Flow or Stop?

Culture Matters in P3's Music Radio Production

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CULTURE MATTERS IN P3'S
MUSIC RADIO PRODUCTION

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TABLE OF CONTENT - BLACK TRACK

TABLE OF CONTENT - GREEN TRACK

Foreword

Doing this dissertation is an accomplishment that is hardly mine alone. Many people and things have been involved at different stages in the process.

I would like first to direct a great thanks to DR (Danish Broadcast Corporation) for their kindness over numerous years in the 2010s, and for letting me into the corporation to study the contemporary practice of popular music planning and programming. I am not sure the same extent of access would have been given in a private/commercial radio station. Hence, without the public service institution DR, we would not be able to have the same degree of historical insight into processes and documentation of practices concerning media development in contemporary times. Thank you, DR, for your trust and cooperation. Now, in this very short moment in time, it is in my hands to do something valuable with the work we engaged in together.

Thanks to my supervisor, Morten Michelsen, for believing in the project and in me and for being a good support and friend in the process. Thanks to my co-supervisor, Cathrine Hasse, for huge amounts of academic inspiration and aspiration to make this into my own project. A great thanks also goes to my co-co-supervisors at the University of Sussex, Kate Lacey and Chris Kiefer, for engaging with and responding to my material in very useful and constructive ways. Thanks to all the members of my research group, RAMUND, for being kind and supportive. Here, a special thanks must go to Mads Krogh and Iben Have for giving thorough, patient, and useful feedback and help on articles.

It has been a long process, and many people have assisted me. Some people deserve a special thanks for their direct contributions: Emma August Welter and Kirsten Pank for fantastic proofreading and response to articles. Stina Marie Hasse Jørgensen for numerous readings and always-useful feedback. Mathias Danbolt for doing some crucial readings in the end. Peter Gibbons and Troels Rugbjerg for holding my hand and supporting, guiding, and coaching me through the last couple of months.

I also send a loving thought to the people who have laid the ground on which I stand. Along the way I have sought trust and support from my former workplace, my second family, Batida Theatre. Thank you, Batida, for everything, for instance eternal encouragement to try to think and live with a free mind. You are (making) change!

A special thanks also goes to my new work family, amongst others my sisters and brothers in the work collective *Daughters of 68*. Without you—Stina, Sabrina, Cecilie, Sofie, Inger, Anne, Kristine, Rasmus, Heidi, Mathias—this process would have been unbearable and definitely much, much duller.

A family-and-friends thanks goes to my dear siblings, Laura, Matilde, Ida, and Anders, and their families. To Alfred, Magne, and Ella. To all my other family: Mari, Ellen, Thomas, etc (you know who you are). To my mother, Gretelise, for eternal amounts of love and support, for her ability to tell good and important stories, and for always cracking the moral and disciplinary whip over my work and work life. To my fantastic, patient, and always supportive friends:

Mathilde, Christer, Kari, Heidi, Århus-klanen, L-word-klubben, etc. To my second family from the collective *Cykelmyggen*: Maja, Peter, Troels, Brian, Katja. I love you all.

A great thanks to my children, Aksel, Knut, & Niels-Ole, for taking my thoughts away—in the mornings, evenings, and nights—from an all-consuming process of dissertation work and writing. And also to Jesper and Mathias, the best fathers ever, who have been a great support all through the process.

Most of all, though, I thank you, Jette, my wife, for being the best, the most intelligent, critical, supportive, providing, and loving partner. You are holding everything up, and you have made the space for me to do this. Without you this project would certainly not have been possible. Half of this accomplishment—for better or for worse— is yours! And thank you for your fantastic family: Dorte, Biel, Astrid, Niels, Julie, Stine, and all the children. I am so lucky.

My father, Knut, who helped me carry stacks of books into my new office at the University of Copenhagen in autumn 2014, couldn't help me carry them out again. He sadly died in summer 2015, and I would like to dedicate this dissertation to him, especially the feminist content. When I was a teenager in the countryside in Mid-Jutland in Denmark, he often picked me and my friends up from parties, etc. If a male friend would automatically jump into the front passenger seat, my father would, to my great embarrassment, stop the car, get out, go around, and open up the passenger-side door, telling my friend, "In this car it is the women who sit in the front seat." He was a feminist and aware of the biased, automated gender structuring in everyday life. He was a very warm and loving father. He was also a medical doctor and researcher, and it took him eight years to finish his doctoral dissertation. His introductory words in his dissertation were as follows: "Thanks to family and friends who, with their never-failing sense for the good life, have contributed to the fact that this dissertation was delayed for many years" (1979).

I would say the same, even though this dissertation has taken five and not eight years to produce. It has been a time of so many new, interesting meetings with thoughts, with people, and with things I never thought I would be acquainted with. I am grateful to have been given this opportunity, and I hope it will make sense for one or two others around the globe to read the results of my research into the intersections of a public (service) institution, radio, organization, gender performativity, new media technology, and popular (music) culture.

The following is an insight into public service media practices concerning popular music planning, scheduling, and presenting in the Danish public service radio channel P3. Here I use the ethnographic material to address some specific agendas about cultures of production/production of culture, about technology and infrastructure in work environments, and about gender play in cultural inclusions/exclusions in these particular networked practices of "doing music" for the radio. Discussions about the ethnographic material put forward in the dissertation could be manifold. I hope others will take it in other directions.

1. Introduction

Social reality is lived social relations, our most important political construction, a world-changing fiction. (Haraway 1991, 149)

People know what they do; frequently they know why they do what they do; but what they don't know is what what they do does. (Foucault 2013, 187)

Prologue: The Production of Culture

"Stories begin when a beginning is chosen," writes ethnomusicologist Steven Feld in his essay "The Poetics and Politics of Pygmy Pop" (2000, 254). This story begins some years ago, on the other side of the globe in Afghanistan, where I was working as an administrator for a Danish music theatre called Batida. I worked at Batida on an everyday basis in Denmark and also travelled abroad to organize culture events in practice:

I was in Kabul, Afghanistan. It was the morning of my third day there, and I was sitting in a small bus that was beautifully decorated inside with flower garlands, pictures, and carpets, almost as if the bus were a living room on wheels. Around me sat my ten colleagues from Batida Theatre, and between the rows of seats all our props were stacked, packed in their travel cases. We were employed by the Danish state to put on several musical-theatre performances in Kabul. The country was at war. Denmark was a part of it. And we were there on behalf of the Danish Centre for Culture and Development (DCCD)[1] to perform for the Afghan city-dwellers, to make positive images of the West, I guess, and create dialogue and good inter-relations between us and the Afghan "like-minded" (whatever that was) in Kabul.

The bus was bumping away on the dusty roads. Half of the group (all the women) was wearing headscarves; the other half was not. The day before, I had been involved in a situation—internally within the group —that had somehow interfered with our ordinarily well-functioning sociality as a work collective. The situation concerned the veils and some jokes that a couple of my male colleagues continuously made about us—their female colleagues—wearing veils in the first couple of days we were there. Sitting there unshaven in their usual worn-out clothes, they kept jokingly talking about how funny it was to "see us veiled," etc ., "ha ha ha," etc. None of the women were joking about it, and I don't recall any of us laughing at the jokes, either. The joking somehow got to me, and I had to tell my male colleagues to PLEASE stop with the jokes about the veils! The serious tone in my voice came through, I guess, and no more jokes were made. I felt that my interference in our relational space was embarrassing. This incident bothered me more than the fact of having to wear a

veil itself. They were just making fun, and I felt I couldn't handle the situation and keep up the good spirits: why couldn't I just laugh at it all, and wear my veil in a good mood and in solidarity with "like-minded" (again, whatever that was) Afghan women?

Let us continue with this particular morning in the bus on our third day in Afghanistan. We were bumping away on dusty roads from our hotel to the other side of town, where Kabul University was located. Here we were to perform for the second time for the Faculty of Fine Arts (Music and Theatre Department); we had performed there with great success the day before. This morning, the collective talk in the little bus centered around the performance the previous day. Everyone was happy and excited from the success, but there also appeared to be a collective indignation (from both men and women) about the fact that "only six out of 200 students at the Kabul Department of Theatre and Music were women!" In the heat of the moment, something rebellious was working up inside of me; being the spoilsport once again on the tour (a quite unusual position for me, usually the pragmatic administrator), I asked loudly if they were aware that "only one out of 100 instrumentalists in the Rhythmic Music Conservatory in Copenhagen are women? Or that 14 percent of the artists performing at the Roskilde Festival are women?" They became awkwardly quiet; my remarks had shut off the conversation. In my mind I imagined them thinking, "Here goes the angry feminist lesbian again!" But in this precise situation, this morning, I didn't care—I felt I just couldn't take more pretentious bullshit. They could think of me what they would, spoilsport or not, but I was the one wearing the veil. When I returned home to Denmark, I began engaging in the public debate pointing toward the gender inequality represented in Danish art and culture production environments. The situation in the bus was the beginning of a process of engagement and reflection about culture and organization leading up to this dissertation work.

The above narrative is a work situation, a glimpse from my own former history as an ordinary person in a work collective helping to produce music theatre. It shows how workdays of producing so-called "culture material"—as with workdays of producing research or partaking in all other kinds of work practice—is (also) an entangled mesh of personal histories, artefacts, global aspects, political agendas, and textual and practical matters and materials of all kinds. It also shows how "artefacts"[2] (Cole 1996; Hasse 2008; Vygotsky 1978) or "things"[3] (Barad 2003) such as veils (or music, as we shall see later), can have an effect in the structuring of sociality.

This dissertation is about the daily broadcast of music on P3, one of the biggest radio stations in Denmark. But it is also about culture(s) at work. It is about what happens when you open the door to your office in your workplace and walk out into the common space to make a cup of coffee and chat (or not chat) with your colleagues by the coffee machine. This work is an attempt to do culture analysis in culture businesses that create culture material on a daily basis. The notion of *culture* is used in manifold ways here, as is often the case in daily speech and common

denotations. Hence, at the outset of the dissertation, I will quickly elucidate two main notions of culture I will be using throughout. Then, I will put forward a claim that is closely connected to one of my foundational motivations for doing this work.

Denmark operates with a so-called *culture sector*. We have a Ministry of *Culture*; I am a student in the Department for Arts and *Cultural* Studies [Institut for Kunst og Kultur] at the University of Copenhagen; we have highly prestigious and state-financed learning institutions for different *culture practices* (schools for writing and architecture, music conservatories, academies of fine art, schools of performing arts, film schools, etc., all funded by the Ministry of Culture); we have royal theatres and opera houses that produce *culture*. In addition to those state-financed *culture institutions*, Denmark has a flourishing *culture life*, with an array of small independent art projects, orchestras, and companies.

Indeed, Denmark's culture sector is large,[4] and I have previous work experience in this sector, for instance as an administrator for the touring music theatre described above. Hence, my understanding of culture refers on one side to what anthropologist Cathrine Hasse calls the "non-scientific notion of culture," namely the understanding of culture as "art-products" that we consider to be somehow educating and enlightening, "often nationally embedded, to be possessed and consumed" (Hasse 2008, 16)—these are art and culture products that are created in specific networks of production. This understanding of culture helps me define and limit my field of study: in this dissertation, I work anthropologically in the sector of Danish culture production.

Anthropologists study people in practices, and I intend to study people's lives in practices of culture production—to do "culture analysis" (Hasse 2015, 2011; Hastrup, Rubow, and Tjørnhøj-Thomsen 2011) in the Danish culture sector. This brings me to my other—and what Hasse might call more scientific—understanding of culture. In this context, I understand culture to be pluralistic, differentiated, and situated. Throughout my dissertation, I understand culture not as something that *is* or that resides somewhere or in someone, but as something that is done around artefacts in practices and that is "constantly on the move" (Hasse 2011, 69).

Cultures—understood as the way we do things around things, or the ways that things in our surroundings do things to us—exist in many shapes at the same time. They are site-, time-, relational-, and object-specific. They are enacted in practice around artefacts, while meaning is (re)iterated by actors in situations. They are "multiple," as anthropologist Annemarie Mol might say (2002), and they can be studied as part of what Hasse (2015) calls "scalar learning processes in practices" (Hasse 2011, 69)

My idea of cultures as pluralistic, differentiated, and situated relates to anthropologist Marilyn Strathern's notion of "sociality" (1991), to communication scholar W. Barnett Pearce's notion of "social worlds" (2007), to feminist science philosopher Donna Haraway's "nature-cultures" (2003), and to Actor-Network Theory (ANT) sociologist Bruno Latour's "the social" (2005)—not as something that *is*, but as something that is continuously constructed through

entanglement. I will elaborate on this understanding of culture and on my use of culture analysis in Section 0.

Now comes my claim. I believe that in Denmark, we have not been particularly good at looking at the everyday work cultures in our own institutions of culture production, nor have we been willing to do so. I claim there is a need to study cultures at work in Danish institutions that work with producing culture for two reasons.

First of all, maybe we could avoid some of the continuous incidents of scandal related to some of our culture institutions, both in Denmark and in our neighboring countries.[6] The misconduct of power, sexual harassment, bad work environments, and severely disproportionate representation concerning gender and ethnicity in this sector indicate that the intersection between internal organization/work cultures and the production of cultural artefacts is indeed important to study.

Secondly, I think it is necessary—not least in the culture sector, which is heavily state-subsidized and considered a prestigious place to work—to continuously attempt to formulate a contextual understanding of our culture production environments in order to create transparency about values and goals and avoid a culture sector that works like a "context-less context" (Danbolt 2013, 43), with rights and wrongs and where inclusions and exclusions happen in the dark. We do not, in my opinion, want a culture sector that is blind to the fact that it is a product of culture itself. Therefore, I believe that there is a need in Denmark to study cultures at work in institutions that work with producing culture.

Hence, in this dissertation I look at a small part of our sector of culture production as a work sector, but also as a living field of actors where people spend a great part of their lives, where they obtain means of survival for themselves and their families, where they gain social acknowledgement and prestige, and where they create meaning as human beings in the world on a day-to-day basis:

> Organization cultures create the main part of our life conditions. They do so in such subtle and complex ways that we rarely acknowledge ourselves how it was that we came to put a mark on the future world through our participation in everyday life at work. The connections we learn at work today become the reflection and background for material artefacts of the future, through which the next generation learns about the world. (Hasse 2011, 39; originally in Danish)[7]

This dissertation is about work practices of creating culture material on a daily basis in a certain part of Danish cultural life. It is not a story about how Danish music theatre is set up around the world, as the opening narrative might indicate. Rather, I opened with this story in order to illustrate the complexity of actors entangled in everyday work practices of production, *and* to illustrate the fact that I had to cross the border into Afghanistan with a group of my fellow Nor-

dic citizens in order to realize the necessity of understanding of how my *own* country's culture institutions work. I will return to this narrative as we go along.

This dissertation is about assembling and presenting music content on Danish national radio. My aim is to engage with this many-layered field of radio culture production in an established culture institution such as Danish State Radio.[8] I wish to gain knowledge about how this particular practice of culture production works while simultaneously investigating how to study the intersection of organization and everyday work cultures and culture production.

This dissertation is a story about how culture matters around music in the organization of radio production, in institutions, and for individuals in contemporary times. It is about the organization of groups and humans and things; about actors, agency, networks, and borders in the everyday work practices of making music on Danish Public Service Popular Music Radio (PSPMR). More specifically, it a story about the music selection, music planning, music programming, and music presenting on the Danish public service popular mainstream music radio channel P3, equivalent to BBC's Radio 1.

Production of Public Service Popular Music Radio (PSPMR)

P3 is a radio channel that broadcasts popular music with the aim of reaching young audiences (Krogh 2017, 1). In the mid-2010s, the channel was the biggest radio channel in Denmark, with approximately 1.6 million weekly listeners. In a large Danish news paper, the Director of Music and Radio, Anders[9], defined the channel thus:

> P3 [is] a big and broad society channel that, besides music, emphasizes news, sports, humor, entertainment, and journalism, and a part of the meaning with the music on the channel is to gather many people around a broad and relevant public service offering. It follows that there is a natural focus on the music that has relevance for a great deal of people. (Politiken, April 29, 2015 (my translation)).

P3 is produced[10] and provided by the Danish public service media provider Danish Broadcast Corporation (subsequently referred to as DR).[11] DR is a media institution that has been a cornerstone of Denmark's media landscape since the mid-1920s, providing license-financed media content and feeding "imagined communities" (Andersson 1983; Crisell 1994; Hilmes 2012) and demarcating Danish national (cultural) borders up through the twentieth century. The institution gradually lost its national media monopoly of radio and TV throughout the 1980s and 1990s and has since worked side by side with numerous commercial and local media providers.

Besides being a grand institution in society, DR is a grand organization.[12] In 2016, DR was the workplace of approximately 2,766 FTEs (full-time employees) and had a total income of DKK 4,133,200 million. DKK 3,674,800 million of that came from DR's part of the license revenue, directly financed by inhabitants of Denmark.[13]

The following story unfolds in a very small part of this big organization. It is an anthropo-logical journey into the section of radio that handles popular music. At the time of my fieldwork this section was called "DR Music and Radio" and contained the three channels P3, P6 Beat,[14] and P7 Mix;[15] The Discoteque;[16] The Host Talent School;[17] and popular music activities, such as the annual TV event and awards show P3 Guld[18] and KarriereKanonen, an ongoing event nurtur-ing upcoming popular bands.[19]

My anthropological journey narrows in within the section of DR Music and Radio, as it goes specifically into the production premises of P3 in order to learn more about the P3 playlist and its music selection practices with Peter, the Head of Music from 2003 to 2016, among oth-ers.[20] Furthermore, alongside a team of people working on the program *Go'Morgen P3* (from now on called *GMP3*), on this journey I seek to understand how music becomes entangled in the station's sociality while making up the everyday production of a PSPMR program such as *GMP3*.

From an overall perspective, this research contributes to sound studies concerning PSPMR; according to sound studies scholar Jonathan Sterne, such research analyzes "both sonic practices and the discourses and institutions that describe them" in order to redescribe "what sound does in the human world, and what humans do in the sonic world" (Sterne 2012, 2).

