“Music From the Backyard”

Hagström's
Music Education

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Front cover picture is a pop-art inspired collage of pictures from Hagström’s history made by Ketil Thorgersen in the programs Gimp and Warholizer.

The title of the thesis is a citation from Medborgarskolan’s periodical Tidsspegel number 3 1960 p. 9.
English Abstract

“Music from the backyard”
Hagström's music education

“Music from the backyard”: Hagström's music education, is a PhD thesis that investigates the music education that the company Hagström ran from 1946 to 1983. The aim of the thesis is to investigate and recreate Hagström's music educational history from a Deweyan pragmatist point of departure. The study searched for answers to the following questions: What were the societal and educational settings in which Hagström's music education took place? How did Hagström's music education develop, and what led to its rise and fall? What educational content and pedagogical ideas constituted Hagström's music education? How can Hagström's educational enterprise be understood with the help of Bourdieu’s theories of symbolic capital?

Because of the historical nature of the study, the availability of empirical material was limited. Hagström had some archived material which I was given access to, and there were a great deal of periodicals from the time with articles about music education on people's spare time. Additionally, the Hagström course books were important documents, since they were the only centralized document to govern the directions for Hagström's music education. The pragmatist perspective of the study led to a desire to highlight parts of the human experience that constituted the history. Based on a snowball-sampling strategy, I traced down eleven persons from Sweden and Norway which were interviewed.

The results of the analysis became a story about Hagström in the society — a story that revealed an entrepreneur whose company grew quickly and represented other values than the better parts of the cultural establishment in Sweden. The company rested on several pillars: The production of accordions, and later on even guitars, basses, organs and amplification systems, import of music merchandise, as well as the largest chain of music retail shops in the Nordic countries.

The music education started in 1945 in Växjö, and in 1946, the rest of the country. In the beginning they taught accordion and guitar, but later developed to include electric bass, organ and keyboard as well. The courses were organised as group education with a duration of ten weeks in a semester. Geographically they were spread all over Sweden as well as around Oslo, Bergen and Copenhagen. All in all there were close to 100 000 pupils attending Hagström's music education.
Hagström's music education was, despite new ideas such as group education and that the student should be able to play a melody as quickly as possible, a fairly traditional master-apprentice kind of education. The teacher demonstrated what he considered to be the correct technique and musical performance, and the student imitated. The pupil had little or no opportunities to influence the content of the education. On a macro level however, Hagström’s music school was important in the process towards a more democratic music education in Sweden. Hagström helped to increase the availability of music education through their geographical dispersion as well as the affordability of attending the courses. An important difference from the other agents on the market that aimed to refine the students’ musical preferences, was that Hagström had no musical agenda. Hagström might have contributed to Sweden’s strong position on the global popular music scene.
Swedish Abstract

“Från musikundervisningens bakgårdar”
Hagströms musikpedagogik


Resultatet av analyserna blev en historia om Hagström i samhället – en historia som visade en entreprenör vars företag växte snabbt och i opposition till stora delar av det kulturella etablissemanget i Sverige. Bolaget hade flera ben att stå på: Produktion av dragspel och senare även gitarrer, basar orglar och förstärkarsystem, import av musikutrustning, försäljning genom Nordens största kedja med butiker, tryck av noter samt musikundervisning.

Musikundervisningen startade 1945 i Växjö och 1946 i resten av landet. Instrumenten som det inledningsvis undervisades på var dragspel och gitarr men det utvecklades till att även inkludera elbas, orgel och keyboard. Kurserna var organisera som gruppundervisning och en kurs pågick under tio veckor. Geografiskt var de spridda över nästan hela Sverige samt runt Oslo, Bergen och Köpenhamn. Tillsammans estimerar jag att uppemot 100 000 elever har fått undervisning i Hagströms musikskola.
Norwegian abstract

“Fra musikkundervisningens bakgårder” Hagströms musikkpedagogikk


Resultatet av analysene ble en historie om Hagström i samfunnet – en historie som viste en entreprenør som vokste raskt i opposisjon mot store deler av den kulturelle eliten i Sverige. Selskapet hadde flere ben å stå på: Produksjon av trekkspill og senere også gitarer, basser, orgler og forsterkersystemer, import av musikkutstyr, salg gjennom Nordens største kjede av butikker, trykking av noter og musikkundervisning.

Musikkundervisningen startet i 1945 i Växjö og i 1946 i resten av landet. Instrumentene som det først ble undervist på var trekkspill og gitar, men det utviklet seg også til å inkludere elbass, orgel og keyboard. Kursene var organiserte som gruppeundervisning og et kurs foregikk i ti uker. Geografisk var de spredd over nesten hele Sverige men også rundt Oslo, Bergen og København. Til sammen har jeg regnet ut at opp mot 100 000 elever har fått undervisning gjennom Hagströms musikkskole.
Preface

You did not for a moment think that YOU would be thanked did you?
This is My Book My Work
But who am I without YOU?

Without you Ville who teach me details and perspective and you Klara who show me tolerance and generosity
Without you Hannes and your humour and wisdom and you Amanda who teach me to respect myself
And you Cecilia who guide me to discover myself
Who would I be without the love of my family?
The need to be needed
To be allowed to care.

Or without YOU
dear collegues

Without you Sture, your trust in me and careful guiding and you Ronny who show me what I write
Without you Anna who humbly helped me improve and all of you in the indispensable text seminars what would I be?

Or you my friends?
Or my informants?
Or you in my big, big family
Without YOU I would not be me
You make me

This is OUR Work
OUR Book
THANK YOU!
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1. Introduction

You might have seen them or heard them. At least you have probably heard about them. I can however confirm that they exist. I have seen them with my own eyes and heard them with my own ears. Accordion orchestras exist.

Back in my high school days I worked as a janitor for a school in the evenings. This was in the town of Drammen close to Oslo in Norway in the nineties. The work was a perfect match to studying since it allowed me to study and work simultaneously. My main task was to supervise who went in and out, and to make sure that those who borrowed the school's rooms tidied, locked and so forth. The rest of the time I could study. One of the groups using the school was particularly fascinating to me as a music student: Each Wednesday men between thirty and sixty years of age arrived carrying huge cases. They gathered in an ordinary classroom to play what in Norway is called “old-time dance” [gammeldans]. These were amateur musicians – all of them playing accordions – except for one who played an electric bass. Old-time dance orchestras, despite the name “old-time”, still exist and is vigorously playing for people who like to dance. The name may be “old-time”, but the music is relatively new, barely one hundred years old. One major precondition for the growth of accordion based dance music, was the Swedish company Hagström. More on this later.

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1 Accordion in this text refers to the Swedish word *dragspel* or the Norwegian word *trekkspill* which is the name for the instrument used to lay popular music. The word *accordion* can be used in Swedish as well, but then refers to a modern instrument with free basses.

2 Translated single words which I consider important to refer to the original word in order to convey meaning, will be written in brackets according to *Chicago manual of style 15th* edition.

3 According to the *Norwegian accordion union* [Trekkspillforbundet] (in a mail correspondence 21st of February 2008), the accordionist organisation in Norway, there are many who play in Norway 2008. They have 184 member clubs and 3015 personal members but those are only a small fragment of the total number. According to the Swedish counterpart, *Swedish accordionsists’ national union* [Sveriges dragspelares riksförbund], there are 300 members in the union and 250 member clubs. They estimate that there are around 100 000 people in total who play accordion in Sweden.
If you grow up in Gothenburg or in Bergen today, and want to learn to play a musical instrument, you have several choices. First off there is the municipal music school. This choice is great if you manage to pass the queue and get in. Otherwise you might try one of the private alternatives. One of these alternatives has been around for a very long time. In fact it goes further back than the municipal music schools – to Hagström’s music schools which started in the nineteen forties. More on this later.

Almost any beginning music education today will offer group education and start with some kind of popular music — even if other choices are available as well. If you walk into a Scandinavian compulsory school music lesson today to observe some music making, the chances that they play some rock or pop song are great. This is not the way music education has been conducted traditionally. However one company started music education with popular music in groups fairly early – Hagström’s music schools. More on this later.

If your five year-old-girl should happen to start playing the piano in for example Umeå, or in Tokyo, she would probably end up in a music school developed by a big instrument factory — Yamaha. The Yamaha music school is the biggest example of a company that serves the music customers through the whole chain of creating their own music, from producing the instruments to teaching people how to play. Yamaha started this in 1954, while Hagström started their music schools during the mid-forties and served more than 70 000 students before they closed down in 1983.

It should be obvious by now that this thesis will deal with the company Hagström, or AB Albin Hagström which was the full name. Hagström was a remarkable company, and its founder Albin Hagström was probably one of the most successful entrepreneurs Sweden has seen. This thesis began by describing a few possible scenes from the present that show how central

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4 A history of the company AB Albin Hagström is a part of chapter 4. Hagström’s music educational context (p. 57).

5 Hagström’s music education is treated in detail in chapter 5. Hagström’s music educational context (p. 95).

ideas from Hagström are very much a part of present society – perhaps more now than when they were invented. I do not claim that these ideas were Hagström’s original ideas nor that Hagström was the prime force behind these and other phenomena which exist now and existed within the Hagström consortium. However, it seems important to investigate what happened within a music education which obviously was an alternative to the establishment. When Hagström started their accordion courses in the forties, they were merely meeting a need for courses expressed explicitly by their customers. The success Hagström experienced as producers, importers and retailers of accordions, and later guitars, led to a need in society for music courses in order for the instruments to be used – not merely owned. This in turn was a requirement for more instruments to be sold. The music school part of the business was in other words established to be able to sell more instruments. An interesting viewpoint is provided by one of my informants who claims that when Hagström experienced big problems at the end of the seventies, which eventually put them out of business, the music education was what kept the Hagström shops open.

This book is the second half of a PhD. The first half was presented the first of June 2007, as a licentiate thesis entitled Unspoken truths: about aesthetics in Swedish schools (Thorgersen 2007a). However this study about Hagström is an independent sequel and is a part of a bigger project supported by the Swedish Research Council [Vetenskapsrådet]. This project consists of a total of four people, me and my supervisor Sture Brändström from Luleå University of Technology, and Boel Lindberg and Ola Agevall from Växjö University. Agevall and Lindberg are doing research more particularly on Hagström’s earlier years and on the music education that was concerned with accordions. However since much of their research overlaps with mine, we have shared the relevant empirical material collected.

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7 Karl Erik Hagström in interview October 2007.
8 The licentiate thesis is briefly presented in the chapter The licentiate thesis (p. 28).
9 However all interpretations and writing has been performed separately, so this thesis is a result of my research studies.
Me, my prejudices and this research

There was to be a big party celebrating the end of a great year for the big band. We had just been attending two of the biggest jazz festivals in Norway and played with some of the best band leaders. For being a big band consisting of university students, we considered these achievements extraordinary. I played the bass, and I was also the cashier and as such was involved in planning the party. The chairman came up with the idea that we should do a session about what would be happening to any one of us who left the glorious path of jazz. We had been making jokes about coming to jazz-musicians’ hell: The place where only accordion music was being played. We decided on a dramatic ceremonial reading from a history of torture\(^\text{10}\). Wearing the executioner’s cloak, I entered a room lit with candles only. The cheerful musicians fell dead silent after a few lines of the terrifying descriptions of how accordion hell might be.

This happened in Bergen – Norway, at the end of my studies to become a music teacher in 1995. At the very turn of the century, attitudes towards accordions as being “bad” instruments, were still prominent amongst us who were self-appointed musical connoisseurs. It was also in Bergen that I first came across the name Hagström as more than a label on some old guitars. The largest music instrument store in Bergen is one of a total of three\(^\text{11}\) left of the 48 music shops of the Hagström consortium. At the same time as we harassed accordion-based music, groups from the same department in the University attended seminars with a great jazz duo – Fliflet-Hamre consisting of a drummer and an accordionist. These seminars were appreciated, and showed that accordions did not necessarily represent something bad. One of Gabriel Fliflet’s students,Odd Nordstoga, actually gave me some of my greater aesthetic experiences playing irish folk-rock on the accordion. Old-time dance constitutes the roots from which Hagström and also the education originates. Dance music, though a different kind, may also indirectly have led to the end of the company\(^\text{12}\). That same kind of

\(^\text{10}\) From Jens Bjørnebo’s trilogy most often referred to as The History of bestiality.
\(^\text{11}\) The others are the Hagström stores in Västerås and Luleå. None of them are affiliated with Albin Hagström AB any longer.
\(^\text{12}\) For a presentation of how Hagström turned to serving the big dance orchestras during the seventies see chapter 4. Hagström’s music educational context (p. 57).
smooth popular dance music actually provided me with another small source of income during my high school years — despite my publicly announced contempt of the genre.

My background is from a family of workers and farmers, where my parents climbed the first steps of the class ladder when my father became a civil servant, but where I am the first in my lineage to acquire a degree from a university. I have been torn between my working class background and my musical studies, the fun I had when I was playing dance music and the fun I had when playing jazz or classical music, and the need to follow the norms of the ones defining what “good music” was, and at the same time actually owning an LP by Limahl. However I was not alone at being torn: Several of the ones I was studying with, and later working with when I became a music teacher, were in the same situation.

Later, as a practising music teacher, the doubleness regarding musical taste followed me when I met the students. While I really believed in departing from the students own musical preferences, I still saw that as a path for students to acquire a higher taste in music. How else could it be music education? The work with my master in music education (Thorgersen 2003), the licentiate thesis (Thorgersen 2007a) and the research studies in general have changed my view on learning and the purpose of music education towards a pragmatist, democratic, recreative and communicative view on education.

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13 Actually this is a slight modification of the truth since my maternal grandmother took a degree as a nurse a few years before me when she was already a grandmother.
14 Limahl was a pop artist — a so called “one-hit-wonder” in the eighties, known for his soundtrack to the movie *The Never Ending Story*.
15 The word “pragmatist” in this thesis is either a noun referring to someone adhering to the philosophy of pragmatism or an adjective labelling something as regarded from a view that fits in with the philosophy of pragmatism. The adjective pragmatic refers to the everyday notion of being practical. See chapter 2 p. 23 for more about pragmatism.
The aim of this thesis

So far I have briefly presented a company – AB Albin Hagström – which grew from nothing to the biggest Nordic instrument factory, importer, chain of retail shops and private music schools during the 20th century, only to vanish again towards the end of the century. A company providing music schooling in order to sell more instruments. The idea is to study a music education that has contributed to the musical Sweden of today: Hagström’s music education.

The purpose of this thesis is to investigate and recreate Hagström’s music educational history from a Deweyan pragmatist point of departure. The study will seek answers to the following questions:

- What were the societal and educational settings in which Hagström’s music education took place?
- How did Hagström’s music education develop, and what led to its rise and fall?
- What educational content and pedagogical ideas constituted Hagström’s music education?
- How can Hagström’s educational enterprise be understood with the help of Bourdieu’s theories of symbolic capital?

Structure of the thesis

How education can be studied is tightly connected to the ontological, epistemological and methodological basis of the presented research. Since understanding the more philosophical issues can be seen as necessary in order to understand and evaluate the research, the next two chapters will deal with theoretical and methodological issues. Thereafter a more thorough presentation of Hagström, and the social and educational surroundings in which Hagström’s music education operated in, will be presented in chapter 4. Hagström’s music educational context (p. 57). Chapter 5. Hagström’s music educational content (p. 95) will focus on the pedagogical
Chapter 1. Introduction

aspects of Hagström's music school, before a discussion of the presented story about Hagström will be conducted in relation to pragmatist and Bourdieuan theories in chapter 6. *Hagström’s music education in perspective* (p.119). Finally a short chapter will look forward and speculate upon what the future might hold in chapter 7. *Final words* (p. 131). Each chapter will begin with an introduction explaining the purpose of the chapter, how the chapter relates to the thesis as a whole as well as how the chapter is meant to be read.

The study can be seen as music educational history research, and as such I had to make certain choices regarding how to write the thesis. Within music education research it is common to adhere to the APA author-date style of reference, while historical research usually complies with the Chicago style of reference with footnotes in combination with endnotes. The former has the advantage of placing the short reference in direct connection with what is being referred to in a parenthesis stating the surname of the author and year of publishing, giving the reader an easy way of seeing and understanding the reference without breaking the reading flow. The footnote style of reference used in historical sciences are much more suited to referencing newspaper clips, personal correspondence and interviews. Fortunately, the Chicago style of reference also has a version of the author-date system where they suggest to refer to newspapers and periodicals in footnotes and combine that with a reference list at the end. It says, “Anonymous works, manuscript collections, or other sources less easily converted are better dealt with in notes” (The Chicago manual of style 2003, 595). I have therefore decided to follow the Chicago author date style of reference 15th edition.

Another problem to consider is that of translation. In order to overcome some of the problems of meaning being lost or changed in translation, I have decided to publish the original texts or utterances in Swedish as endnotes (Appendix 4, p. 152).
2. Theoretical foundations

This thesis is a continuation of the earlier works in my research education. The earlier research consists of a master’s thesis in music education (Thorgersen 2003), a licentiate thesis in education (Thorgersen 2007a) and some papers (Ferm and Thorgersen 2005; Thorgersen 2007; Ferm Thorgersen and Thorgersen 2008).

There was a gap between the master’s thesis and the licentiate thesis, both in time and in ontological and epistemological standpoints. While the master thesis was based on Pierre Bourdieu’s theories of capital, the licentiate thesis had a pragmatist foundation in the heritage from John Dewey. The pragmatist standpoints from the licentiate thesis constitute the basis for this study of Hagström as well, but certain aspects of the Bourdieuan perspective will help both broaden and focus the study. The three articles mentioned, delve into the more philosophical aspects of communication. The following theoretical presentation will loosely relate to all these texts.

Since this is a study of Hagström’s music education which is now history, I begin this chapter with an introduction to pragmatism as it is being understood in this thesis. The philosophical account of the view of history that underlies the present study precedes a brief summary of the important aspects from the licentiate thesis. Finally I lay the foundations of the methodological chapter with a reflection on music education in the light of pragmatism.

Pragmatism – learning and being.

Pragmatism can be considered a social philosophy characterised by a loosely connected set of ideas about how human beings exist in the world. Social philosophy in this case refers to pragmatism being concerned with how individuals interact, and what this interaction implies for the individual. By loosely connected it is emphasized that pragmatism is a continually moving philosophy recreated by philosophers who are concerned with quite different kinds of questions and relate to the heritage in different ways.
However, a balanced understanding of the individual being in a social world which is constantly being recreated, is always a common denominator.

Pragmatism was born in the late nineteenth century when science was about to be formed into the practice of proofs, experience and mathematical logic that still is dominant in the technical, mathematical and medical research disciplines. The two initiators to what later would be labelled *pragmatism*, were Charles Peirce and William James. James was autodidact philosopher while Peirce was a trained logician, mathematician, linguist and the founder of semiotics. They were inspired by Hegel and Darwin, as well as the experimental evidence based research that had arisen. This mixed heritage is still evident in pragmatist philosophy today. James wrote about truth, democracy and social justice, while Peirce was more concerned with the philosophy of science, logic, communication and social interaction. However, pragmatism would probably have ended there had it not been for John Dewey and George Herbert Mead (Shook and Margolis 2006).

Dewey and Mead were colleagues in Chicago and influenced each others’ thinking and together continued the philosophical heritage from James and Peirce. My work is mostly influenced by Dewey of these classical pragmatist (In particular Dewey; 1916; 1958; 1997; 2005). Neither Dewey nor Mead was interested in labelling their philosophical works as a particular branch of philosophy called Pragmatism. However later philosophers in that tradition such as Shusterman, Margolis, Putnam and Rorty, to name a few of the prominent ones, have embraced the label.

So why pragmatism? What is pragmatic about pragmatism? In everyday usage, making a pragmatic choice means making a functional choice that should work. This can be both positive and negative. A functional choice that works might be made without the ethical, historical and emotional considerations that might be desirable in the big picture of humanity’s present, past and future. Despite this partly instrumental, everyday understanding of pragmatics, making functional choices has a strong place in the philosophy of pragmatism, but with the opposite consequence: Everything is seen in relation to something else and regarded in its historical and social context. The focus is however on consequences as opposed to analytical philosophy which focuses on understanding by pulling phenomena apart and understanding the pieces. Pragmatists are not concerned with
unnecessary hair splitting, and believe that philosophical inquiries should have a basis in real problems that people face. In *How we think*, Dewey (1997) wrote that defining a word should only be done when understanding that the word gave people communicative problems which needed solving. In my view, the focus on consequences and wish to bypass unnecessary discussion, makes pragmatism interesting because it forces me as a researcher to regard all possible consequences, and therefore to take as much relevant information as possible into account in understanding something.

Another aspect of this pragmatic idea of “what works” is the notion of truth that James introduced and that has later on been developed and discussed throughout the history of pragmatism. James saw truth, and therefore also knowledge, as a social agreement upon an explanation of a phenomenon which works as an explanation:

> True ideas are those that we can assimilate, validate, corroborate and verify. False ideas are those that we can not. (James and Kuklick 2003, 201).

He goes on to explain that truth is something that happens to an explanation when we are satisfied with it. Truth is, in other words, not an eternal value of an explanation, but rather a temporary and renegotiable explanation which we settle for.

This connects to the last two aspects of pragmatism which I will treat in this brief introduction to pragmatism: Democracy and communication. As truth and knowledge can be seen as products of social negotiations, this negotiation requires communication. Communication is a central theme in Dewey's writings, and was also important in my licentiate thesis (Thorgersen 2007a).

Communication is seen as the way we identify ourselves through the interaction, and can take place through a number of different approaches. The first thing that comes to mind when talking about communication is of course verbal language through speech and writing, but communication

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16 There is more about pragmatism in my licentiate thesis (Thorgersen 2007a). For a thorough introduction to pragmatism I recommend *A Companion to Pragmatism* (Shook and Margolis 2006).
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takes place in all signs we use for interaction such as art, music, clothing, body posture, gestures, perfume and all kinds of media. Through communication the world is constantly being recreated for us. We even communicate when we are alone through virtual others as well as virtual selves, by imagining how we could place ourselves in different roles. We also imagine how others would react to our different roles and as such interact and recreate our identity socially without physical others being present. (Ferm Thorgersen and Thorgersen 2008). This can be seen as a kind of democratic process since the individuals help each other create themselves.

Democracy was an important topic on Dewey’s lifelong agenda. He thought that it was connected to responsibility and rights, and saw it as a precondition for education (Dewey 1916). To Dewey, democracy was an ideal that was desirable on all levels of social interaction. This meant that all opinions and interests should be heard, respected and be influential. von Wright (2000) builds on Mead’s twist on the same theme, when she describes how teachers have the opportunity to be interested in the whole student and respect and facilitate the “who” not only the “what”17 that performs in the task at hand. Such an attitude towards learning means accepting that there are no eternal truths and that knowledge is renegotiated so that the teacher too will be a learner — although with a different role and responsibilities.

A pragmatist view on history, the present and research

It could be said that AB Albin Hagström, their shops, their production, and their education exist today. They are all a parts of the present somehow. Even if not all the mentioned activities still occur physically, they do have an impact today, are remembered today, have led to changes visible today and are being recreated today — in your reading and my writing. History is part of the present — otherwise history would be non-existent.

17 The book is titled What or who – a pedagogical reconstruction of G.H. Mead’s theory about human beings’ intersubjectivity [Vad eller vem?: en pedagogisk rekonstruktion av G.H Meads teori om människors intersubjektivitet]
According to Dewey (1958), history is a unified whole where the doer and what is done, the knower and what is known are inseparable. History is seen as analogous to experience and life in that it is “deeds enacted, the tragedies undergone; and it is the human comment, record, and interpretation that inevitably follow” (Dewey, 1958, 9).

Jenkins, who has written on the philosophy of history as science, writes: “[...] there is a radical distinction to be drawn between 'the past' and 'history'” (Jenkins 1995, 15). Obviously lots of actions, events and experiences have happened in the past which no one knows anything about. Such past happenings can partly be considered latent history, and partly incorporated history. By latent I mean that they have the potential to become a part of our, or someone's history if, somehow, some sources are discovered, or brought to attention, which include the events into our understanding and begin to play a role today (Thorgersen 2008). By incorporated history I mean that even if the events, actions and experiences as such may have been forgotten, there might be some traces left of them in habits, artefacts, musical phrases, gestures and so forth, which may originate from, or have been impacted by forgotten events. Both these arguments pinpoint what may be seen as the double purpose of historical research: To create new stories based on assumptions of the past, and to reflect upon the way the past is present today, and thereby recreate history as well as the present.

