.33
Nb of records	12.07	Records: 500-	6.32	Records: 0-59	3.56
<i>Social origin</i>	7.83			Upper middle class	3.73
Total	88.42		45.12		35.97

Table A.3. Four clusters. Relative frequencies on active categories

Variable	Category	Insiders	Inheritors	Outsiders	Underdogs
Social origin - Subjective classification	Upper middle class	22	6	21	4
	Middle class	40	79	50	11
	Lower middle class	10	7	21	54
	Working class	28	6	6	32
	<i>Class N/A</i>	0	1	3	0
	Total	100	100	100	100
Musical family	Musical: Several	39	72	44	7
	Musical: One	40	18	41	32
	Musical: None	21	9	12	61
	<i>Musical N/A</i>	0	1	3	0
	Total	100	100	100	100
Number of records at parental home	500-	1	34	12	14
	180-499	38	22	41	11
	60-179	35	39	41	21
	0-59	23	3	6	50
	N/A	2	1	0	4
	Total	100	100	100	100
Started playing music	1-6 y	40	42	24	4
	7-12 y	81	50	58	29
	13 y -	8	8	18	68
	<i>N/A</i>	1	0	0	0
	Total	100	100	100	100
Public music education	Public: Yes	94	84	88	32
	Public: No	5	16	12	68
	Public: N/A	1	0	0	0
	Total	100	100	100	100
Upper secondary education program	U-S: Music- prestige	22	19	6	4
	U-S: Music-other	72	72	24	39
	U-S: Theoretical	6	7	53	39
	U-S: Practical	0	1	18	18
	Total	100	100	100	100
Previous university studies	Uni: Yes	0	1	74	4

	Uni: No	100	99	26	96
	Total	100	100	100	100
Previous studies at Folk High Schools	FHS: Yes	60	13	21	36
	FHS: No	40	87	79	64
	Total	100	100	100	100
Certainty in career as professional musician	ProfMusic: Certain	67	82	21	75
	ProfMusic: Hesitate	32	18	76	21
	<i>ProfMusic: N/A</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>
	Total	100	100	100	100
Attitude towards becoming music teacher	Teacher: Absolutely	17	24	6	43
	Teacher: Temporarily	60	45	44	25
	Teacher: Reluctantly	22	31	47	29
	<i>Teacher: N/A</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>
	Total	100	100	100	100
Applied to university	AppUni: Yes	18	3	44	11
	AppUni: No	82	97	56	89
	Total	100	100	100	100
Applied to lower ranked Folk High School	AppLow: Yes	49	85	47	50
	AppLow: No	44	4	41	25
	<i>AppLow: N/A</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>10</i>	<i>12</i>	<i>25</i>
	Total	100	100	100	100

Table A.4. Four clusters. Relative frequencies on supplementary categories

Variable	Category	Insiders	Inheritors	Outsiders	Underdogs	Total
Gender	Male	70	61	38	79	63
	Female	30	39	62	21	37
	Total	100	100	100	100	100
Age	-18 y	12	31	9	18	18
	19-20 y	57	54	24	54	50
	21-22 y	26	15	32	21	21
	23 y -	5	0	35	18	10
	Total	100	100	100	100	100
Parents occupation – “Horizontal classification”	P: Music	9	31	9	4	15
	P: Culture	63	51	76	57	61
	P: Economy	16	10	12	7	12
	P: Lower	11	6	0	29	10
	P: N/A	1	1	3	4	2
Instrument	Wind/Brass	13	21	15	7	15
	Bass	12	16	6	36	16
	Guitar	23	12	6	32	18
	Piano	15	4	21	0	10
	Voice	20	31	38	18	26
	Drums	13	13	15	7	13
	Instrument N/A	4	1	0	0	2
	Total	100	100	100	100	100

Appendix B. The Questionnaire (Sent out to all applicants of Eight Miles High, Year 2010)

Basic facts:

- 1) Main instrument (Piano; Song; Guitar; Bass; Drums; Brass; Wind; Piano)
- 2) Age (number)
- 3) Gender (Man/Woman)
- 4) When in school my father worked mostly as..... (open text/description)
- 5) When in school my mother worked mostly as..... (open text/description)
- 6) I see myself as originating from a: (Higher middle class family/Middle class family/Lower Middle class family/Working class family)
- 7) Place of origin (name) Postal code (number)

Education

- 8) What is your father's highest educational attainment? (6 categories)
- 9) What is your mother's highest educational attainment? (6 categories)

Have you been playing music in:

- 10) "Public music school" (Yes/No), If yes how many years and how many times each week?
- 11) Private music classes (Yes/No), If yes how many years and how many times each week?
- 12) Study circles/music circles (Yes/No), If yes how many years and how many times each week?
- 13) Church music/religious communities (Yes/No), If yes how many years and how many times each week?
- 14) My Upper-secondary school was named (text), profiled towards (list of profiles) and I examined the year of (number)
- 15) What other folk high school courses have you attended (if any)? (text and description of profile)
- 16) Have you studied any other form of education, such as courses or programs within High Education or been studying outside of Sweden? (text and description of profile)
- 17) Have you applied to other programs within folk high schools or higher education? If yes, please list them in your order of priority: (text and description of profile)
- 18) Have you been enrolled or placed on the reserve-list on any of these programs? If yes; which ones?

Other questions:

- 19) Approximately what year did you begin playing music? (number)
- 20) Could you imagine yourself working as a musician for the rest of your life?
(Definitely!/Temporary/Reluctantly/Never!)
- 21) Could you imagine yourself working as a music teacher for the rest of your life?
(Definitely!/Temporary/Reluctantly/Never!)
- 22) Does any of your family members play any instrument or sing?
- Sister-or-Brother (yes/no), Father (yes/no), Mother (yes/no), Other (text)
- 23) What degree of professionalism would you find appropriate to your parents music ability? (They don't play/Amateurs/Half-professional/Professional)
- 24) How many music records (CDs/LPs/etc.) would you think you parents had when you were growing up?
(0-30/30-60/60-120/120-180/180-360/360-500/Above 500)
- 25) What is your personal interest in the following music genres?
Opera (numerical scale), Classic, Blues, Jazz, Show bands (Dansband), Modern Swedish jazz, Progg; Rock; Metal; Reggae; Hardcore; Swing; Punk; Hip-hop; Soul; Indie; Techno; Electro; Musical; Sing-Songwriters; World-music; Fusion
- 26) How commercial do you consider the following music genres?
(Same list of genres as above)