Meeting the Field: Heroes or Villains? Myths Around DR and the Head of Music

When I began my inquiries regarding DR's popular music presentation, I immediately bumped into critical narratives about the institution in newspapers and journals. P3's music selection practices and Peter, its Head of Music, were especially under attack in the public debate: "We [musicians] have been educated into ridicule and we don't stand a chance, because a very small group of people decide what is to be played on the radio," musician Sofie Guillois Larsen wrote in the newspaper *Politiken* on August 28, 2013. Two years later, on February 26, 2015, the musician and singer Nana Jacobi wrote a piece in the same newspaper about her experiences of being excluded from a very narrowly defined mainstream-genre environment and male-dominated music industry: "P3 is still the only radio channel where Danish music can get wings. The Head is on his tenth year—the man who has the last golden word in terms of what music is to be played on P3; that is, who is to have a career as musician or not." In April of the same year, the musi-cian and commentator Henrik Marstal criticized DR for its non-transparent selection procedures: "Every year the Danish music industry releases much more music than P3 could possibly play. Thus it is necessary to have some prioritization. The problem is that nobody has ever had the opportunity to know what lies behind these prioritizations" (Marstal 2015).

Critique was also directed toward the institution on a general level; in public debates, re-searchers made complaints about DR's closed nature as an institution. As expressed in *Politiken* on December 25, 2014, "The media researcher from RUC, Michael Bruun Andersen, thinks that DR has turned far less forthcoming than before—not just toward other media, but also toward researchers" (Benner & Broval 2014).

Furthermore, in addition to the critical, myth-like, and sometimes demonizing stories

about the power abuse and opacity connected with the daily practices of DR and P3, Peter himself also seemed to be entangled in narratives about his admirable powers, his "gut feeling" toward finding new music, and his "magic touch" that could turn dust into gold. At that point, he seemed to be enjoying great success within DR, with an increasing number of listeners on "his" radio channel. In 2009, the Danish business newspaper *Børsen* named Peter the most powerful man under 40 in the Danish music industry. Likewise, it was not unusual to read headlines that described Peter as a "Powerful Head of Music" (Sommer 2014).

Entering the Field

Stories and rumors surrounding DR and the Head of Music also circulated in parts of my personal network, where people pictured DR as a closed and exclusive organization and the Head as a powerful and unreachable man. Both personal and professional connections asked me whether I thought I would be allowed into DR? Stories were told of researchers who had been denied access. The musicians I knew told me stories about how the Head "played golf with the directors of the big music companies" and recounted that he was so vain that "if you could make him look as if he had 'invented' you, then he would take you all the way and secure your future." I spoke to a friend that had once been the Head's colleague. She advised me to be strategic if I wanted to pursue an inquiry about Peter, because, as she put it, "he is not interested in developing this or that; he just wants to be himself and make radio" (preliminary informal inquiries in personal network, 2014).[21] The warnings reminded me of music anthropologist Georgina Born's descriptions in *Uncertain Visions* (2005) of doing ethnography at the BBC, in which she describes her attempts to get into the institution of BBC as preparing a military intervention: "I planned assaults on several fronts, and finally broke through the defences" (Born 2005a, 16).

Getting access to the field can be a complicated (and time-demanding) task; often considered a challenge, it is a subject that has been well reflected upon throughout anthropology/ ethnology/ethnomusicology. When the ethnomusicologist Paul Berliner required access to cultural knowledge about the mbira, a Zimbabwean instrument, it took him six years of working on his relationship with Bandambira, the elderly and renowned Zimbabwean mbira player, in order to be given the names of the different keys on the mbira. By being persistent and showing commitment, humility, and loyalty, Berliner was finally allowed access to this information. Berliner concludes that "the nature of knowledge [i]s privileged information" (Berliner 1978, 7).

Despite what felt like a thick wall of rumors, imaginings, prejudice, and power fetishizations, I did gain access to DR. Luckily, it took not six years, but two (I also expand on the issue of entrance to DR in Section 0.) Let's keep Berliner's argument in mind that the knowledge you are allowed access to, when allowed into a practice field as an ethnomusicologist, is indeed a privileged knowledge. Let's dwell here on Berliner's insinuation that the complications of "getting in" somehow correspond with the researcher's acknowledgment that the way bodies and things are (dis)entangled in institutional practices is testament to a treasure trove of information that has been accumulated over a long time and is best treated carefully.

Heated Critique or Hot Engagement? Different Investments in DR

Let's return shortly to the look from outside the borders of the institution and to the critiques in the public debate howling at DR. "Behind every problem lies a frustrated dream—and the dream came first," writes organizational theorist Peter Lang (quoted in Dahl and Juhl 2009, 263).[22] The cacophony of problematizing voices assailing DR's PSPMR programming indicates that there are many hopes and expectations—or "frustrated dreams"—connected with DR's position in society and its relation to the music industry in Denmark. For musicians, these concerns include the fact that radio is an important platform of promotion.[23] Cultural and political debaters and opinion leaders are engaged in discussing DR, as this is a central platform for the development of culture in Denmark. Politicians are involved in the debate regarding the "nature," "size," and function of public service and taxpayers' money. The private media industry is involved, as they see DR as a state-sponsored competitor. Daily listeners are invested, as they hold expectations for the music content in what many identify as "their" own radio. And the employees of DR Music and Radio are naturally concerned with the general standing of their institution, as they are making and doing radio here on an everyday basis for a living.

Transitioning Times: The Idea of a *New Media Reality* in Public Service

Those who value public service media—and its role in distributing music—might have reasons to be concerned. According to British radio scholar David Hendy, public service is "under steadily increasing attack from both antipathetic governments and commercial rivals, both of which have a vested interest in weakening it" (Hendy 2013, 3).

The feeling of an institution being under attack was also present in one of my first institutional encounters with DR as I embarked on this project. Anders, the Director of the Department of Music and Radio,[24] wrote the following to me in an email in response to my inquiry regarding doing ethnographic fieldwork at the institution: "You meet us at a time when we're thinking a lot about this [our role in society and in Danish music life]. We are transitioning to a digital reality where radio's significance for music is changing."[25] Later, when I met him IRL, he elaborated:

> A lot is unknown. Maybe there will be no such thing as *music radio* in five years! Maybe it will all be outsourced to other formats or on internet services! [...] We are challenged by digital music services. Who can say if [the program] *Black Sunday* will lie within DR in three years? Or if program formats such as *P7 Marathon* and P6's in-depth [*dybdegående*] music programs will stay within DR? We see DR-educated hosts creating their own channels [referring to former radio host Le Gammeltoft, who created her own channel HeartBeats]. It is easy to do that with new technology. We have to support this development and just hope that DR is selling itself on its core values. DR is all about being impartial and free from commercial forces and about good and easily accessed quality, and also about fostering a pool of talented people with roots in DR's core values. (Fieldnotes, Anders & Brian)

Just as Anders expressed a concern about adjusting to a "new digital reality," many of the above concerns seem to be circling around questions of how DR the institution can adapt to *new times* and *new technologies* and what role DR is to play in the future. The idea that the institution needs to adjust to a *new media reality* is widespread within DR, as my ethnographic material will show. These concerns echo long-standing questions in the field of media anthropology, as noted by Georgina Born in 2005:

> How […] can public service broadcasting be reinvented in digital conditions so as to provide channels for "mutual cultural recognition"? How can we flesh out the "politics of complex cultural dialogue" in relation to the future of public service communications? (Born 2005b, 116)

My Investments
I too get concerned about DR and the future of public service music broadcasting in what I experience as times of transitioning toward a more globalized and more digitalized world. I am personally invested, as I feel great affection toward DR as a public service institution, and I am not happy about predictions of the downfall of public service in times of globalization and digitalization. I submit to the idea of a rather high level of knowledge (and education) as a solid pillar in society. Hence, giving all people free critical research, independent information, and general knowledge (without state or commercial interest) through public service media content is, in my view, important in maintaining what some have called "enlightened democracy" (Willig 2017).

Furthermore, in addition to my concern for free media and the general level of knowledge and education in society, my concern goes in the direction of Georgina Born's. Like her, I engage in the discursive struggle about how to define Danish culture and wonder how state-financed media providers in a future society can support a public dialogue built on complex cultural understandings and hereby support and strengthen mutual human recognition and togetherness on our globe.

My Analytical Cuts in Doing Ethno-Musicological Studies of Radio Production

My motivations for doing this study of music radio production are many. Besides my previously described curiosity to explore the intersection between organization culture and culture production, and my curiosity to explore PSPMR from an overall sound studies perspective, three specific motivations warrant special mention here at the outset.

Firstly, I have an interest in contributing to the study of production of music radio as a cultural *practice*. Secondly, I am curious to see how technological and digital means are increasingly being entangled in everyday work practices of culture production. Thirdly, I am concerned with understanding how the gendered imbalance in the Danish music industry plays a role in the continuous shaping of music distribution. I will elaborate on those three motivations in the fol-

lowing subsections; they have grown to be what Hasse calls the "analytical cuts"[26] (Hasse 2015) or "agential cuts" (ibid.) into my ethnographic material as my work has progressed.

Popular Music Radio Production as Cultural Practice

> Radio broadcasting exists through, and also generates, sonic infrastructures of citizenship. It is a political technology that constantly brings states and subjects into being; behind the voices heard on the air are a polyphony of other voices representing political interests as well as imagined and empirical audiences (Western 2018: 259)

This dissertation is to be seen as a contribution to the field of what ethnomusicologist Tom Western (2018) calls "ethnomusicologies of radio." According to Western, "radio and ethnomusicology have always existed in imbrication, not as separate fields finding one another at some later point of mediation" (2018, 260). Radio broadcasting exists through "sonic infrastructures of citizenship" as Western argues in above quote. Music is, according to radio and media scholar Andrew Crisell, "the mainstay of radio's output" (Crisell 1986, 48). But, as Western further argues, even though there is a history of ethnomusicology of radio (Bessire and Fisher 2012; Ginsburg, Abu-Lughod, and Larkin 2002; Hennion and Meadal 1986; Kunreuther 2014; Lachman 2013; Percival 2011; Ringsager 2018; Western 2015), there seems to be a contemporary "necessity for hearing the medium anew: not just for (re)tracing the relationship between ethnomusicology of radio, but for moving toward multiple ethnomusicologies of radio" (Western, 256). My particular ethnomusicology of radio is one out of many, as it is specifically concerned with life and music in radio production environments.

This dissertation seeks in short to respond to Finnish radio researcher Heikki Uimonen's (2017) recent call, in his article "Beyond the Playlist: Commercial Radio as Music Culture," for ethnographic approaches to understanding how music is entangled with radio production environments:

> Although music is the major programme content of commercial stations, far too little attention has been paid to it among radio researchers until recently. This can perhaps be explained by the lack of proper methodological tools for music analysis in the communication scholars' toolbox (Kurkela et al. 2010, p. 7). Conversely, music scholars have been mainly interested in radio as means of disseminating music, i.e. radio being a link in the supply chain extending from the recording studio to the listeners' ears. (Uimonen 2017, 1)

Uimonen suggests that researchers should "investigate the actual construction of live studio broadcasting" in order to expand the scope of research from merely looking at listening practices and music selection "to an analysis of the actual techniques applied in radio broadcasting in contemporary radio studios" (ibid., 17).

Uimonen is not alone in pointing to the lack of research of the radio production environ-

ment. German radio researcher Golo Föllmer has made a similar argument in a 2013 article:

> As a result of an everyday listening practice, radio channels can leave clearly distinguishable
> impressions in a fraction of a second. Surprisingly, it is not known exactly how this works. So
> far it has not been systematically examined on what features the channel identification by
> the listener is based upon, how those features are created by the editorial and production
> staff and in which way as well as to what proportions the technology on one side and the
> radio "environment" on the other characterize its appearance. (Föllmer 2013, 326)

Like Föllmer, I am motivated to find out "exactly how this works" and how it comes about that "channels can leave clearly distinguishable impressions in a fraction of a second." Föllmer suggests looking at "the editorial and the production staff," as well as the "technology," the "radio environment," the "channel-strategy," and the "stylebook" that contains, according to Föllmer, "explicit concepts [developed by radio practitioners] of how to create the effect of a coherent 'channel identity' or 'appeal'" (Föllmer 2013, 326).

Like Uimonen and Föllmer, my investment in doing an ethnographic study of music in the production of the public service radio channel P3 is to understand music on the radio (or PSPMR) as part of dynamic systems of culture production. I wrestle in this dissertation with the challenge of how to work with music on the radio as not just "a link in the supply chain extending from the recording studio to the listeners' ears," but as a cultural practice, existing in relation to other local and global cultural practices of culture production. In order to expand on the radio anthropologists Bessire and Fisher's five conceptual axes[28] in studying radio (2012), and in order "to reveal radio's central resonances and tensions" (Western 2018, 260), Western asks what new multiple ethnomusicologies of radio

> might sound like, what further conceptual axes can be added to radio studies through eth-
> nomusicological approaches, and what attending to radio's mediations might tell us about
> the production and circulation of music cultures. (ibid.)

By engaging ethnographically and through fieldwork in P3's daily production of (music) culture, I seek to gain knowledge of how different materials get (dis)entangled and (re)assembled in this system of producing music on the radio. What might it "sound like" when moving around amidst contemporary daily *production* of this important Danish public service radio channel? How does P3 exist through sonic infrastructures of citizenship? And how can ethnomusicological studies of this particular radio production add to a field of multiple radio ethnomusicologies, as Western proposed above?

Uimonen furthermore claims there is a "lack of proper methodological tools" in the field of radio production studies. As Section 0 will reveal, I will try to build a theoretical apparatus for

studying music and culture within music radio culture production corporations such as DR. This apparatus is inspired by a somewhat materialist orientation within anthropology represented by scholars from (post-)Actor-Network Theory (Bruno Latour, John Law, Annemarie Mol, Vicky Singleton); from (organizational) anthropology (Yrje Engeström, Cathrine Hasse, Kirsten Hastrup, Tim Ingold); from (ethno)musicology (Simon Frith, Iben Have, Annemette Kirkegaard, Mads Krogh, Kristine Ringsager, Tom Western); and from feminist science studies (Karen Barad, Judith Butler, Donna Haraway).

Matters of New Media and Digitalization

My second motivation concerns the acclaimed "new" media reality, a widespread conditioning discourse that exists many places in DR and elsewhere in an increasingly digitized society. The discourse of a "new" reality is often conjoined or equated with the arrival of new digital information and communication technologies (ICTs). For instance, since the mid-1990s the selection and programming of music for P3 has increasingly involved "music controlling" or "music scheduling" (Danish: *musikstyring*)[29] software.

The first digital music scheduling software to be introduced on P3, in 1996, was called MusicMaster. Initiated as a response to growing competition with commercial stations, it helped to index, plan, and program music for P3. This implementation of technology caused a great amount of critique from musicians and producers, who did not want their success to rely on "robots," and from representatives from culture life who feared a growing cultural regimentation. The line of contemporary critique that we have seen here in this introduction still reflects such discussions in many ways (see also Krogh in Michelsen et al. 2018, 180).

In a 2016 paper, the Danish researchers Ursula Plesner, Cecilie Glerup, and Lise Justesen argue for the need to develop an understanding of how digital technologies (and the discourses they are embedded in) transform work in public sector organizations:

> But while digital technologies are currently central to the idea about the "modernization" and "efficiency improvement" of the public sector, little scholarly attention has been directed at how this agenda changes the coordination, conduct and control of core public services in public sector organizations (Buffat, 2015). We know very little about how work is transformed inside these organizations. (Plesner, Glerup, and Justesen 2016, 1)

In my ethnographic approach to the field of PSPMR, part of my focus is on how digital tools and new media are entangled in the everyday practices of production. Like Plesner et al. above, who speak of a technological "agenda," and like sociologist David Beer quoted below, I find it important to stress that

> we need to look beyond the algorithms themselves, as a technical and material presence,

to explore how the notion or concept of the algorithm is also an important feature of their potential power. (Beer 2017, 1)

I will explore how the "technological," the "new," and the "algorithmic" perspectives come to "play a part in social ordering processes," in Beer's words, as well as enacting them in practice as physical artefacts and tools—both in terms of how technology[30] is used "to promote certain visions of calculative objectivity and also in relation to the wider governmentalities that this concept might be used to open up" (ibid., 1).

I do not take this focus on technology in order to "privilege ICTs over other agencies" (Plesner 2009, 606), as Plesner writes elsewhere, but rather to shed light on "the technological unconscious" (Mackenzie 2006, 12; Thrift 2004) that are created, according to scholars from the field of Science and Technology Studies (STS), when digital infrastructures are "seamlessly" (Plesner 2009, 604) integrated within everyday practices and when their informational and facilitative character is not made visible.

Making some of the digital infrastructuring—as well as the discourses that surround digitalization—visible is also a response to geographers Stephen Graham and Michael Crang's proposed "politics of visibility." In order to make the informational and facilitative character of (digital) infrastructures more visible, they are interested in how "technologies allow spaces to both remember and anticipate our lives," with "the production of transparency and also its mythology":

The politics of visibility, then, emerges both in making technologies visible to us and in how we are made visible to them. (Crang and Graham 2007, 791)

Taking up this call for a "politics of visibility," I will look at how technologies and infrastructures—both digital and non-digital—(re)interpellate humans in the work systems of P3, how those digital tools and new media infrastructures are made visible for the humans in these radio production networks, and consequently how the humans in these networks are made visible through them. I will look at the flow of humans in the system of "new" PSPMR while I dive into questions about how sound is *ordered* within, and *ordering* for, the contemporary production space of doing music on P3.