Based on the above arguments, history as a science shares all vital characteristics with other non-experimental and descriptive-analytical sciences such as sociology, anthropology, mathematics, archaeology, musicology, and ethnography. They all analyse events, phenomena, actions, things and experiences that have happened, in order to understand and change our present knowledge about the issues at hand. History as a science is therefore distinguished by the research interest: A focus on events in the past – because they are past events. As Jenkins puts it:
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[...] the discipline's social productivity consists precisely in its capacity to reorganise its referent and thus transform 'the past' - not as it was, but as it is (Jenkins 1995, 18).

In the case of historical research in music education, nothing fundamental is different from other kinds of research in the same domain – except the availability and choice of sources of knowledge.

The above describes what I call a pragmatist view on history. It is not the only pragmatist view of history, but rather a description of how I understand history based on my readings of a Deweyan pragmatism. The method developed in chapter 3 is based on this view of historical research as recreative – with a quite similar point of departure to the research in the licentiate thesis (Thorgersen 2007a) about aesthetics in Swedish compulsory schools – a pragmatist view of learning as social, communicative and holistic.

The licentiate thesis

The licentiate thesis (Thorgersen 2007a) was an investigation of aesthetics in order to fulfil the aim: “to recreate aesthetics as expressed in current curricula as well as in teachers' reflections”.

Through interviewing six secondary school teachers representing different subjects, and analysing the current curriculum for compulsory schools in Sweden, I ended up with a diverse view of what aesthetics is and could be. As in this thesis, the licentiate thesis was based upon a pragmatist theoretical foundation in the spirit of Dewey (In particular 1916; 1958; 1997; 2005; Dewey and Bentley 1949) and Richard Shusterman (in particular 1997; 2000b; 2000a; 2002). Pragmatism worked both as a platform from where to understand aesthetics in this particular setting, as well as a guide to understanding and constructing my research.

I will briefly summarize the main results from the licentiate thesis as well as the way pragmatism was seen there in order to build a foundation for the further use and development of a pragmatist approach to the research in this PhD thesis.
The licentiate thesis grew out of my bewilderment about the word *aesthetics* [estetik] which seemed to pop up everywhere when I moved to Sweden. I wanted, naively perhaps, to find out what this strange word really meant. By reading up on philosophical views on aesthetics, but also by analysing what the curricula had to say on the matter, I searched for an answer to the question. During this search I found a good tool for understanding language in Wittgenstein's language game metaphor (Wittgenstein 1963, 2002). Through the analysis of the word aesthetics in current curricula, I found that aesthetics could be understood in a number of different ways in these texts. I recognized eight different themes: Aesthetics as a tool for value and judgement, aesthetics as a skill, aesthetics as experience, aesthetics as a way of expressing oneself, aesthetics as a certain kind of knowledge, aesthetics as a secondary tool for learning other skills/subjects, aesthetics as a way to describe a subject, and aesthetics as existential necessity. An important question was the function of these curricular texts since they could be read in such diverse ways. The curriculum analysis was published as an article (Thorgersen and Alerby 2005).

Since neither the theoretical and philosophical studies, nor the curriculum analysis really gave a satisfactory answer to what aesthetics might be, I continued by investigating how teachers reflected upon the word aesthetics. On the basis of a group interview combined with individual interviews with six teachers from different subjects in secondary schools, I found that these teachers showed an interesting understanding of aesthetics: Despite their claim that they never talked about aesthetics, they collectively managed to recreate a versatile and fairly comprehensive understanding of what aesthetics might be within a school setting. They pointed to several factors to justify and explain why aesthetic work forms ought to exist in school: All the teachers agreed that aesthetics is important to human beings and that people strive for aesthetic experiences. They also discussed how preferences in aesthetic taste are connected to class. The most important aspect was, however, their reflection that aesthetic taste as well as the implication and meanings of aesthetics are constantly shifting and changing phenomena. Any stipulative definition will therefore slip through our fingers the moment we try to grasp it. Another important discovery that followed was that the teachers expressed gratitude for the chance to talk about philosophical issues and matters of principle. As a kind of bonus result, the
group interview session served as an example of how teachers could be working to develop their awareness of pedagogical and didactic legitimacy and foundations as well as the more methodical applications. The interview study was also published as an article (Thorgersen 2007b).

Somewhere along the search for knowledge about aesthetics, I (re)discovered the Deweyan pragmatism. It was Shusterman’s article “The end of aesthetic experience” (1997b) that made me finally get an insight into a way of thinking about aesthetics that made sense to me. Finally I had found a view of aesthetics that departed from a view of aesthetics that was based on experience, that was holistic, and that treated artistic expressions as parts of communication. Shusterman described how analytic philosophy had neglected experience as being important for aesthetics since it was impossible to delimit aesthetic experiences from other experiences in an analytical manner. Interestingly, despite my prejudice, the teachers’ view of aesthetics were quite similar to the pragmatist ones found in Dewey and Shusterman.

Before I go on to talk about what pragmatism in the licentiate thesis and in this thesis is, there is a need to connect the contents of the licentiate thesis to this PhD thesis. In this chapter of the PhD thesis Theoretical foundations, history has been explained as being a part of the present. Historical research is therefore similar to other social and human research in most ways. In the licentiate thesis, the final discussion was about what a shift in schools’ focus, towards aesthetic communication could lead to. The term aesthetic communication was proposed as a way to walk through Descartes instead of, as school tends to do, walk around him (Bowman 2004). Through acknowledging and discussing the pragmatist premise that education, learning and even reflection and experience are social to a large extent, I saw a possible way for teachers to develop education more in line with what they expressed that they wanted. The solution I proposed was aesthetic communication. All this will follow me in the study of Hagström’s music education. The licentiate and the PhD thesis can both be seen as studies of how people reflect upon teaching and learning experiences. However, the settings and frames in which the learning takes place are different.
In the following I will delve into some aspects of pragmatism that are central in order to understand the view on music education that underlies the writing of this thesis.

A pragmatist view on music education

Dewey\(^{18}\) wrote an impressive amount about just about any social and philosophical issue imaginable\(^{19}\). It is however easy to distinguish a few central themes in his writings: I would say that education, experience, communication, democracy, ontological and epistemological issues are central in all his writings.

As previously argued, education is important in order to achieve democracy – which according to Dewey is a precondition for a good community and therefore a good life. Communication in turn, is considered a key factor in education – to the extent that Dewey considered education to be communication to a certain extent (Dewey 1916). Art in turn is seen as the “most effective mode of communication that exists” (Dewey 2005, 298) So even if Dewey never wrote about music education in particular, his writings certainly pinpoint important aspects of music education – especially if Dewey’s notion of art is seen as aesthetic experience (Shusterman 2000b, 2002).

There are some researchers on music education who have done research from a pragmatist perspective. In Scandinavia, Heidi Westerlund (2002) and Lauri Väkevää (e.g. 2003)\(^{20}\) from Finland have written texts on pragmatism and music education – mainly from a philosophical perspective. In her thesis Westerlund analysed the infamous conflict between the leading music education philosophers David Elliot and Bennet Reimer from a Deweyan perspective. Her analysis showed that both philosophers departed from a view on education as cognitive – and that the conflict between praxialist and aesthetic music education, can be resolved by viewing music education

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\(^{18}\) The more general features of pragmatism is presented in the chapter *Pragmatism – learning and being.* (p. 23).

\(^{19}\) For a comprehensive list of his writings see: http://www.uni-koeln.de/ew-fak/paedagogik/dewey/werke/chronologie.html.

\(^{20}\) His dissertation is in Finnish which unfortunately is inaccessible to me.
as communicative, common and social. Consequently, aesthetic experiences can be seen as communicative and created through participation. Participation is action and involvement, and can be of different kinds in music education (Ferm and Thorgersen 2007).

It is also important to understand that music is not an autonomous activity in that it exists for the purpose of music alone. Music exists for people. People in turn are parts of social contexts, and a pragmatist music education has to see music in contexts, and recognise and take into consideration the different roles music plays in peoples lives and in society.

Pragmatism is not purely a descriptive philosophy, and the stipulations above, can be seen as the active consequences of a pragmatist view of life, society and learning. Hagström's music education will of course not be judged by these standards, but it will be analysed in comparison with such traits — much like in Plato's cave allegory where the wall reflects an ideal. The pragmatist view of education therefore shows an important part of my preunderstanding of what education could be, and at the same time provides me with a filter through which to look for certain aspects of the music education such as communication, art, social context and experience. Pragmatism, as comprehensible as it is as a philosophy, can appear as too broad when it comes to investigating particular issues, such as in this case social struggles. There is however nothing in the pragmatist philosophy that goes against utilizing supplementary philosophies in order to figure out something — as long as it works. I have made use of Pierre Bourdieu's sociological toolbox in both the licentiate thesis and my master thesis, and it represents a view of societal dynamics, that corresponds well with a pragmatist ontology (Shusterman 2002). Bourdieu will therefore be used to pinpoint and understand issues regarding status and the power to define values connected to a pragmatist view of education in society.
Chapter 2. Theoretical foundations

Bourdieu's sociological tool box

There have been some attempts to view the music educational field as a Bourdieuan field in the Nordic countries. Brändström and Wiklund (1995) compared the music education in the Swedish music teacher practice with municipal music schools from a Bourdieuan perspective. Gustafsson (2000), whose dissertation will play an important role in this thesis, used Bourdieu's theoretical framework to understand music education in a historical perspective from the 20th century.

Pierre Bourdieu (1984; 1987; 1988; 1992) was a French sociologist who, throughout his professional life, developed his own terminology in order to understand the dynamics of social phenomena. His terminology was borrowed from a variety of sources. One of his central terms was *capital*, a term borrowed from economics and Marx. What Bourdieu did was to take an understanding of capital as desirable possessions that change hands according to certain rules, and which gives the possessor a particular kind of status (Thorgersen 2003), and to transfer that to other more symbolic values such as social membership, education and taste. He developed a system of what he called *symbolic capital*. Bourdieu talked about three different kinds of symbolic capital: *educational capital*, *social capital* and the most well known: *cultural capital* (Bourdieu 1987). In addition, economic capital can also be regarded as symbolic capital since its value is constantly redefined in a social context, and as such it shares every functional feature with the other forms of capital mentioned. What kind of capital is considered valuable is defined in society as a whole, but, according to Bourdieu, this system functions in a way that is self reproductive because those in control of capital also control the power over the developing value of the capital. However, if you have little, or no capital, you are not completely without opportunities to acquire capital since the rules of the system are continually being renegotiated in social settings.

The social settings can be seen as *fields* of interest or discursive fields. A *field* refers to a group of people, or agents as Bourdieu calls them, who share interests in something and fight for the power to define what is valuable to those who constitute the group. Struggles of definitions, meaning and value take place within and between fields. Bigger fields will contain
smaller fields, and sometimes even overlap with others. In this case Hagström's music education can be seen as belonging to several fields: It was a part of the music educational field in Sweden, it belonged to the accordion based dance music field which in turn was a part of the Swedish popular music field and so forth21.

People, or agents, act in these fields with the help of their *habitus* and *doxa* (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992). *Doxa* is another borrowed term, this time from ancient Greek. Doxa refers to the beliefs and prejudices in a field, or discourse, which are taken for granted and never questioned. In ancient Greek doxa meant “belief”. To Bourdieu, it is important to discover these doxas as a part of understanding a society and the agents who act. The term *habitus* is connected to the individual agent, and to the reasons why he or she acts. Habitus can be understood as a person’s total and continuously changing historical, social, personal (and genetic) potential for making choices and acting in the world. Doxas are to Bourdieu parts of a person’s habitus, which means that a habitus consists of experiences and values that are more or less conscious. In Aristotle’s philosophy, doxa was used in a similar way (Owen 2005).

Bourdieu has done research on variety of social fields, but is particularly known for his study of the French people’s taste in the seventies (In English *The Distinction* (Bourdieu 1984)). The purpose of the research was to understand how the French people’s taste for the arts, music, food and so forth could be understood in relation to which social group they were parts of. He found out that there were big social divisions between those in possession of cultural capital who defined what was the culturally admired taste, and those who did not possess such cultural capital. He found that cultural capital to a large extent was inherited because any agent is born into a certain social group, and consequently that it was difficult to break with the social heritage and habitus to be able to acquire cultural capital. The reasons for that is that even if those who do not control the capital may struggle to acquire the tastes of the connoisseurs, the preferred preferences

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21 In a Bourdieuan tradition a field is supposed to be autonomous, but I do not find that to go well along with either Bourdieu’s own theories or a Deweyan pragmatism, since both regard that all components of the world are interdependent and contextually linked and intertwined.
for music, art, food and so forth will continually change in a way that makes it hard to keep up by anyone outside the defining groups.

Another well known study concerns the French academia where Bourdieu analysed what kind of symbolic capital which was at stake in the different institutions. A degree is not regarded independently of where it has been taken, and an academic work is valued more because of what institution it has been produced in than any other assessment of the academic quality.

This study of about Hagström will make use of Bourdieu's notion of symbolic capital in order to understand the status of Hagström's music education and the popular music they taught.

Music as an ensemble of practices

Hagström were involved in several kinds of business; production, retail, import and education, and it was all about music\textsuperscript{22} — and not just any kind of music. Popular music in different shapes constituted their market. In order to analyse their enterprise, it is necessary to briefly discuss how music is understood in this research.

Music can be defined in different ways depending on what point is to be made. It can be defined with respect to its cultural function, its sonic qualities, or its historic development (Nielsen 1998; Varkøy 2001), to name a few. Music can also be seen as something that is lived, practiced and done — a way to live in the world, or as an aesthetic object as Nielsen (2005) proposes. In the analysis of Hagström's music education, music will be regarded as an ensemble of practices\textsuperscript{23} in order to understand what parts of music that Hagström focused on and what were left out.

\textsuperscript{22} Actually in the beginning of the company Hagström, they tried to sell other merchandise such as bicycles, but they soon started focusing only on music.

\textsuperscript{23} “Ensemble of practices” are a term borrowed from Foucault and discourse theory (Winther Jørgensen and Phillips 2000) because I find the expression to be suitable, not because I want to apply a discourse theoretical method to this thesis.
Since music is practised in a variety of ways, there can be several ways of distinguishing the ways of regarding music practices, but here I will argue that music can be understood as performing, listening, composing, educating and thinking in and about music. These main categories can be divided as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Performing</th>
<th>Listening</th>
<th>Composing</th>
<th>Educating</th>
<th>Thinking</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Playing</td>
<td>Live</td>
<td>Arranging</td>
<td>Teaching</td>
<td>In music</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singing</td>
<td>Recorded</td>
<td>Writing</td>
<td>Learning</td>
<td>About music</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dancing</td>
<td></td>
<td>Constructing</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Note-based</td>
<td>Deep</td>
<td>Pastiche</td>
<td>Authoritative</td>
<td>Deep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ear-based</td>
<td>Shallow</td>
<td>Original</td>
<td>Democratic</td>
<td>Shallow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reproducing</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Improvising</td>
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</tbody>
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Illustration 1: Music as an ensemble of practices

The figure shows one way of dividing the different practices that constitute what is regarded as being music in the industrialised society of 2009. The boundaries are only meant for visible clarity, and do not represent real world separation between the different practices. In real life these practices will often blend into each other and are of course interdependent. Music cannot be listened to without a performance, and not thought about without any sound being produced and so forth. The model is partly hierarchical in that the top line of the figure represents the main categories. However it is not meant to represent any difference in importance.

The second upper line represents possible different practices that are a part of the main categories. A possible problem here is whether the other top categories should be included as the subpractices. For example, listening and thinking could have been included as practices of performing. However I decided that these represent more peripheral features of what constitutes a performance since they are not visible to any listener or viewer which is a vital part of what constitute a performance. Another such example is
whether improvisation should be regarded as a way of composing, but in this case I have decided to see composing as something which is created to be kept and possibly reproduced. A third questionable choice is to have singing as a separate kind of performative practice. Singing had its place because of its special features as easily accessible to everyone, but also because of the historic importance of singing in schools (Nielsen 1998).

The arrows in the third line represent a floating scale between possible ways of living these practices. The arrow on the last line hints to the way the figure is arranged from more concrete and close to the sounding music in the performance to the left, to the more abstract thinking about music to the right. This figure will be used in chapter 7, to analyse what practices of music Hagström music schools facilitated.

**Popular music**

Popular music in this thesis is understood as a social phenomenon in a pragmatist sense. It is defined by social characteristics, and cannot be understood as a genre defined by its sonic characteristics alone. Popular music can rather be understood as a set of genres that are changing over time and culture. In this case the popular music changed radically from the old-time dance music and jazz in the forties via rock, pop, punk, disco and new dance orchestra music to name a few.

Lilliestam (1998) lists eight traits of rock music, which he does not distinguish from pop-music. Three of the traits can be applied to all the popular genres included in the period of Hagström: “The music is aurally based”, “The harmonic structures are based on triads and four note chords”, “The melodies are singable and locked into the harmonies by only using chord notes”, “The musical forms are most often based on variants of verse and chorus, sometimes with a bridge.” (ibid p. 27). These can be seen as sonic characteristics of the popular music of the twentieth century – even if it is easy to find exceptions such as the symphonic rock at the end of the seventies. However it is maybe more reasonable to look at the social characteristics of popular music.
"Music from the Backyard" – Hagström's Music Education

No need for education, is mentioned by Lucy Green (2006) as a characteristic of popular music. By that it can be understood that there is a built in autodidact discourse in the genre of popular music – that education belongs to the establishment as opposed to popular music. This sociological trait of popular music seems to fit most of the genres I referred to above. An interesting angle on this is that when genres of popular music gradually sneak into academia, they will no longer be popular in the same way. The consequence of the no-education discourse is in Green's view that there is a need to understand how popular music is learnt. The answer is that it is learnt collectively in peer group learning situations with an emphasis on creative processes of making music together. Popular music can in other words be partly understood on the basis of the discourse of how it is supposed to be learned.

Popular music in this thesis takes into account both the sonic and the sociological views on music. Popular music is music that is popular amongst large groups of people without being recognized as having artistic value by the ones in possession of the cultural capital. That is probably why some educational movements have tried to lead people away from popular music rather than helping them to learn it.

Folkbildning

In the Scandinavian countries, a particular kind of voluntary education has been developed in the last 150 years. The Swedish word folkbildning has come to mean a particular tradition of education which is not easily translated into English. Some suggestions exist such as Liberal adult education, and Adult popular training (Svante 2005). But, as Folkbildningsrådet [The Swedish National Council of Adult Education] writes on their webpage: “[…] the specific conceptual foundation of ‘folkbildning’ extends beyond the term ‘adult education’, which is why ‘folkbildning’ is used in this text as-is.” (Folkbildningsrådet 2009). But even in Swedish folkbildning is hard to define (Larsson 2007). So what characterizes this particular kind of education?

24 This happened to jazz and rock and is about to happen to hip-hop. Other genres like Euro-techno or Scandinavian dance orchestra music do not seem to be welcome for a while.
First and foremost folkbildning has been something people attend in their spare time as an alternative or supplement to municipal schools, colleges or universities. It is mostly directed towards adults and older youths, but children are also in the target group for forms of folkbildning. In the sixties the municipal music schools grew rapidly which led to a shift towards a more segregated music educational field where adults attended bildning associations and children and youngsters attended municipal music schools (Lindeborg 2006). According to my material, Hagström however seemed to keep their youngsters and as such did not follow the trend from the bildning associations.

Folkbildning can exist in different forms: There are the study associations, which organized courses for people to take in their spare time. The studies have traditionally been organized in so called study circles — groups from 5 to 20 people joining with a teacher to learn together. In 2008 approximately 285,000 study circles were arranged with a total of almost 2 million participants (Folkbildningsrådet 2009).

Another educational institution, which sometimes originates from the study associations, is folkhögskolor [folk high schools]. These are schools targeted at young adults who wants to study full time outside the university and college system for a limited period of time, short courses or for a full year\(^\text{25}\). In 2008 there were approximately 26,500 participants in extended courses, while the short courses had approximately 80,000 participants (Folkbildningsrådet 2009).

There are also the folk-libraries which were started to give everyone democratic access to knowledge and culture, which was one of the main reasons why the folkbildning movement was initiated as a whole. The Scandinavian countries which all had their folkbildning movements, all have a sparse and spread population. To create equal access to knowledge and culture has been important in order to maintain the decentralized population.

\(^{25}\text{Some students choose to attend several years.}\)
Even if the *folkbildning* ideal is independence from the state, this does not mean that it will always represents a counter-culture, as Larsson (2007) emphasizes. On the contrary, the different study associations have been tightly connected to organisations with power such as political parties and the church. Hagström, on the other hand, was independent of the state, but their activities were still not considered folkbildning, as will be presented in chapter 6. The two study associations I mostly refer too, *ABF - Arbetarnas bildningsförbund* [The Workers’ Educational Association], and *Medborgarskolan* were established to represent the opposite political blocks in Sweden; ABF represented the socialist movement while Medborgarskolan represented the right wing and royalists (Medborgarskolan.se 2009). The study associations served in other words specific purposes.

As Bohman (1985) points out in his analysis of music study circles in the workers’ study association – ABF, the cultural ideals are “[...] conveyed by, the dominant cultural institutions.” (Bohman 1985, 203), and that ABF followed the educational ideals of the middle class – to the extent that the workers’ own popular music such as the accordion based popular music Hagström represented, was repressed.

In this thesis I will connect to the folkbildning associations in my historical account of Hagström, since they influence each other as both co-players and opponents in different stages of the time span I cover. However, I also propose that Hagström's music education can be seen as folkbildning to some extent. Hagström's music schools shared most characteristics with the folkbildning movement such as education for all and study circles. It will however be clear in the discussion that Hagström also was provoking to the study associations and as such might not fit into a narrow understanding of folkbildning at least\(^\text{26}\).

\(^{26}\) More about this in the chapter *Hagström and the folkbildning study associations* (p. 75)
3. Information, inspiration and operation

Hagström’s music educational activities were unique but not isolated from society. In order to investigate Hagström's music education, or any other activity for that matter, it is essential to construct preconditions for a way of studying it that takes into account several different aspects of the activity while still focusing on the aim of the study: The purpose of this thesis is to investigate and recreate Hagström's music educational history from a Deweyan pragmatist point of departure.

According to the pragmatist point of departure in this thesis, I have developed a set of premises for how historical research can be conducted on a pragmatist foundation. Such a method must acknowledge the following features of an activity:

- Any activity must be considered an event and therefore temporal (Dewey 1958).
- All activities are situated, socially as well as historically, and there is no way to understand any event in isolation.
- Meaning is (re-)constructed through and from experiences. There is no way human beings can study data objectively since any object will be filtered through the personal, social, historical filters in communication.
- Communication is the cornerstone of understanding. Knowledge and the knower are intertwined with the social reconstruction of meaning (Dewey & Bentley, 1949).
- As it is impossible to bathe in the same river twice\textsuperscript{27}; it is impossible for any activity or event to leave the world unchanged. The consequences and changes following an activity are essential for pragmatist inquiry.

\textsuperscript{27} Proverb that stems from Heraclitus (Quine 1950)
"Music from the Backyard" – Hagström's Music Education

- While all social, individual, historical phenomena are intertwined and indivisible, it is still possible to name and study parts of the whole as long as they are regarded in context.

- Research should matter. The results of research should have common sense consequences (Dewey & Bentley, 1949), and not only be concerned about splitting hairs in redefining concepts.

Based on these conditions for how a pragmatist research method can be developed, the following paragraphs describe how a pragmatist research method has been developed through this research project. I consider the research process to be steered by methodological choices on two levels. The first level concerns the acquisition of data to be study. How can a researcher get access to information in order to study a phenomenon? The second stage deals with the treatment of the information gathered through the first stage. These headings on two levels have been labelled To access information and To process information.