The Gender Imbalance in Danish Music Production Networks
My third motivation concerns the contemporary gender imbalance in Danish music life. In 2012, a large and quantitative research project, initiated by different Danish interest groups and prepared by the consultancy bureau NIRAS, released a report entitled "Gender Balance in Popular Music." The report depicted Danish music life as a highly gender-divided and male-dominated field of practice comprised of approximately 80% men and 20% women: men worked predominantly as musicians/instrumentalists and in gatekeeper positions, and women worked predomi-

nantly as singers and with artist relations. The gender imbalance in the Danish music industry has also received attention outside of Denmark. In 2013, professor of musicology Sheila Whiteley commented on the abovementioned report:

> The findings [in the NIRAS report] show that males continue to dominate not only universities and academies concerned with music, but also the decision-makers in the unions and other powerful institutions, the Danish Arts Foundation (with males receiving the majority of grants and financial aid), record companies, the media, venues and festivals. Needless to say, this has major implications for women, not simply as musicians, but also those who aspire to positions of influence in the Industry itself. (Whitely 2013, 81)

There is consensus among musicians, unions, and interest groups (such as JazzDanmark, Dansk Musiker Forbund, and DJBFA), as well as in some political environments, that the gender imbalance in Danish music life also needs to be dealt with from a political standpoint. Hence, the lack of female actors in Danish music environments was a point of special concern in the government's Music Action Plans from 2012 to 2015,[31] initiated in 2011 by Minister of Culture Uffe Elbæk, and the subsequent plan from 2015 to 2018,[32] initiated in 2015 by Minister of Culture Marianne Jelved. This point of concern was unfortunately removed from the agenda with the shift in Minister of Culture by the liberal-conservative government in November 2015. The new Minister of Culture, Bertel Haarder, withdrew Jelved's plan and launched his own Music Action Plan[31] that, instead of gender inequality, focused on what he called "talent":

> Marianne Jelved introduced a gender-registration bureaucracy, and I have removed that from all places. My point of view is that quality and nothing else is what we shall pursue. [...] There is certainly no ban against finding female talents; I will not interfere with that issue. But the bureaucracy and useless forms I want to get rid of. What do we need it for? (Haarder quoted in Carstensen, 2015)

Words used by Haarder such as "quality" and "talent" are in my view very dubious,[34] to put it mildly. Hence, I wish to explore—in the music production environment around P3—how ideas of *quality* and *talent* relate to music and gender in the practice space. I am curious to see how the male/female divide, one of the "great divides" (Haraway 1991; Latour 1993), can be seen as co-structuring sociality—if that is the case—in the practice space and how this division possibly influences the work cultures behind the scenes, as well as the people who work there. Is the entanglement of music with humans and things in the production space of PSPMR somehow gender-biased, and if so, how and where are those biases enacted?

In order to work with enactments of gender in these particular networks, I draw on Hasse's "Anthropology of Learning" (2015), in which she combines science philosopher Karen Barad's diffracted perspectives of intra-actions as relata-within-phenomena with Cultural Historical Activity Theory (CHAT) perspectives of learning in organization. I make use of Hasse's theo-

ries and concepts of "cultural learning processes," "scalar learning," "inclusions and exclusions" in work communities, "frictions" in learning processes, "cultural markers," and learned artefacts as the "to some extent [...] collectively shared anchors that nest a force of cultural thinking and vectors of movement with material surroundings" (Hasse 2015, 212). Besides Hasse, I also draw on Judith Butler's performativity theories of how humans (and gender) are (re)interpellated into matter in society (1999; 2004).

By looking at *one* link in the food chain of Danish music culture, and by considering how perceptions of gender and music are entangled in the particular everyday practices of making P3,[36] I hope to get a sense of some of the mechanisms that, on an ongoing basis, seem to keep women out of the practice field of music production. Thus, I wish to pursue a curiosity—one I think I share with other people, regardless of their bodily attributes or gender identifications— toward how gender plays a role in the socialities that are created around music in production environments such as P3.

The Research Questions and Build-Up

The vantage point for this dissertation is the intention to do a broad investigation of the everyday work practices around music in the selection, planning, programming, and presenting of media content on DR's P3. With the abovementioned analytical "cuts" in mind, I am curious to explore the following questions:

1. How does music entangle with other artefacts (humans and things) in contemporary music radio production on P3?

2. How are sociality and culture negotiated, developed, and circulated in the practices of producing music radio on P3?

The everyday handling of media content—the broad and highly differentiated field of culture production on P3—is a living field of actors, humans, technology, infrastructures, and numerous artefacts that engage in complex networks and "intra-act" (Barad 2003) in relation in a continuous process of creation. It is a living field creating boundaries and borders for individuals and groups in the particular institutional organization of DR as well as in contemporary society.

Here, positions of agency are shaped in *situations* that must be understood for both their "historical specificity" and their "mutual contingency" (Haraway 2003). I consider meaning and matter to be highly entangled as well as situated, as I detail in Section 0. Hence, I will look at situations from the daily practices of putting together the playlist and the *GMP3* program on P3.

Expert Practitioners and Apprentices

Within the frame of a Haraway-inspired situated perspective and through interviews and participant observations, I investigate mainly two different perspectives on learning PSPMR production in P3. On one side, I learn about the daily production through "expert practitioners" (Hasse

2015, 213). I follow their daily routines of planning and scheduling the music (Peter, the Head of Music, and his *Selector* software; Trine, the editor of music communication) and of producing a particular *GMP3* program (Søren, the producer, and the other people in the *GMP3* production team). While I entangle with the expert practitioners, I learn a lot about frames, strategies, things, orders, categories, visions, and politics concerning the music selection, presentation, and production. This study of everyday practice alongside the experienced practitioners provides what Hasse describes as an "'integrative' and harmonious analysis of organisational culture" (Hasse 2015, 215). I learn here about the way things are considered to be in harmony in the organization in a particular time and place.

On the other side, I follow the two newly arrived host apprentices in DR's Host Talent School, Jens and Kirsten, and I also reflect on my own impressions as a newcomer in this work community:

> From the perspective of cultural learning processes, each newcomer, as well as the researcher, has to learn the relevant cultural literacy of reading cultural markers including the reading of the collective meaning ascribed to body signs. (Hasse 2015, 217)

The perspective of the apprentices teaches me some of the more invisible cultural expectations for newcomers who are to adapt to the production of PSPMR on P3. Gaining "cultural literacy" and learning to read "cultural markers" and navigate the more invisible infrastructural forces appears (for some, as we will see) to be a rather frustrating process full of friction as well as joy.

One Day of Producing GMP3
The frame—the narrative structure—for my work in DR's P3 is the production of one particular popular morning program, *GMP3*, produced on one particular day, namely one morning in June 20xx. That day, I participated in producing *GMP3* from the very beginning; hence, this day makes a good frame for unfolding different matters concerning general questions about the production. As we go along, I will jump to other days and other fragments of experience in order to thicken the whole picture.

As we will learn later, *GMP3* is considered to be an anchor program on the channel. Even though it is not considered to be a music program as such, in this particular program, according to media and music scholar Iben Have, music covers "almost all three hours in the form of jingles, musical tracks and background music" (Have 2018, 136). At the same time, Have argues that the program currently seems to be built up around "sociability" (ibid., 139) and "social companionship" (ibid., 142) depicted and enacted through the "soft chatter" (ibid., 139) between the members of the morning team.

While doing a *GMP3* program in the company of both experts and apprentices, I learn how things (software, humans, ideas, tools, etc.) are contemporarily entangled in the production space of (digital) popular music radio production. I learn how people work around music, with

the use of digital software (e.g., *Selector* and *Dalet*),[38] in the contemporary production space. I learn how music and things and humans come to order in the daily infrastructures in this part of the corporation, which works with scheduled, pre-selected music and with "sociability" and "soft chatter" (Have 2018) in order to gain listeners in times of harsh competition with commercial media providers. And I also learn that some things and some people are not entangled as easily into this system as other things and other people.

Content: A Reading Guide

The dissertation has seven sections besides this introduction.

The Introduction (Section 1) reveals some of the background, intentions, and questions that are foundational for this project.

Section 0 contains theoretical and philosophical reflections about *how culture matters* around music in sociality within work practices of culture production. It contains little text about the particular *doings* of music radio on P3, as its focus is on *theory in the making* and about how to possibly *do* theory about doing culture in work practices around music. The section mainly seeks to establish the theoretical foundation for the project as a study of leaning to understand musics as artefacts in work practices, as "collectively shared anchors that nest a force of cultural thinking and vectors of movement with material surroundings" (Hasse 2015, 212). This text section[39] runs as a parallel track underneath my story of entering and experiencing the P3 production practices. I have chosen this untraditional two-layered build-up with inspiration from Annemarie Mol's 2002 book *The Body Multiple* as an illustration of how theory in this project has developed in close relation with my fieldwork, running parallel with my journey into the DR corporation, but also in close relation to my own history and to my situated position at University of Copenhagen.

From Section 2 and onward, the story evolves around the production of the popular early-morning program *GMP3* on a particular summer morning in June 20xx. While telling the story of me heading toward and entering the P3 workspace early one early summer morning, Section 2 also explores some methodological attitudes toward *being in* the field, *figuring* the field, and *(re)creating* the field in ethnographic writing. As part of my larger fieldwork, on this day I was participating from beginning to end in an entire production of *GMP3*.

In Section 3, I continue my early-morning walk into the production space of P3. Here I am, becoming a part of the making of a whole *GMP3* program, in order to look at the larger meshwork that provides the context for doing music, and for doing sociality around music, in the corporation. My point of view in this section belongs to the hosts and the producer—to the employees in the so-called "GMP3 Team." I consider what it is like to be an employee in this team under these specific conditions and in these particular experienced situations. I explore here how the *GMP3* production team enacts the making of a "segmented" program structure in order to create flow, and I explore and discuss how different technologies are entangled in the production that takes place in the radio studio—for instance, the branding technologies in use across

several media platforms. In this section, I also touch upon the relations to music that are enacted in different parts of the production space. I consider the general sociality that happens (both around and not around music) while undertaking different procedures in the practice space.

In Section 4, we temporarily leave the production environment that we entered in Section 2 to take a very specific look at the Head of Music on P3, Peter, and his practices of producing, programming, and planning the weekly playlist and music content for the channel. As illustrated above, his particular practice has been the center of attention and discussion for many years. This section explores the networks surrounding him. At the same time, it explores my own learning process of *becoming* with the field as a researcher—my own learning process of how to adapt in this part of the corporation. I reflect in relation to this experience about processes of rationalization in the DR corporation. This section furthermore explores and discusses questions of agency and music in relation to the Head's daily practice and prepares the ground for further discussion of music and agency in daily life around music in the P3 section of the corporation.

In Section 5, we are back in the studio that produces *GMP3*. This section thickens the picture of what can be called ´the flow DJ´ in the public service institution. Here, I consider the role of the DJ and the relationship between the DJ and music in a program like *GMP3* that uses only playlisted music.

While the sections thus far have mainly explored the points of view of "expert practitioners" in situations of production, Section 6 takes the perspective of the newcomers to the institution in a more general and informal sense. Here, I primarily follow Jens and Kirsten, but also my own journey and include some of my impressions from being and working in "the social", in the more informal research area of P3. The section contains reflections about gender and music in the practice space as it follows the two young and newly arrived host talent apprentices around the P3 environment.

In Section 7 I sum up what I consider to be my important findings. I reflect for instance on the notion of agency around actors – such as music – in meshworks of production. I find that in the P3 production, music's agency must be considered in very particular situations and surroundings as situationally intra-acted in relation to particular humans and things. But at the same time, it seems that music is an artefact that does not flow freely in those environments. It is an artefact that also creates boundaries in the physical space. Certain kinds of music are valued in certain groups, in certain parts or areas of the corporation, and this can appear to be a restriction for both newcomers and expert practitioners.

A few guidelines for reading:

1: I will recommend that the reader get acquainted with the Appendix. Here, I give an overview of the physical surroundings and the people on P3 that I became entangled with during my fieldwork. I draw pictures of spaces that gradually turned into specific places—with specific functions—as I walked around and came to learn about the corporation. I also talk about the people I followed who gradually turned into different agents in particular production practices.

Furthermore the reader will in those Appendixes be able to ´look up´ names on people and sections if confusion occurs.

2: I refer from Section 2 and onwards to theoretical/methodological insights I have gained from Section 0. Hence if you, the reader (for instance the review board), intend to read Section 0, I might recommend you do if after Section 1, this section.

3: I work in particular with one certain GMP3 program in June 20xx and I will recommend to listen to the sound of GMP3 while reading. Even though none of my informants have wished to be anonymous, I have, as explained in note 37, out of ethical considerations anonymized the participants and events throughout this dissertation. This makes it impossible to refer here to the sound from the actual program that I analyze. To the PhD assessment committee I have included information of how to retrieve the sound on page 2. To other readers I will recommend to find a random GMP3 program (with preferably three hosts) and then listen to the program as the analysis comes along for a greater understanding of the different sounds used.

2. Exploring Method While Getting Up Early in the Morning

Being in the Field, Figuring the Field, and (Re)Creating the Field in Writing

> The sun is rising as I drive across Kalvebod Bridge in my old car. It is just past four in the morning, and I am driving from my home in Valby toward DR Byen on Amager. It is early and I am tired. I feel worn out by the last couple of years' long-stretched-out and hard work on my dissertation, in the field and at my desk, and from the daily handling of my now almost three-year-old twins. Today is June xx, 20xx. (Field notes,Søren)

In Section 0, I establish myself as part of a "dynamic open-ended apparatus" (Barad 2003, 816) and account for my "historical specificity" (Haraway 2003, 12) as a theatre administrator and an academic scholar, working as an active participant in "specific local parts of the world's ongoing reconfiguring" (Barad 2003, 829), as well as in the "mutual contingencies" (Haraway 2003, 12) of situations and relations. I make my personal theoretical standpoints clear—I *situate* myself—in the hope that this explicit reflexive positioning will be a platform for uncovering new kinds of knowledge during my fieldwork in DR's P3. This is knowledge of both meaning-making activity and of agency around actors—particularly music—in the networks of producing radio on P3.

This section tells the story of me approaching DR one early morning in June 20xx. Furthermore, this section is about method[40] and about writing an ethnographic text. In his book *Aircraft Stories*, John Law calls upon the idea of "many worlds," of "multiple realities and of ontological multiplicity", for "the fractional," and suggests that self-reflexive writing is needed in order "to apprehend the fractional" (Law 2002, 8). Taking further the idea that there "are many social worlds" (Pearce 2007, xv) or that we live in a world of multiple "established disorders," as de-

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0. How Culture Matters? Doing Theory[1] About Doing Culture when Doing Music on P3[2]

> Life, in short, is a movement of opening, not of closure. As such, it should lie at the very heart of anthropological concern. (Ingold 2011, 4)

Entering New Worlds

In this dissertation I study music as an agent in the making of "worlds". I study music as an *actor* that has an *effect* that creates an *affect* in the humans in social settings, "an affector" as the anthropologist Morten Axel Pedersen proposed on a workshop on "More than Human Politics", which was held in the Department of Anthropology at the University of Copenhagen in April 2015 (Pedersen 2015). Music is an affector as it is an actor in the social that contributes to "the

scribed by Haraway (2004, 3) in Section 0, the methodological experiment in this section aims to investigate what kinds of knowledge the reflexive positioning of the researcher can bring about, and to suggest how this is done in ethnographic work.

The present section will follow up on Law's call and suggest different attitudes toward *being in* the field, *figuring* the field, and *(re)creating* the field in ethnographic writing about music radio production. In my meaning-making journey, I have explored and been guided by the following metaphors: 1. "To walk and tell stories," a phrase used by John Law and Annemarie Mol in their 2002 book *Complexities*; 2. Mol's theories about "touching objects" and "enacting ontologies," as she presents them in her 2002 book *The Body Multiple*; 3. The idea of "crystal-shaped writing," as used by sociologist Laurel Richardson and literary scholar Elizabeth Adams St. Pierre in their 2005 article "Writing: A Method of Inquiry"; and 4. Law's "theory of the fractional," "fractional writing," and "objects that cohere," as presented in his 2002 book *Aircraft Stories*. With reference to a number of passages from my field notes, I will further explore these guiding concepts as this section unfolds.

To Walk and to Tell Different Stories

> So here I am, bringing myself as a dynamic open-ended apparatus to the scene in my old car. It is near the end of my fieldwork period, and today I am going to do participant observations of a complete live production of the radio program *GMP3* (*Good Morning P3*). (Fieldnotes, Søren)

GMP3 is a morning radio program with news and music that has aired every weekday from 6 to 9 a.m. for the past thirty years. The program has a team of three hosts, called the Morning Team. The personas in the Morning Team have developed friendly relations with their listeners, and

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ethical self conservation that takes place for you and for others in performances in practice" as Pedersen continued on the conference.

I explore in this section theoretically how music can be seen to be "world-making" (Goodman, 1995) in the way it is "positing and instrumenting distinctively (post?)modern worlds" as the technology and organization scholars Adrian Mackenzie and Theo Vurdubakis write in their 2011 article (p.8). But where Mackenzie and Vurdubakis write about digital code and software as "world-making" in everyday life I write about music as world-making in work collectives as part of everyday life.

Hence, this is an *ethnomusicological* story about music's entanglement in work environments of producing culture on the radio station P3. Furthermore, it is a story about how the production of (music) radio is made out of everyday ordinary work situations. Everyday situations that include music as one out of multiple actors.

some of them have even reached celebrity status. They come on the ether every morning at six o'clock, greeting the Danish population "God morgen!" ("Good morning!") with a cozy "mix of the hosts' personal preferences, quizzes, and soft news," as Danish music radio researcher Iben Have has described. *GMP3* plays a lot of music. According to Have, "music cover[ed] almost all three hours in the form of jingles, musical tracks, and background music" on *GMP3* in 2016 (Have 2018, 113).

For two weeks now I have been following Jens, who is employed by DR in the apprentice program, training to become a host. As a part of his training program, he has been working as a researcher for *GMP3* for the past month. Following Jens in my fieldwork has been a way to "walk and tell stories" in order to find means of "describing the world while keeping it open," as Law and Mol suggest in the following quote from their book *Complexities: Social Studies of Knowledge Practices*:

> There are, then, modes of relating that allow the simple to coexist with the complex, of aligning elements without necessarily turning them into a comprehensive system or a complete overview. These are some of the ways of describing the world while keeping it open, ways of paying tributes to complexities, which are always there, somewhere, elsewhere, untamed: to list rather than classify; to tell about cases rather than present illustrative representatives; to walk and tell stories about this rather than seek to make maps. Of course—this is the nature of our list, of any list—there are other possibilities too, told elsewhere or waiting to be discovered. (Law and Mol 2002, 17)

This particular morning, I am going to follow Søren, the producer of the program, and not Jens. Two days ago, while I did participant observation with Jens, Søren had suggested that I join *him*

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I, myself, experienced music as an "affector" in the social at work, when I, at a very early stage of my entanglement as PhD student at University of Copenhagen, partook in my first lunch with PhD colleagues. Here I experienced a situation that involved music, and that mattered to me for some time afterward as PhD Student at the Institute for Arts & Cultural Studies (IKK):

> Here I am, thirty-eight years old, stepping over the threshold to this new room with a collection of people unknown to me who I can now call my new colleagues. I think to myself, "Am I too old for this?" In my hands, I have a plate of food that I have just taken from the "new" canteen.
>
> In the room, there is a large table with many unknown faces sitting around it—I don't count, but I think maybe there are six, seven people. The end wall is made from glass and gives a beautiful view over most of Copenhagen. We are privileged, I think to myself, to work

"from the beginning, instead of turning up at eight o'clock together with Jens." This was an offer I could certainly welcome with thoughts about "fractionality" (Law 2002) and "consecutive but different learning processes" (Hasse 2000; 2015) in mind (explained in Section 0).