To access information

There are multitudes of ways to get access to a field that can provide an environment from which the researcher can get answers to the questions at hand. In this case there is a need to understand Hagström's music education. From a pragmatist point of view, the best way to get access to such activities as Hagström's music education would be to participate and help to develop the activity. However this is not possible since Hagström is now history. There are no more courses to attend within the Hagström conglomerate. This does not prevent a pragmatist approach from looking at history\textsuperscript{28} – however it does put certain demands on the methodological approach.

\textsuperscript{28} For an account for my pragmatist view on historical research see chapters Pragmatism – learning and being, (p. 23) and A pragmatist view on history, the present and research (p. 26).
Chapter 3. Information, inspiration and operation

The sources available

A consequence of the views on research and history provided in the previous chapters was that I had to get access to Hagström’s music education from several different sources and angles in order to understand the history as lived experience, not only as events. My sources are of three main types: Earlier research, secondary and primary written sources and interviews.

Earlier research

The research I refer to has three main foci: There is research about Hagström, about *folkbildning* and about the governmentally controlled institutionalised music education in Sweden in the relevant period. These three focuses will later form a frame in which to present the results of the study in the later chapters.

Previous research about Hagström is not really qualified academic research. However, since the sources available are so scarce, I chose to regard them partly as qualified research, even if I checked the original sources they rely on to the highest possible extent. There are two Bachelor's thesis written about Hagström's guitars which I have relied on (Gustavsson 1998; Nilsson 2000). Then there is a Master's thesis from Umeå (Johansson 2005) about accordion education, and in particular the debate in the sixties which I treat in the chapter *The turbulent sixties* (p. 82). There are also four books about Hagström which I have leaned on to a certain respect: The first of these is particularly interesting since it was written when the company was still young. It is a Festschrift for Albin Hagström's 40th birthday written by an employee, Cassel (1945). This publication has also been an important source for the other books, and as such can be seen as a nodal point in understanding how the story of Hagström has been written. This also makes it important to be critical towards the book since it was written for a specific purpose — to celebrate the founder of the company, and as such to avoid putting forward any criticism. It is also important to be aware that since this publication has been important for other writers, the other secondary sources will probably strengthen the story put forward by Cassell.
sequently I have tried to verify the story by Cassell in primary sources, or other secondary sources from the time. The other 3 books I chose to regard as research-like are one book by the executive director of Dalarna's museum, Jan Raihle about Hagström's guitars (2003), and two books about Hagström by a freelance journalist Mikael Jansson (2006; 2008). In addition I have referred to some webpages about Hagström. Hagström has an official webpage with their presentation of the history\(^\text{29}\). There is a webpage dealing with the Norwegian Hagström guitars by A. Steinnes\(^\text{30}\), which I have also referred to. Besides that there are several webpages about Hagström which I have read, but not found to provide any information unavailable elsewhere.

Music education as folkbildning has been treated in a few studies in Sweden. Bohman (1985) wrote in his PhD about *Worker's culture and cultivated workers: a study of the labour movement's music*. He analysed the musical ideologies of ABF from a sociological perspective. A key point in his writings, just as in this thesis, was that ABF had internal struggles concerning music activities. ABF was started as an organisation for workers to provide education in important matters such as union work and workers' rights, and gradually extended from there to include the arts as well. Artistic activities were from the beginning only for consumption and reflection, and as Bohman points out, they were meant to educate the workers out of their working class taste preferences. This was easy to control in the beginning since music courses were about listening, reading and reflecting. However, when practical music activities finally managed to get accepted and eventually became the largest kind of activity within ABF, the musical content became harder to control. The contradiction Bohman analyses, refers to working class political ideology fighting the establishment, on the one hand, and the glorification of the aesthetic preferences of the establishment on the other. This will be important in the discussions in chapter 6 (p. 119).

Other important research for this study concerning folkbildning and music has been Anna Larsson’s studies of folkbildning and folk high schools (Larsson 2005; 2007). She brought forward the ideas and ideologies that formed, and were formed in, the folkbildning associations in the middle of

\(^{29}\) http://www.albinhagstrom.se.
the twentieth century. A new area of music educational research was intro-
duced, by looking at voluntary instrumental education, something that will 
be the focus of this thesis as well. While writing thoroughly about the folk 
high schools and the study associations connected to ideas from the rest of 
the music educational field, she did not study the completely private educa-
tions such as Hagström’s.

The third and last kind of music educational research I relate to, concerns 
the governmentally controlled institutionalised music education. Since my 
primary focus is on voluntary instrumental education, I have been looking 
for studies about municipal public music schools. However, very little 
research has dealt with that from a historical perspective. An exception is 
Torgil Persson’s (2001) PhD thesis about the growth and turbulent -90s of 
municipal music schools. The thesis investigates four communities’ music 
schools in the nineteen nineties. In that process he also tries to describe the 
background from which the municipal music schools came from. This his-
torical point is unfortunately fairly superficially treated, so other studies of 
music educational history have been utilized including Gustafsson’s (2000) 
study of the Swedish music educational field from 1900 to 1965, Linde-
borg’s (2006) study about the distance music-educational project the radio 
conservatory, in the 1960s, and Tommy Strandberg’s (2007) study about the 
history of creativity in schools. Other research such as Bengt Olsson’s 
(1993) study of SAMUS, a music teacher educational programme in the 
1970s, Varkøy’s (2001) study of music in Norwegian curricula and Nielsen’s 
(1998) writings about music didactic trends in the twentieth century have 
been important in order to acquire tools to understand the ideas that shaped 
the music education in the different periods that Hagström operated in.

This brief presentation of research that has influenced this study is not 
meant to be exhaustive. There are several other studies that are referred to 
throughout the book, but the studies presented above are the most import-
ant in order to point to a position from where to discuss Hagström in the 
music educational field as well as to provide important material for the 
results of this book. However, while I consider earlier research to be an 
important source of information and inspiration, its primary function is to 
aid in the process of creating a perspective of other sources.
"Music from the Backyard" – Hagström's Music Education

Archive material

The second source of information I have studied consists of primary and secondary written sources. The archive material I have studied is mostly articles from the press regarding Hagström and music education as well as different official documents concerning the same. Most articles and documents can be regarded as secondary information about Hagström's music education and its context, but at the same time, they are primary sources about the time in which they were written – as expressions from the time when Hagström was operational. The newspaper articles stem from personal clip-archives I have been fortunate enough to be given access to.

Karl Erik Hagström and Sven Magnusson, both had collected newspaper articles where Hagström was referred to. The advantage of these archives is that they are easily available, and give access to a lot of information that would have been impossible to find otherwise. The disadvantage is that there, in general, might be a danger of bias in the collection of clips. In this case however, it seems as if they have been collecting everything that has come into their hands no matter if it was positive or negative or even if it was an article or advertisement from a competitor. However, it seems that the interest in collecting newspaper clips has varied over time, so that certain periods are better represented in the collections than others.

Besides this I have scanned every issue of the following periodicals:

- *Hagströms-nytt: Dur och moll* (1941-1946) – Internal periodical for Hagström in the Nordic countries. Published approximately once a year.
- *Stämmman* (1946-1957) – Internal periodical for Hagström in the Nordic countries. Published irregularly, but on average two to three issues a year. Ended in 1957.

46
Chapter 3. Information, inspiration and operation

Official documents such as SOUs [Governmental declarations] and curricula have also been helpful — in particular Folkbildningsutredningen (SOU 1948:30), Musikliv i Sverige (SOU 1954:2), Konsertbyråutredningen (SOU 1967:9), and one about music education in Sweden (SOU 1968:15).

Already in the first stages of planning this research project, it was clear that Hagström had large archives that could be utilised to understand their educational activities. In late October 2007, the research group made a visit to Ålvdalen and Karl Erik Hagström’s personal archive. There we saw the museum and were taken care of by Karl Erik Hagström in our search for information. He had press clip archives as well as some of the guitar and accordion instructional course books. He also had archives of correspondence, but we could not find anything that was connected directly to the educational activities in Hagström. We copied and scanned all of the press clips somehow related to the education as well as the books. Karl Erik Hagström was also interviewed by Agevall. All data was shared via the group’s spot on the internet.

The following day the group from Växjö went to Kopparbergs länsarkiv in Ludvika where most of the formal archives from Hagström’s history have been stored. I decided not to go there since I wanted to continue with what I considered my main entrance to understanding Hagström’s music education — talking to the people who had experienced this. However I got access to all the information the other researchers had gathered. At a late stage in the studies I was contacted by Karl Erik Hagström. He sent me a box of material which helped me understand the problems Hagström had faced the last years in business.

The study of such sources has been important for understanding how Hagström and Hagström’s music education were regarded at different stages in history, as well as being able to fill in all the blanks of the historical events. Being a pragmatist study of experienced history however, it was important to go beyond the written sources.
Interviews

Individual interviews were performed with a total of 11 persons consisting of former teachers, students, managers and an executive manager, five from Norway and six from Sweden. They were chosen because they were available. It proved very hard to find people who had been involved in Hagström's music education, but by asking, reading and investigating in every imaginable way according to what is sometimes labelled snowball or chain sampling (Denscombe 2007), I ended up with these 11:

- Sven Magnusson – shopkeeper in Växjö and writer of the course books in Hagström’s music school and teacher.
- Ole Petter Engebretsen – son of the shopkeeper in Hagstrøm Oslo. Runs his own shop now. Was a student in Hagström's music school.
- Richard Jansson – shopkeeper in Västerås. Was a student in Hagström’s music school.
- Björn Werngren – was a guitar teacher in Hagström's music school
- Jan Terje Fosse – shopkeeper in Hagstrøm Bergen. Was a student in Hagström's music school.
- Ingvar Leirstein – has been working in Hagstrøm Bergen from the beginning.
- Bert Andreasson – son of the shopkeeper in Hagström Gothenburg. Runs his own shop now. Was a student and teacher in Hagström's music school.
- Ulf Utgård – Was a guitar teacher in Hagström's music school.
- Two people who do not want their identities revealed.
Before the session they were presented with two documents. The front page consisted of the ethical agreement, and the second page contained the interview guide. The interviewees were interviewed once each in an open manner where they told me about their musical lives. Focus was put upon how they experienced and remembered different musical parts in their lives — in particular related to whatever connection they had to Hagström. At the end of each interview I asked a set of more specific questions regarding Hagström's music education. The interviews could in other words be characterized as being a combination of open ended and semi-structured interviews (Denscombe 2007). The last thing that happened was that the interviewees were encouraged to contact me by e-mail or phone with short or longer stories or supplementary information.

The ethical agreement was constructed on the basis of the Swedish research council's recommendations. This meant that the interviewees were informed of the motives for the research, of their participation being voluntary and of being free to withdraw at any time. They were also given the choice as to whether their identities should be revealed or not during the writing. That other researchers might demand insight into the sources was also a part of the information. Based on this they gave informed consent. External ethical testing of the project was never considered since I regarded that the project did not involve intrusion or testing on human beings, and as such is not subject to the law on ethical testing (Law 2003:460).

Openness towards the interviewees' initiatives and willingness to listen to how they understood their own memories and histories were important starting points in order to get an insight into the history of Hagström's music education as it was experienced. The interviews were therefore structurally flexible and I aimed at taking a rather passive role to avoid steering them in any predetermined direction. The questions asked were of a kind that was meant to open up rather than steer; Questions like, “How did that feel?” “Could you elaborate a bit more on that?” “How did people respond to that?” And so forth.

31 The interview guide is attached as Appendix 1: Interview guide (p. 146).
32 The ethical agreement is attached as Appendix 3: Ethical Agreement (p. 150).
33 http://www.codex.vr.se.
In order to create a way of recreating a story of Hagström's music education, it was necessary to depart from the points of view of those involved in order to get the necessary closeness to the experiences. In this case some of those involved were still alive, so it was still possible to interview them. To complete the story I was trying to understand and create, supplementary methods also had their place.

Life stories, narratives or biographies, have been used by several researchers in music education in recent years. It is not my intention to provide an overview of the music educational research performed with this perspective, but I will briefly provide examples of research that has inspired my way of designing this thesis.

One music educational researcher who has made extensive use of narratives is Eva Georgii-Hemming (2005). In her PhD thesis she delved into the life stories of five music teachers in upper secondary school in order to understand the daily lives of music teachers; the challenges, struggles and joys, individually as well as socially. In order to get access to how teachers viewed themselves and their situation, life stories or narrative approaches provided a possible path to get both the specifics and pointers to more distant factors in the analysis.

Sidsel Karlsen (2007) used a method of narratives to get an insight into how the musical life stories of a particular local festival influenced the participants’ musical identity. In addition to a number of more superficial interviews and analysis of questionnaires, she concentrated in particular on six different people whose musical life stories she retold in a rather detailed manner. Her point of departure was theories of identity and learning in late modernity.

On a related theoretical path Ulla-Britta Broman Kananen (2005) studied how music schools in Finland have developed through the life stories of 38 teachers. Like Karlsen (2007) she used a theoretical foundation from late modernity and in particular Giddens. In my pragmatist view, views on social structures and the construction of meaning are quite similar to a late modernity view in that reality and identity is in a constant flux where agency and social dynamics interact to create whatever reality we live in. In fact the similarities between Giddens and pragmatism has led to several
researchers comparing and analysing the differences (Addams 2002; Collins and Hoopes 1995).

Truth and knowledge can be seen as dynamically created within the social and historic context through communicative transactions (Boman 2007; Thorgersen 2007a). Broman-Kananen argues that in a late modernity view on history, individuals' life stories are created by the individuals in their daily lives, as a way to cope with the increasing lack of strict societal structures to rely on. As a consequence I see that building research on people's stories of themselves not only gives a subjective and personal view of events, ideals and dreams, but also provides a great deal of insights into the structures, relations and social dynamics of the time studied. In the present study, the implications of Hagström’s education will be shown in the stories in several different ways – as lived and therefore as relevant facts regarding the impact on individuals as well as society. “[…] the single person’s story is not only the individual’s history, but will always relate to the community in some way or another” (Broman-Kananen, 2005, p. 219).

To be able to understand a historical event, seeing the event as lived experience is essential in a pragmatist view. Such a historized view has been a part of the pragmatist movement since the very beginning. Jane Addams who was one of the first pragmatists developed a method that

> [...] is autobiographical, contextual, pluralistic, narrational, experimentally fallibilist, and embedded in history and specific social movements (Addams, 2002, p. 14).

The reasons listed above became a convincing set of arguments to why I wanted to try to get access to some of the life stories from the persons involved in Hagström’s music education. Karl Erik Hagström senior was contacted early in the process to get names and his permission to let me proceed with the project. He gave me his blessings and was very helpful and positive to the whole project.
To process information

The second stage of the process was what should be done with the information once it was collected. How should the material be analysed and interpreted in order to understand and present it in the most adequate way in order to answer the aim of the research? This split between collection and analysis that I have employed does not really reflect the research process since even the first meeting with a phenomenon involves some kind of interpretation. So why did I still choose to make a split between accessing the field of study and analysing it? Distinctions are necessary to understand, but must always be seen as parts of a whole and can therefore be analysed as separate entities only in relation to some kind of totality (Dewey 1958).

Another clarifying aspect of narrative research and analysis is to be aware of a difference between “analysis of narratives” and “narrative analysis” (Hatch and Wisniewski, 1995, p. 25). Any research concerning life stories will be a combination, but it is essential to be aware of the two functions of the narrative and their different implications and aims. To begin with the first listed: Analysis of narratives can be regarded as any form of analysis where life stories constitute the empirical data which is studied. The second represents the ways the original narratives are being recreated through different kinds of analysis and representation. Narrative analysis in a broad sense might in other words be regarded as the ways in which stories are being recreated through the research process. However, there is a branch of narrative research that aims to recreate the life stories as “aesthetic reconstructions of a person’s life” (ibid p. 26). The style in which the research is written is both a part of the analysis and a recreation of the story. Ultimately the style of writing influences the way the results are interpreted and therefore also the results as such. In this case the individual stories will be presented with the intent of letting the individuals’ experiences appear. These stories will be reconstructed stories generated by me, based on the different stages of research and are as such not only the individuals' stories, but just as much my story about the interviewees' (Van Maanen 1988).

34 The totality I am talking about is not the whole universe from the beginning of time to the end as experienced by all living creatures and happened in all (im)material, but rather a possible and fitting contextualisation.
In chapter 5. *Hagström's music educational content* (p. 95) I have reconstructed a history of how a semester in Hagström's music school might have been experienced in the late fifties. It has been written as a fictitious story and as such aimed to get around the problem of representation of emotions, historic presence, and the uncertainty of interpretation camouflaged by precise academic writing. I regard any form of writing as a reconstruction on at least three different levels. First the writing is a manifestation of the author's understanding of something. Whatever the writer aims to express, it will be his or her interpretations, filtered through the author's experiences, thoughts and language. Secondly, the writing is read by the reader and thereby recreated by his or her experience, thoughts and understanding of language. Thirdly, the writing is a part of communication — and as such may take the place of an agent in its own right — living its own life emancipated from the author's intentions. Consequently, any story can be both fiction and real at the same time. The text will aim at describing or representing reality in different ways.

The example in chapter 5 involved recreating a story from the total set of sources I have had available. It was written after the analyses were performed and is as such a result in itself, at the same time as it generated new results in the writing (Van Maanen 1988). And because the story conveys a way for the reader to associate with the experience of being a student in Hagström's music school, it is an important part of the narrative presented in this thesis. A more radical example of the same kind of research strategy can be to create a completely new story which serves to show findings in the research in the same way as in a detective story (Ericsson 2001), poems (Wyatt 2007) or completely invented short stories (Clough 2002; Thorgersen 2003).

In what way is representation of a person's life through retelling it research? What then distinguishes this retelling from a biographer's retelling of a person's life. These questions are important. The answers are to be found among these words — the explanation and the striving towards transparency in the process, the presence of the writer's own values and grounds for interpretation and analysis. In most biographies, the author is quite anonymized, and the research process as such is hidden. The concept of *fidelity* has been introduced to deal with the questions of validity in narrative...
Music from the Backyard” – Hagström’s Music Education

research (Hatch and Wisniewski 1995; Moss 2004). Fidelity is seen as subjective and therefore better suited to a late modernist social research tradition such as narrative research, than validity which stems from the natural sciences and positivism and aims to be objective. The word fidelity is widely used when talking about good sound. In fact the word “hifi”, which represents good sound reproduction equipment, is an abbreviation of high-fidelity. Fidelity then has to do with exactness and transparency in the reconstruction of sound. It should be felt to be genuine and faithful to the source. To combine it with the pragmatist view of how truth is created, fidelity could be seen as a measurement of how well the presented research works as a way of (re)creating the story about Hagström’s music education for the interviewees, the scientific community and society as a whole.

In order to make sure that I kept contact with the original voice throughout the process of transcription and analysis, I decided to make use of the computer programme Transana35 for the analysis of the interviews. Transana is a software programme which allows for a transcription where the audio follows the transcript. If I decide to study only parts of the interview transcript or make categories with certain parts, Transana makes sure that I can always listen to the original voice while reading any part of the text. Additionally it allows for easy tagging36 of keywords to parts of the transcriptions and also categorising.

After listening openly, as described above, I continued with a combined process of transcribing, and tagging the texts. Then I listened to the interviews while reading the transcription and continued adding and changing tags with an inductive intention – to let what was being said in the interviews steer what tags would be constructed. The next step was to drop the audio for a while and just thoroughly read the transcriptions in order to tag and build rudimentary temporary themes. After this was done I left the material alone for a few weeks in order to get a distance to my own coding and interpretation story with a focus on the research questions. The last step in this basic interpretation was to listen to the interviews again

36 Tagging refers to the process of attaching keywords to parts of text in order to be able to search these, or to group similar parts of text, later (Fielding and Lee 2002).
without reading anything before I introduced parts from the interviews into the mind map made from the written sources.

The archive material and the previous research were analysed together in order to recreate the history of Hagström’s music education as understood through my analysis. The research was read and distilled by being put into a chronological mind map\(^\text{37}\). The articles were partly photographed and organised in folders, but also to a certain extent integrated into the mind-map. The interviews which had been transcribed and analysed in Transana\(^\text{38}\) were partly also included into the mind map. However the mind map – even if it was possible to gather enormous amounts of text behind the visible headings – was best suited for the parts of history that had to do with seeing events in context while the personal experiences tended to get lost.

My final stages of analysis involved writing out the chapters *Hagström’s music educational context* (p. 57), *Hagström’s music educational content* (p. 95) and *Hagström’s music education in perspective* (p. 119). In the chapter *Hagström’s music educational context*, Hagström’s music education, its I and the relation to ideas and trends in Sweden (and to some extent the rest of Scandinavia) have been recreated in the form of a running interpretive text. The chapter *Hagström’s music educational content*, is constructed around a made up story of how a course could have been experienced in the late fifties. This short fiction is then reflected upon before the last chapter, *Hagström’s music education in perspective*, presents some reflections on a meta level.

The process of writing meaningful new stories from those listened to, read about and experienced, is of fundamental importance in a research process. McCormack (2000) identifies five complementary lenses to view material through in order to create meaningful stories from interview transcripts: “[...] active listening, narrative processes, language, context, and moments” (McCormack 2000, 282). The purpose of utilizing these lenses is to achieve a story that is more representative of the experiences that constitute the stories than stories presenting facts and interpretations in a traditional

\(^{37}\) Created in the computer programme “Cmap tools” which makes layered information possible (http://cmap.ihmc.us).

\(^{38}\) A transcription programme which provides easy to use possibilities for thematizing (http://transana.org).
In the different stages of analysis, I aimed to utilise the five lenses to be able to reconstruct good stories. In this case, combining earlier research and literature with what I have found in archives and through interviews, will result in the chronological story presented in the next chapter.

Three angles of voluntary music education will be shifting continuously in order to present Hagström's music education from a pragmatist perspective: Hagström’s educational history with the inclusion of the company’s development, the folkbildning associations’ music education, and the municipal music schools. Other educational and enterprise historical ideas and events will be presented when I have regarded them as necessary to understand the context of some part of Hagström’s music education.
4. Hagström's music educational context

The following story is a story about Hagström, Hagström's music education and also about music education in general in Sweden in the years between 1920 and 1983. The story is intentionally chronological and epic in its form, but will jump somewhat in time from one parallel story to the next. The reflections will be kept at a minimum in this chapter in order to keep the story flowing. Deeper reflections will be saved to the chapters Hagström’s music educational content (p. Error: Reference source not found) which concentrates on the pedagogical aspects of Hagström, and Hagström's music education in perspective (p. 119) which discusses the results in relation to pragmatist and Bourdieuan theories. There are three main parallel stories which moves alongside one another; Sometimes being far apart and sometimes almost intertwined. The three tracks represents alternatives for a Swede to learn to play music in his/her spare time in the period of interest. The first track is Hagström – the company and education, the second is the public state-funded municipal music education and the third track is the folkbildning with its roots in voluntary education. The story starts with how the company Hagström came into being.

The premises for Hagström's music school

How to acquire an accordion.

Albin Hagström probably had no idea of what he started when he ordered two accordions from Germany in 1921. At the age of seventeen, he was already an experienced dance musician after having played since he was twelve. However he desperately needed a new instrument and since accordions were expensive and hard to get in the remote Swedish village of

39 More about folkbildning on page 38.
Älvdalen, he decided to order from abroad. He managed to borrow 5000 German Marks and ordered two Gera accordions from Thüringen Germany: One for himself and one to be sold. He had to pay in advance, but the accordions never showed up. He finally had to contact the Swedish consulate in order for the accordions to be delivered. The one he kept was used to earn money as a player at dances, but also by leasing it out to other musicians. The one sold was the first of more than 70 000 accordions to be sold from Albin Hagström (Gustavsson 1998; Nilsson 2000; Johansson 2005; Jansson 2006).

This took place in between the two World Wars. Germany had an extreme inflation which made the Swedish krona quite strong, and two years later he was offered to buy 25 accordions from the same German export company. They had shipped a cargo of accordions to Sweden which had not been picked up by the buyer\textsuperscript{40}. Even if he had managed to save some money by then, he did not have the financial capacity for such a big shipping. Probably because of the inflation, he was offered a deal which allowed him to pay off the accordions at the pace he managed to sell them. Within a short time however, the instruments were gone. Through mail order in the journal Triumf, Albin Hagström had found a prosperous market (Nyberg 1990).