So today, I am taking the early shift with Søren in the hope that doing participant observation with him will bring out slightly different fractions of the whole picture. I suspect that walking together with Søren for a while will bring forward other stories about what comes to matter in the everyday practice of doing music on this particular—and very popular—radio program.

Here, on the bridge in my car, I am already learning a great deal. Being in, figuring, and recreating the situation informs me about more than my personal state of mind this morning. It informs me about Søren, the producers, their work conditions, and about the practice of getting up and going to work before everyone else, no matter your state of mind or the weather conditions. *When do the people like Søren on P3 go to bed at night?* I wonder. *Who sends his children off to kindergarden, if he has any?* My experience this morning also informs me about empty roads and the quietness of the streets at daybreak. Furthermore, it informs me about doing ethnographic research as work practice. What if it had rained and I hadn't had a car? That would have been unpleasant. Doing this kind of research—or work—was probably not always pleasant. I am learning that the world you submit to in fieldwork "may bite back," as Law and Singleton say, and that research—and work—is sometimes "a bumpy process of experimenting" (Law and Singleton 2013, 844).

Being in, figuring, and recreating the situation in the car on my way to DR taught me that *GMP3* was not just a one-dimensional object or a product that could be accessed through the radio every day from 6 to 9 a.m. In this situation in the car, the program transformed into a multi-dimensional and highly fractional object made up of things and humans and weather conditions and family conditions and bedtime hours and windscreens and cars. It was almost alive (Hasse

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in such beautiful surroundings. I present myself, shake hands around the table and sit down. The talk goes on, and everything seems quite OK.

At some point, a person who sits opposite me refers to some piece of popular music, laughing over some funny aspect and asking if we have heard it. The guy right next to me—a PhD fellow in his final year—cuts through the talk with a loud voice, "No. I really do never listen to *such* a kind of music. I only listen to classical music and mostly to piano concertos that I can play myself."

He says it in English with a highly distinguished British Oxford accent. I giggle a little, clearly thinking it is a joke and that he is doing an impression. I am just about to slap him on the shoulder and laugh in praise of this funny comment when I look at the other faces. They are quite silent and serious, and I realize that the guy beside me was not joking. The room suddenly feels awkwardly quiet. I feel surprised and a little embarrassed for my igno-

2015; Ingold 2011).

Sensemaking Around Things and Touching Objects

> It could have been a rainy, dark, and unpleasant morning, but it was actually the oppo-
> site. While I sat there in the car, the horizon turned red, purple, silver, and gold as the sun
> prepared to rise over the industrial area and the harbour of Copenhagen. It was beautiful.
> When the first sunbeams touched me through the windshield of my car on this very early
> morning, I felt touched by the warmth of the sun, by the beauty of the sight, and by the ap-
> proach of the exciting events of the day. I momentarily forgot the last couple of years' lack
> of sleep and that it was still practically the middle of the night. (Fieldnotes, Søren)

My feeling of being overwhelmed by the sun and the atmosphere in the car on my way to the
field communicates a sense of how I think of my practice as "slow research"—research that un-
folds while I, as researcher, am part of the world that I research. I am "becoming with" (Law and
Singleton 2013, 488) the world while I am on my way in the car watching the sunrise, being in
the world, figuring it, and later (re)creating it in writing.

The rising sun mattered to me. I was touched by its warmth and beauty. It made me mo-
mentarily forget the last couple of years' lack of sleep; I forgot that it was practically the middle
of the night, and the sun encouraged me to get on with my doings in a happy mood. Maybe the
rising sun also mattered to others getting up this early? I was also touched by the fact that I was
driving an old car that I had just inherited from my newly deceased father. I loved that car and
that particular steering wheel. But why and how did it matter that I saw the sun rising on this
particular morning while driving an old and rusty car? I don't know exactly. My fingers included
the experience when I wrote down my field notes of the day as I was imagining and rethinking it

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> rance and I sink back down in my seat. Some time afterward, I grumble over the situation and
> about how to place myself in this sociality as a popular-music researcher.

Music works in the social as an "affector" in everyday work practices, as it entangles in everyday
situations like, in principle, the above situation from my first day at work at university. As the
above situation implies, there are indeed, as psychology and communication-studies professor
W. Barnett Pearce writes, "many social worlds" (Pearce 2007, xv), and it can be quite surprising
to be confronted with different new worlds or cultures when learning about and meeting a new
sociality and becoming entangled in new group dynamics. Continuing in Pearce's terminology,
when meeting new worlds you are often "pulled and pushed, this way and that" by the "white-
water rapids of logical force," by the "perceived oughtness" or the "moral force[s]" (ibid., 123)
in your own particular lifeworld—forces that come to the surface when you meet "new" worlds

after I came back from the field.

According to Law and Singleton, slow research is about "laying your research open to the uncertainties of the world," about "following" and being "sensitive to ethnographic surprises" (2013, 488). It is about "sensing the grain of the wood" in woodwork, as Singleton says. In his 2001 book *Making Sense of the Organization*, organizational theorist Karl E. Weick defines the notion of "sensemaking." According to Weick, sensemaking is about "sizing up a situation, about trying to discover what you have, while you simultaneously act and have some effect on what you discover" (Weick 2001, 460). As Weick says, "How can I know what I think or feel until I see what I say and do?" (Weick 2001, 463)

To me, the situation in the car was touching, while in turn I touched different actors implicated in the situation. Besides bearing witness to how one had to get to work very early when working on *GMP3*, the situation was doing or enacting a sense of moving on, of getting up, of an ever-rising sun, of my father's car carrying me on, despite the sometimes heavy weight of life coming upon me. Many different orders were in play in this situation. They were enacted in relation to the actors/artefacts that surrounded me, and together they made up the whole of the situation. If I had been driving there two hours later at six o'clock (instead of four o'clock) and had the radio turned to P3, I would also have been touched by the "God morgen!" greeting from the three radio hosts in the P3 studio, and maybe they would even have played one of my favorite songs for me, there on the bridge. While touching the steering wheel of my car that morning and being touched by the beams of the sun (and reflecting on it in writing), I emerged somehow as a human being in this whole picture with senses and sensibilities of feeling tired, feeling warm, and feeling happy, excited and overwhelmed by the fact that I was heading on into a (momentary) life as an early-morning radio producer.

Annemarie Mol speaks of studying "doing" when she describes her idea of ethnography;

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and other cultural logics.

Where Pearce speaks of "logical force" and "moral force" my focus in this project is on what could be called *cultural force* in work settings. The story I am going to tell about the everyday practices of producing music for P3 studies musical sound as "the result of human behavioural processes that are shaped by the values, attitudes and beliefs of the people who comprise a particular culture," as ethnomusicologist Alan P. Merriam writes in 1964's *The Anthropology of Music* (Merriam 1964, 6). Ethnomusicology combines what Merriam calls "the musicological" with "the ethnological" (ibid.), and it aligns with ethnomusicologist Bruno Nettl's credo, as it considers music (on P3) as part of "total musical systems," "as a part of culture," and as a diverse phenomenon ("music from all peoples and nations, classes, sources, periods of history"). The story I will tell is ethnomusicological. Moreover, it is a story based on a "belief that field work […] is essential" (Nettl 1983, 9).

she speaks of "doing ontology" while "touching objects" (2002, 12). "Praxiography" is the name she has given to her particular "doing" of ethnography—a kind of ethnography that foregrounds "practicalities, materialities, events" (Mol 2002, 33). In this enactment (of sensing and writing the world), I was doing the ontology of me cohering as human with a specific history in the world while touching the objects around me, and at the same time I was doing the *GMP3* program (ontologically) as a media phenomenon that was made up by humans and was continuously "done" in situations like the one above.

In order to *do* objects (including those within research practices), Mol speaks of "touching objects" (2002, 12) when working ethnographically. She describes a "shift from an epistemological to a praxiographic inquiry into reality" (2002, 32), by foregrounding practicalities, materialities, and events, as mentioned above. She talks about "enactments" of objects in practices, and in her view, the idea of objects being *enacted* (as presented in Section 0) in practice suggests two things: 1. It "suggest[s] that activities take place—but leaves the actors vague," and 2. it "suggest[s] that in the act, and only then and there, something *is*—being enacted" (Mol 2002, 33). This leaves us with a somewhat radical notion of ontology, which I believe corresponds well with Barad's notion of intra-action and intra-agentiality and with Haraway's situated perspective of ontology enacted.[41] Something *is* only in the act. Something *is* in the enactment of objects in presence, and "only then and there."

While walking around P3 when doing fieldwork, I have encountered and touched upon many objects—a lot of matter, so to speak. I have touched, smelled, sensed, read, heard, tasted, and moved among the matter and objects that surrounded me when treading my path in the field. I have been touched, too, as my own body-matter has blushed, wondered, laughed, shivered and even cried in relation to things that mattered around me in the P3 environment. Likewise, I have seen my collaborators and conversation partners being touched by and touching the

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With narratives like above about my own worldly experiences as newly arrived at IKK, I am going to place myself and this project within, what Jeff Todd Titon in The Oxford Handbook of Applied Ethnomusicology calls the "reflexive tradition" within ethnomusicology. Ethnomusicological work in the '70s, '80s, and '90s by, e.g., Paul Berliner, Steven Feld, and Anthony Seeger (who have been called "the second-generation US ethnomusicologists") is, by Titon, seen as the beginning of the "reflexive tradition" within ethnomusicology, a tradition that continues with e.g. the works of Catherine J. Hagedorn (2001) and Linda F. Williams (2005). According to Titon, the tradition is akin to the discipline of "reflexive ethnography" that encourages the ethnographer to reflect on his or her own subjectivity and then to further reflect on this reflection[3] (Titon 2015, 176).

In this section, I will reflect on how I intend to consider music in work practices of culture production. I will suggest to consider music: 1) as a material-discursive artefact that possesses a

environment they acted in and accounted for.

For instance, I was touched in one manner at the very beginning of my fieldwork, when I collided head-on with Peter, the Head of Music: he offered me coffee and I thought that the kitchen was in the opposite direction, with the result that we walked straight into each other. Here, I encountered P3 matter in a very physical way in terms of Peter's body in the middle of the upstairs open-office P3 direction environment. In addition to the physical matter that touched me with surprise in this situation, and the sound of my field notebook as it fell on the floor with a loud clash and hit me with immediate embarrassment, in this collision I encountered the fact that I truly was a newcomer in the environment, and that I didn't know even the most simple, taken-for-granted paths (e.g., how to find the coffee machine) in this corporation.

I was touched in another manner when, on my first day in the field together with Jens, I happened to look at the whiteboard beside me. It said, "UU: Bare Få Va Mig Själv [Just Le Me Be Me]. Laleh." Laleh!!! I had been a fan of the Swedish artist Laleh since her first album in 2005. Why was her name there on that whiteboard? I figured that "UU" stood for *Ugens Uundgåelige* ("The Power Play of the Week"). Could it really be that she was the power play of the week, this exact week when I arrived at P3? I had never imagined her as P3 material, but her name was right there! I felt struck by luck. I felt relief. I felt welcomed, and I felt a little less alone. Laleh was here with me.

I was touched in yet another manner at the very end of my fieldwork when I live-streamed the last program of *GMP3* before summer break. By now I knew where all the coffee machines were located. In addition to numerous interviews, I had followed the production of *GMP3* in fieldwork on and off for a month. In addition to being the final program before summer break, this particular one was also a goodbye to the morning host Anne whom I had come to admire quite a bit. After three years on the team, Anne had gotten a job elsewhere. Sitting there

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double character (Kirkegaard 2004) of being embedded in history as well as situationally defined; and 2) as radically situated and to be studied in intra-action (Barad 2003) with multiple actors in meshworks and in situations where people engage in processes of scalar learning (Hasse 2015). I will propose an understanding of music as a material-discursive actor or agent that partakes in production processes of reiteration and change, and that is to be perceived through "total social situations" (Hasse 2000). I will study music as an *actor* or *affector* in *meshworks* of production. Such an understanding will be further explained and argued for as this section continues.

This section is inspired by Foucault's ways of thinking genealogically about theory (Foucault 2011, 341).[4] Hence, I find it important to show how traces of the past (that is, theoretical and practical pasts) result in this dissertation's particular theoretical apparatus of "how culture matters" around music in production environments, rather than developing a linearity in the history of theory that I use. Along the way, I will bring in theories from different areas of human and

before my computer, following the shifting camera angles when listeners and colleagues said goodbye to Anne, tears actually rolled down my cheeks when they played Chicago´s 1976 hit *If you Leave Me Now* (*...you take away the biggest part of me*). Anders, the director of the department, entered the studio, and they all drank champagne and played all Anne's favorite songs. It was indeed touching.

By foregrounding practicalities, materialities, and events, Mol says, the studied "object" becomes "a part of what is *done* in practice" (Mol 2002, 12; my emphasis).[42] In her case, the object is *disease*; in my general study, it is *music* and the human matters emerging around music in the production of the particular program *GMP3*. Mol distances her "praxiography" from practices of "perspectivalism"[43] that, according to her, leave the objects "untouched" and "only looked at," with the result that the objects are made even more solid—"intangibly strong," as she formulates it (Mol 2002, 12).

In the above stories from my field diary, I was "doing" different elements of the field by touching objects. I was doing the act of going to work as a member of *GMP3* and doing the narrative about how touching meaningful objects mattered in this situation; I was doing the awkwardness of not knowing your way around as a newcomer by colliding with Peter´s body matter; I was doing a sense of belonging in P3 alongside my favorite music; and I was doing departure together with one of my favorite P3 hosts and her favourite music. The particular character of those doings depended on a combination of multiple private and professional aspects circulated in practice by the reiterative touching of multiple elements or objects, human and non-human.

In addition to the multiple doings of P3 in these different situations, I was also touching my computer and "doing" ethnographic writing, which I will discuss in the following subsection.

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social sciences (Actor-Network Theory, feminist science studies, performativity theory, cultural psychology, activity theory, and culture analysis). In doing so, I hope to expand the borders of ethnomusicology by adding one or two new aspects concerning music as materiality (as matter and meaning) in work practices of production, hereby hopefully renewing and contributing to the discipline of ethnomusicology in music production work environments, such as P3 in the public service institution DR.

Life Is a Movement of Opening...

As described in Section 1, my point of departure in this project was the urge to go beyond the myths and the (often critical) reactions when it came to the automated music scheduling—done by Peter—and the practices around music in radio productions maintained by P3. I sought to understand this globally practiced phenomenon from different perspectives while hopefully adding

Depicting Organization: Ice Cubes and Black Boxes on Amager

The time is 4:25 a.m. when I park the car and walk toward DR. When I get out of my car, the sight of the grand buildings of the new DR Byen meet me. When you look at DR Byen, located in the suburb of Amager in Copenhagen from afar, the buildings take the shape of two big boxes: one large blue box and a smaller, more compact black box. This is also how the buildings are often depicted in designs. The two boxes are connected via a bridge with glass walls and roof—Inner Street, as described in The Appendix.

Picture 1: DR Byen seen from outside.

Most Danes know the look of the blue box, since this is the building that houses DR's new concert halls. This particular building caused a great row in public discussions when it was built, greatly over budget, between 2005 and 2009. Was this a proper way to use Danish citizens'

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some new dimensions to the picture and enlightening the debate in new directions. Using anthropologist Tim Ingold's analogy for life as a "movement of opening," as quoted at the beginning of this section, I aimed for my anthropological research to be a *movement* of opening up the practices and questions related to Peter, for instance, and to the automated music scheduling, rather than judging or providing closure around the issue. I wished to open up a hitherto closed field of culture production—a very influential field indeed—and pose questions about the practices of music controlling, as well as general questions about the role of the individual in a corporate system of culture production.

Section 1 evolved around my intentions of how to open up or unfold life in the everyday practices of doing music radio programming on P3 in terms of my motivations and *specific analytical focuses*. This section wrestle with the challenge of how to *theoretically* unfold or open up matters of life when doing fieldwork in work practices of music culture production. Hence, this

license and tax contributions? As in many other cases concerning DR's activities, this question was repeatedly asked by members of a critical public.

In *Complexities*, Law and Mol discuss how to handle and "make sense" of worlds of multiplicity without reducing the actors into "comprehensive systems" and "complete overviews." "Multiplicity," they say—echoing, for instance, Pearce's ideas of many coexisting worlds, as we saw in Section 0—"is about coexistences [of what they here call different "orders" or "epistemés"] at a single moment." They continue:

> To make sense of multiplicity, we need to think and write in topological ways, discovering methods for laying out a space, for laying out spaces, and for defining paths to walk through these. (Law and Mol 2002, 8)

Following Law and Mol's urging "to think and write in topological ways,"[44] in this subsection I explore how to write (about) the field and how to *do* the field in ethnographic writing, and I discuss how different institutions of writing contribute to how and what stories are told. I explore how to re-make sociality again (and again) through the iterative practices of disentangling and reassembling sociality in storytelling and (re)writing of history *while* trying to make sense of multiplicity, understood as "coexistences at a single moment" (ibid.).

This morning, as on other mornings, I think about the sight of the two boxes lying there beside each other. The blue box tends to seem airy and ethereal, with blue rays of light beaming out from it, while the black box seems solid, compact, and well protected. The blue box houses the concert halls, whereas the black box houses much of the administration and DR's media and research departments, along with many other departments. The black box is framed by big white scaffolding, almost so as to protect it (and the important governing parts of the institution) from some unforeseen meteor impact.

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section engages in the theoretical side of what anthropologist Annemarie Mol, in her book *The Body Multiple* (2002), has called the study of "doing" (2002, 12). Here, in Section 0 I work with the *doing of theory* when producing knowledge through anthropological fieldwork in work environments of music radio production.

Engaging in the field of PSPMR production, with the aim of envisioning this field as a moving field and envisioning this dissertation as a movement into this field, I have come up with some theoretical premises that I find are foundational for this dissertation and for the development of this particular theory section. I will explain these premises in the following subsections.