In the year 1925 the company Albin Hagström was registered. 1925 was also the year when the company began planning the change from import and reselling, to production. After selling all the German accordions, he decided to order a Paolini accordion from Italy. It was beautiful, but he was less than satisfied with the way it was built, so he sent back a request for improvements.\textsuperscript{41} This was taken into consideration and the resulting accordions sold out faster than the Italian company could deliver.

There soon arose a need to get internationally oriented. To be able to communicate he took linguaphone courses in German, English and Italian. 1928 was an important year for Albin Hagström’s international orientation. He started his first international branch office and the first real Hagström shop in Oslo\textsuperscript{42}, and attended an international music instrument exhibition in Leipzig, where he got to know people in the music industry. As a direct

\textsuperscript{40} According to article “Dragspelskungens saga” Stämman april 1952.
\textsuperscript{41} According to article “Dragspelskungens saga” Stämman april 1952.

58
result of these meetings, he went to Italy to study the production of accordions (Gustavsson 1998; Jansson 2006; Nilsson 2000).

As the Swedish currency dropped in value in the early 1930s, the profit of the imported accordions decreased. Albin Hagström had thought earlier about setting up a factory, but had not felt the necessary motivation. The new economic conditions gave him the necessary push and in 1932 the factory in Älvdalen was ready to produce Swedish accordions. Interestingly, Albin Hagström states in interviews from the time, that he did not believe it would be possible to compete with the big German and Italian accordion factories. Still he decided to establish a factory in Älvdalen and thereby create employment for 70 people. Sweden imported accordions for over a million Swedish kronor a year at the time, split evenly between Germany and Italy, so there was a big domestic market.

Hagström had already overtaken large portions of the import market so a brave, but still logical next step was to start production. The first accordions produced in Älvdalen were very Italian despite being produced in the countryside of Sweden. Albin Hagström engaged two Italian accordion makers to come to Älvdalen to assist in the building. The factory was set up and grew fast. In addition to the factory in Älvdalen other factories were set up in Orsa, Våhmus, Falun and Stockholm in Sweden and in Copenhagen in Denmark. Because of the highly flammable materials used in the production, especially the celluloid that was used to decorate the accordions, and later the first guitars, the factories experienced several fires.

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42 The Oslo office actually turned out to be quite important. Not only did they run the first shop in what eventually became the Hagström empire, but they set up their own factory and actually made the first ever Hagstrøm guitars (Steinnes 2008).
43 According to article in Dalademokraten, November 6th 1941.
44 According to articles in Stocholms Tidning, November 21th 1932 and Mora Tidning November 7th 1932.
45 This is mentioned several times in Stämman - often to mention someone who acted heroically and thereby saved the factory. However the fires also caused several set-backs to the production.
An institutionalised Swedish music educational field

While Albin Hagström was busy building the biggest music instrument company Sweden has seen, the different music educational sectors went through changes as well.

While there have been people learning music for as long as we can imagine, the history of organised music education in Scandinavia was tightly connected with the church for a very long time. When Albin Hagström entered history, music education was gradually becoming more diversified. When he was born in 1905, a new influence entered the Swedish music educational scene, namely rhythmical education. In 1907 Anna Behle started an institute for “plastik”, greatly influenced by Émile Jaques-Dalcroze’s ideas of teaching music through movements (Gustafsson 2000). The idea of eurythmics, which was how Jaques-Dalcroze labelled his educational program, was primarily aimed at children, and as such became important for the music teacher education when Anna Behle began working at the Royal academy of music. Jaques-Dalcroze himself visited Sweden several times around the first World War and was even elected a member of the Royal academy of music. Despite the rhythmical focus, the music in itself was not rhythmical in the same way as present-day groovy, jazzy or swinging popular music. Jaques-Dalcroze methods were rooted in classical music.

The classical music was very strong in education, and music education as a way to good taste gradually took over the previous role of music education as a means for the church and the state to influence the population with desirable beliefs and values. For the teacher training seminars, the subject “song and music” was therefore replaced by the more generally labelled subject “music” in 1914 as a part of the secularisation of the subject music (Gustafsson 2000).

Just two years earlier, in 1912, ABF started. Soon thereafter they initiated study-circles for the working class, but not to teach the students working-class-music, but rather to provide an opportunity to get an insight into the middle class and the aristocracy’s tastes and, first and foremost, to learn about union work.46

46 More about folkbildning on p. 75
Chapter 4. Hagström’s music educational context

As Gustafsson (2000) shows in his thesis, the music educational field in the first half of the 20th century was filled with attempts to break with the traditional educational practice of the Royal Music Academy and also the school which eventually became Ingesund Folkhögskola. These were the only two institutions to define music education, and what music education was supposed to be in Sweden. Even if there were private institutions and also private enthusiasts, what happened in the Royal Academy of Music defined music education in Sweden. This is probably also a reason why Gustavsson dwelt a lot on that institution in his analysis of the music educational field in Sweden. As a monopolist in music education, the Royal Academy still seemed to have been inclined to change by granting several private enthusiasts positions as teachers at the academy. They opened up for methods such as those of Dalcroze, Kodaly and Orff. This inclination to change was however limited to methodological approaches. To acknowledge other musical genres than the composed classical ones was inconceivable.

When Knut Brodin published the article “Why not schlagers?” in 1933, arguing that music education would improve if popular-hits were introduced in schools, he clearly broke the code of acceptable music (Gustafsson 2000; Ryner 2004). Brodin had been teaching music in a private school and had tried ideas to facilitate youngsters’ own creativity and even let the youngsters’ own music, the recently discovered American jazz as well as accordion and guitar based dance music and English nursery rhymes, influence the content in the education. In the article he criticised the traditional teaching methods and traditional school songs for being boring. The reaction to this provoking article was that Brodin was reported to the main school board (ibid). The charges were dropped, but it was obvious that the music educational establishment in Sweden was not ready for such changes.

Simultaneously, Norway experienced the growth of a new phenomenon: Marching bands for young boys [guttekorps]. Ever since William Farre established the first marching band in 1901, a movement had developed which provided young boys throughout the country with music education.

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47 Ingesund started in 1923 and developed to become an alternative to the Royal Academy of Music.
48 The Swedish word schlager refers to a popular song — today it would probably be translated into pop-hits. The Swedish original was ”Varför inte schlagers?”
on wind instruments and drums. In Scandinavia, this was a particular Norwegian movement, probably due to the celebration of the Norwegian national day – the 17th of May. Towards the forties almost 150 marching bands were registered. This was an important scene for music education for boys and, at a later stage, for girls too (Handegard 2007). However, thoughts of providing music education were just about to come up in Hagström as well.

**Building the foundation**

Albin Hagström had built his business on mail order, and it was not until the end of the thirties that this was being replaced by a chain of retail shops. An important person in this process was an elegant gentleman, and one of the key characters in this story, by the name Roland Beronius⁴⁹. Albin Hagström and Roland Beronius knew each other from their childhood in Älvdalen. Beronius persuaded Albin Hagström that the mail-order era was over and that Hagström needed to expand by establishing shops. Albin Hagström was known to have good instincts when it came to recruiting, and Roland Beronius proved to be one of a handful of very important people for the Hagström consortium to grow.

Beronius had been working for Remington before he joined Hagström, and some of the things he had learned there proved to be important in the development of the Hagström consortium. He became the executive boss and coordinator for the chain of shops and a spider in the net of Hagström shops, always travelling, always making deals and always looking swell⁵⁰. Like Albin Hagström, he was known as a person who understood people and was able to recruit good staff.

Three years after the first Hagström shop started in Oslo, Hagström took over Carl Jularbo’s shop in Stockholm in 1931. Jularbo had been running the shop in close cooperation with Hagström for a long time, but Jularbo was more interested in playing than selling, so he continued to be a major player

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⁴⁹ According to interview with Sven Magnusson May 2008 and article in Svenska Dagbladet 2002.

⁵⁰ In most of my interviews, Roland Beronius is mentioned, and they all describe him in similar ways.
in the Hagström consortium as the media frontman representing the qualities of the Hagström accordions. In 1934 a third shop was opened in Gothenburg.

No more shops opened in the thirties, but the production side of Hagström accelerated. By 1939, Hagström had offices abroad in Oslo (1928), Copenhagen (1934), Helsinki (1938) and New York (1939), and they had bought out Accordia, another Swedish accordion factory. Hagström had extended the factory in Älvdalen, continued production in Accordia’s premises as well as established accordion factories in Copenhagen and Helsinki (Gustavsson 1998), and later even in Jamestown USA and in Darlington in England (Jansson 2008).

The thirties were tough years for business in most of the industrialised world. That Hagström was able to build such a prosperous business in the otherwise harsh economic climate following The Wall Street crash of 1929, was an achievement that is hard to understand, but I will briefly speculate on a few success factors. First of all Albin Hagström never took up any loans. Every investment was therefore immune to interest rises. However as the Swedish currency dropped in value in relation to the German mark, he decided to use the money he had earned on importing cheaply from Germany and later Italy, to establish local production. The interwar period was characterized by huge currency fluxes and Hagström took advantage of those. Besides being able to utilize the fortunate economic and political circumstances, Albin Hagström also hit a gold vein in the market. Accordion based dance music was the pop music at the time and no one supplied the market – at least not on an affordable level. His decision to start on a small scale by mail order and then expand helped to keep the costs down and the Swedes obviously hungered for accordions. The last success factor I want to touch upon at this stage was Albin Hagström’s ability to pick people who had a nose for business and fitted into his own image of how the company

51 Hagström even built Jularbo a particularly big accordion following Jularbo’s specifications (Johansson 2005).

52 The Finnish office was probably dropped during WW2 and Hagström therefore only had a Finnish branch for a couple of years (Nilsson 2000).

53 According to interview with Sven Magnusson May 2008 and Karl Erik Hagström October 2007 and interview with Albin Hagström in newspaper article in Dala Demokraten November 1941.
was supposed to be run. All of this proved to be important even when World War II came along.

While Albin Hagström was building his empire, music education was evolving elsewhere in the Swedish society.

**Foundations for a municipal music school**

The thirties brought about changes in the popular music scene in Sweden. Radio was spreading and with it also the opportunity to hear music other than live. Jazz slowly crept in as a strong player and supplemented the accordion based dance as being the hottest fashion in music. People gradually acquired more spare time, but there was little organised music education to occupy the time with. There were however concerts arranged in combination with lectures on different subjects arranged in an attempt to educate people as well as concerts for workers. However, as radio became more common during the twenties, the interest in such concerts decreased (Larsson 2005; 2007). Except for Knut Brodin the popular music played no role in music education. But even if the new genres were ignored and spare time music education was limited, new and interesting things happened in the institutionalised music educational field which in a way defines premises for Hagström's, the folkbildung associations' and the municipal music schools' music education to come.

As music educators grew in number, a need for an organisation for music educators developed. In 1930 *Stockholm Song Teacher Union* [Stockholm sånglärarförening] was established which published the journal *Skolmusik* where music educational issues were debated. One of the first things they

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54 Sven Magnusson told me a story about how Albin Hagström tested the first owner of the shop in Växjö. Albin needed black lead to his pencil and he asked the shop manager, Rudberg, if he could go and buy some. When Rudberg came back with a whole packet of pencil lead, Albin said that he would only pay for the one piece of lead he had asked for. The shop manager gave him all of them and said it was all right, but according to Sven Magnusson, he thereby failed Albin Hagström’s test. He wanted his shop managers to fight for every penny and not bend backwards even for the boss.

55 See page 61 for more on Knut Brodin.

56 Can be translated to “School-music”. The first issue was published in October 1936 (Gustafsson 2000)
Chapter 4. Hagström’s music educational context

did was to invite Fritz Jöde to Stockholm. Jöde was a music educator and professor who was one of the leading personalities in the Jugendmusik movement in Germany which was also very influential in Sweden (Cathcart 2006; Enberg 1992). His pedagogical ideas represented what Nielsen (1998) characterizes as cultivating the muse within.

Only a year after the establishment of Stockholm Song Teacher Union, what developed to become one of the first music schools in Sweden was established in 1929 in Uppsala. The school started out as a private school before it became a municipal music school run by the local authorities in 1956 (Gustafsson 2000). However there were other places that beat Uppsala in order to become the first municipal music school. According to Persson (2001), deciding which music school was the first public one, is a difficult task, but he decided to choose the establishment of a music counsellor in Katrineholm west of Stockholm in 1944. The first of February 1944, the public authorities of Katrineholm, together with amongst others ABF, decided to employ Lennart Lundén who thereby became the first municipally employed music leader in Sweden (Connor 1947). He started out by coordinating existing music activities, but already the same autumn he initiated a public music school where violin, piano, cello and music theory were thought. The position was funded by tax money reserved for cultural work (ibid). It is interesting to note that ABF was involved in turning music education for children into a publicly funded activity since ABF can be seen as arranging courses competing with the municipal music schools. Through their publications, ABF also explicitly dissociated themselves from the conservatory tradition which the new public music school could be seen as an extension of. As we will see later, ABF even cooperated with Hagström’s music schools, and can be seen to have been pursuing conflicting interests.

57 I have not found a better translation of the Scandinavian adjective Musisk. The translation is taken from the title of a book by Jon Roar Bjørkvold (1989) which is referred to by Nielsen as the key book representing this discourse. The English title of the book is The Muse Within. The book represents a view on music as being inherent in every human being and that music education only needing to cultivate the child’s inner music.

58 My translation of musikkonsulent.

59 ABF and Hagström seen in a Bourdieuan class perspective will be discussed further in chapter 6. Hagström’s music education in perspective (p. 119).
In 1939 the first music oriented classes in an ordinary compulsory school were established. Adolf Fredrik School in Stockholm started two song classes for students in the third grade inspired by Sangskolen in Copenhagen which had been started ten years earlier (Fledelius 1949; Nationalencyclopedin 2008). This expanded quickly to become music classes for all years. Adolf Fredrik’s music classes turned out to be mostly singing classes with much focus on choir singing (Gustafsson 2000).

The publicly funded ways of learning music were in other words connected strongly to what was being taught in the Royal Music Academy. Classical music was the basis and individual lessons in string instruments, piano and choir singing was the aim. This aim was also reached by use of auxiliary instruments such as the recorder and even to some extent the mandolin. However, the majority of the Swedish people were listening to a different kind of music.
The establishment of Hagström's music school

Hagström had been selling course books, and even opened their own printing office, but they had never considered initiating a music school. Not until Magnusson and Beronius met.

Hagström's answer to a public demand

In 1946, the year after World War II ended, Hagström started the Hagström music school. With Jularbo, who was gradually becoming a superstar in Sweden, Norway, Finland and Denmark, advertising for Hagström, the expansion was accelerating and the demands for education were pressing. The number of shops had grown to include shops in both Malmö and Växjö and the production had been expanded to include a factory in Falun whereas the former Accordia factory had moved to Solna. But more importantly, the new shops represented something new in the music retailing business. Roland Beronius who was also running the new Malmö shop, had ideas of how to make the Hagström shops into complete service stations for musicians – serving all the musicians’ needs while at the same time looking inviting and fashionable. All Hagström shops should be modern shops. A part of being a complete music shop was to accommodate the customers with a way to learn how to play the instruments they had bought.

Letters came to Hagström’s office in Älvdalen asking for advice about how to get lessons. The shop managers reported the same development – people bought accordions – they wanted to learn to play, but did not really know how to go about it. Hagström had been selling some of the self-tuition books available during the thirties, but these were hard to understand without previous knowledge of making music, and provided no context in which to learn. And there were almost no accordion courses available. The

60 According to interviews with Karl Erik Hagström November 2007 and all interviews with Sven Magnusson.
61 According to interview with Sven Magnusson May 2008.
62 According to several interviews.
consequence was that there were quite a lot of unused Hagström accordions lying about in the kingdom of Sweden, possibly jeopardizing future sales of newer models. The solution to this situation was found by Roland Beronius and Sven Magnusson when they met in Växjö.63

Roland Beronius in particular, but also Albin Hagström, often visited the young and promising shop manager in Växjö, Sven Magnusson. They often sat up late in the evenings and talked, and one such evening Roland Beronius came up with the idea that they ought to start a music school. With his background from Remington he immediately saw possibilities of how this could be done.

I remember well how they came to Växjö once, Albin and Roland. And they talked to me about how this could be done. And then he [Roland Beronius] said it like this: “We have to work the same way as in Remington: Have groups where they learn and have teaching material like that. [...] So then we decided to try to run it and to reach as many places as possible. (Magnusson in interview May 2008).”

In Remington they had courses for typewriting from where he borrowed the idea that they should have group education. They then decided to invite tender for a beginners course book for accordion courses in groups. Three people sent in suggestions for a course book: Andrew Walter, Göste Sehsam and finally, perhaps the most important individual in this story, the shop manager in Växjö Sven Magnusson who won the contest.64

The organisation of the Hagström music school

Sven Magnusson will play a major role in this story about Hagström’s music education, but before explaining more about him and his work and ideas, there is a need to briefly explain the main structure of how the music school was being organised.65

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63 This is built upon the interviews with Sven Magnusson performed 2007/2008.
64 According to interview with Sven Magnusson May 2008.
65 More will follow in the chapter Hagström’s music educational content (p. 95).
Chapter 4. Hagström’s music educational context

From the beginning in 1946 Hagström mainly arranged courses in accordion playing, even if guitar courses were quite frequent as well. However the guitar courses had no standardised course book the first years. It was beginners’ courses spread over ten lessons – one lesson per week. As already stated, the teaching took place in groups. There were students of all ages above ten year-olds. The courses took place in the evenings, and there were local differences regarding how they organised the groups. All courses ended with a graduation ceremony where everyone, teachers and students, performed in different ways, often in groups. At the ceremony the students who had fulfilled the course got a button. Within a few years follow up courses were also formalised within the system.

Students who did not have access to an accordion of themselves had the opportunity to hire an accordion for a small fee. The money that went into hiring could later be included in the payment for an accordion if they decided to buy one. Every transaction was reported to the financial office in Älvdalen.

The number of courses grew rapidly. In 1948 Hagström had 7000 students, and expected 14 000 students in 1949 while they were only able to serve 1000 students per term in 1946.

The local shop manager functioned as headmaster for a larger district where music courses were arranged locally.

The headmaster in Växjö

Sven Magnusson took over as manager for the Hagström shop in Växjö in 1943, just a few years after Harry Rudberg opened the shop. Magnusson was playing the clarinet and the accordion and had his own jazz band, Sven Swingers, who were well known at least locally. Harry Rudberg therefore

66 According to Stämma December 1948. Unfortunately there are no periodical reports of number of students so estimates have to be uncertain beyond the reports Hagström decided to publish themselves.
67 According to Stämma nr 3 1946.
68 This section is based on the three analysed interviews and a few phone conversations with Sven Magnusson unless otherwise specified.
hired the young Sven Magnusson to work in the newly opened shop. Coming from Alby in Jämtland to Växjö in Småland he became homesick and frustrated.

He [Rudberg] was a very skilled accordionist. He did not read music, but he was good. He had played on the radio and such. He ran the shop and he organized accordion competitions. We did that a lot. He was from Jämtland and tended to become impatient. One thing he used to say was: “It is darn impossible to sell to a person from Småland!” He grew tired of bargaining and left. (Magnusson in interview May 2008)\textsuperscript{ii}.

Magnusson was in the army when Albin Hagström phoned him:

This is Albin, you are in the army, are you not? This is Magnus? You know the shop? We may have to shut it down. (According to interview with Sven Magnusson May 2008)\textsuperscript{iii}.

He wanted Magnusson to take over the shop as he knew that Magnusson had run the shop when Rudberg had been on holidays, and that he had delivered decent results. Magnusson took on the challenge.

The first months he did his military service during daytime before driving to Växjö in order to run the business. Another employee, Hilding Larsson, who played the Saxophone in Sven Swingers took care of the day to day business.

Magnusson praise Albin Hagström’s judgement when it came to hiring people, and in Magnusson’s case he succeeded. Through the company-periodical \textit{Stämman}, Hagström presented the results of the shops every year, and the Växjö shop came out on top most of the years\textsuperscript{69}.

When Albin Hagström was in Växjö he and Magnusson used to play accordion together in the evenings and Magnusson had acquired a certain reputation as accordionist so Hagström decided to invite him along with Walter

\textsuperscript{69} However \textit{Stämman} only came out between 1944 and 1957, and since I have not studied the accounts, there is no way to tell if this tendency stayed. 

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and Sehsam to create a course book for Hagström to use in what would become a Hagström music school. Magnusson decided to take on the job:

I, Andrej Walter and Göste Sehsam [...] were contacted to write an appropriate course book. There were so many who wanted to learn to play the accordion so we just had to teach in groups so it was supposed to be a book for group education. And it should not be to difficult so that they would learn to play a melody as quickly as possible. [...] And mine was approved. Basically because it was the easiest one. (Magnusson in interview May 2008)\textsuperscript{iv}.

So in the internal periodical Dur och moll the following advertisement could be read in 1945:

We want to start Hagström Music Schools

In order to do so we would like to come in contact with persons who know how to play accordions, who are practically and theoretically skilled, who would be willing to take upon themselves to work as accordion teachers. They ought to be able to document their appropriateness with regards to teaching the music and to handle students. We would like to engage such persons in exchange for a certain salary for the courses, and we will arrange for accordions to be available for hire when needed. Our schools are going to be started all around the country – there is already tremendous interest. Is there an interest in accordion-music in Your area, and do You believe that You could get enough applications as well as being competent for teaching, write to us and leave information about Yourself, as well as references, and we will return with more specified directions. (Dur och moll nr 1 1945 second last page)\textsuperscript{v}.

The first edition of the accordion book was printed and the shop managers became responsible for organising the education within their district. The official start was spring 1946 and with Sven Magnusson as pedagogical manager, Roland Beronius as organisational manager and the Älvdalen office as financial head, Hagström’s music school was launched.
The first course books

The course book - *Lucid Accordion School for group education* [*Lättfattad dragspelsskola för gruppendervisning*], was constructed by Magnusson to suit the premises and conditions provided by Hagström and by the estimated expectations from potential students. One requirement was that it should be suited for group education. That also meant that it could be less detailed than a few self-study books Hagström already sold, such as Jularbo and Gylling’s self-study book “Dragspelsskola” and the follow up book by Andrew Walter which were “A teacher you always have available”.

My idea was all the time to use as little notation as possible really, but on the other hand lots of analysis. They will learn to play by chords and so on. So there were no bass notes. There was only one melody line in the right hand and then you should make the bass. Exactly like on the guitar really. (Magnusson in interview May 2008)

Even if the book was meant to be used in a teacher-student relationship, it still provided fairly thorough instructions for self study. The book were structured with an introduction presenting how to make use of the book and how to hold the accordion, how to place it in its case and what parts an accordion consists of. Every part was presented in a simple way with one big picture per page and just a little instructive text. The main part of the book consisted of one short chapter per lesson in the Hagström school system. That meant ten chapters since Hagström had decided that one semester corresponded to 10 lessons.

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70 This book was published by Hagström and came out in several editions. The first edition came in 1931 and the later one by Walter came in 1951. A source of uncertainty in this respect is due to the fact that Hagström has neglected to send their course material to KB for archiving, and that their own archives are incomplete.

71 An advertisement for Jularbo and Gylling’s book can for example be found in *Dur och Moll* number 1 1943 and an advertisement for Andrew Walter’s book in number 1 1945.

72 A more detailed analysis of the books can be found under the heading *The course books* (p. 108).
Chapter 4. Hagström’s music educational context

Magnusson’s pedagogical leadership

Växjö became the educational centre in Hagström. Sven Magnusson educated teachers and shop managers, and even up and coming employees from the entire Hagström empire. The training consisted of following Sven Magnusson as an apprentice by taking part in all the day-to-day work in being a shop manager. Running a shop, training staff and aspiring teachers as well as running a decentralised music school took much time.

And here in Växjö we had music courses in about thirty places around the district. The district was Kronoberg, most of Kalmar, Öland and Blekinge. So at that time I travelled every evening to start courses. (Magnusson in interview September 2007)

Sven Magnusson describes the procedure to have been quite similar throughout Sweden – at least during the first 20 years. First the shop manager contacted someone locally to take care of registrations. This could be a shopkeeper for the country shop or a music consultant working for the Musicians’ union or a teacher — someone who could answer the phone and receive registrations and also distribute contact with prospective teachers. Since accordion music was immensely popular at the time, and the opportunities to get schooling had been very limited or non existent, the courses soon became popular.

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73 A further analysis of the master-apprentice ambivalence in Hagström can be read in chapter 5 (p. 95).
74 Music consultant is my translation of musikförmedlare.
I can give you an example from Karlskrona. We advertised in the paper that they should register with the music consultant there. And then phone calls started to come! And they rang throughout the night. They eventually had to turn off the phone. There were so many. This was the pop-music of the time and hundreds wanted to play. (Magnusson in interview September 2007).viii.

Since Växjö was the most active district in Hagström, when it came to education, any apprentice would have had a busy time keeping up with Sven Magnusson’s travels.

So it is obvious that the courses were wanted and popular. From a situation where the aspiring accordionist was on his/her own, suddenly an affordable and systematic course was presented to large parts of Sweden. Beronius and Magnusson had developed an educational system for the teachers to follow, but how did the teachers follow this?

There soon proved to be a problem to get good teachers. In December 1946 Stämman had on its front page “The school has started”. Here Hagström wrote briefly about their visions for the new school. The ambition was to increase the number of students dramatically from the present 1000 per term. “It should be no problem to increase the number of students to 20 000” they wrote. The only obstacle was the lack of teachers.

A skilled accordion teacher can teach groups with 10–15 students. In the guitar education the number of students can be somewhat bigger. But there has to be a good teacher. He should be calm and a good pedagogue. The course material should be suitable, easy and enjoyable. (From the front page of Stämman number 3 December 1946).ix.

Because the courses were built on an assumption that music was to be taught via printed notes, a large proportion of the active accordionists and guitarists were unqualified. This resulted in a varying quality of the teachers. Some teachers were excellent while others were only slightly better.

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74 Actually it is hard to prove that Växjö really was the most active, but according to both Sven Magnusson and Karl Erik Hagström as well as the reports of financial success in Växjö it seems plausible to estimate that Växjö was the most active educational shop.
than the students. Karl Erik Hagström also points to this problem when asked to describe the education. On the one hand he tells about the accordion courses in Stockholm, just next door to where Karl Erik grew up, where Erik Franck was in charge of the education. Erik Franck was one of the most prominent accordionists of the time and even produced his own accordion literature. On the other hand Karl Erik describes some of the courses slightly ironically as “...at least some of the students were good”\textsuperscript{76}. This was a problem not only within Hagström’s music school, but even more so in the study associations which had a much larger and more diverse circle activity. The connection between the study associations and Hagström is interested and will continue on page 75 but before that, a closer look at Hagström’s educational activity is needed.

Hagström and the folkbildning study associations

As earlier mentioned, Hagström both competed with and cooperated with the music education arranged by the folkbildning associations. In many ways the two approaches to teaching music were similar, while they differed radically in others.

Music education in the study associations

In the interviews and the texts available about the establishment of Hagström’s music schools, it seems as if they were designed almost in a pedagogical vacuum. However the methods and pedagogical ideas are interestingly similar to what can be found in the big music educational movement from the study associations.

When Albin Hagström was saving to import his first accordions, ABF started their first music courses aimed at the working classes (SOU 1954:2, 17). In the beginning the courses had a theoretical and historical character and the sounding music was for the course participants to listen to (Bohman 1985). ABF’s educational project aimed at helping the labourers to educate themselves. In the first years the majority of courses had a focus on political

\textsuperscript{76} According to interview with Karl Erik Hagström 27\textsuperscript{th} of October 2007.
or labour union issues, but this soon extended into a wide range of different topics and courses. Art was regarded as being important in order for the working classes to rise in the status hierarchy in society, so courses in literature, art history, and music were started. The total number of courses in ABF grew quickly and the fastest growing courses were soon the music courses.

ABF was dependent on the state for funding, and in order to get money for a course the content had to be theoretical until 1948 when practical courses were accepted for state funding. However there had been quite a lot of practical music courses going on already, camouflaged as being theoretical. With the approval from the state to have practical courses, the music education within ABF virtually exploded. In October 1948, Fingal Ström was engaged as music consultant for ABF and immediately began setting standards for how a music circle should be organised. He published a twenty page book as a syllabus or curriculum for all music circles within ABF (Ström 1949) and later a book called “Play in circle” (Ström 1952), which had a more practical didactic approach. A central methodological element in all folkbildning education was the circle – group education – which also became the norm in Hagström. In ABF this methodical choice for teaching musicianship probably developed as a consequence of the covert way practical music education was introduced.

There were obviously strong forces within ABF which saw the advantages of keeping up a uniform style of teaching throughout ABF – namely the circle, and the advantages of teaching and learning music in circles were heavily propagated in the ABF journal. Group education within music was clearly seen as antagonistic towards traditional one-to-one music education from the Academy. In fact Fingal Ström’s books can be read as being in opposition to the established music educational discourses in several ways. Aesthetic experience is propagated as being the primary goal for all music education, even if the “composer’s intention must be remembered” (Ström

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77 According to ABF’s journal: A.B.F. tidning för Arbetarnes bildningsförbund number 6 1948 p. 117.

78 According to ABF’s journal: A.B.F. tidning för Arbetarnes bildningsförbund number 7 1948.

79 There are several examples in A.B.F. tidning för Arbetarnes bildningsförbund e.g. in number 10 1949 page 197, where Axen’s Mandolin course book and courses are presented as being superior.
1949, 7). He claimed that it was important that music education had to be about the experience and should not fall into the academic trap of being concerned only with technicalities. On the other hand, as Bohman (1985) shows in his thesis about the music in the Labour unions\textsuperscript{80}, ABF and Ström adopted most of the values regarding music from the middle class. Ström was a definite advocate for notated music in education. He also presented music genres as having different values, with dance music and jazz only being valuable as tools for appreciating and playing music with a deeper value. “Adjustment to this music can be interpreted as nearest to an evolutionist development scheme:

Children’s songs $\rightarrow$ popular music $\rightarrow$ operetta $\rightarrow$ classical music” (ibid p. 198)\textsuperscript{81}.

A weakness in Bohman’s genre evolution was that traditional folk music is left out. Folk music is almost as highly regarded as classical music, but, as Bohman shows, always framed by the necessities of conforming to notated music. A standard which most folk-musicians were unable to live up to since folk-music is passed down by ear. The same kind of evolutionist scale was applied to instruments, with the piano at the top along with the violin, while the accordion was solidly placed at the bottom below the mandolin and the recorder (Larsson 2005; Bohman 1985). According to Ström (1952), only the harmonica, the vibraphone and the banjo had less artistic potential. Guitar and recorder passed as artistically interesting because of their baroque and renaissance original compositions. There seems to be an inner conflict in Ström’s and ABF’s music educational project between providing education teaching the working class how to be a good working class, and the wish to change the taste of the working class to that of the middle class (Bohman 1985). This is very prominent when Ström on the one hand says that there is a status hierarchy among instruments and on the same page states that it is important to “in principle see all instruments as being equal” (Ström 1952, 9).

\textsuperscript{80} The thesis is particularly focused on ABF.
\textsuperscript{81} Jazz later squeezes in alongside operetta in the fifties when ABF organised a course about jazz nation wide.
The same theme is touched upon by Anna Larsson (2005; 2007) when she discusses normative music aesthetics. She draws the connection to the Brodin debate\(^\text{82}\) where people were outraged because he used popular music in music classes. The same trend can be seen both in the ABF literature and in the 1948:30 SOU. The ideal for music education in a folkbildning perspective seems to have been to save people from their bad taste, to cultivate them and make them understand “real” values in music. It is of course easy to see this in retrospect, but at the time this was taken for granted truths. As Larsson (ibid) points out: That different genres and instruments had different aesthetic values was a fact beyond questioning.

In ABF, the subject area “Song and Music”, which eventually became an alternative to Hagström’s music education, developed from having been the 14th largest in 1923/24 to obtaining second place in 1948/49. From the year 1951 throughout the 1950s and 1960s music courses were the majority in ABF. In the top years in the 1960s, music circles had a huge number of participants. In 1968/69 the ABF music courses had 66,957 participants (Bohman 1985, 61–62). This increase in interest led to a constant lack of qualified teachers, and the folkbildning associations tried to solve this in a number of ways. On a formal level they organised teacher training, often summer courses, for teachers. These courses were often arranged in cooperation with some of the folk high schools\(^\text{83}\). They were also pushing the government to establish permanent music teacher education, and it was discussed whether or not the royal academy was the right institution for the task. By the mid 40s ABF was no longer the only folkbildning association that arranged education. IOGT started music courses already in 1928 (SOU 1948:30, 17) and Medborgarskolan began in 1940\(^\text{84}\).

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\(^{82}\) For more on Brodin see p. 61.

\(^{83}\) Folk high schools are a school form particular to the Nordic countries which is independent of university and college systems, and originates from the labour movement. Some of the Swedish folk high schools in Sweden such as Framnäs and Ingesund have grown into being University colleges or parts of a university. For more details see the chapter on Folkbildning (p. 38).

In 1947 the different folkbildning associations got together and formed *Music promotion, the music week* [Musikfrämjande – musikens vecka]. The cooperating unions worked together to arrange courses for teachers and to lobby for increased funding for courses and teacher education. Locally however they had to solve problems when they arose, and a fairly common solution was to cooperate with Hagström. The local solutions involved both solutions where a study association contacted Hagström in order for them to arrange courses for them, as well as situations where local Hagström shops contacted a study association in order to be a part of their system and thereby receive some of the government funding involved in arranging study circles. These kinds of cooperation were kept in the dark, and so was the accordion education within the study associations. While the number of circles silently increased in the study associations and not so silently in Hagström’s music schools, the music connoisseurs started to awake.

The beginning of the guitar era

During the fifties, the music educational supply in Sweden had drastically changed. From the beginning of the forties when the study associations had almost had a monopoly on entry-level private music education, municipal music schools popped up all over Sweden during the fifties (Persson 2001; Strandberg 2007). The compulsory school music also developed as more schools established their own special music classes and with the 1955 curriculum the subject was finally named just “music”85 (Gustafsson 2000). In addition, several *folk high schools*86 had started to have music programmes. In twenty years the availability of music education had developed from having been exclusive and hard to acquire to a point where Swedes had some kind of music education easily available almost at their fingertips. For those who for some reason could not, or would not, seek out a music course, the national broadcasting companies also had a fairly extensive music educational activity (Lindberg 2002; Lindeborg 2006). It was all a part of the initiative to educate and cultivate the Swedish people. The same development can be seen in the other Scandinavian countries.

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85 In Norway the subject changed name in 1960 (Varkøy 2001)
86 For a presentation of *folk high schools* see the chapter on *Folkbildning* (p 38).
In 1952 a tragedy struck Hagström, when Albin Hagström died only 46 years old. Albin Hagström had been the undisputed leader of the company since its start, and even if he had recruited good personnel and assisting bosses, he was in control of the company. It is also easy to see a slight change in tone in Stämman in the issues after Albin Hagström’s death, from a positive and progressive tone, to a more defensive one. However, Albin Hagström’s sensitivity when it came to recruiting people, and the maturity of the organisation, had provided the company with a confidence that formed the basis for a smooth shift from Albin Hagström as head to Erik Wisén. And Hagström continued to grow in all respects. Even if the accordion production had a peak in 1952 with 15 000 accordions, Hagström still managed to expand with guitar production in Norway, a shop in Hamburg and several new shops in Sweden, expansion in Denmark and beginning guitar production in Älvdalen. They even changed the organisation of Hagström into two separate units: One for production and one for reselling, import and education.

While Hagström had been selling guitars and had courses in guitar playing since the beginning, Hagström had not had any guitar production in Sweden. The Norwegian factory had been a local solution to solve strict import rules regarding musical instruments. In 1958, Karl Erik Hagström, Albin Hagström’s son, went to the USA to see what could be done since the bottom seemed to have fallen out of the American accordion market. He brought 7 accordions to finance the trip, but were unable to sell any. Consequently, Karl Erik Hagström analysed the accordion market as being dead, and that the company had to change course. (Gustavsson 1998; Raihle 2003). Back in Älvdalen they had prepared for change. They had acquired the agency for Gibson in 1956 and had almost immediately picked one of the guitars, a Les Paul, apart. Holger Berglund, who was the chief engineer at the time, used this as a base and worked on the idea of developing their own version of Les Paul.

87 The guitar production in Norway started 1947 as a result of the strict import rules in Norway after World War 2. The factory was placed in an old barn in Grorud outside Oslo. The factory produced mainly guitars, but also ukuleles, double basses and strings. It continued until 1962 (according to Stämman number 2 1947, number 1 1953 and number 4 1953 and http://www.steinnes.net/hagstrom/hagstromhisno.html).

88 According to Stämman number 6 1956.
Chapter 4. Hagström’s music educational context

With Karl Erik’s message from the USA, the development accelerated, and in 1958 the first electric guitars, the models Standard and De Luxe, were ready for shipping. Hagström used the knowledge they had from accordion production and used several of the same techniques in the guitar production such as the celluloid layers to cover the wood. Some of the mechanical parts were identical such as the tone selector while other details were new inventions such as the beam to stabilise the neck. The beam was shaped as an H and borrowed from the construction of Swedish jet planes. The beam was patented, and the necks were shipped with life guarantee (Nilsson 2000; Raihle 2003). For the first time, Hagström prioritized production of something else than the accordions. This was also due to tougher times home in Sweden where Hagström gradually met tougher competition from imported accordions and decreasing sales because of a temporary recession.

In music education however, business flourished. As the number of shops expanded, so did Hagström music schools, both alone and in various kinds of cooperation with the folkbildning associations. But not only did the Swedish Hagström shops offer music courses, even in Norway and Denmark the educational activity expanded. The Oslo office started to offer guitar and accordion courses in 1954. They had been struggling for years to find proper facilities as well as getting the proper permissions to import the accordions for rent. The struggles proved to be worthwhile. The courses were a success and they soon expanded to arrange courses in surrounding cities and villages like in Sweden. By 1955 they had over a thousand students and courses in Oslo, Drammen, Moss and Tønsberg. 89 Magnusson’s course books were eventually also printed in Norwegian. The courses seem to have been arranged in much the same way as in Sweden90.

In 1955, Sven Magnusson released course book number two of the guitar courses to complete the course material. They now had course books for steps one and two for both guitar and accordion91. Even if the accordion courses were less popular than in the beginning, the number of guitar students evened that out. Prospects were bright at the verge of the sixties.

89 According to Stämman number 4 1955.
90 According to interview with Ole Petter Engebretsen April 2008.
91 An analysis of the course books can be found under the heading The course books (p. 108).
The turbulent sixties

In 1960 Hagström released a new course book for accordion by Sven Magnusson. This time it was a return to the original ideas of Hagström: Self study and mail order. The reason was that the demand for accordion courses had decreased to a level where many of the more remote places were forced to close down so in order to continue to reach the more remote spots, *Play, listen, learn* [*Spela, lyssna lär*] was released. This book also came with a gramophone record to learn from, with instructions read by an actor and accordion examples played by Sven Magnusson.

*Play, listen learn* was released in the middle of what can be seen as a battle over musical taste. The music connoisseurs had identified a threat towards the musical quality in Sweden. The threat was from the accordion education, personified through Sven Magnusson’s course books and Hagström, and made dangerous through the local cooperation between Hagström and the folkbildning associations. The debate had begun during the fifties and had materialized through a declaration from *the Central committee for musical folkbildning* stating the following:

Regarding government grants to music circles that make use of accordions, the study unions should be very restrictive, since the accordion among other factors has limited harmonic capacities.

There were also a short debate in Medborgarskolan’s journal *Tidsspegel* in 1957 regarding accordion circles. This debate was, as could be expected from a bildning association representing the right wing, well-mannered and without harsh words. One Adolf Odolfsson started the short debate by writing an article defending the accordion as an instrument well suited for music circles. He listed four reasons why accordions were particularly well suited: First there was the popularity of the instrument which ensured lots of interested participants. Second there was the quality of the instrument which ensured lots of interested participants. Third it was easy to teach and fourth, it suited the Nordic temperament. This article was

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92 My translation of *Centralkomiten för musikalisk folkbildning*.
93 As reviewed in *Tidsspegel* number 6 1960 p. 4. Swedish original in endnote x.
94 In *Tidsspegel* number 1-2 1957 (pages 7-8, 24-25).
opposed by an article by Rondin called *Accordion and pancake*\(^{95}\), where accordion music is described as being worthless, and is compared with pulp literature, which would never be taught in a study circle. This argument was developed further by Mats Olsson\(^{96}\).

Mats Olsson was a consultant for Medborgarskolan and wrote in Medborgarskolan’s journal *Tidsspegel*. Medborgarskolan was the folkbildung association for the right wing, middle class and even if his arguments against accordion education started out in a fairly well-mannered way, eventually he brought forward all the verbal force he could muster to attack the horrors of accordion education, as he saw it. He defined the opponent as “some folkbildung associations that cooperate with Hagström”\(^{97}\). Since the dance music commonly associated with accordions was connected to the labour classes, it should perhaps not be surprising that *Tidsspegel* represented a more elitist view of culture. Olsson’s article in 1959 lit a fuse. Based on this article, Sveriges Radio interviewed Olsson. The interview was printed in *Tidsspegel* number 1 1960. Here he tries to substantiate the claims from the article. Olsson’s primary agenda is to follow up the declaration from the Central committee for musical folkbildung from 1957 and make sure accordions were excluded from music circles in any study association. Issue number 4 1960 can be seen as a thematic issue where Sven Magnusson answers the critique and where Olsson answers again. The last issue in 1960 was a thematic issue with the heading “Questionnaire about accordion”. In this issue several well known music authorities were invited to write an article about accordions. The result was not to the accordion’s advantage.

Even if the debate started out in *Tidsspegel*, it was soon picked up elsewhere. Radio and TV picked up the debate and so did several of the national newspapers. *Voices in Radio* [*Röster i radio*], a popular periodical, printed letters to the editor for months in 1960 and 1961, mostly defending the accordion, but also representing other views. The accordionists’ own periodical, *the Accordion journal* [*Accordionjournalen*], also became an active debater. They even arranged a conference in order to clarify the facts of the issue. To the conference they invited representatives from the different

\(^{95}\) Swedish original: *Dragspel och pankaka* number 1 1958 p. 8.
\(^{96}\) In *Tidsspegel* number. 3 1959.
\(^{97}\) In *Tidsspegel* number 3. 1960 p. 9.
standpoints in the debate as well as external experts to enlighten the issues at hand.

The arguments for why accordions had nothing to do in a folkbildning setting can be divided into musical, physical, sociological and pedagogical reasons. The musical reasons dealt with the quality of the accordion repertoire, and the accordion’s potential for creating musical experiences. Olsson made a strong statement, not only against the popular dance music for accordions, but perhaps even more strongly against the repertoire that had serious aspirations. Olsson claimed that no serious composer would ever write for an instrument like the accordion. The reasons for that were that the accordion as an instrument had serious defects. First of all he criticized the standard bass system\(^{98}\), where, by pressing one button, a chord is played. According to Olsson, this limited any music played on the accordion, to follow fairly simple traditional harmonic rules, limiting the possibilities for any contemporary modernist music. But an even worse obstacle for regarding the accordion as bearing any potential for serious music making, was the apparent lack of overtones.

Tones without, or with only a few, overtones, abuse the music and destroy a musical ear. The accordion’s poor tones lead their executors to a dead end, and it is extraordinarily rare that accordionists and their fanatic admirers are being stimulated by any music with artistic content.\(^{99}\)

This was written by Sten Broman – an influential composer, tv-host and debater, who was very active in this debate. He wrote in *Voices in Radio* and was invited as one of the participants in the thematic issue in *Tidsspegel* and in radio. This respected critic of society and music regarded the accordion music as the worst kind of music possible, and formulated the critique as in the following citations:

\(^{98}\) Properly called “the Stradella bass”.

Chapter 4. Hagström’s music educational context

The most horrid and idiotic thing that has been invented in the world history’s span of millions of year, the lowest the human brain has been able to figure out – is the accordion. [...] When I hear the sound, I get associations to a drunken farmhand spitting tobacco. [...] Do not lure young people into the accordion trap. [...] The accordion should be exterminated.  

The initial politeness of the debate was in other words over, and the debate developed to become a battle between the lovers of accordion music and the ones who considered themselves the guardians of the valuable, high quality, and serious music.

The sociological reasons were presented in an ironic form. The content pointed to a social mechanism, that education in popular bad music, on an inferior instrument, will only cement class borders. Fighting class divisions was an important ideal of the folkbildning associations, and thus such a mechanism should be fought.

Pedagogically, Olsson listed a whole range of reasons why the accordion circles were bad. Some of them were general, while some were directed at Hagström – and Sven Magnusson in particular.

I have had the dubious joy of reading Hagström’s accordion school, which covers 4 courses (terms). It is made by a Mr Sven Magnusson, who moreover must be a jack-of-all-trades among music from the backyard, since he is not ashamed of releasing books for other instruments as well. [...] Hagström’s Dragspelsskola does not only limits this [general music] orientation to a minimum (there is no orientation whatsoever), but mediates contact with a number of really ignorant musical horror-products.  

The course books did not live up to Olsson’s, and thereby Medborgarskolan’s, demands for a general introduction to essential music theory and history. They were too simple and the musical pieces were of course of too low a musical standard. Besides that he criticised the whole concept of

100 Citations from Voices in Radio TV/Röster i radio TV number 48 1961 Swedish original in endnote xii.
101 In Tidsspegel number 3 1960 pp 9-10. Swedish original in endnote xiii.
practical music circles with the argument that the circles made it impossible to facilitate for the needs of different students and that the music circles for accordion and guitar in particular suffered from the problem that they had too much focus on technical aspects of the playing. According to Olsson, the circles also suffered from bad teachers. Finally Olsson mentions that a way to overcome the general problems of practical music circles is to change focus from soloist music making to ensemble playing.

While Olsson's initial articles contained some constructive points such as his critique against bad teachers and his wish for ensemble playing, the articles laid the foundation for a very non-constructive debate where the loser was the open minded discussion. The Accordion journal's conference was intended as an invitation to overcome the borders between the camps, and to some respect it did. The opinion that accordions were without overtones was thoroughly dismissed, and in the reports afterwards several of the declared opponents to the accordion, were actually impressed by a piece of accordion music performed by Mogens Ellegaard. As it was expressed in *Voices in Radio TV*:

> Accordion debates, that is entertaining! [...] No diplomatic bowing and fancy words, only gathering the troops and then directly into the battle. [...] Strangely enough, you still think [...] how this instrument still must concern us since it arouses so much enthusiasm and anger. ¹⁰²

The citation comes from a review of a coming television show to discuss and sum up the accordion debate. The debate kept coming back through the first years of the sixties until it died due to decreasing interest in accordions in media in general.

The harsh debate took place in an interesting time since accordions were on the verge of stepping down from the summit of popular music in favour of guitar and drum based Anglo-American popular music – the rock- and pop-music. Hagström had already felt this happening – first in the American exports, but later also on the European and Swedish market. The production was gradually changed over from being focused on accordions to concentr-

trating on guitar production and later bass guitar production. This also led to a gradual shift in the educational focus, from a situation where guitar and accordion courses on average had equal numbers of students, to a situation where the guitar education students represented the majority. Magnusson identifies Elvis and the Beatles as the reasons why nobody wanted accordions anymore in several of the interviews. However, Sweden is a sparsely populated country, and the trends from the youths in the big cities took a while to reach the more remote places. Consequently, accordion music was still ranked on top by the Swedish population towards the end of the sixties. Consequently students still came, but the younger generation drifted towards other kinds of music than accordion music. A peculiar detail regarding the connection between the production side and the education side of Hagström, is that the guitar courses continued to be for acoustic guitars, while the guitars they produced were all electric.