...by Creating Situated Relations
Seeking to engage in a movement of opening up life around PSPMR production practices and gain knowledge by engaging in multiple new relations, I was led along a theoretical trail that

The association of the black box and its white scaffolding in connection with meteor impacts was not made out of the blue. I learned from DR's website that the concert hall—the blue box lying there beside the black box—was designed by French architect Jean Nouvel with inspiration from the novel *Miss Smilla's Feeling for Snow*[45] and that this blue box was created like "a meteor that has landed in a blue frozen ice cube."[46] With the recent large cuts to DR's budget—resulting, for instance, in the recent termination of the 75-year-old Radios Underhold-ningsorkestret/RUO (the Danish National Chamber Orchestra)—I can't help viewing the allegory of the meteor that has hit the blue ice cube (the music area) with some realism and cynicism. *Where does the meteor hit next time, and what parts of DR will be protected?* I think to myself as I get nearer to the institution.

But let's put this political reflection aside for a moment. Having had these associations about blue ice cubes and black boxes in connection with my sighting of DR's buildings on Amager, I wish to take them in a more philosophical direction regarding my particular writing practice and meaning-making practices in general. Looking at DR's blue ice cube makes me think of the ice crystal as a metaphor for processes of structuring. For instance, the crystal is used as a metaphor by Laurel Richardson and Elizabeth Adams St. Pierre in their article "Writing: A Method of Inqui-ry." Here, when speaking about creative analytical processes (CAP), they find the crystal to be a suitable analogy for understanding and depicting life and for writing and analyzing ethnography. According to Richardson and St. Pierre, the crystal "combines symmetry and substance with an infinite variety of shapes, substances, transmutations, multi-dimensionalities, and angles of ap-proach" (Richardson & St. Pierre 2005, 963).

Working creatively with the ice crystal as a (governing) metaphor is also seen in creative artistic practices. In her blog, novelist and playwright Monica Byrne explains the "ice crystal method," through which she develops stories by "growing each [scene] separately like ice crys-

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concerned the importance of a *situated perspective*, which I find is my **first premise** for doing this project.

I was inspired by Donna Haraway, a crucial contributor to the field of science and tech-nology studies:

> I want to learn how to narrate this co-history and how to inherit the consequences of co-evo-lution in natureculture. There cannot be just one companion species; there have to be at least two to make one. It is in the syntax; it is in the flesh. Dogs are about the inescapable, con-tradictory story of relationships—co-constitutive relationships in which none of the partners pre-exists the relating, and the relating is never done once and for all. Historical specificity and contingent mutability rule all the way down, into nature and culture, into naturecultures. There is no foundation; there are only elephants supporting elephants all the way down" (Haraway 2003, 12)

tals on a window. They obey their own rules, but they're not the rules of linear mathematics; rather, of chaos." (Byrne 2013)

Let's linger for a bit with ice cubes, crystal shapes, and Nordic noir crime stories and see what Hoeg's Greenlandic-Danish main character, Miss Smilla, thinks about the ice crystal. Here is an excerpt from the novel that inspired the architecture of the DR concert hall. Our main character, Miss Smilla, is looking out over Christianshavn—an area very close to the new DR Byen—and thinking about the workings of ice:

> [T]he first ice crystals form, a temporary membrane that the wind and waves break up into frail ice. This is kneaded together into the soapy mash called porridge ice, which gradually forms free-floating plates, pancake ice, which, one cold noonday hour, on a Sunday, freezes into a single solid sheet. And it gets colder [...] now the crystals have formed bridges and enclosed the salt water in pockets that have a structure like veins of a tree through which the liquid slowly seeps; [...] which is one reason for believing that ice and life are related in many ways. (Høeg 1992, 5–6)

In *Miss Smilla's Feeling for Snow*, the ice crystal is used as a metaphor for understanding structuring processes in life. Pondering the ice crystal and the similarities between ice and life, Miss Smilla compares the crystal to the workings of wood (like Singleton's idea of research as woodcraft?) when she notes that the crystals have "a structure like veins of a tree through which the liquid slowly seeps."

Throughout time, many different metaphors have been used to illustrate structuring processes in order to illustrate how the spaces in life that we engage in are directed, as well as how they continuously take form. Other well-known metaphors include Deleuze and Guattari's *assemblages* and *rhizomes* (1987), Ingold's *meshwork* or *spiderweb* (2011), Latour's *net of rela-*

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According to Haraway, what matters in "co-constitutive relationships" is the *historical specificity* for the involved partners as well as the *contingent mutability* in the situation. In this perspective, when you, the reader, are (through reading this) creating new relations to the people in the practice field of study and when they are creating relations to you, *my* own historical specificity matters. So does yours, and so does that of the people I meet in the field, but those stories are not mine to tell yet.

A Story About "Me" as Ideological Subject
I can tell, though, a little about myself. My professional work-life began over ten years ago, after I finished my master's in musicology from the University of Copenhagen in 2005 with an ethnomusicological thesis on the public reception of Danish hip-hop group Outlandish. After ending

tions or *Actor-Network Theory* (2005), Haraway's *cat's cradle* (1994), and even De Certeau's notion of *everydayness* (1984). In Section 0, I myself borrowed Cathrine Hasse's notion of the *dust bunny* (2015).[47]

Now, standing before DR's concert hall and imagining it as a big blue cube of ice, I consider using the ice crystal as a structuring metaphor for my *doing* (Mol 2002) of the institution DR and the production of contemporary music radio in ethnographic writing. "Growing stories separately, like ice crystals on a window" is a kind of writing that corresponds well, I would argue, with what Baiocchi, Graizbord, and Rodríguez-Muñiz describe as ANT's ongoing "assembling, disassembling, and reassembling of associations" (2013, 336). Writing the field in processes of *assembling, disassembling and reassembling of associations* suggest a style of writing that aligns with ANT's principle of "generalized symmetry" in which the researcher, according to Crawford, should never "shift registers to examine individuals and organizations, bugs and collectors, or computers and their programmers" (Crawford 2005, 2). As described in Section 0, this principle calls for treating all elements in the network equally—human and non-human, big and small—and describing them with the same terms.

Working with associations and "growing stories separately, like ice crystals on a window" would be a method under the rule of unavoidable contingency, or "contingent mutability," as seen in Haraway's quote in Section 0. It would be a method of knowing and writing as "multiple, decentred, or partially centred," as Law writes in his 2002 book (p. 5).

Aside from this multi-centered way of writing (walking and telling stories from different perspectives), I could seek a *multi-dimensional* way of writing that make different matters and materialities stand out to the reader. A kind of writing that would somehow accommodate the shape of a dust-bunny (as described in Section 0) with all its different entangled matters and materialities. One way to make different matter stand out in is to respond to Engeström and

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my studies, I got a job as administrator for a touring theatre, as mentioned in Section 1. This job brought me to the far ends of the world. I suddenly found myself drinking tea and exchanging big stacks of American dollars with festival arrangers in Iran; fighting about proper audience seating arrangements with state officials in North Korea; drinking stronger tea with the (desperate) headmaster of Kabul University's department of fine arts in Afghanistan; touring between different cities in China; traveling with the Danish royal family in Vietnam; attending posh receptions at theatre festivals in France, Italy, Latvia, Croatia, and other European countries; and arranging touring activities to schools in every part of Denmark. I found myself in the middle of a lot of culture, a lot of organization, a lot of reflection, a lot of travel, and a lot of translation.

Returning to academia took some consideration for me. I felt very attached to the practice of theatre production and was in love with all the things that happen when you engage in multiple relations in the production of culture. While working with the theatre, I took a diploma

Middleton's call for the use of "multiple modalities" in the presentation and writing of the field:

> It seems that focusing on the meditational roles of artifacts clearly calls for multiple modalities, for "thinking with eyes and hands"(Latour, 1986). Visual representations serve a reflexive function in that they break down the tight flow of written argument, forcing both the writer and the reader to stop and look, and then to realign the two modalities. (Engeström and Middleton 1996, 5)

In addition to using words and metaphors in writing, I will incorporate images and sounds in my story about production practices on P3. I will encourage the reader to listen as well as to read and look. Hence, it is not just Engeström and Middleton's two modalities that are to be aligned—there are at least three (sound, picture, text).

When I write up the field I will lean on metaphors of both multi-centered ice-crystals and multi-dimensional dust-bunnies. "Touching objects" and "being touched by objects," while trying to take on different perspectives, as described above, is a way to pursue the notion of matter in the text. I will argue that this is a way to make matter stand out and help to create a transformative text (Hastrup 1988, 17)—that is, a text where "...reality is *in* the text and is not just seen through the text."[48].

In the following subsection, I will work with ideas of fractionality, coherence, and contingency while entering the grand open-office landscape that makes up P3's production facilities—here, this morning in June.

Objects that cohere: John Law's theory of the fractional

I stand before the main entrance of DR Byen at 4:35 a.m. Outside, I meet Mads, a P3 news employee I have met before. He lets me inside with his employee card and leads me farther into the

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degree in cultural leadership and organization. I was particularly engaged in questions of work environments and the challenges of integrating oneself, fellow workers/employees and audiences as "whole" human beings in the practices of production. I loved academia, but I somehow felt personally challenged by the academic environment. The only places in academia I felt really comfortable were in the ethnological and anthropological realms. *This should definitely be my field when returning*, I thought. Furthermore, I was determined to take some of the sensibilities regarding the complexity of production that I had acquired while producing culture and bring them into my new theoretical practice at university.

To further disentangle my idea of the situated perspective as a theoretical premise for this dissertation, I will refer to the French philosopher and post-structuralist Louis Althusser's notion of "always already" (Althusser 2011, 218). Althusser speaks of the "ideological subject" and the necessity to realize "that both he who is writing these lines and the reader who reads them are

big P3 editorial room.

Picture 2: A row of work spaces in the big P3 editorial room. Most of the time doing participant observation I sat just by the white pillar in the left side of the picture.

This room has four large rows of tables, separated by shoulder-high room dividers. Each row has twelve desks and twelve computers—forty-eight workspaces altogether—plus a meeting area and a kitchen that leads to the big P3 studio and the sofa arrangements outside it. There are also some workstations along the wall, by the entrance to the room, and just beside those desks is the meeting area. The desks along the wall seem to be occupied by some of the editors and other more governing layers of this section in the corporation. The meeting area appears to be occasionally occupied by different people (see also the drawings in The Appendix).

When it comes to the question of how I can pass on this story about music on P3 without

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themselves subjects, and therefore ideological subjects" (Althusser 2011, 217).[5]

As the first narrative in Section1 implied, I do consider myself a feminist[6] in the understanding of feminism as a hope for equal possibilities for everyone, much in line with the French philosopher Étienne Balibar's "right to difference in equality" (Balibar 1994, 96),[7] or as a part of UNESCO's ideal of the importance and necessity of cultural diversity (Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions, Paris, October 20, 2005),[8] or as in understanding feminist inquiry, like Haraway, as "…understanding how things work, who is in the action, what might be possible, and how worldly actors might somehow be accountable to and love each other less violently" (Haraway 2003, 7). I do also live in a same-sex relationship, if that means anything to anyone (aside from myself and my partner). But, like everyone else, I consider myself to be so much more than those descriptions.

By making the maneuver of bringing in stories from *my* own former work practice and

flattening it through "representationalism" (Barad) or "perspectivalism" (Mol), and maybe even somehow *do* music on P3 in the process, I have been inspired by Law's principle of "fractal coherence" as described in *Aircraft Stories*.

Inspired by Marilyn Stathern in *Partial Connections*, Law suggests thinking about the production of meaning in practice together with the mathematical principle of fractionality: "fractals are lines that occupy more than one dimension but less than two." In this thinking,

> "we may imagine that fractal coherences are coherences that cannot be caught within or reduced to a single dimension. But neither do they exist as coherences in two or three separate and independent dimensions. In this way of thinking, a fractionally coherent subject or object is one that balances between plurality and singularity. It is *more than one but less than many*." (Law 2002, 3, original emphasis)

Law's theory of fractal coherence (elsewhere he calls it for "fractional coherence") is a theory about how objects and reality cohere in situations, narratives, and storytelling. According to Law, a great deal of common sense and academic and political discourse tends to continuously (re)work binary dualisms, such as singular (coherent) vs. plural (broken/scattered), order vs. chaos, or center vs. periphery. Fractal coherence is about "drawing things together without centering them" (Law 2002, 2); according to Law, it is "one of the possible metaphors for trying to avoid such dualisms. For trying to wrestle with the idea that objects, subjects and societies are both singular and multiple, both one and many. Both/and" (Law 2002, 4).

Continuing the story of my morning encounter with *GMP3* will give a sense of how I understand Law's theory about "fractal coherence" and "fractional writing." Let's walk a little further into the production room of *GMP3*. From following Jens previously, I have learned that the rows of tables in the open office are occupied by different programs' work groups. Here, they do

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bringing forward some of *my* own history in the development of theory, I wish to emphasize the idea that *theory is always already inseparable from subjects in practices*. Theory is situated. That is my first premise.

...by Enacting Sensibility Toward Research as a Slow and Co-Relational Craft

I perceive of theory as not merely situated in a subject's historical specificity. Rather, I also perceive of theory as situated in the contingent mutability that happens in co-relations in practice. My **second premise** connects to anthropologists and (post-)ANT scholars Vicky Singleton and John Law's argument about how (Actor-Network) theory must be understood in a *sensibility toward the field*, that theory is "created, recreated, explored and tinkered with in particular research practices" (Law and Singleton 2013, 485).

research and plan for the programs. Jens, for instance, works with Victor (the journalist intern) and Oliver (the freelance researcher) to find content for *GMP3*; they sit in the second row from the main entrance. I am not going to sit in my usual place this morning; instead, Mads directs me farther down the big open office to the section where the news people sit.

"You are early today," says Søren as I arrive at the last row before the kitchen and studio.

"Yes—I thought I would do the full package since I was getting up anyway," I reply. He had told me to be there before five o'clock, and I couldn't risk being late.

"Exactly," Søren says. He seems engaged in something else.

I continue, "I will just get a coffee and sit here and scribble a bit."

"Do that—right now we are checking out the stories of the day. Just ask if there is something."

"Great," I reply.

Søren is an educated journalist. He is about my age with brown hair and dark, super friendly eyes. He is the long-term substitute for the "real" producer on *GMP3*, who has been ill for a long time. I met Søren on my first day in the field. After the morning show had ended, he came down to our area and said, "Hi! So you must be the PhD student?" He was the first one who'd seemed to know anything about my presence beforehand—it was comforting to know that someone had been informed. Søren has taken really good care of me, for instance by inviting me to join in on this early-morning experience.

I go to the coffee machine in the kitchen located just outside the big P3 studio. The kitchen is red and shiny, just like P3's logo on the big screen inside the studio. Logos are also plastered on the large windows that separate the P3 section from the street along Emil Holms Kanal. Everyone can look inside P3—there are windows from floor to ceiling—and from the inside, the P3 people can look out on the people passing by along Emil Holms Channel. But in these early

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Slowness, Time, and Timing in Co-Relations

I build this theory section around different everyday examples from meeting those who are engaged in the practice of making culture production, as well as being in this practice myself. Hence, some of the theory I develop in this section is related to my earlier work field of theatre production, while some relates to my contemporary work field of studying PSPMR.

Using anecdotes from past experiences may seem a *slow* way of recognizing theoretical points that could be presented in numerous ways. Still, going back in time seemed an inevitable path to take in order to fully grasp and understand my relationship to the practice perspective I have wanted to explore in this dissertation. As explained above, reflecting on my own historical specificity, and entering some kind of reflective co-relationality with my own story, was also a way to move forward.

The slowness in this approach to theory was connected in two ways: firstly, to a sensibil-

hours, not many people are passing by.

Standing by the coffee machine in the kitchen, you can see straight into the big P3 Live Studio through a soundproof window in the back wall. If you turn around and let your eyes scroll along the glass wall facing Emil Holms Channel, you can also see a sofa arrangement with two sofas and a low table—what I have named Meeting Area 1. I have sat on those sofas several times with Jens, joining in on the post-program editorial meetings. If you turn the corner by the kitchen to the right, you enter another area with yet another sofa arrangement and a whiteboard. I call this Meeting Area 2. Meeting Area 2 is just outside the entrance to the P3 Live Studio and the producer's booth. At the heart of all this, newly redecorated and very well equipped, lies the P3 Live Studio.

Standing by the coffee machine, I meet Mads again. "Arh, coffee!" I say.

"Yes," he replies, "just to kickstart the whole system."

"Uhm," I say, "completely necessary!"

We go back to our desk chairs with our coffee. I can hear a whistling sound from the ventilation in the big room. I hear the sound of clicking mouses and clacking keyboards—it is the sound of concentrated silence. There are cups of coffee on the tables. The clock on the wall says 04:51. The four people who sit there are the only ones in the huge room, and they are all focused on their work. Once in a while someone in the room says something aloud across the desks—a question, for instance ("Does anyone know if we did something earlier on the VET schools?"), or a comment ("There is, I must say, some perspective in that bribery case!").

The three news workers are hard at work on the news blocks. Søren—my guy, and today's *GMP3* producer—is working on lining up the detailed program for today's show. There must be six blocks with speech for every hour, he explains to me: "The blocks cannot be longer than two and a half to three minutes, in order to create the right flow between speech and music."[49]

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ity toward my "new" field, and secondly, to ideas of "slow research"[9] and with figuring research and theory as a process (Law and Singleton 2013, 485) that is made in co-relation with the field.

Regarding sensibility toward the field: To begin with, the field simply did not seem to want me. It took me around two years to establish a relation to DR and gain the kind of access where "a media organization and its employees open up for the researcher in a more extended way and begin to richly inform about processes" (Bruun and Frandsen 2017, 62),[10] as Danish media scholars Hanne Bruun and Kirsten Frandsen write in their 2017 article "Time and Timing." It took time to establish a connection that allowed me access to the production rooms and allowed me to gain what media scholar Knut Helland calls both "formal" and "informal" access to information (Helland 1993, 95). Since I needed to correspond my choice of theory to *some* practice, I used my own earlier work experiences to make some of the initial reflections on the founding theoretical pillars of this dissertation, as well as to make clear how I wish to work as an ethnomusicologist at

According to Jody Berland, *flow* is often treated as the "natural condition" of format radio. She describes how flow is most often perceived as format radio's inconspicuous wallpaper of continuous music and sound:

> The assumption that more or less continuous music is the ideal program content for radio rests on the equally convenient assumption that radio listeners are mainly not listening very closely and that this is the "natural" condition for radio communication. Thus the flow of music/commercials/talk offered by format radio has become inseparable from the mental image of wallpaper which shadows the concept of "secondary medium." (1990, 231)

In producing a "flow of music/commercials/talk," right now Søren is working on the particular part that concerns the "talk." He needs to have the first hour ready (meaning that he has to have six speech blocks ready) before the program starts. The rest can be made after the initial editorial meeting and within the first hour of the program as it goes along.

It is fascinating—the quietness and the work efficiency. These young people (younger than me, anyway) get up and sit here working while everyone else is asleep. I find it somehow touching, as if they do this for me. Like when bakers bake at night so we can have our freshly baked morning bread. Or when the newspaper delivery people run up and down staircases, or when the garbage collectors come in the morning. I ask Søren if there is a status connected with working on this program despite the odd working hours. This is an attractive job, he tells me, and it is "the anchor-ship of the channel." "It is the program that sets the line for the whole day," he explains.

I ask if I can go around and take some pictures. Claus, the news host and the unofficial fourth member of the Morning Team, tells me that I can do whatever I want: "We will tell you if you cross any lines," he says in a very friendly and comforting voice. Søren adds: "Yes, you can

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the intersection of music studies, radio studies, and organizational studies.

Regarding my second point about "slow research": Law and Singleton describe research as a "slow" and "care-full" craft, as a practice and a process that lets the research unfold along the way. As expressed below, they consider research as *a craft that is slow, fun, and passionate*:

> Vicky: […] But I was also thinking that research should be fun because good research is passionate. And also because it is slow. Or at least it should be.
> John: Slow? Like slow food?
> Vicky: Why not? Why not take pleasure in the process of doing it? After all, it is a process. And why not take pleasure in being led? Slow is not just about time.
> John: Being   led?
> Vicky: Yes. Slow research is research that doesn't always take the lead. Instead it often fol-

do almost everything here. The only thing that we have ever been a little cautious about is when students wish to record our editorial meetings. That we do not fancy too much."

I take pictures without getting too close to the people working. It is a trusting environment, I think. There is a lot of freedom and self-governance. I take pictures randomly; for instance, I take some pictures of the clock that seems to be guiding much of the activity in the room and the two big screens that hang beside it.
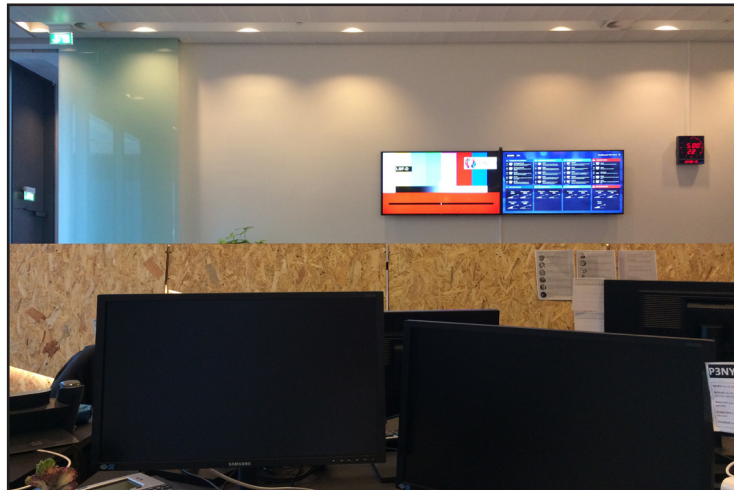
Picture 3: Taken from where I am sitting this morning in the journalists' row. To the far right is a clock showing the accurate time: hour, minute, and second. The screen to the right shows how DR media content is doing on social media. The screen to the left is on pause at the moment.

The screens on the back wall have a prominent place, I have noticed. Earlier, Jens had explained to me that the screens show "how our content is doing on social media" (see picture 3). On an-

lows. In woodwork you sense the grain of the wood. Craft research is shaped by the patterns of interaction and practice that it's immersed in. You don't assume too much. You let the research unfold. You do care-full research. (Law & Singleton 2013, 488)

Law and Singleton inscribe themselves within the field of Actor-Network Theory (ANT), a field of research that has inspired my practice study of P3 in ways I will subsequently explain much more thoroughly. In the above quote, they consider ANT research to be like a craft that is "shaped by the patterns of interaction that it's immersed in." Similarly, anthropologist Cassandra S. Crawford describes ANT as a research practice engaged with the unfolding of "science in the making" (Crawford 2005, 1).[11] Just as I consider my research to be *situated*, as explained above, I also consider research to be *"unfolding"* (Law and Singleton 2013) in relation, and I wish to lay bare the *process* of the making of this particular research—this particular *science in the making*.

other wall on the side, not so directly in the line of sight, hang four other smaller screens where different TV channels are shown.

Picture 4: These four screens (in the top left of the picture) show different television content.

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I have chosen this graphic layout, where a section of theory text runs underneath sections of empirical writing, as an illustration of this process, in which theory is not decided upon beforehand but rather developed as the process goes along. This graphic presentation is, as mentioned in Section 1, inspired by Mol's 2002 book *The Body Multiple*.

...by Enacting a "Both-And" Perspective Concerning Matter

"There is much to be learned from wanting something both ways."

Maggie Nelson, *The Argonauts* (2015, 36)

Throughout this dissertation, I wrestle with the idea of "wanting something both ways" as proposed by litterate and queer philosopher Maggie Nelson above. A sensibility toward complexity

I take a picture of some general directions for the news host:
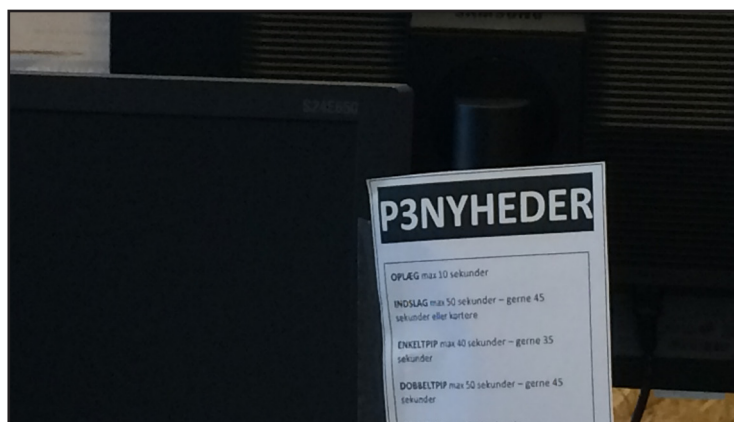
Picture 5: Some general instructions for DR news stories are taped to the computer screens. It says, "Introduction max 10 seconds. Feature max 50 seconds – preferably 45 seconds. Single peep max 40 seconds – preferably 35 seconds. Double peep max 50 seconds – preferably 45 seconds. Telegram max 25–30 seconds."

I take a picture of a sponsor gift that has been sent to the Morning Team:

- See Picture 6

I take a picture of more general directions for the channel:

- See Picture 7

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and difference, as well as toward a complex meanings of matter, is my **third premise.** In this section, I will suggest ways to look—in theory—at practices of production of culture as both practice and theory, new and old, culture and nature, private and political, global and local, epistemology and ontology, matter and meaning, material and discursive, and all the in-betweens, messed up and entangled in the meshwork of humans and things and motion we can call the practice of everyday life.

Social Construction and Materialist Orientation: Doing Meaning and Matter
When I finally obtained access to the field, it was after some failed attempts and a lot of deep reflection about different ways to approach DR. I feel that some of these failed attempts were connected to my initial "study up" perspectives—perspectives informed by anthropologist Laura Nader's intentions of studying "the colonizers rather than the colonized, the culture of power

Picture 6: Two bottles of ginger shot have been sent to the GMP3 team. The card is personally addressed to Sanne, Anne, Lars & Claus aka the Morning Team.
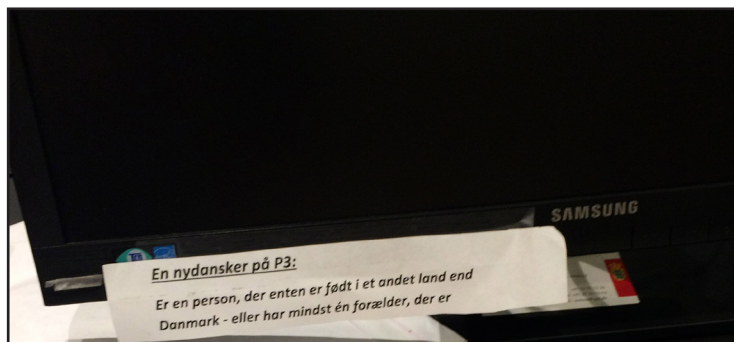
Picture 7: General directions concerning the definition of a so-called "nydansker" (one of the words used to denote or interpellate newly arrived Danes in Denmark). It says, "A new Dane on P3: Is a person who was either born in another country than Denmark - or who has at least one parent who is."

I take a picture of the meeting area, the whiteboards, and the empty chairs:

- See Picture 8

- See Picture 9

I take a picture of the hands of a journalist working and a plant on the table:

- See Picture 10

As my photos indicate, there are many objects in the P3 production room. In Law's thinking, objects emerge from the "overlaps that produce singularity out of multiplicity." Objects are multiple as well as singular:

> Knowing subjects are […] not coherent wholes. Instead they are multiple, assemblages. […] [T]he same holds for objects too. An aircraft, yes, is an object. But it also reveals multiplicity—for instance in wing shape, speed, military roles, and political attributes. I am saying, then, that an object such as an aircraft—an "individual" and "specific" aircraft—comes in different versions. It has no single center. It is multiple. And yet these various versions also interfere with one another and shuffle themselves together to make a single aircraft. They make what I will call singularities, or singular objects out of their multiplicity. In short they make objects that cohere. (Law 2002, 2–3)

I think of *GMP3* as an *object that coheres* from out of many *objects that cohere*. It seems that many elements or objects make up the program *GMP3*, but *GMP3* is also an object in itself. I think of P3 as an object that is done in the "overlaps that produce singularity out of multiplicity,"

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rather than the culture of the powerless, the culture of affluence rather than the culture of poverty" (Nader 1972, 289).

According to tech-anthropologist Nick Seaver (2014, 5), this approach of ethnographic "studying up" has become the defining method for many researchers in science and technology studies (STS[12]), but retrospectively, it did not get me far in creating a trustful connection with the field; it seemed like a dead end in this particular case. I tried to contact people "on the floor" in order to be level with them while getting information about the institution, but I was turned down immediately. So I left behind some of the more discursive antagonistic enactments of approaching "upwards" or "downwards."

I held on to my social constructionist perception of many simultaneously existing "worlds" (as described in the beginning of this section). I held on to Haraway's ideas of everyone facing many "established disorders" (Haraway 2004, 3), and I held on to Danish anthropologist Iben Jen-

Picture 8: The meeting area in the open office is not closed off from the multiple rows of desks—on the contrary, everyone can look straight into it. The sides are made of whiteboards and room dividers.
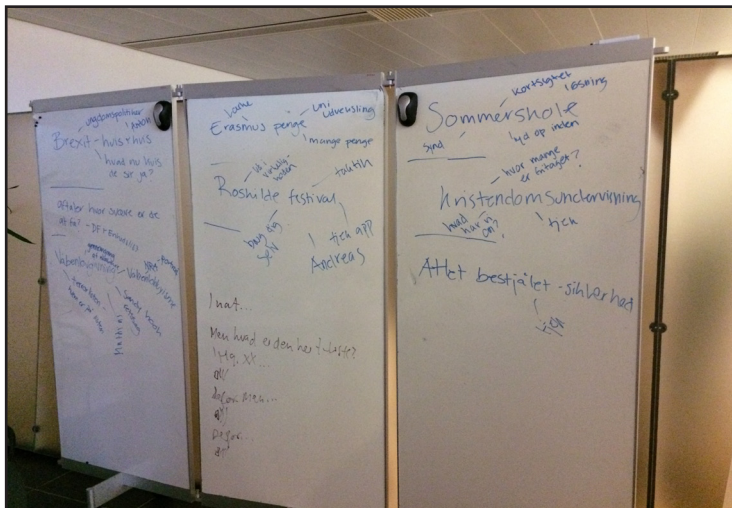
Picture 9: The whiteboards are obviously used for brainstorming different issues and subjects. Here, we can see the headline "Brexit" as well as "Roskilde Festival" and "Teaching Christianity."

Picture 10: Plants and humans are also a part of this entangled environment.

to use Law's words. *GMP3* is one but also many; it is multiple as well as singular.

Corresponding with a fractional worldview and the idea of objects cohering out of multiplicity, Law argues for what he calls "writing fractionally" (Law 2002, 6). Law contends that writing fractionally, bringing forward different stories that are not "foretold from a single location," is a refusal of both modernism and postmodernism in that it has single-centered narratives side by side in a multiple storytelling that can rhizomatically "spread in every direction" (ibid., 5). According to Law, this kind of writing from multiple different locations can create something new:

> ...elaborations and interactions that hold together, fractionally, like tissues of fibres. This results in texts that are uncentred, texts that are not singular. And yet, if the bet is right, it produces texts that have intersections that hold together. That cohere. (Law 2002, 5)

In the following subsection, I will ad a fraction to the story about GMP3 (made up of multiple fractions) when I tell a story about how producer Søren put on some of his "own music." I will continue to unfold this kind of fractional style throughout the dissertation in the hope of providing a picture of many different fractions, all of which are contributing to make this dissertation into an object that coheres, describing a field of practice that coheres on an everyday basis.

Søren's Song

While we are here in the company of producer Søren, let me create a partial center. Let me pass along one of the multiple-centered narratives that make up P3 as an object that coheres in this dissertation—a particular story that also contributes to an ongoing reflection about music and agency in this environment. In order to tell this story, I will skip some of the early-morning practices of the *GMP3* team (I will get back to them in Section 3) and jump slightly forward in time on this particular day.

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sen's ideas that in social constructionism there "is no neutral or objective reality to be described"; here "[o]ne finds reality to be a construction, which means that the way you see the world depends on what you have learned is real" (Jensen 2013, 24).

But along with these social constructionist thoughts, I had begun to orient myself toward perspectives of materiality connected with experiences from my own former work life. Having spent seven years "in the field" working in practice with organizing culture, I felt that organizing and organization were a multidimensional affair, best handled with a combination of great ability to deal with complex matters on several levels and not least with a high degree of sensibility in, to, and *on* the world (following Law and Singleton). It seemed to me, in accordance with ANT, that organization was indeed made up of complex processes involving humans, things, computers, online applications, notions, organizational structures, power structures, discourses, weather conditions, feelings, kindergarden opening hours, etc. I wished to bring back with me into academia the

I am sitting beside Søren in the producer's booth connected to the studio while he is concentrating on getting the *GMP3* program started. From seven o'clock—the second hour—onward, things loosen up a bit. The program is going well. I ask Søren about the different screens and tools in the studio. There are so many buttons and machines, but he tells me that everything is really quite simple to learn.

Picture 11: Søren working on the program. I am sitting on his left-hand side.

Chatting with Søren along the way, I ask him if the music that is played on the radio when he is at work means something to him. He says it does mean something; he wishes, for instance, that Volbeat and De Eneste To[50] were not played on his shifts. But if they are on the playlist, he says, then he just turns on one of DR's other radio channels, P4, while working. Incidentally, Volbeat comes on later, and he does switch to P4. It feels a little awkward, sitting and listening to a program on P4 in the middle of a production of a program on P3.

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insights I had gained—one could also call them presumptions—of organizing and organization as a combination of complexity of all kinds of materiality and a sensibility toward its connections.

Let's look at another example from my former practice as an administrator, setting up a performance in Pyongyang, North Korea:

We were to make our first performance at a school in Pyongyang, and we were going around setting up the seating for the audience in our usual way: children at the front, grown-ups at the back. An official came and told us that here the children were to sit at the back and the grown-ups at the front. "Uh-oh," we thought, "our first clash with the regime!" We argued that the children could not see anything, but there was no way the official would compromise on this. It would be a disgrace for the grown-ups to give the good seats at the front to the children. We told him that the whole point of this play was to get the children to laugh and

Søren shows me the text messages from listeners that are coming in. Sometimes, the same few people write, he tells me. The hosts have some stalkers, too, especially Anne—she has a very persistent stalker. This information ignites my curiosity, and I keep an eye on the incoming text messages on the screen in front of us.

Søren is about my age, I figure, maybe a bit younger. He has just come home from France, where he watched some of the soccer matches in the UEFA European Championship. He watched Ireland play, and he is still elated by that experience—he keeps singing a particular song that the Irish soccer fans were apparently singing during the match. He sings it while playing drums with his fingers on the table (it sounds to me like a White Stripes track), and he takes every opportunity to tell his colleagues about this experience when they come into his producer booth. "It was a fantastic atmosphere in the stadium," he says, and his eyes are dreaming away. His imagination returns to the stadium again and again. He also tells me—secretly—that he is going to be a father. Not many know yet, so I must keep quiet. He seems happy.

In the third hour of the program, after 8 a.m., I see that Søren is searching on his computer for clips from that particular football match. He works fast. At one point, near the end of the program, he gives a piece of paper to Anne. I see that some buttons on the DJ screen have been reprogrammed: something called *220616 WILL GRIGGS ON FIRE!!* has been designated to button number 7, and something called *Freed from desire* has been designated to button number 8. (I will explain all about this screen and the function of the DJ in Section 5):

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to have the grown-ups watch this and find joy in their children's interaction with the show. He could see the point. Then we suggested that we seat the children in rows on the floor in front of the good chairs (as we always do in Denmark), so the grown-ups could sit on the good chairs while the children could sit on pillows on the floor; everybody would be able to see. This was how it came to be. Everyone was happy, and we performed our play *Ouverture* with great success. *Ouverture*, by the way, is a performance that in our view contained many references that were outright critical of authority.