As regards music education, Sweden also experienced interesting times. An alternative to the Royal Academy of Music was established in the beginning of the sixties, when the private University College of Music Education in Stockholm [Stockholms Musikpedagogiska Institut] was established (Gustafsson 2000). In 1962, Sweden got a national curriculum, Lgr 62, for music which was based upon traditional values of reading music, choir singing and classical music history (Sandberg, Heiling, and Modin 2005; Strandberg 2007). However it was no longer possible to ignore the youth culture’s own music. Pop and rock gradually entered the Swedish classrooms and initiated a division in the music education in compulsory schools between opening up for pop and rock and active resistance (Stålhammar 1995).

103 According to the investigation into music habits in Sweden (SOU 1967) performed in 1965, “old dance music” is ranked as the most popular amongst 46% of the population when asked to rank eleven different genres. “Old dance music” was regarded positively by 79% of the population. “Old dance music” is defined in the investigation as associated with accordion music as typically performed by Jularbo. Not surprisingly, pop-music and modern dance music were top ranked by the population between 16 and 30 years of age, but also working class people show a slightly more positive attitude towards pop-music than the average.

104 The first meeting took place in October 1960, but the courses did not start until 1961. The translation was taken from SMI’s homepage http://www.smpi.se.
In 1964 Sveriges Radio started a school-program department which produced audio visual material for the education of Swedes (Lindberg 2002; Lindeborg 2006). They had then already arranged their own music school for years with well known teachers such as Endre Wolf (violin), Erling Bløndal Bengtson (viola), Hans Leygraf (piano) and Sven-Erik Bäck (ensemble)105. This was a face to face education for up and coming musicians, even if the school also produced shows such as the television shows from 1962-64 showing master classes with Hans Leygraf (Petersson 2005).

In 1967 Sveriges Radio launched what Lindeborg (2006) identifies as the biggest music educational project in Sveriges Radio – the Radio Conservatory. This was still another part of the idea that it was important to educate the people, and that music was an important factor in liberation and democratisation of the population.

In a report about Swedish music education in 1968 (SOU 1968:15) the government suggested that more money should be invested in state-funded music education such as the municipal music schools.

The committee considers it necessary that the state immediately expand the state funded voluntary music education to also include students from the first six school years and take economic and pedagogical responsibility for this education (SOU 1968, 64)

The bildning associations were still to receive funding to cater for adults from sixteen years of age. It is obvious that the bildning associations and Hagström met considerable competition when we consider that municipal music schools were established in 203 municipalities106. Before leaving this report, I would like to point to two interesting details: One: ABF was listed as the main organiser in two of the municipalities, something which clearly shows that ABF was very much a part of the political establishment. And two: Neither Hagström nor any other private agent in the music educational field was mentioned in the report which was supposed to lay out the music education in Sweden.

105 Accordion to advertisement in Voices in Radio TV[Röster i radio TV] number 33 1961 p. 7.
106 According to the report 291 municipalities reported having a municipal music school, but that only 203 of these could be considered.
Chapter 4. Hagström's music educational context

As a consequence of the discussions about music education in Sweden, yet another curriculum was introduced in 1969 (Lgr 69) – this time active choices had been made to extend the subject music beyond the reproductive and perceptive sphere, and more creative aspects of music such as composition and improvisation were introduced, as well as directions for a more dialogic education where the pupils ought to have an influence on the content of the music lessons (Sandberg, Heiling, and Modin 2005). These innovations in compulsory music education seem to have had no impact on Hagström's music education which is hardly surprising since Hagström's music education was a private act which had more in common with the public music schools in their more narrow focus on training one specific instrument.

For Hagström the guitar and bass production was a success, and they managed to establish themselves internationally as a producer of affordable guitars that were good value for money. Up to 1966 Hagström focused on producing cheap non-acoustic guitars in big quantities, but this gradually changed towards producing guitars of higher quality and also of half-acoustic models with the consequence that the production quantities went down. In 1967 Hagström hired Frank Zappa to do a commercial for them and in 1968 the Hagström experienced the greatest advertising possible for free, when Elvis appeared with a Hagström Viking on the TV show Elvis Presley Comeback Television Special for N.B.C. in the USA. 95% of the production went to exports, and most instruments ended up in USA and Canada (Raihle 2003). Hagström had been established as an influential supplier of guitars to the American and European market.

Towards the end

Hagström entered the seventies by ending the accordion production. Seventy thousand accordions in total were produced in Älvdalen. Hagström accordions were still produced for a few years, but these were produced in Italy. The staff in Älvdalen was therefore also reduced since guitar production requires far fewer hands than accordion production. But Hagström did not settle with the niche they had managed to fill in the guitar and bass market. They constantly developed their enterprise in several ways. Raihle (2003) points to an issue that he speculates might have been a contributing
factor to Hagström’s fall, namely that Hagström had a much more diverse production of guitars than the big factories such as Fender and Gibson. Hagström provided the customer with lots of choice, but that also meant smaller production series and therefore also more expensive production and less time to perfect a series that already sold well. This diversity also characterized the rest of the production. Karl Erik Hagström explained that this had to do with demands from customers to have special series made for them: Maybe 100 guitars with a custom design\textsuperscript{107}. They had experimented with other instruments almost from the beginning with small organs and even record players, but in the seventies they spread their interests so that the production stood on more than one foot.

In addition to the guitar and bass production, they also prioritized PA systems and instrument amplifiers. This eventually became a large source of income since they served the popular Swedish dance orchestras\textsuperscript{108}. In Solna outside Stockholm, they even set up a drive-in centre, the Orchestra terminal [Orkesterterminalen] (Gustavsson 1998), where the dance orchestras could drive in with their buses and have Hagström setting up a complete rig for the road. They even served ABBA on their first big tour in Europe after the victory in the Eurovision song contest with a custom-built PA system (Jansson 2006).

They also experimented with other innovations. Most remarkable was the guitar, and later bass, called Hagström Patch 2000 which was an analogue synth which was introduced in 1976. It represented something completely new, and as such was used by some celebrities such as Bob Welch and John McVie, but at the same time met problems because of the immature synth technique which made it very hard to play (Gustavsson 1998).

\textsuperscript{107} According to conversation with Karl Erik Hagström April 2009.

\textsuperscript{108} Dance orchestra [dansband] is the name of a particular genre which is a hybrid between Anglo-American country, pop and listening-friendly jazz music combined with older Swedish dance music and Swedish lyrics. The genre was very popular in Sweden and Norway particularly during the seventies. (Nationalencyklopedin online article150538).
Chapter 4. Hagström’s music educational context

The seventies brought about a change in the popular music scene from being guitar based to becoming more synthesizer based. The disco music and later the symphonic rock came and the music industry had to adapt. This also included Hagström's music school which extended their business to include organs and synthesizers as well. These courses were organised in the same way as the other courses, in groups and with opportunities to rent an instrument. Organ and synthesizer education became a big source of income for the shops that still had music education. At this time quite a few of the shops, such as the ones in Luleå and Oslo, had ended their music schools, while others, such as those in Gothenburg, Bergen, Växjö and Västerås continued and even expanded their music educational activities.

I would go as far as to say that we would not have survived the seventies if it had not been for the music school (Andersson in interview February 2008).

But while Hagström survived the seventies, they did not survive the eighties. The dance orchestras’ popularity came to a sudden and unforeseen halt at the turn of the eighties, and since much of Hagström's reputation was affiliated with the dance orchestras, they suffered a credibility crisis in the music industry. The musicians’ union wanted to introduce regulations in the Swedish restaurant business which requiring that dance music to be performed by live bands in order to be allowed to serve alcohol, and that the performers be paid by the clubs even when recorded music was being used. They did not get their claims through and papers wrote about “the dance orchestra death” (Dansbandsdöden) (Fleischer 2008). This led to financial problems for the big orchestra terminal.

The seventies had been a decade of electronic sounds and guitar music had been strong, but towards the turn of the decade, synth music grabbed a hold over the pop industry which changed the guitar market. Hagström had been selling electric guitars and amplifiers in the pop and lighter rock genres, but now these all turned more synthesized, and the rock music that came had its roots in heavy metal. The punk rock movement came at the conclusion of the seventies, and can be seen as a counter force to a trend of industrialising music and making it more slick. The guitar based cheap sound that was the

\[109\] According to different interviews.
ideal of punk rock probably sold quite a few low end guitars but unfortunately for Hagström, they were no longer low end enough when the Japanese guitar-factories started to flood the market with cheap guitars. Raihle (2003) refers to Karl Erik Hagström when stating that the Japanese had been planning a takeover of the guitar market for a long time. Whether or not the Japanese had planned such a conspiracy is not to be answered in this thesis, but the Japanese had been studying carefully how the western guitar factories were run. As an example, a Japanese delegation visited Älvdalen in 1965 to study Hagström’s production techniques (ibid).

Hagström had rested on four pillars: The production, the shops, the imports and the music schools. Since the production started in 1932, the production had constituted the largest and most important pillar, while the other pillars had more of a supporting function. Now the main pillar had severe problems, and as a last attempt to be able to continue the delivery of Hagström guitars to the world, production was moved to Japan in 1983. The quality of the 25 guitars produced in a Japanese factory was however so unsatisfactory that Karl Erik Hagström decided to stop all production.

Nilsson (2000) speculates that corporate tiredness was a part of what brought the company to a dead end. This is partly supported by several of my interviewees who blame the ending on bad hired bosses and bad judgement at the end of the Hagström era. Roland Beronius, the head of imports and the person who kept the chain of shops together as well as having initiated the music schools, left Hagström in 1980 due to disagreements with the current management110. The shop in Bergen left the consortium at the end of the seventies and the Oslo shop, which had been the first Hagström shop, went over to a competing import agency, Muscantor in 1980. The shopkeepers were offered to buy the shops and the import business was shut down. Hagström continued as an administrative company running the properties still in their possession111.

Hagström music schools just disappeared as a consequence of the rest of the company ending.

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110 According to several interviews.
111 This is based on interviews with the two anonymous sources and Karl Erik Hagström.
Hagström today

As we all know, guitar based music became popular again. And the first nine years of the new millennium have been characterised by an increased interest in retro gear in music. In other words older instruments and amplifiers are believed to carry desired qualities not found in brand new instruments. As a part of this trend, Hagström guitars have attracted new interest and are used by several new and young bands such as the Swedish pop-rock band Sahara Hotnights. This trend has also led to new production of older models, and in 2004, Hagström guitars were once again produced, this time in China by a Canadian company that had licensed the Hagström brand from the company in Älvdalen. The best selling guitars from the sixties and the seventies have been reproduced with slight modifications in style, but with more modern electronics.
5. Hagström's music educational content

Hagström music schools had quite a few centrally coordinated features such as the length of the course, the availability of instruments, the course books and the organisation in groups. But of course there were also differences regarding the rest of the music school. In order to give an impression of what a Hagström music course may have looked like, I have written a fictitious story situated on an island outside Gothenburg in the late fifties.

Meeting my guitar

“Why don’t we begin?” Johan pointed at a poster hanging outside the shop. We were on our way home from school. There was another Hagström course about to start. I had never really considered playing anything even if I really enjoyed listening to the radio. “I have been thinking about this.” Johan said. “Now that we are 13, it would be smart to learn to play the accordion.” I looked at him. What had my age to do with anything? My expression must have revealed my confusion because he laughed. “Stupid – the girls! There are girls on the courses, and girls like musicians. That’s something everyone knows.” He said it matter-of-factly, but I felt my cheeks glowing. “Ok then” I tried to sound as calm as him. “Where do we sign up”.

There must have been at least thirty people waiting outside the village hall. Some were carrying accordions and some had guitars, but Johan and I had nothing. We just tried to see who we wanted to have in our group. Sure Johan had been right. There were girls there, but also older people. I had not really been expecting that, but I guess they liked music too. Andreasson, the

112 The story is a recreation of the story generated through my understanding of the collection of sources I have had available. For a philosophical account for this method see chapter 3 (p. 41). The place exists and Yngve Andreasson was the shopkeeper in Gothenburg, but everything else is invented.
teacher from Gothenburg, were coming with the five o’clock ferry. When we signed up, Johan and I had said that we wanted to rent guitars. We had been thinking about accordions too, but they were slightly more expensive, and Johan’s older brother had explained that guitar was the instrument to play. I didn’t quite get it, but he had been to a film from America with an orchestra he called the Comets. We were just nodding. My thoughts were interrupted by the sound of a car approaching.

Andreasson greeted us warmly. We were invited inside where he explained the routines: “First today, we will make sure all the practical details have been attended to so that we can begin to play as soon as possible. Since we will only have ten lessons to learn before we have a closing concert, we had better get going.” I looked at Johan and nodded. This was serious business! Andeasson continued. “For those of you who want to rent an instrument we will arrange that immediately afterwards. I only hope I have brought enough instruments. But first we have to divide you all into groups. Is there anyone here that did not register with the postmaster?” We looked around us, but no hands were raised. So he divided us into three groups. One accordion group for beginners, and one for advanced students. Johan and I were placed in the largest group – the guitar group for beginners.

“All of you who want to rent instruments, please come outside”, Andreasson said, when all the information had been given. Most members of my group and a few of the aspiring accordionists went with Andreasson to his car. He opened the trunk and brought out three brand new, shining accordions of different sorts., and two guitars. I looked at the accordions with envy. Why didn’t I choose the accordion? What did Johan’s brother know about anything? While I was regretting my choice, Andreasson started to organize the deal with the accordionists. They all had to sign contracts. I had not thought about that. I had brought money, and inside I had paid for the course and even got the course book, but as I realised that the other youngsters had brought their parents my uneasiness grew. I whispered to Johan “Do you think
Johan had borrowed his brother's bike, and rode home to fetch his mother. Andreasson had explained to us that it was necessary to get the signature from an adult since he would be sending all rental contracts to the main office in Ålvdalen. Johan only lived a few blocks away so he was back with his mom in a heartbeat. We both chose the smallest of the two Bjärton guitars. Andreasson claimed they would be the easiest ones to play for us.

Back inside the village hall we were introduced to Karl Svensson who was to be our teacher. “I have trained him myself, so he should be a good teacher”, Andreasson said with a smile. Then he left to take care of his own teaching in the two accordion groups next door. We were told to sit down and take out our instruments. Being quite unsure of how to go about this I peeked at the others and finally managed to get my guitar out of the bag and my bottom onto the chair. I even remembered to bring the book. So there we sat, all twelve of us, waiting for the teaching to begin.

“Please bring out the book everyone, and leave the guitars on the floor for the time being.” No one was playing anyway – or saying anything for that matter, so the sound level actually increased from dead silent to some small bumps and the sound of books opening. It was kind of revealing actually. Svensson explained to us that this was the book we would be following this term. “There are no notes for you to play, in this book, only chords like they play in the Salvation Army you know. But if you decide to continue until next term you will also be learning notes.” I grinned inside. The Salvation Army was not really my idea of how to get success with the opposite sex. Anyway my mood improved as soon as we were allowed to pick up the guitars again. Before we could begin to play anything we had to learn how to tune the guitars. Since most of them were new, they were really badly tuned, but Svensson tuned every guitar himself and then explained to us
how we should do it at home ourselves. “Remember to listen! Guitars need to be tuned quite often.”

We started with what Svensson called an “easy song” - Fia Jansson. The easy thing was that we all knew the song, but actually playing the chords was really hard. “Look at the diagram in the book.” Svensson repeated as we were unable to position our fingers on the right spots. “First the G and the D7. Nice and easy. One two three”. Despite his explanation of how the diagram was an image of the guitar's neck I found it hard to understand which finger was supposed to be where. After peaking at the others and the teacher I finally managed to stretch my fingers to form a G chord. And then we played together. Or at least Svensson played and sang. For my part I stared intensely at my left hand and could not for my life understand how I would ever be able to get a clean note or to master the impossible task of shifting between G and D7. The right hand were supposed to be plucking the strings, but for now I was just focused on making my left hand behave. I looked at Johan in desperation, and he seemed to be a bit better off than me, but he too seemed to be struggling. “Ok – it is a bit hard in the beginning, but you will soon get the hang of it.” Svensson looked at everyone of us. “Let us just concentrate on the right hand for short while. As it says in the book we should count one, two, three and use the thumb on beat one and let the fingers pluck the three bottom strings on beats two and three. Let's try that on the G.” He showed how it was supposed to look, and we all played. My left hand really started to hurt after a while, but eventually I actually managed to play almost like the teacher. For the first time I had the energy to take a look at the others. Besides Johan and me there were quite different people there. An old lady of at least fifty and two girls who were schoolmates of my little brother. Then there were several people who were in the same age as Johan's brother. One of them even had a leather jacket. He was sweating. The rest were probably in the early twenties I guessed. But no girls except the old lady and the two kids. There had been this one girl I had spotted outside...
Johan walked the bike on the way home while I carried both our guitars. My hands were hurting from the sharp steel strings, but I pretended to be cool. I guess it was the same with Johan. Instead we talked about the lesson. “I didn’t know that we would get homework”, I said “Haven't we got enough of that at school already?”. Johan, who was always the positive one, tried to explain to me that we needed to practice in order to become as good as the Comets. When I tried to argue that the girls in the course were no good he just laughed. “We’ll see” he said. “Now let’s practice.”

On the bottom of each page in the book it said in capital letters “PRACTICE EVERY DAY!”. I decided that I would try to follow that advice. So each day after doing my homework I tried to follow the instructions in the book. Most of the instructions were quite clear so I could work out the things I didn’t remember from the lessons. The only real problem was the tuning. After I had struggled for days, the guitar sounded worse than ever and I decided that I needed some help. Having expressed my frustration over dinner, dad decided to bring the guitar to work. One of his colleagues played some guitar he explained. And what a relief it was to be able to practice and actually be able to hear what the chords were supposed to sound like.

The lessons were each Tuesday at 7 o’clock, and half past six the following Tuesday, I picked up Johan. I felt inspired, and talked about the difficulties of tuning and how much fun it was when I finally managed to shift from G to D7. Johan answered, but seemed to have his mind elsewhere. In the lesson I discovered that I must have been practising more than most since we this time too had to go through the alternate shifts in the left hand and some were struggling as hard as last time to shift between G and D7. A few of us seemed calmer. I guess the old lady had been practising, and so had the two young girls. Two of the older boys also did pretty well, but on average it did not sound very good – at least not in the beginning. But by the end of the lesson Fia Jansson sounded pretty good throughout the room. By then we
had also learned a new song En visa vill jag sjunga which had three new chords and was not a waltz like Fia Jansson. Having sung and played Fia Jansson for the last time, Svensson asked if there was anything we needed help with. I raised my hand: “Please sir, could you go through the tuning part again. I really have problems hearing if it is right and how to adjust!” He looked at me and nodded. This time he told us to listen to how the notes were swinging if they were out of tune. I could at least hear the difference between being in tune and out of tune now.

The ten lessons went on like that, I grew more and more fond of my guitar, and practised regularly as it said in the book. Johan did not. He had got a girlfriend. When he told me, I was almost angry at him. It was after all I who had told him about the sweet girl from the first day at the course, who unfortunately played accordion. So instead of practicing, Johan sat in her room and listened while she was playing. I really could not blame him, I would have given anything to be in his shoes, but I still liked to play and the repertoire grew larger as the closing ceremony grew closer.

My admiration of Svensson had also gradually given way to a slight disappointment. He only did and said what was in the book, while Maria, Johan's girlfriend, had told that Andreasson came up with different songs, and that they had even tried to play an arrangement of Snoddas's Flottarkärlek. Once, she had asked me how I liked playing, and I had answered that I loved it. “You know Johan is kind of boring?” She had smiled at me in secret confidence, while Johan had gone to fetch us some lemonade. He had for some reason that evaded me, invited us both in. “He never wants to play while I listen, but he always insists on me playing while he listens. He says that it is boring to listen to a guitar without anyone singing. I have volunteered to sing myself, but then he always brings another topic to the table”. She probably felt that I could be trusted as a fellow musician and friend of Johan, and I was not going to stop her! “You know we do not only play what is in the books, but Andreasson brings handwritten notes too. Flottarkärlek! Isn't that great?” She didn't
expect an answer, just continued with her intense chattering. “Of course not everyone can play well, but I think we sound good!” I tried to visualise the group: How many were they again? I had been too occupied with my own business on the first day to notice, and after that I had not seen all of them. She must have been reading my mind. “All eight of us watch him, and then he explains how to place our fingers and how to play the bass, and then we play along with him. Some of us manage to play both bass and melody, but most of us play only the melody except for the easier songs.” She looked at me. “Do you practice a lot?” “He practices all the time.” It was Johan who came in, and the conversation took a new turn. To my surprise I no longer regretted my choice of instrument despite Maria’s enthusiasm. I had grown to like my guitar and I was really looking forward to playing together with the accordionists at the closing ceremony.

As it had been every year since Hagström had started the courses here 4 years earlier, there were posters announcing the concert marking the end of another term. Not only would the students be playing, but Andreasson would also play. He was known as a brilliant dance musician. The village hall would probably be full as always. The special thing this year was that I would be on the stage instead of only looking at it. We would be playing Uti vår hage. In the last lesson it had actually sounded pretty good I thought. Svensson had a pretty good singing voice, even if he was not the best guitarist, so when we all played together and he and the girls sang loud and clear it was great. The rest of us hummed along to the best of our capabilities, but I tried to sound as little as possible. My voice was breaking so I concentrated on the playing. And then we would be playing Manden var ud etter öl along with the accordions at the end of the show.

The show was a major success! I loved being a part of the performance. Andreasson was great as always, both on his own, but also when he played with the advanced accordion students. It was swinging and people were dancing. But we also did well, so...
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the buns and coffee they sold tasted better than ever.

The next day we had to decide whether or not to keep our instruments. It was like the first day – only in reverse. I talked my father into letting me rent the guitar for another three months, and Johan actually surprised me by doing the same. I hoped that I would some day have my own guitar.

Learning in Hagström's music school

This little made up story aims to exemplify how a beginners’ course in guitar within Hagström could be experienced by a fairly typical student. It is however important to remember that this story is just one of countless of possible stories about Hagström’s music education. I could have placed the story in the seventies with an adult learning to play the organ as the main character, or I could have placed it in the forties with a teacher as a main character. These, and other stories, would have displayed different features of Hagström’s music education. I have however tried to capture quite a lot of what I consider typical with Hagström’s music education. The setting was chosen on basis of different interviews. Several of the interviewees talked about small villages and how the shopkeeper drove there with instruments. In an interview with Bert Andreasson¹¹³, Yngve Andreasson's oldest son, he tells about his father teaching three evenings a week after working in the shop during the daytime. Andreasson arranged courses and taught in villages in the Gothenburg archipelago. That the shopkeepers taught as well as being headmasters seem to be unusual. Magnusson in Växjö did some teaching, often in connection with writing course books. He needed to get some teaching experience on the guitar in order to write guitar books, experience of organ teaching to write organ books, and so forth. But besides that Andreasson stands out with his extensive teaching practice.

¹¹³ The interview was performed in February 2008
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The other teacher in the story represents a kind of teacher who shares similarities with another teacher I interviewed in that he basically followed the textbooks, and in that he was fairly young. The teacher I have in mind, pursued neither his music career nor his music teaching career, but taught guitar in his early adult years for the Gothenburg Hagström music school. The lessons were described as being characterised by a friendly atmosphere. The students were usually there and they paid attention even if their levels of practise were very varied.

Like Sven Magnusson, Yngve Andreasson was also a well known accordionist who had played on radio. He even worked part time as musician in the fifties while at the same time running the music school in Gothenburg. Unlike Svensson, the guitar teacher who followed the book, Andreasson and Magnusson were both examples of teachers who related freely to the textbooks. The books were provided as a part of the course fee, but were not always followed. Instead they arranged popular songs to motivate the students. Because of copyright laws, such arrangements could not be distributed throughout the Hagström consortium, but the teachers were encouraged to make such arrangements for their own teaching. According to Bert Andreasson, his father’s closet, where all his arrangements were gathered, is a “hidden treasure”.

Another typical aspect of the setting of the story that is typical is the distribution of the students. The majority of the students were youngsters and young adults, but there were older adults attending too. In places where there were arranged very many courses, like in Växjö, Gothenburg, Stockholm and Malmö, the groups were often divided so that the younger students played earlier in the evening and the older students later. In small places like this the groups were mixed. However the guitar group in this story is fairly large and even if guitar groups were often bigger than accordion groups, different sources state different numbers for a typical guitar group, so the local variations must have been quite large.

114 However he stopped doing that about the same time as he took over as shopkeeper around 1960.
115 According to interview with Sven Magnusson May 2008.
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The story may also be read as an example of what the gender distribution might have looked like. The teachers were mostly male, as were the shopkeepers. The story has consciously been written heteronormatively, almost to the point of being a pastiche, to underline that Hagström's music education was a product of its time, also when it came to gender norms. As far as I have come to understand, Hagström appealed to both girls and boys, and Karl Erik Hagström states that there were female instructors\textsuperscript{116}, but Hagström had no political equality agenda.

Social learning?

The cliché-like part of the story about teenage love, also points to another different aspect of the education, the social one. As Johan, lots of people attended because the courses provided an opportunity to meet with people. This was by no means the main purpose of the courses and it is rarely mentioned in the material, but it is mentioned in passing by some of the interviewees. One example is when Andreasson told that it was almost impossible to make people stop coming to his father's lessons. They attended year after year because they enjoyed playing so much in the groups. As a consequence of the pragmatist theoretical framework of this thesis, it is assumed that human beings are social, and that learning is a social reconstruction of reality. Even if the social aspect of playing in groups ought to have been of importance to many of the participants, it is interesting to note that it is talked about so little. The importance of analysing what has not been said is an important part of discovering the doxas\textsuperscript{117} in the social setting that is being analysed.

With the case of Hagström, the sources I have had access to all talk about the preconditions for the music school and the organisation, the books and the skills in the music school, but close to nothing about the social aspects or the extra-musical learning. That the courses had a social impact regardless of the intentions of the arrangers is however beyond any doubt.

\textsuperscript{116} From conversation on the phone in April 2009.
\textsuperscript{117} Doxa is a Bourdieuan term which refers to socially taken for granted truths. For more on Bourdieu see chapter 2 (p. 23).
Teaching in Hagström's music school

One of the other ideas that Hagström adopted, was that of the teacher transmitting the right knowledge to the students. The main ideas from a traditional master-apprentice kind of education was brought into the innovative commercial group education. The books were constructed to teach "the right fingering"\(^{118}\), and the teacher was there to teach the right way of playing in line with the books' instructions. The pedagogical idea can be seen as fairly authoritative with quite strict rules and frames. This is by no means a special feature of Hagström's music education. From the times when Hagström started their music education, very few attempts to suggest other kinds of music education had been made. One exception was of course the earlier mentioned Brodin\(^ {119}\), but also some hint at a different approach had also been made by Fingal Ström in the syllabus for the music study circles in ABF (Ström 1949). In this book where he stresses the importance of experiencing the music and criticises the Royal Music Academy for only teaching skills detached from what he considered should be the aim of any music education — the joy of music. The joy of music was mentioned in articles in Stämman, and also by the interviewees as an impetus for students to attend courses, but never as a goal within the courses. In fact the educational activity in Hagström can be described as being torn between certain new ideas, but at the same time reinforcing and recreating other older ideals.

When asked why he chose to model Hagström's pedagogy the way it developed, Magnusson answered: “It was the only way”. Magnusson was a skilled accordionist and clarinetist who himself had learned in certain ways, and in the context of Hagström and in the meeting with Beronius, an educational pattern crystallized. Here as in the earlier themes in this chapter, Hagström's teachers were torn between new and old ideas.

\(^{118}\) According to Sven Magnusson in interview May 2008.
\(^{119}\) More about Brodin at page 61.
Notes

Magnusson, in interviews, expresses two seemingly incompatible views regarding notes in music education. On the one hand he repeats on several occasions that notes are essential. He even states that it is the most essential feature in order to learn to play. On the other hand he also warns that notes are limiting — that it is important to free yourself from the notation in order to be able to make music musically. A third related ideal was that the students should be able to play a melody as quickly as possible in order to keep their interest. This led to a beginner's education where, as in the story, the students were immediately introduced to printed notation, but where they also learned by imitating the teacher in the beginning. The notation was kept simple in the beginning in order to make the notes accessible. However, it was beyond questioning that the students should play by notes. This is a phenomenon known from the classical conservatory tradition as well as most classical music training, but what makes this particularly interesting is that dance music has a strong tradition of oral transmission. As earlier mentioned, a lot of the possible teachers of both accordion and guitar, were unsuitable for teaching since they did not have the necessary skills in reading music. Magnusson was schooled in reading music both on accordion and clarinet and knew the advantage of knowing notes, and had never experienced as a student, a music educational setting based on oral transmission. It also seems obvious that notes were necessary in order to try to acquire some credibility from the public, the folkbildning associations and to try to climb the ladder of cultural capital.

The notes — specifically the notes in the course books — therefore governed much of the teaching that took place, even if Magnusson actively encouraged that the teachers arranged other songs. Some teachers brought new tunes, while some did not, but always notated. This has also become the working method of today's accordion circles: They are based on notated music in most cases, while guitar music still is orally transmitted to a great extent.
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Group education

Another important aspect of how to learn the instrument in Hagström’s music school was that the teaching took place in groups. This was, as earlier mentioned, an idea that Beronius brought with him from his time in Remington where they arranged typewriting courses in groups. Probably as a coincidence, Mats Olsson compared Hagström’s group education with typewriting education when he tried to bring across the message that Hagström’s education only had technical, and no musical, content.

While Olsson mostly brought irrelevant and sometimes even wrong arguments to the accordion debate in the sixties, he had a few points that are worth mentioning. In his initial article in 1959, when he discussed problems with practical music circles in general and accordion circles arranged by Hagström in particular, he also pointed to an interesting aspect connected to the typewriting argument. Olsson wrote that it was almost impossible to teach in the large groups where different students had different skills. This view has independently been expressed by both Sven Magnusson and Bert Andreasson in interviews too. Magnusson saw group education as a necessary evil in order to be able to teach as many as wanted to learn to play, and to make the courses inexpensive enough that people could afford them. Andreasson expressed that group education can be efficient up to a certain level, but that they had almost only individual courses nowadays. Olsson's suggestion was not individual teaching. Instead he suggested more ensembles – to bring together different kinds of instruments to be able to make music in a less technical, and a more musically qualitative manner. Unfortunately this glimpse of constructive criticism was lost in the following debate since Olsson's agenda was so clearly not constructive overall.

The idea that students can play in multi-instrument ensembles can be seen as one of very few attempts to suggest a solution to a fairly common criticism against the practical music circles, that the musical experience and quality of the performance were forgotten in favour of the skills based instruction on handling the instrument. The skills based, authoritative heritage from the conservatory tradition was criticized by Ström (1949) in the syllabus for music circles in ABF when he listed what he saw as the most

120 From the debate in Tidsspegel discussed in the chapter The turbulent sixties (p82).
important aspect of music: The experience. The difficulty in achieving aesthetic experience in music education relates to my licentiate thesis (Thorgersen 2007a) where I analyse the Swedish curricula and find that the word aesthetics exists in a variety of ways there. In Hagström's books there is no mention of aesthetics or taste for that matter.

In the licentiate thesis I also reported teachers expressing frustration that they were not able to facilitate aesthetic experiences in a consistent and pedagogically coherent manner. In this case however, no frustration was ever expressed in my interviews, maybe because the whole idea that music provided aesthetic experiences was so obvious, and because students were expected to bring motivation to endure the technical training. At the same time, the courses did attend to the immediacy of experiencing mastering music and did provide motivation through the short course lengths ending in concerts, and course books which were constructed to help learn to play quickly.\(^{121}\)

### The course books

In Hagström's music school, the course book played an important role, almost as a pedagogical agent or initiator in themselves. The course books mediated certain pedagogical ideas, much as in a traditional school where the textbook govern the educational content of classes to a large extent (Englund 1999). The role of the course books is another example of how Hagström's music school operated between traditions. In the case of the course books, Hagström operated between a traditional general public school tradition and a conservatory tradition, where a great deal of the ideals of the content of the education showed similarities with the conservatory tradition, while the role of the course books was similar to the role text books often play in general school classrooms in theoretical subjects.

\(^{121}\) In one of the first books Magnusson released as his own publisher MON-musik, he seems to have recognized a need to warn about the discrepancy between the aesthetic experiences that are the goal for music making, and what is facilitated through the books. In the introduction he writes: "To play by notes is necessary for everyone who makes music. Keyboard is definitely an instrument which opens up for Your own creativity, but Your own creations will be much more "professional" if You first learn the right basics." (Magnusson 1989.) Swedish original in endnote xvii.
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The textbook in schools can function as a replacement for a curriculum and, depending on the teachers’ relations to the book, construct the methodological and content frames of the education. In a general school setting however, a text book is most often constructed on the basis of a written curriculum, while in Hagström's case, the curriculum was implicit and to a large extent a product of Magnusson’s ideas as the course book writer.

The two teachers in the fictitious story represent two fundamentally different approaches to the course books. Englund (1999) refers to a study where three different approaches to text books were distinguished. One such approach was where the teacher used the text books for the students to substantiate the goals for the education and where the texts studied by the students were chosen individually by the student and teacher around the theme of the text book. A second approach was to let the students use the text book for self study, while lessons were used to teach things not printed in the books. The last approach was where the book governed what was being taught and when. The teachers in Hagström probably represented such a diverse approach to the course books as well. In my two examples, Andersson represented more the free approach while Svensson was governed by the book.

In total Hagström released 25 different course books. All of them were written by Magnusson except the course for electric bass. These were released in nine series:

1. The original *Lucid Accordion School for group education* [*Lättfattad dragspelsskola för gruppundervisning*] series (4 books). The first was released in 1946. Book two and three were written together with Einar Bodin, another accordion teacher who started up the courses in Malmö.


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5. The organ courses: We play el-organ easily the right way [Vi spelar el-orgel lätt på rätt sätt]. Three books. The first released in 1968.

6. The keyboard course We play keyboard easily the right way [Vi spelar keyboard lätt på rätt sätt]: Two books released in the seventies.


8. A series of arrangements for the organ and other chord instruments called Well known melodies in special arrangements for the electric organ: can even be used by accordion, wind instruments etc. [Kända melodier i specialarrangemang för elorgel: kan även användas för dragspel, blåsinstrument m.m.]. Six books published in the late seventies.


The books have been revised or re-published since Magnusson and his company MON musik took over the publishing rights in 1983. Magnusson described an event that drove him to take over the publishing business:

I took over – it was in 1983 I believe – it was named MON musik. You know Hagström ended all business there in the eighties. And I asked “How...” They sold notes by the kilo in Stockholm. Can you imagine? One kilo of notes cheap. The bosses were horrible – I get [...] So they were going to drop all that I had written – probably sell them by the kilo as well. And I thought that I would never agree to that with all the work I had put down. [...] So I talked to them and

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122 According to Magnusson in a phone call 18th of January 2009, this was released in the sixties as the first book for electric bass in Sweden.
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told them I would like to take over. [...] They demanded a price which was not very high so of course I did that. 123

The course books obviously sold well and played an important part in Hagström's music schools as well as being important for the rest of the company through providing (aspiring) musicians with an opportunity to develop their musical skills. Music education increases the music retail market through creating a need for new and better gear, as several of my interviewees has pointed out.

So what were Magnusson’s course books like? Even if a book should not be judged by its cover, wrapping is a part of the presentation, and therefore also influences and is a part of the content. The course books were all fairly thin, except *Play, listen, learn* which had 50 pages. The rest were all between 15 and 35 pages. The thinnest were the *Junior* series, which really were more arrangements than course books, while the *Lucid* and *play the organ easily the right way* series, were a bit thicker. Except for the first edition of the Lucid accordion school two and three which were published in A5 format, the rest were all A4 with spiral backs. The books had a fairly similar layout with lots of space, only a few illustrations and a front page in two colours on white background with the Hagström logo in a prominent spot. The first books were only printed on every second page, something which underlined the impression of spaciousness.

Magnusson has emphasized that he aimed to make the books as easily available as possible, and in comparison with the book Magnusson used when he learned to play himself 124, he wrote books which were easy and thin. They contained short instructive texts to every piece of music explaining the special features of that particular piece, explaining some music theory which the piece can be seen as example of, or giving a more general introduction to some musical theme. Even if the music theory and analyses can hardly be characterised as totally comprehensive, it is still hard to understand the rage these books were met with by the critics in the accordion debate in the sixties. To point to an example: In the first lucid accordion book a full page (p. 11) was devoted to the circle of fifths and transposing.

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124 Ottar E. Akres *Den nye elementære norsk – svensk – danske trekspill – dragspels – harmonika skole.* I have only been able to find book two.
The description is fairly detailed and presented in a clear and precise language and a convenient illustration. The only problem is in my view that it is detached from the pieces they are working with at the time — week six. There is even a warning at the bottom of the page saying that the pieces in the course books “[…] should not be changed since they are written in keys that are the most suitable from a practising view”.125 This is however the only example I have found of detached theory — the theory is usually well integrated into the practical music at hand.

The books follow a clear progression of gradually increasing technical difficulties. Except for Play, listen, learn which is not a part of series, all the other course books are meant to be used in the Hagström courses, even if they could be used elsewhere as well, and therefore are made to fit into Hagström music school’s ten weeks schedule. The progression is likewise constructed to fit into the expected progression for term one to four (or one and two for the guitar and organ courses). This is also clearly stated in the welcome text on page 3.

   The pieces of music which occur are so easy that every normally gifted student, who has undergone the beginners' course is supposed to be able to go trough one lesson per week.126

The welcome texts looked fairly equal in the books, being held short, with a mix between cheering up and giving advice of what is demanded in order to succeed. While book one only underlines that it is important to practice, book two “[…] wants to underline that at least one hour per day of concentrated practice is needed in order to profit by the course”127. As seen in the fictitious story, the request, “the homework should be practised every day” is printed in capital letters at the bottom of every page.

There were differences between the books however. While the first accordion books and the organ books shared the similarity that they were based on traditional notation for the melody and chords written in letters for the bass, the guitar course books followed a similar, but slightly different approach. Magnusson expressed pride in the fact that he had invented something new with the guitar books— a chord based method “like they played in the salvation army”\(^ {128}\). And the first guitar book look very much like many modern song books with lyrics accompanied by chords both printed in letters and illustrated through a diagram representation of the guitar neck with dots representing where to place the fingers. In book two traditional notation is introduced as optional. In the other courses, chords, scales and rhythm are introduced almost immediately.

A very common content in books for instrument education are études. An étude is “a piece composed for the development of a specific point of technique”\(^ {129}\), and is commonly found in course books in the classical conservatory tradition. The books Magnusson used when he learned to play accordion himself, Akre’s Accordion school also contained études composed by Akre himself. With one exception\(^ {130}\), Magnusson’s books did not contain typical études. The accordion schools did however contain several pieces composed by Magnusson (and Bodin in book two and three) which have obvious étude like features even if they have names to suggest otherwise. In particular the self study book *Play, listen, learn* had several pieces of that character which are almost camouflaged scale exercises.

The more étude like pieces in the other books were always written to exemplify a particular style or genre supplied with a technical difficulty. Interestingly it is only the accordion courses that contained these étude like pieces. Sven Magnusson admits that he knew how to play neither the guitar, nor the organ very well before he started to make the books for these instruments. Consequently, he did not compose for them either. Overall, even if the guitar, and organ books are functional and follow what seems to be a

\(^{128}\) According to interview with Sven Magnusson in May 2008.


\(^{130}\) *The Lucid accordion book* number two contains one étude in lesson eight. (This particular book has no page numbers).
suitable progression and method, they are not backed by the same expertise and experience as the accordion books. That Magnusson chose to, and was allowed to make these books too, only adds to the impression that there existed an instrument hierarchy within Hagström where the accordion were on top, the guitar second and the rest shared third place.

The books all follow a fairly rigid method where they talk about right and wrong fingerings, right and wrong approaches and right and wrong ways of practicing. As an example, the self study book *Play, listen, learn* contain questions after some of the chapters, checking if the student has learned the right answers. In all the books imperative is used frequently to steer the student in the correct direction. Examples are: “Use correct fingering and hit the different tones *simultaneously.*” and “Do not use sloppy fingering.”

**Hagström's ensemble of practices**

So far I have concentrated on the content of the books but in an analysis like this it is also interesting to note what Magnusson has omitted from the book.

As presented in the chapter *Music* (p. 35), music can be understood as an ensemble of practices. The top categories in that model were *performing, listening, composing, educating and thinking.* In order to understand what focus Hagström's course books had, and what was prioritized, I will now analyse the course books in the light of the *ensemble of practices* model.

Amongst the main categories, the course books have almost nothing about composition. Arranging is mentioned briefly on one occasion where the learning accordionist is encouraged to rearrange arrangements for piano. Even if it is emphasized that the player has to simplify according to his or her own abilities, the book provides four examples of piano arrangements and one corresponding possible arrangement for accordion. This reproduct-

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131 *Play, listen learn* p. 44. Swedish original in endnote xxii.
133 From the *Lucid accordion school for group education* book three, Lesson 6.
ive kind of arranging is the closest Hagström’s course books come to teaching composing. Magnusson is obviously well acquainted with both composing and arranging, so lack of skills cannot be the reason why composition has been omitted from the course books. Rather, I believe it has to do with the earlier indicated focus on quickly learning the technical skills of how to play, leaving little room for other musical practices.

Listening is briefly touched upon in a few places. In the lucid accordion book number 4 it is pointed out that: “The best way to learn how to play syncopated music is, apart from your own practice, to listen to skilled jazz musicians.”\(^\text{134}\) Already in the first lucid accordion book, there is a paragraph about playing in a duet where the Magnusson encourages duets to “learn to keep the tempo, not play too fast and to listen to the other player.”\(^\text{135}\) Strangely enough this is the only reference to the importance of listening within the music practice – in other words listening to yourself and to your fellow musicians during the playing. The book *Play, listen, learn* has the word “listen” in the title, but warns about playing along with the record in the course directions. The text in the book is also remarkably free from references to listening to the record. The students are only reminded to listen for specific things on the record on one occasion where it says “Listen to the record, how the bass is being played with a short, distinct touch in the bass, while the treble plays legato.”\(^\text{136}\)

The importance of thinking in and about music has been talked about by Magnusson as being important\(^\text{137}\): Analyses and understanding of chords and genres were given some space in the books, but even more so, notation. I categorize reading music under thinking in music because notation can be seen as a symbolised representation that has to be interpreted in order for the notes to become music. Music notation was important in Magnusson’s views on what a musician need to learn\(^\text{138}\). In the guitar books notes have no place until the second book, where learning to read music notation takes up

\(^\text{134}\) From the *Lucid accordion school for group education* book four, page 16. Swedish original in endnote xxiv.
\(^\text{135}\) From the *Lucid accordion school for group education* book one, page 14. Swedish original in endnote xxv.
\(^\text{136}\) From *Play, listen, learn* p. 38. Swedish original in endnote xxvi.
\(^\text{137}\) In interview May 2008.
\(^\text{138}\) See the more about this in the chapter about notes (p. 106).
almost one third of the book (9 out of 33 content pages). The analytical aspects of thinking in music is mostly about understanding the function of chords, how melodies and chords can be translated, and how particular techniques are more suitable or representative in certain genres. This is presented much like the other parts, as being indisputable facts with very few examples of encouragement to reflect on. In an interview with a former organ student, this is mentioned and laughed about: “I learned that I should play with the heals, something which I later learnt was not so wise.”

There are two instances which contradict this in the book Play, listen, learn where the scales F and G major are to be learned:

> We have earlier played the C-major scale, which began at C.
> If we begin at F instead and play all the white keys in turn from F to higher F, we soon notice that it doesn’t sound as it should. Try it yourself.

Even if this citation encourages individual reflection to a higher degree than any other citation, the books are well placed on the shallow side of the scale from shallow to deep thinking in music.

The thinking in music connects to the main category education. The books are of course meant to be educational, and as such they are strong in that category. However it is interesting to see how they relate to the features I have described in the lower lines. I have already described how the education as such adopted the conservatory tradition of authoritative teaching. And that also affects the balance between teaching and learning. The books have a very teacher oriented approach where the book to a varying degree replaces the teacher as the authority. There are also examples of references to learning, but as earlier mentioned, the messages are put forward in a non negotiable manner. This reflects a behaviourist view on learning where learning is about training skills through repetition.

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139 From interview with Jan Terje Fosse in March 2008. He is probably referring to what Magnusson calls the Prime method [Prim-metoden] which was introduced in the second We play el-organ easily the right way. It was a system where the prime in the chord always where to be played with the index finger and the third with the thumb whereas the rest of the notes in the cord where played by the three remaining fingers in the left hand.

140 From Play, listen, learn p. 37. Swedish original in endnote xxviii.
Chapter 5. Hagström's music educational content

What is in focus in these books is of course the performance. To be more specific, their content concentrates on learning to play on the instrument. Singing is encouraged in the guitar courses, but not mentioned in the course books for accordion or organ. The performance attitude that was promoted was clearly reproductive rather than innovative. Improvisation is in fact not mentioned as existing in any of the books which is remarkable considering that Magnusson has a jazz background. However, improvisation is traditionally considered a trait of musicianship that demands highly developed skills and knowledge. A related issue is that the courses are highly notation based. Even the guitar books which claim to be “Ear-based without music reading”, are based very much on written notation, even if it is not traditional classical notation. There is not anything in the books to help the students acquire skills in hearing to analyse and pick out a song with chord themselves.

To sum up I have modified the figure of music as an ensemble of practices from page 36 with colours. The aspects which I regard as being highly focused in Hagström's course books are marked green, the ones that are left out are marked with red, while those which are only briefly treated are marked with yellow.

Illustration 2: Hagström’s ensemble of practices
"Music from the Backyard" – Hagström's Music Education

From the figure it is obvious that Hagström focused on certain aspects of the music education. Earlier in the thesis, criticism of Hagström's music education was presented, and some of it might have arisen because of the rather limited focus of the education. However, considering the time the education was born into, the time limits, its commercial focus in support of the production and retail chain and the constraints given by the economic status of the working class, Hagström music schools managed to develop a method that worked.
Chapter 6. Hagström's music education in perspective

6. Hagström's music education in perspective

Hagström’s music school was in many ways something special, innovative and new. At the same time it was a product of its time and, despite some radical new features of the education, Hagström did not have a radical pedagogical agenda. The choices made were performed in a pragmatic way, in the common sense meaning of the word: They chose whatever solution the people involved believed would work. A very simple conclusion of this research can be that they were right: It did work, if by “work” we mean that students attended the courses and learned how to play instruments. As such, it was not the music education that led to Hagström’s fall, rather the opposite according to Andreasson in Gothenburg.

So even if Hagström music school was constructed on a hunch rather than on a well founded pedagogical framework, it grew to become a strong entity, which was able to support the shops until Hagström ended all business in 1983.

In this chapter I will reflect upon some issues that have been touched upon in the previous chapters, but which have not been contextualised nor analysed deeply enough to do the material justice. The issues that will be treated are: social affiliation, views on music, pedagogical context and the family. All regarded in connection with Bourdieu’s theories of symbolic, in particular cultural capital, and pragmatist theories of education141. This chapter primarily aims to answer the last of the research questions on page 20 “How can Hagström’s educational enterprise be understood with the help of Bourdieu’s theories of symbolic capital”.

Aspects of Hagström’s music education as well as the company can be regarded in a sociological light. In order to elucidate certain aspects of Hagström connected to class and society I will try to describe how Hagström would look through a raster made up of some Bourdieuan terms seen from a Deweyan pragmatist perspective.

141 See chapter 2 (p. 23) for an introduction to the theories.
In Deweyan pragmatism, education can be described as recreation of meaning in communication towards a desirable goal. Anything that has to do with humans, including anything interpreted or understood by humans, are seen in a social and interpersonal context. For Dewey, democracy was an essential precondition for education to take place. The desirable goal of education will therefore be a continuously moving target in the negotiations among the involved parties. In this case the involved parties, or agents in Bourdieu’s terminology, can be regarded as the student(s), the teacher(s), the shopkeeper, the surrounding community including the students’ family, friends and colleagues, as well as any others with an interest in the education such as in this case, media and the bildning associations. I would also propose that music as an entity in itself functions as an agent in a music educational context. Once again I will return to the fictitious story from chapter 5 to illustrate a point.