With the above example, I wish to illustrate how and why I have chosen in this dissertation to supplement what feminist science philosopher Karen Barad has called "the representationalist trap" of social constructivism, discourse analysis, and cultural studies (Barad 2003, 802–03) with the materialistic perspectives that I consider post-ANT, ANT, performativity theory, feminist sci-
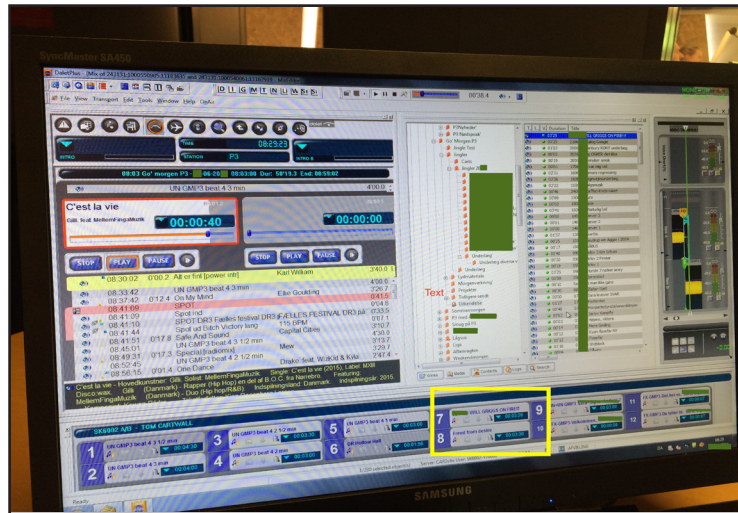
Picture 12: Button 7 and 8 on the DJ-screen suddenly appear with new content as the program nears its end.

Then, just before 9:00 a.m. at the end of the program, I hear Anne's voice coming from the loudspeakers: "We have had numerous wishes from listeners via SMS to play this exact song— here comes 'Freed from Desire' by Gala." This comes as a surprise to me, as I have followed the incoming text messages. Anne´s words are followed up by a sound clip from a football match: the audience is singing "Will Griggs on Fire" in the stadium. This sound clip goes straight into the pop track it is scaffolded over, "Freed from Desire" by Gala. Søren rises eagerly from his chair and sings along as the song comes on. Everyone laughs.

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ence studies, and culture analysis all to contain. Barad calls the "linguistics turn, the semiotic turn, the interpretative turn, [and] the cultural turn" "the representational trap of geometrical optics" and suggests instead a shift in focus to "physical optics, to questions of diffraction rather than reflection"[13] (ibid.). As she says:

> "Language matters. Discourse matters. Culture matters. There is an important sense in which the only thing that does not seem to matter anymore is matter" (ibid., 801).

Reflecting in retrospect about working in practice with producing and meeting culture in multiple versions and on multiple levels made me reconsider, with Barad's words, the *representationalist approach*—reflecting over pre-fixed ideas of "cultures" in language and discourse, for example, instead of a thorough diffraction of matters in practice. Thinking about the situation in North Ko-

Creating Multiple-Centred Coherence by Writing Different Stories Alongside One Another

Using terminology borrowed from John Law, and taking inspiration from Annemarie Mol's "touching objects" and Laurel Richardson and Elizabeth Adams St. Pierre's ice crystal metaphor, I intend to write "fractionally,"—that is, to grow "different stories alongside one another" to deliver "smaller narratives—a lot of smaller keys" (Law 2002, 5). This is not, as Byrne suggests, the same as writing under the rule of chaos; rather, it is writing under the rule of unavoidable contingency. If Law's assertion is right, it will "produce a text that [has] intersections, that hold[s] together. That cohere[s]. (Ibid)"

In addition to thinking of *GMP3* as an object that coheres—and of Søren and all the other actors in the production space as objects that cohere—I think of myself, too, as an object that coheres. I do so now as I write this, but I also cohered as an object in the many different situations I experienced during fieldwork. What's more, I think of all the matter that I met upon wandering into this new land as objects that cohered in the situations I took part in: situations of trying to get access to the field, situations of the weekly doing of P3's playlist, and situations of doing music as an employee in the P3 practice space. Last but not least, I think of this dissertation and its possible afterlife as an object that coheres from a multiplicity of actors involved in multiple meaning-making processes—including all the unknown and uncontrollable actors that make up your own lifeworld as a reader and that more or less coincidentally influence how you perceive all of this.

My overall hope is that "fractional writing" can reflect what it is, for humans and things, to be "more than one but less than many" (Law and Mol 2002, 3) in the multiple practices that contribute to the daily doing of music on P3.

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rea, and the issue with seating arrangements which magically solved itself, made me realize that it was actually very rare for us to let the *representational structuring* come to the surface when working in inter-cultural relations: we simply couldn't afford it if we wanted our work to get done. I found most often in our cross-global co-operation with approximately 35 different countries, that despite perceived cultural barriers, things were solved when brought down to the physicality and practicalities of the situation combined with thorough and respectful communication. It was a matter of chairs and pillows *as well as* ideas of political structures and totalizing regimes.

When relating to people in (work) practice on a global scale and drawing on my former social constructionist toolkit I felt clearly, like Barad, that "…social constructivist approaches get caught up in the geometrical optics of reflection where, much like the infinite play of images between two facing mirrors, the epistemological gets bounced back and forth, but nothing more is seen."(Barad 2003, 803) Rather than struggling over large perceived epistemological differ-

3. Producing a *GMP3* Program: Sociability, Segmentation, and Technologies

The *GMP3* Program in the Production Space

Let's roll back time again to approximately four hours before Søren got to hear "his" song on the radio. Back in the very early-morning production space of *GMP3*, the time is moving slowly toward 5 a.m. Here I am still sitting with my coffee listening to and observing the news journalists and Søren prepare for today's program. I'm sitting in the research area described in Section 2: a large room with approximately 48 workspaces, where the different production groups are doing research and preparing for their particular programs.

I have learned that this big open office, this production space, has its subsections. Where I'm sitting this early morning, together with the journalists at the tables nearest the live studio (farthest away from the entrance), is where the news workers sit. Moving a row up, toward the entrance, is a row for people working on social media platforms, as I have been informed. Then comes the row where the *GMP3* research team sit (this is my usual place when I am with Jens). The three- or four-person *GMP3* research team sits next to three people working on a popular afternoon program. Just behind us, in the last row of desks before the entrance, sit the people working on two different music programs on P3. Here sits Kirsten, the other of the apprentices I have followed. She helps out on on one of the music programs. .

In her 2018 article, Iben Have specifically discusses *GMP3* from a longitudinal perspective:

> *Go´Morgen P3* [*GMP3*] has gone from being a radio program with a strong focus on music, and with music as the most important content, to being a program focused on soft news and entertaining chatter among the hosts. This also changes the status of the program from

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ences, it seemed to me that objects and "things" (Barad 2003, 818) most often were a mediator of meaning in organizing culture in practice, a way to *go on together*. A sensibility toward *things* was often a great helper in getting things done and a useful source of making meaning in co-relations.

Hence, in this study I wish to supplement the social constructionist understanding of relating with notions of physicality, practicality, materiality, and situatedness. In the situation in Afghanistan, the veils—as material actors, as "things"—were what kicked off a chain of events and discussions internally within my group of colleagues and somehow transgressed boundaries, maybe even resulting in this PhD dissertation. In the situation in North Korea, putting the pillows on the floor was what solved the problem; hence the communication was (also) a matter of pillows and chairs as well as a matter of negotiating in words, gestures, and pre-fixed beliefs. Somehow, matter "seemed to matter" (Barad 2003, 801) in those situations. The questions seemed to be: How should one perceive of matter? How should one perceive of how matter matters in practice?

a clear music radio format, where recorded music is clearly significant and essential, to a more blurred soft-music format, where music takes on many different roles and forms, not only as musical pieces but also as background music and jingles important for the flow of the program. (Have 2018, 138–39)

Through reception studies, Have explains how the show, which has existed since 1963, introduced the concept of the Morning Team in 2005 as a reaction to competition from commercial radio channels. These channels had similar programs, which were winning market shares as a consequence of the break in the radio monopoly that began in 1983 and was completely eliminated in 2003 (ibid., 132–33). Have argues that the program currently seems to be built up around "sociability" (ibid., 139) and "social companionship" (ibid., 142) depicted and enacted through the "soft chatter" (ibid., 139) between the members of the Morning Team. She furthermore argues that along with the advent of digitalization and rationalization processes in public service media production, there has been a change in the treatment of music in this kind of radio space: seen from a reception angle, the verbal link between music and host has been lost, according to Have (ibid., 146).

This section will supplement Have's reception study of *GMP3*, employing perspectives from the production site to investigate how "sociability" (Have 2018) is constructed in and around the program as well as where and how music and sounds are placed and handled in the production space of making such a program. I will here look at how the production team are entangling objects in the making of *GMP3* during the early hours of its preparation. Along the way, while doing participant observation on *GMP3* this particular morning as well as on other days, I will observe how and where musics become embedded (if that is indeed the case) in the meshworks of human and non-human actors in this specific part of the daily production space devoted to

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And not least, how should one think of music as matter in practices?

Running with the Natives
When I approached DR, I was granted access, but not to study either "up" or "down"; rather, I received an open offer to engage in a mutual fruitful co-operation around my project.[14] I was "running with the natives," as anthropologist Clifford Geertz did when he gained access to a Balinese cockfighting community after an incident in which he and the villagers ran away from the police (Geertz 1973, 413–17). In their 2006 article "Fieldwork on Foot: Perceiving, Routing, Socializing," Jo Lee and Ingold use this example to illustrate how fieldwork takes ground "in shared circumstances":

[W]e cannot simply walk into other people's worlds and expect thereby to participate with

making an actual program. In this section, I will focus especially on how flow is created as the interaction between speech and music. I will consider perspectives of radio's *segmentation* (Crisell 1994; Föllmer 2013) as a structuring principle in order to create flow. I will also consider the use of *information and communication technologies* (ICTs) (Chun 2016; Plesner et al. 2016) in relation to the everyday work practices of putting together a program such as *GMP3*.

Doing Segmentation and Sociability in the Early Hours of Producing *GMP3*

Blocks and Segmentation

A little before 5 a.m., Søren and the journalists are still working intensely on preparing the news and the **speech blocks** for today's program. As mentioned in Section 2, each hour has to include six blocks containing speech. Each speech block must last two and a half to three minutes. These measurements are sustained by the idea of maintaining the right flow between speech and music. The first hour—i.e., the first six blocks—must be ready before the program begins at six o'clock.

While in the production room following Jens over the preceding weeks, I have heard the word "block" mentioned many times. "Have you heard about this story? Could you write a block on that?" the producer would ask Jens, or, "What did you think about that block in this morning's program?" In the beginning, I thought they were saying "blog," meaning the digital communications platform, and I asked the producer, "What it is with this blog? Whose blog is it, and where can I access it?" They laughed at my ignorance and explained that "blocks" are sequences of speech that, entangled with other elements, make up the radio program.

Radio scholar Andrew Crisell describes how radio (both commercial and public service radio) is most often organized in blocks. These blocks are "bites" consisting of "sequences of talk, music and other elements" where "each 'bead' [is] of approximately same length to the others

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them. To participate is not to walk into but to walk with—where with implies not a face-to-face confrontation, but heading the same way, sharing the same vistas, and perhaps retreating from the same threats behind. (Lee and Ingold 2006, 67)

Taking on a co-relational approach—one that sympathized with the overall project of public service and simultaneously understood the premise of production as a complicated and skilled practice in an entanglement of humans and things—helped open up the field to me. I was gradually admitted into the field along with my own theoretical development: opening up to include materials of all kinds as actors in practice, expanding on my previous practices of social constructionism and discourse theory with a materialistic perspective,[15] and understanding the field of radio *and* of research as a craft. I will expand on the perspectives of materiality and matter in scalar learning processes later in this section.

and lasting no more than a few moments" (Crisell 1994, 72). Crisell calls this style of structuration "segmentation". He argues further that public service providers have adopted this style from commercial stations, describing it as "a highly segmented mode of presentation, which includes [besides talk and music] a variety of adverts" that, even though they are not traditional commercials, "quite consciously [follow] the commercials in style, duration and frequency" (ibid., 73). Like popular commercial morning programs, *GMP3* is organized in a segmented structure, in blocks. It is made up in a flow of speech blocks, music tracks, and adverts, as Crisell describes above, that all have a certain (short) length.

The *GMP3* production team is comprised of host apprentice, Jens; a journalist intern, Victor; and a freelance journalist, Oliver. They do the research and come up with suggestions for speech blocks and other entertainment to put into the *GMP3* program; then they collect their research and compile their stories in a Google Docs file. Søren and the hosts pick out suggestions for speech blocks from this document, which is accessible to all employees in the corporation, and develop them collectively (in editorial meetings and online) into useful program content, as we will see in a later section. I will return to the "beads" of adverts and music later, but for the moment I will concentrate on the production of speech blocks and of "sociability" on air.

The *GMP3* Production Team and the Rundown

The clock on the wall shows 5:05 when the first host from the morning team, Lars, arrives. Lars is 28 years old, educated as a journalist, and began his career on P3 with an internship during his education. Right now he is about to become a father for the first time. His impending parenthood is a frequent subject on air these days. He has been hosting *GMP3* for two years.

"Good morning!" he greets us.

"Good morning!" we greet him back.

Lars has seemed relaxed, loudly chatting, joking, and maybe delivering a funny comment

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...by Recognizing and Responding to Vulnerability

My **fourth and last premise** in this dissertation is the recognition of the fact that people (and things) in networks are vulnerable. I am exposing myself and my own history at the beginning here because I also wish to show solidarity with the generous people who have agreed to participate and help me in my anthropological research. Anthropology, ethnography, and ethnomusicology use relations between the researcher and other people and things and their everyday entanglement gives material for research and reflections. I do anthropological fieldwork, and my anthropological object of knowledge is the relational spaces between humans and things in places where people have their everyday routines and their friends, and where they collect their monthly paychecks. I have put myself on the line here at the beginning of my dissertation, just like my work partners at DR have put themselves on the line in order to help me. There is always a risk in putting oneself forward—there is especially a lot at stake when it concerns one's professional life,

or two in the nine o'clock editorial meetings or when socializing in the open office after the program has ended. Here, early in the morning, he seems more silent and deep in concentration as he walks though the open office and continues directly to the area where the big P3 studio is located. It appears to be a highly focused, serious, and effective workspace in these early hours.

At 5:12, Sanne, the second member of the morning team, enters the open office. Sanne is 42 years old and has been working on and off as a radio host on DR since 1995. In the editorial meetings, she contributes a great deal of insight and opinions, and she seems to be listened to and respected. She is probably the most "famous" of the three; she is the oldest, and she has a certain aura surrounding her when moving around the workspace. She came out publicly with a personal story some years ago about her battle with breast cancer, and she argues—on air—for openness and a lack of taboo surrounding the subject. In my time doing participant observation with Jens in the open office, Sanne has not participated in any noticeable way in "public" socializing in the work environment after the program. "Mornnn," Sanne says quickly. Well dressed as always, she walks through the room without looking up and continues purposefully into the studio. "Mornnn," the five of us greet her back, this time completely in unison like a choir, just waiting for her arrival.

At 5:15, I go with Søren to the far end of the room outside the big P3 studio, to the "second" sofa set in Meeting Area 2. The editorial meeting begins at 5:20. No one else has arrived in this particular area yet. As Søren begin to write things on the whiteboard, the morning sun is reflected on the buildings behind him.

- See Picture 13

Søren, who is about my age, is also an educated journalist. He tells me that he loves this job because it gives him so much time off; he gets back home at around noon or 1 p.m. I ask Søren

one's career. Just as I myself felt vulnerable in the situation on the bus, or during the first meeting with my peers at university, I met my conversation partners at DR in situations where they sometimes felt vulnerable (as well as times where they felt great strength and pride). It is important to acknowledge that social vulnerability is often closely connected to the everyday practices of work. I am in great debt to the people (and machines) at DR who have agreed to share their stories and experiences from daily work life with me.

A Theoretical Apparatus

With all the above reflections and premises in mind, in the remainder of this section I will build my theoretical apparatus of considering music as materiality in practices upon theories that engage with the questions of "how and why," in musicologist Simon Zagorski-Thomas's words, rather than "the what, where and who" (2014, 17). These are theories that engage for the most part

Picture 13: 5:15. Søren is preparing for the morning editorial meeting.
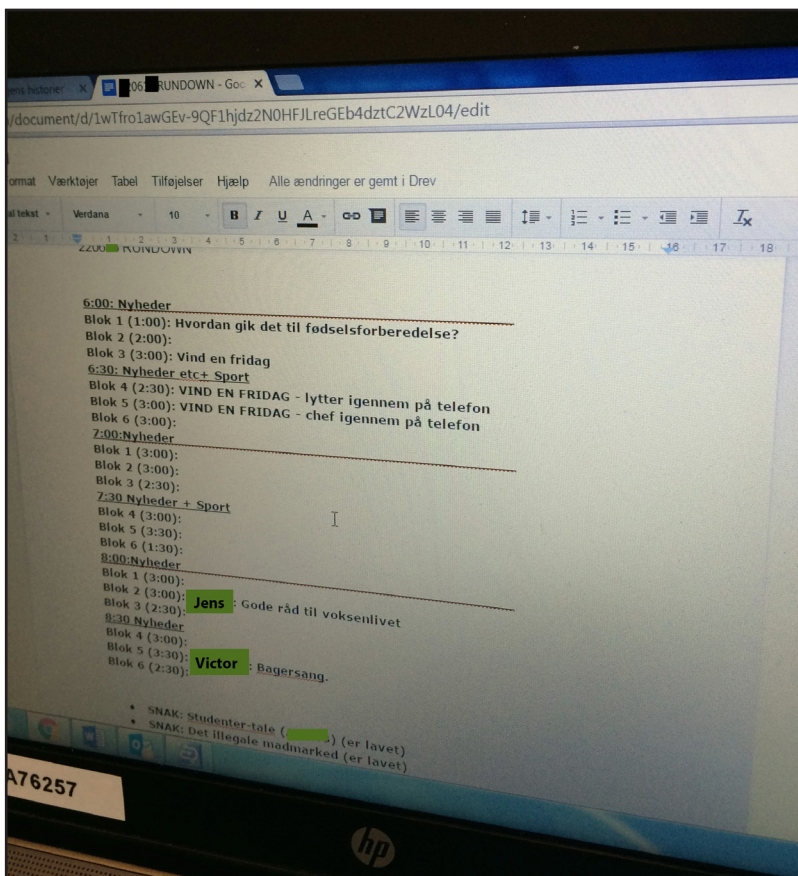
Picture 14: Rundown at 5:06. Only some sequences are filled out; the remaining are to be created during the pre-program meeting and as the program goes along.

what time he goes to bed at night in order to get up that early. "Around 10 p.m.," he says. "But it is a little difficult in the summer when it is still light."