Identity formation

The three student-characters in the story were all members of the same community and attended the same music school, Hagström’s, at the same time in their lives. The education however differed in several ways. The first-person character went into the course with few expectations and no real motivation to learn to play. He wanted to do something with his friend and it did not matter much what it was. During the course and the meeting with the teacher, the group, his family who supported him by helping him tune the guitar and so forth, he constantly recreated the education and the motivation to learn as well as the content of learning.

In the story, the boy changes the image of himself, the guitar, the teacher and the purpose and motivation for learning through his efforts to do what he thought was expected of him. In the course book it was written in capital letters to practice every day, and, being a conscientious boy, he did. Through that process, the meeting with himself, the music and the community, his view of himself – his identity, changed from having little connection to music, to becoming someone who knew how to play. This in turn influenced his surroundings as he presented himself as someone who plays (Ferm 2008).
A process of developing aspects of identity is in the story briefly presented through the little talk he and Maria had in Johan's place. In this communication they confirm each other as musicians by simultaneously cherishing their own strategies and attitudes towards playing, as well as dissociating themselves from Johan who never practised. Even if Maria and the first-person character bonded in confirmation of each other, their learning processes and learning content developed differently. Maria was in a group with a teacher who was not only skilled and enthusiastic, but also had an open mind as to what the musical content of the course might be, whereas the first-person character was taught by a rather average teacher who followed the book’s curriculum. But the recreation of meaning happened not only between the teacher and the student. Johan, who had been more motivated than the narrator person, developed in a very different way when he saw that learning to play involved hard work, and that the social benefits of expected love was not instantly gratified. He continued, but only half heartedly, and to a lesser degree than his two friends, who developed a musician identity. These processes show only three aspects of all the variations of learning that took place in connection to Hagström music schools, but they still provide a starting point for discussing democracy.
Levels of democracy

Even if the processes above show that education is reconstructed in a social context and through the personal interpretation and meaning making, this does not mean that anything labelled education is democratic. An education, at least in the everyday sense of the word, can be anything from authoritative and oppressive tools for the ones in power, to complete freedom from any bounds and limits. As I have already mentioned on several occasions, Hagström’s education comes out on the authoritative side of this scale both when method and content are concerned. There is nothing in either the course books, in the media articles or in the interviews to suggest that the students had much influence over the courses they participated in. And there is nothing in the books to suggest that different learning styles, or reflection upon ways to practice are facilitated. In conclusion, Hagström music school cannot be regarded as a particularly democratic institution on a micro level. But that brings up the question: If Hagström’s music education was authoritative – whose authority did it represent?

At a macro, or sociological level, Hagström can easily be seen as an underdog representing the suppressed, neglected voices in music education. Like Brodin in the thirties, Hagström was not only attacked, but also silenced and neglected. In all the periodicals from the bildning associations, Hagström is only mentioned by name in the debate from the sixties. Accordion education is hardly mentioned and neither are other practical music circles.

An analysis of symbolic capital connected to democracy in a Deweyan sense can perhaps pinpoint one of the most interesting findings of this study: That availability is the most important factor in order for people to attend music lessons. As Larsson (2005) points out, music democracy at the time meant that everyone should have quality music available, not that everyone should have their taste respected. What both Hagström and the folkbildning associations did was to bring music education close to almost everyone in Sweden. The Swedish people, at least in the years when Hagström was active, thirsted for practical music education. Even if the pedagogical content were of varying quality, the people sought it out in huge numbers. The numbers speak for themselves: Music was the most popular course activity.

142 For more about Brodin see p. 61.
within ABF from 1951 throughout the 1950s and 1960s. While the municipal music schools were developed in parallel, Hagström and the folkbildning associations were one step ahead, and the lack of other alternatives might explain partly why ABF’s music courses had almost 70 000 participants studying music in a year at most (Bohman 1985), and Hagström had perhaps 100 000 students in total.

Another explanation might be that the courses were inexpensive so that families with very modest incomes could also afford to attend. Music education was in other words available geographically as well as financially—and met a need. The municipal music schools took over large parts of young people’s voluntary music education towards the seventies, while the bildning associations and Hagström continued to serve the adult population. Hagström can be seen as an important agent in order to democratize the Swedish music education by creating available music courses and through its controversial education force other agents to come up with and define alternatives.
Cultural and educational capital

Hagström never camouflaged their musical and instrumental preferences as opposed to the bildning associations which, both explicitly and implicitly, worked to improve students' musical taste. Hagström represented the people by having no cultural ideal which they aimed to shape their students into. This might have been threatening as the interest for accordion based dance music continued to grow, while other similar genres like rock came along with the same kind of music based on a limited number of chords, with a simple repetitive melody on top. This happened in a time when music became common property both because ordinary people got more spare time, but also because the availability of music increased through electronic media such as radio, records and television. In a democratic society, voices are allowed to speak up, and even if the dominant judges of taste wanted to silence Hagström's music education, they did not succeed. Hagström as a company continued to serve those who liked popular music until the end in 1983. In a Bourdieuan view, seeing Hagström as being the underdog is too simple since Hagström in some fields represented the preferred (sub-)cultural capital.

A group of people with a shared interest can be seen as a field according to Bourdieu. The field can be large or small, and a large field will most of the time contain different smaller fields. In this case, we can choose to regard the total Nordic music education as a field. We can also consider this to exist in a larger field constituted by society. For society democracy as a political system is constructed in order to secure not only that the majority have their will through, but also that smaller fields' will have an opportunity to get their voices heard. In both the cultural establishment leading the larger society's cultural elite, and in the large music educational field, the above description about Hagström having low cultural capital is correct. The political and cultural elite were massively opposed to the accordion, the

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143 This is not the same as to say that dance music and rock music are the same since they can be said to populate different pop-cultural fields and, at least nowadays, have different amounts of cultural capital. For more about popular music see chapter 2 (p. 23).

144 Whether or not a complete society can be regarded as a field in a Bourdieuan sense is a bit dubious, but since they share some interests in a social sense, I choose to regard it as a loose and large field.
electric guitar, the organ, the keyboard and the music they represented, but in large fields Hagström was held in high regard.

The Hagström shops were meeting places for local musicians of all levels. If you wanted to hook up with someone to play with or to try out the new guitar from Gibson, the Hagström shop was the place to go. If you had a band and not too much money, Hagström let you rent your gear. If you wanted to learn to play, Hagström provided you with a chance to learn to play for a small sum of money, where the instrument and the course books were easily accessible. If you needed a repair, Hagström did it in their local repair workshop. They even supplied popular dance bands and ABBA with stereo PA sound.

A slightly different angle of Hagström reveals the hierarchies Hagström was a part of and created. I consider three kinds of hierarchies to be of importance: Musical genre hierarchies, instrument hierarchies and pedagogical hierarchies. These in turn can be regarded from the perspectives of internal and external capital, where internal capital refers to what was regarded as valuable within Hagström, and external capital what represented the dominant cultural assumptions of what had high symbolic capital. As always these would influence each other, but still such a division shows something of there being an alternative conception of the different capitals in Hagström and in the establishment.
"Music from the Backyard" – Hagström's Music Education

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Good musical genres</th>
<th>Within Hagström</th>
<th>The establishment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dance music, popular music, jazz, rock.</td>
<td>Classical music, composed/written music, jazz.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Good instruments</th>
<th>Accordion, guitar, bass, synthesizer, electric organs</th>
<th>Piano, violin, church organs, arco string instruments, wind</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Good education</th>
<th>Learn to play right, technique before musicianship, note based, group/one-to-one education</th>
<th>Learn to play right, technique before musicianship, note based, one-to-one education</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

**Illustration 3: Symbolic capital in Hagström and the establishment.**

The table, though being a gross simplification, explains something about how Hagström operates within a field of cultural production. Its prime function is to explain something about the musical and cultural ideals that were prevailing within two different fields. The top row labels the fields I am comparing: Hagström and the music education establishment in Sweden – the conservatories, the Royal Academy of Music, and also the municipal music schools. I could have made a third column with the bildning associations, but it would really not be too different from what the cultural establishment stands for ideologically despite Ström's (1949) critique of the academy. Even if the bildning associations taught instruments like accordions and guitar, their ideals were similar to those of the establishment, as my results show. The next two rows reflect different kinds of cultural capital, while the third row is a rough presentation of educational capital within each respective field. Their lack of social capital vis-à-vis the establishment was not because their pedagogical ideas were in opposition to the establishment, but because the education was for the wrong instruments and the wrong musical genres. What I regard as the internal capital within Hagström was in fact – at least until the late sixties, very similar to what

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145 Even if Fingal Ström proposed aesthetic experiences as an alternative to technique drill, little seem to suggest that this had much impact in the practice.
Chapter 6. Hagström’s music education in perspective

may be labelled a high pop-cultural capital. As earlier referred, the accordion based dance music remained the preferred music for the majority of the Swedish population until the late sixties (SOU 1967:9). An interesting aspect of this is that in retrospect, parts of what had symbolic capital within Hagström’s, if we disregard the dance orchestra music, has been gaining capital ever since – particularly within education, but also among connoisseurs.

On this topic I would propose that music and musical genres acquire functions as an agent in themselves as a stake holder and influential factor in society. It is of course not the case that music is a living, breathing being with an agency like a human being, but it can still operate as an agent within the cultural fields. This is because as soon as the tone has sounded, or the note has been written, the content, meaning and importance of the music will be negotiated fought over, disagreed and agreed upon, and as such the music or the musical genre builds an identity of itself with friends, enemies and interests. Hagström can as such be seen as a friend of the popular music genres presented above. While the folkbildning associations and, to an even larger extent, the municipal music schools, were friends of classical music, jazz and music with cultural capital among the connoisseurs, it was not only that they liked these genres, but they actually represented them, fought for them and defended their right to live and their superiority. And in this fight the music changed, the music educational field changed, and the people changed.

In large parts of the population, Hagström gradually acquired cultural capital even after its ending in 1983. Now I would go as far as to say that playing a Hagström guitar provides a musician with a certain identity, an identity as quality conscious but not mainstream, retro aware, but not old. The newly produced Hagström guitars have become a success\(^\text{146}\) and the old ones are sold for big money. There are several international Hagström fan pages on the internet – all of them focused on the Hagström guitars. Hagström is no longer associated with accordions internationally.

\(^{146}\) According to several of the interviewees — and to their surprise.
Hagström the family business.

The journey through the Hagström landscape has almost reached its end. Before I try to look into the crystal ball and look ahead, I will dwell shortly on the family as a central element in the Hagström company. The company Hagström is a family company in the sense that it has been owned and run by the father and son Hagström. But Albin Hagström's parents were also involved when he started the business, and according to Jansson (2006), he had a schism with his parents when they tried to exploit the company for their own gain. He had to break with them. Today the Hagström name is also associated with Karl Erik Hagström's two younger sisters who manage the Hagström grant for accordionists and guitarists, Anna-Lenah Hagström och Kärstin Hagström-Heikkinen.

Family seem to be an important trait of Hagström. I have interviewed the shopkeepers in what used to be Hagström shops in Västerås, Gothenburg, Växjö, Oslo and Bergen. With the exception of Sven Magnusson in Växjö, all of these had taken over the business from their fathers. The Hagström shops have in other words been family businesses. When asked to reflect upon this, they answer that in small businesses like a music shop you had to do everything – at least in those days. And the whole family helped whenever the shop needed mending or an extra hand was needed. It was also a business that required long working hours and a passionate interest in the business. This has obviously been inherited, and might have contributed to the success of these shops.

Running a business means prioritising. As I have shown, one of the reasons why Hagström was run as a set of family businesses was that running a shop involved long working hours, strong engagement and being a 'jack-of-all-trades', having a hand in everything. Even if some of the informants state that the music educational part of the business was important – it was important mostly for the shop, or for Hagström, rather than in its own right as a music educational enterprise. In the critique from the folkbildning associations, the commercialism and assumed lack of idealism were brought forwards as an argument for why Hagström's music school was bad. The problem with that argument, is not the premises, but the conclusion. There is nothing in my material that supports an assumption that Hagström's
music schools were better or worse than the alternatives – even if they were commercial and had few pedagogical ideals. However – the premises had other consequences: The music educational activities never set the premises for the company nor for the shops. That music education was something my informants made besides all other activities, has influenced the results of the thesis in certain ways.

Considerations of trustworthiness

When I first set out to investigate Hagström’s music education, I had a desire to get access to personal life stories of people who had experienced Hagström’s music education in different ways. The snowball sampling strategy that I chose led me to most of the people who were still alive and had played important roles in Hagström’s history. One problem I soon discovered was that the music educational enterprise was so intertwined with, and perhaps even suppressed by, the rest of the business. My hopes for passionate musical life stories and the ways Hagström had influenced them, gradually changed as I realized that the music education was a part of larger life stories which were more often than not, not musical life stories, but rather business or work life stories. This meant that since I had designed the interviews as open ended, the interviews were often about other aspects of Hagström than the music education. At first I found this frustrating: How should I get my life stories? Eventually I found out that there was nothing wrong with the stories since the integration and suppression of the music educational parts of Hagström were interesting in themselves. In this version of Hagström’s history, I have therefore tried to preserve the feeling of context in the writing. This was important for trying to create a text with the highest possible fidelity147.

As a part of trying to obtain high fidelity, there was a need to utilize the available sources in order to, to some extent, overcome the limitations of the human memory. As a part of my pragmatist base for investigating Hagström’s music education, the point was to create a present story of the past rather than to aim for the impossibility of presenting the past as it was. However, at first glance this aim might seem a bit defensive and simplistic since such a view of history seems to allow me to present almost anything

147 For a presentation of fidelity, see chapter 3 (p. 41).
and get away with it as being a “present recreation of the past”. Nothing could be more wrong. The implications of a pragmatist notion of truth is that this story must function as a trustworthy explanation of Hagström's music education. In order for the story to be trustworthy, it has to consider and balance different sources, as well as interpret them from today, but with respect and curiosity concerning the conditions that constituted the past. Consequently, in a pragmatist view, research will be evaluated by its usage – if it is accepted as providing good information it will help recreate the history of Hagström: It is the readers, the research society and those interested in Hagström and Nordic music educational history who can judge whether or not I have succeeded.

As a part of this evaluative process I have also given Karl Erik Hagström the opportunity to read a fairly late version of the text to see if he would recognize the story. A premiss is that there is an integral humility regarding the endurance of this thesis: There are many stories about Hagström and Swedish spare time music education that have not been told yet, and as in any research, I hope there will come new studies that will build on and even contradict parts of this thesis in order to recreate an even better explanation of what Hagström’s music education can mean.

Even if the aim of this thesis, “to investigate and recreate Hagström's music educational history from a Deweyan pragmatist point of departure”, in this thesis has been answered to the best of my abilities, there are multiple ways to investigate matters further. This thesis gives a broad picture of Hagström’s music education; a possible continuation and development would be to somehow find former students and interview them – and thereby investigate the students’ side of the education further. Another possible continuation would be to investigate further the enterprise aspects of Hagström’s music education: How was it financed, what kind of transactions between the educational and the rest of the company took place and how did this relate to other kinds of financial models? A third possibility could be to apply the same kind of research method that I have used here on another, similar kind of business such as Yamaha or Kawasaki. These still operate, and it would be interesting to investigate their education in the light of a Deweyan and Bourdieuan research perspective.
7. Final words

A question that has become more and more interesting as my research has progressed is what the music business in Scandinavia would have looked like if Hagström had not shut down? When asked if Hagström should have done anything different towards the end, Magnusson is clear in his view that it is easy to be wise after the event, and that he considers Hagström a nearly perfect company. Others have been harsher in their critique and said right out that the shops were healthy, but that Ålvdalen lost contact with the roots of the company – meaning the shops, the distribution and the education. Since Hagström ended business, Scandinavia has experienced 25 years of free competition with no majority chain of shops in the music business. This has now ended, and most music shops in Scandinavia are now owned by an investor company: Music Retail Holding (MRH) which is run in cooperation among Luthman, NorgesInvestor and some smaller investors such as some shop owners.

In an interview with Bert Andreasson, the general manager in 4sound Gothenburg, Andreasson compares this new big conglomerate with Hagström. Hagström was in a position to control the Scandinavian music instrument retail market, as MRH now does, but gave it up. Now, instead of having a monopoly by a company founded on ideals of providing affordable instruments to the common people, Scandinavia experiences a monopoly by a company with only financial interests.

Andreasson, who has been on the 4sound Sweden board, repeatedly stresses two advantages of Hagström which he hopes that the new chain will take on: Education and repair. Two of the shops in my study, 4sound in Gothenburg and Hagstrøm in Bergen have kept these two parts as important in running a shop. Only the future will show if this new chain of music retailers will be able, or willing to, take up where Hagström ended, and make a new Scandinavian music school connected to the shops.

148 Luthman, Musikbörsen and Musikkhuset Aage Jensen are owned by MRH, so is the Norwegian 4sound, while the Swedish 4sound is an organisation of independent shops with a parent company 4sound Sweden which is owned by MRH.
150 Interview made in February 2008.
"Music from the Backyard" – Hagström's Music Education

The question of what Hagström could have been is of course futile. Hagström has played its role as a key actor in the music business, and even if it still lives on in memories as well as in inherited practices, probably the largest private music school Scandinavia has seen is gone. But still if we accept that one of Hagström's most important contributions to Swedish music education was the democratization on a societal level, how is this heritage enforced? Are the current agents interested or able to keep the high level of decentralized music education that was initiated by Hagström and the folkbildning associations?

The current media descriptions of the situation does not suggest that the municipal music schools are able to serve all those who are interested. The music schools are becoming cultural schools to serve a broader range of cultural interests than solely music. That, in combination with lack of financial resources, makes the demand for municipal music schooling larger than the availability. The question is if this is necessarily is a bad situation in a larger perspective. Let us speculate for a moment that the almost parallel development, of the private Hagström music school, the municipal music school and the semi-independent music schools in the folkbildning associations, was what created the successful Swedish music industry through its vast geographical and demographical expansion.

Andreasson in Gothenburg stated in one of my interviews that there is a need for private actors in the music educational field because the municipal music schools simply cannot meet the demand. Hagström was a national, and even international, private actor with commercial interests which helped develop Swedish music education. I wonder if there might be time for a new agent to enter the field with new ideas of what good music education is in the twenty-first century.

I wonder who that agent might be?

I wonder if it is necessary?
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Appendixes

Appendix 1: Interview guide

Appendix 2: Excerpt from the time line of Hagström's history

Appendix 3: Ethical agreement

Appendix 4: Utterances in the original language
Appendix 1: Interview guide
Appendix 2: Time line

Appendix 2: Excerpt from the time line of Hagström's history
Appendix 3: Ethical Agreement
Appendix 3: Ethical Agreement

Information om forskningen

Mitt namn är Ketil Thorgersen och jag är doktorand i musikpedagogik i Piteå. Mitt forskningsämne är Hagströms gitarrundervisning.


Du kan när som helst dra dig ur undersökningen.

Resultatet av forskningen kommer att resultera i en doktorsavhandling samt artiklar publicerade i vetenskapliga sammanhang.

Det är möjligt att anonymisera information från dig i större eller mindre grad. Jag kan dölja namn, ort etc. men detta fall finns det ändå möjlighet för att några som känner dig gott kan känna igen dig.

Det vore bra för mig om jag kan göra en ljudupptagning av intervjun.

Jag är mycket tacksam för att du är villig att hjälpa mig med denna studie!

☐ Jag ger tillstånd till att personuppgifter kan användas i forskningspubliceringen.

☐ Jag vill att mina personuppgifter anonymiseras i forskningspubliceringen.

Jag samtycker till att Ketil Thorgersen behandlar personuppgifter om mig i enlighet med ovanstående.

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Appendix 4: Utterances in the original language

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vii Och här I Växjö hade vi kurser i ungefär 30 platser runt i distriktet. Området var Kronoberg, det mesta av Kalmar, Öland och Blekinge. Så på den tiden körde jag varje kväll och startade kurser.

viii Jag kan tala om nere i Karlskrona. Satte in annons att dom skulle anmäla sig till musikföremedlaren där. Och det satte i att ringa så det ringde hela natten nästan. [...] Dom var tvungna att stänga av telefonen. Såna mängder var det då. Det var den tidens popmusik så det var hundratals som ville spela.
Appendix 4: Utterances in the original language


x Vid beviljandet av statsbidrag till musikcirklar, som använder dragspel, bör studieförbunden iakttaga en största restriktivitet, eftersom bl.a dragspelets begränsade harmoniska möjligheter gör instrumentet olämpligt att användas i musikcirkelarbetet.

xi Övertornfria eller övertornfattiga toner misshandlar musiken och avtrubbar ett ev. Musikör. Dragspelets påvra toner leder dess exekutörer in i en återvändsgrundsätt, och det är utomordentligt sällsynt att dragspelare och deras fanatiska beundrare stimuleras för någon musik med konstnärlig innebörd.

xii Det ruskigaste och mest idiotiska som är uppfunnet i hela världshistoriens tidsrymd av flera miljoner år, det lägsta som mänsklig hjärna kunnat fundera ut – det är dragspelet. […] När jag hör ljudet får jag associationer till en full dräng som spottar snus. […] Locka inte ungdomen in i dragspelsfältet. […] Dragspelet måste utrotas.

xiii […] jag har haft det trygglaktiga nöjet att taga del av Hagströms dragspellskaola, som skall täcka 4 kurser (terminer). Den er utarbetat av en herr Sven Magnusson, som förövrig torde vara en tsenkonstor på musikens bakgårdar, då han inte akter för rov att utge skolor även för andra instrument. […] Hagströms dragspellskaola inte bara inskränker denna orientering till ett absolut minimum (där finns ingen orientering över huvud taget) utan förmedlar dessutom kontakt med en rad verkligt enfaldiga skräckalster.

xiv Dragspellsdebatter, det är roligt det. […] Inga diplomatisk bugningar, och sirligt ordmaki, utan samling vid pumpen och rakt in i stridens vilda svaj. Märkligt ändå tänker man där man står och begrundar idyllen framför sej, vad detta instrument ändå måtte angå oss eftersom det uppväcker så mycket hänförelse och vrede.

xv Kommitten anser det nödvändigt att staten snarast utvidgar den frivilliga musikundervisningen till att omfatta elever även på låg- och mellanstadiet och tar ekonomiskt och pedagogiskt ansvar för denna undervisning. (italics in the original).

xvi Jag skulle vilja gå så långt som att säga att utan musikskolan skulle vi inte överlevt sjuttioalet.

xvii Att kunna spela efter noter är nödvändigt för alla som musicerar. Keyboard är visserligen ett instrument som inbjuder till eget skapande men Ditt skapande blir betydligt mer ”proffsigt” om Du först lär dig de rätta grundarna.

Appendix 4: Utterances in the original language

xix Melodierna i kursboken bör dock inte ändras. De är nämligen skrivna i tonarter som ur övningssynpunkt är de mest lämpade.

xx De musikstycken som förekommer är inte svårare än att varje normalt musikbegävad elev, som genomgått nybörjarkursen, skall kunna tillgodogöra sig en lektion pr vecka.

xxi För övrigt vill vi endast poängtera att det krävs minst en timmes koncentrerat övning varje dag för att tillgodogöra sig kursen.

xxii Använd rätt fingersättning och anslå de olika tonerna samtidigt.

xxiii Använd rätt fingersättning och anslå de olika tonerna samtidigt.

xxiv Bästa sättet att lära sig spela synkoperat musik är att utöver det egna övandet lyssna till duktiga jazzmusiker.

xxv Man får då lära sig att hålla tempot, att inte spela för fort och att lyssna på medspelare.

xxvi Hör på grammofonskivan hur basen spelas med korta, distinkta basanslag medan diskanten spelas legato.

xxvii Jeg lærte at jeg skulle spille med hælene, noe en annen lærer senere fortalte at ikke var så lurt.

xxviii Vi har tidigare spelat C-durskalan som började på C. Om vi börjar på tonen F i stället och spelar alla vita tangentier i följd från ettstrukna till tvåstrukna F så märker vi snart att det inte låter som det skall. Prova själv!