Right now, Søren is writing topic suggestions for speech blocks on today's show on a folding, human-size whiteboard. He sets up the different "beads" of text—the "sequences of talk," in Crisell's terminology—to put into the program of the day. He is preparing what is called the "rundown" in the P3 practice space.

The rundown is created in Google Docs. Some blocks are decided on beforehand—i.e., before this meeting. Today, the rundown contains six pre-made blocks: a block about Lars' impending fatherhood, a recurring competition with listeners phoning in (which takes up three blocks), a "funny" feature performed by Jens, and another "funny" feature made by the intern/trainee, Victor. At 5:06, Søren's rundown looks like this:

- See Picture 14

The remaining blocks—the blank spaces in the rundown—are to be decided on now, on the spot, from suggestions made by the research group and from today's news. The remainder of the rundown will be made in cooperation with the rest of the team, who are supposedly arriving for this meeting at 5:20.

At 5:25, the third member of the host team, Anne, appears. Anne is 32 years old. Before coming to *GMP3* in 2013, she worked for multiple commercial radio stations. She attracted a lot of public attention after a live morning show in 20xx when she "came out to Putin"[51], stating that she was in a relationship with another woman. At the editorial meetings, in my eyes, she has appeared to be a highly esteemed contributor to the internal group's reflection.

Anne is out of breath and apologizes for being late, but no one else has arrived at the meeting area yet. Søren replies, in a grumpy tone, that "everybody seems to be late today!" In

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in what I would call the processual nature of meaning-making around music as artefacts in practices; therefore, as in Zagorski-Thomas's choice of theory, these theories also include the "stuff of psychology and sociology" (ibid.).

Throughout this section, I will refer to Post-Actor-Network Theory (Post-ANT) as a **research sensibility** toward various attentions that I will explore, namely the attentions toward **messiness, performativity, and agency in meshworks** in everyday life. I will then refer to ANT theories of (dis)entanglement and (re)assemblings (=doings) of **sociality around actors in networks** (Callon 1986; Crawford 2005; Gad and Jensen 2010; Ingold 2011; Krogh 2016; Latour 2005; Law 2002; Law and Singleton 2013; Mol 2010; Singleton 2013). Then I will work with **the notion of the artefact (or the actor)** as dual material-conceptual, as discussed within culture psychology and some parts of Marxist dialectical materialism (Cole 1996; Hasse 2008; Vygotsky 1978). Then I will work with **theories of learning culture around artefacts in work practices**

come Sanne and Lars, who also apologize for being late. Then in comes Mads, the P3 news employee I kept running into earlier in the day. He is to attend the meeting instead of Claus, who is the actual news guy on the program and the unofficial fourth member of the Morning Team. Right now, Claus is busy preparing for the six o' clock news.

I'm a little surprised by Søren's slightly bossy tone in relation to the members of the Morning Team. Somehow the hosts' star statuses are altered as I observe Søren telling them off for lateness. I figure that here, behind the curtain, Søren has some kind of governing responsibility for the overall execution of the program, even though the hosts are valued for their star quality. As producer, he also works as the coordinator, administrator, orchestrator, and conductor, and his responsibility is to make a (coherent) program. He is, I think to myself, the important invisible fifth member of the group, like the producer of a rock band.

Rehearsing Sociability While Producing the Rundown

Søren guides us through the meeting, presenting the subject suggestions he has written on the whiteboard one by one. "The bribery case," he says, for instance, and Lars eagerly takes over: "Yes, it is completely crazy that those things are happening in Denmark!"

"What do you mean?" asks Sanne.

"Well, what I think is funny is if Denmark is losing its position of being the happiest country in the world—bribery is one of the factors in that calculation," he replies. And so it continues. They talk about subjects as if they were partaking in a dinner conversation. They ask each other what they mean when they say something. They lay bare their ignorance about subjects. They burst out with personal opinions about things. They take on a critical, investigative perspective when presented with possible stories.

"Norwegian gay men can now donate blood if they have been without sex for a year," Søren announces.

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presented in cultural-historical activity theory (CHAT) and culture analysis. Here I engage in the processual character of meaning-making and learning in practices (Cole 1996; Engeström 2004; Hasse 2011, 2015; Wittgenstein 1958). Then—continuing to look at the processual nature of meaning-making in practice—I will investigate theories of **material instantiation through repeated interpellation** as presented in performativity theory (Althusser 2011; Butler 2011; Foucault 2013). I will bring it all together by sketching an apparatus that supports and is supported by these theories, a suggestion of **how culture can be seen to matter** in relation to music when producing radio in practice. Here, I look again at feminist science studies to suggest an apparatus that takes notion of the performativity, agency, and situatedness of actors in complex networks that can be comprehended within Hasse's concept of "processes of scalar learning" (Barad 2003; Hasse 2000, 2015; Haraway 1991, 2003). Finally, I suggest looking at **music as co-situated and co-situating material-discursive actor entangled in situations of cultural learning** in the net-

"What defines sex?" Sanne asks in a serious tone. "Everything above a handjob?"

"Yes, I think so," Søren replies.

They are sincere, dynamic, personal, and engaged; the atmosphere is not joking, silly, or laid back, as I have experienced it in other parts of the production space.

In the introduction to this section, we saw Have's argument that the program currently seems to be built up around "sociability" and "social companionship" through "soft chatter" between the members of the Morning Team. It appears that this morning meeting is a place to rehearse "sociability" around the speech blocks when on air. On another occasion, Sofie, the headmaster of the Host Talent School, expressed how she equated this hosting quality with being a good table companion at a dinner party:

> You can say it [being a host] is like being a table companion to someone. You know, being a table companion, you don't just... or you are certainly a boring table companion if you do not give something of yourself—if you just sit and nod and say, "Uhm," and ask about the other person or something like that. You *have* to be able to give something, bring something to the table itself, before it can become interesting. (Sofie, Interview)

Sanne, Lars, and Anne all "bring something to the table," as Sofie put it. They bring themselves into the sociality in preparing for the show as well as on air—they contribute with their unique personalities, histories, and views on things while socializing over the content in the speech blocks.

There is not much talk about music in this social entanglement. The hosts touch upon music-related issues twice during today's early-morning session. At one point, Søren suggests making a speech block about the Danish musician and rising star Mø: "Mø made a deal with Microsoft. Is there a story in that? That she is, like, 'underground,' but then at the same time lands

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works that make up the production of PSPMR on P3.

Post-ANT

I am a big fan of mess. I like my desk to be messy. I like to have messy areas in my home (sorry, family). I like to study messy practices—for instance, the everyday practices of working with music in DR's huge organization. I like to work in messy and entangled practices, and I hope through my own life-practice to reveal messiness and complexity in the world on a day-to-day basis. I don't know if Law feels the same way, but in the quote below, he does argue for scientific methods that work with knowing mess. "The world is largely messy," he believes, and I feel it with him:

> I'm interested, in particular, in methodologies for knowing mess. My intuition, to say it quickly, is that the world is largely messy. It is also that contemporary social science methods

some huge deals with such a company?"

Sanne responds quickly, "Since when has *she* been 'underground'? I haven't thought that for a long time, not since she started to get big."

Anne backs Sanne up. "No, how can a person who signed a deal worth millions with Sony so early on be called 'underground'? Nobody thinks that anymore."

At another point, Sanne suggests getting a political commentator called Uffe Tang looped in to commentate on a certain subject. Internally in the group, Uffe Tang has been given the nickname Wu-Tang. Sanne says, "Could we get Wu-Tang linked on to that?"

Søren, who doesn't get the reference at first, asks with surprise, "Wu-Tang?!"

"Yes, Uffe Tang," Sanne explains, laughing.

"Oh," says Søren, who sounds relieved. "I thought you wanted a music number with Wu-Tang[52] linked to it. Ha ha."

This meeting's focus is mainly on the discussion of content and the hosts. They use the situation to explore the internal dynamics in the group around certain subjects in order to explore a subject's durability if taken on air. Furthermore, they experiment with their different roles within the sociality of the team. For instance, Sanne suggests at one point, "If Lars would like to try and continue to take on the male-chauvinistic role, then there is a story high on iLikes about women on boards."

In addition to training the hosts' internal sociability around different subjects and their division of roles, the purpose of this meeting is also to give Søren a sense of what stories could work for them in the show's remaining open speech blocks. Then he can prepare the right stories and fill out the missing blocks in the rundown. The rundown for the whole program is made up and finished by Søren on the fly as the program goes on air. If we roll time a little forward to 7:17, the almost-finished rundown looks like this:

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are hopelessly bad at knowing that mess. Indeed it is that dominant approaches to method work with some success to repress the very possibility of mess. They cannot know mess, except in their aporias, as they try to make the world clean and neat. So it is my concern to broaden method. To imagine it more imaginatively. To imagine what method—and its politics—might be if it were not caught in an obsession with clarity, with specificity, and with the definite. (Law 2006, 1)

I subscribe to Law's ambition of "broadening method" and "imagin[ing] it more imaginatively" as I go along in my practice-journey of studying P3's practice. My own ambition and experiment here are to try and stay loyal to what I perceive as *the mess of practice*—to learn how to practice *sensibility toward complexities, meshworks, performativity and agency in research*.

As mentioned above, I most often find practice[16] to be messy, troublesome and very often
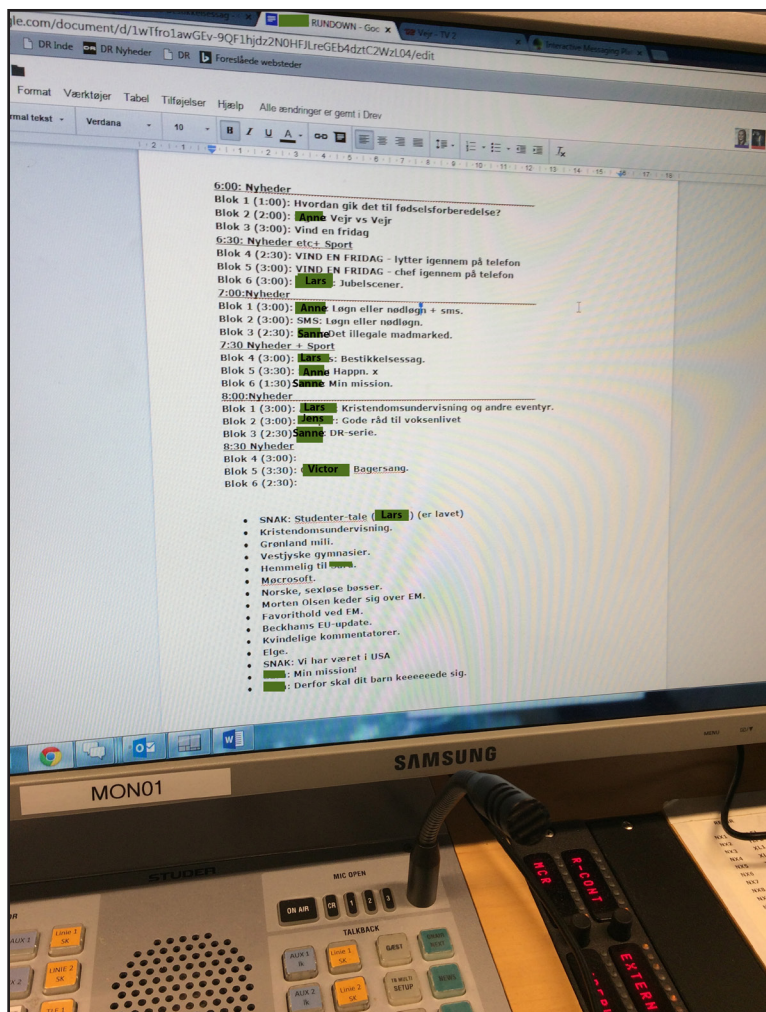
Picture 15: Rundown at 7:17.

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contradictory. Entering work on this dissertation, I was eager to propose an exploration of the sense of mess, and what my own work experience had led me to think of as *the potential of mess* in organizing and organization. I was curious to explore the act of "staying with the trouble" (Haraway 2016, 4),[17] as Haraway put it in her recent book of the same name, where "trouble" often meant that there seemed to be great value in accepting and exploring ontological *both-ands*.

In their 2013 article, sociologists Gianpaolo Baiocchi, Diana Graizbord and Michael Rodríguez-Muñiz acknowledge post-Actor-Network theory (post-ANT)[18] for its potential as a research sensibility that "help[s] fashion a deeper, wider, and more robust ethnographic imagination" (Baiocchi, Graizbord, and Rodríguez-Muñiz 2013, 335). Law and Singleton, also describe their version of ANT (elsewhere called post-ANT) not as a theory but rather—when working ethnographically—as a sensibility toward complexity, as the thinking "of a sensibility to the materiality, relationality and uncertainty of practices" (Law and Singleton 2013, 490).

A *Media Manifold* and a Changing System of Information and Communication Technologies[53]

"Old" and "New" Technologies

The time is nearing 6:00. The meeting breaks up, and we all take our places. I sit beside Søren in the producer's room. From our places, we look through a big glass window into the P3 studio, where all four hosts are now concentrated on their preparations for the show. We're sitting in the middle of multiple machines and tools and screens and buttons and microphones and speakers and lamps:

Picture 16: The clock on the wall shows 05:57:57. Søren is ready at the producer's desk. I sit to his left. On the computer in front of him, he is working on the rundown. On the computer to the far left (in front of where I sit) is the DJ's log (explained in Section 7).

Mol is also considered a great contributor to the discipline of post-ANT with her book *The Body Multiple*. In her study of "doing" in practice, she works with the performativity of ontologies in situations. She deems this "enactments of ontology" (Mol 2002, 41; 50), a terminology often used within post-ANT that is related to "the ontological turn" (Mol 2014) in anthropology. Mol contributes to the ontological turn with her practice theory and philosophy of "touching objects" (Mol 2002, 12) and of ontologies as "brought into being, sustained, or allowed to wither away in common, day-to-day, sociomaterial practices" (Law and Mol 2002, 6).

The last scholar I wish to mention here is Ingold (again), who uses the notion of the "meshwork" to replace the metaphor of the "network" that had previously been proposed by Actor-Network Theory. In *Being Alive*, Ingold explains how meshworks are made up "of entangled lines of life, growth and movement" (Ingold 2011, 61) where living organisms are considered to *be alive*, like "SPIDERS,"[19] immersed in webs of "threads and pathways." In Ingold's notion

Sanne comes in just before the program starts. It turns out she has had a more stressful morning than usual. This stress, and "by the way, the reason for her and Lars being late at the morning meeting," is due to some trouble with her computer. She is frustrated: Google Chrome was uninstalled from her computer yesterday because it got updated somehow. She has been trying to reinstall it—hence the delay at the meeting—but it is harder than she thought, and it all is just some "real *fuck* if it doesn't work," as she expresses it. She explains that she has been calling around to all the technicians; hopefully they can fix it before the program starts.

According to Mads Krogh (2018), the use of digital technologies and tools in the work processes of making flow radio increased alongside processes of rationalization up through the 1980s and '90s. In her 2016 book *Updating to Remain the Same*, Wendy Chun points to the negotiated, embedded, and habitual character of new digital media in everyday life and argues that "our media matter most when they seem not to matter at all" (Chun 2016, 1).

One example of an integrated digital communication technology work tool is the use of Google Docs. Both the rundown and the written text blocks are done (e.g., made by Jens) in Google Docs[54] using shared documents that are edited collectively before, during, and after the live production and accessed from the computers in the studio, as well as from the employees' own computers. Google Docs is used as a medium for a lot of internal communication; here, the employees gain and contribute to relevant information about content. It's no wonder Sanne is a little desperate about not having Google working on her computer in the studio. Søren offers to lend her his computer, but it seems as if she would prefer her own. Luckily, the technicians fix it just before six o'clock.

Along with Google Docs, many different kinds of mediating digital and non-digital communication technologies seem to be present in the P3 production room and more or less consciously embedded in the daily work practice. In addition to the more analog technologies and

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of meshworks, "being alive" as a living organism is "characterized by a coupling of perception and action within processes of ontogenetic development," a coupling that is "both the exercise of agency and the foundation of skill" (ibid., 65).

When Ingold stresses reflection about agency in meshworks with his notion of the SPIDER (See footnote 19), he responds to a common critique of Actor-Network Theory in which, according to Gad and Jensen (2010), "ANT's network concept is attacked for its apparent dissolution of independent actors with morality and intentions in a "play of forces" in which no change through human intervention seems possible" (Gad and Jensen 2010, 61). Mol (2002) stresses (and enacts) the importance of looking at the *performativity of ontology* around actors in situated practices, a notion I find similarly important.

Likewise, I am attached to Law and Singleton's emphasis on the idea of ANT as a research sensibility when working with studying practice. I believe the thinking represented by the above-

tools we saw in use above (such as whiteboards, alarm clocks, stationary telephones, and clocks on the wall), different digital information and communication technologies (ICTs) work as an integral part of the daily communication about doing *GMP3*. Let's look at some of the multiple technologies that are negotiated, embedded, and habitually entangled in the daily practice of doing a live production of *GMP3*.

Inside the P3 studio, this particular *GMP3* team inhabits four workstations around a big round table.[55] Each of the four team members (the fourth being the newsperson, Claus, a 36-year-old journalist and unofficial member of the team), have two computers in front of them. Lars and Sanne have the simplest setup of the four with just two computers, from which they can follow the music log, see incoming text messages, and search the internet. Claus and Anne have additional screens and different "sliders" and control buttons in front of them (I will return to the specifics of the DJ's setup and software later). I am told that each host can organize the content of these computer screens pretty much as they like. I am also told that typically the hosts use one computer to show text/speech (e.g., the rundown, incoming text messages, internet and social media searches), while the other computer is used for controlling/following *the log* of sounds and music such as the playlisted music tracks, the background music, the jingles, and other sound effects used in the program (I will also subsequently explain the log in more detail). Besides the two screens, they each have a speaker microphone in front of them and a headset connected to the table. In addition to their mobile phones, which they use frequently (mostly in music breaks during the show), each uses a stationary telephone by their workstation with a laminated list of "important telephone numbers" glued to the desk beside it. I think to myself that Sanne must have been using the telephone hotline for "Technician" when she had trouble with her computer's software:

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mentioned scholars is a research sensibility that considers the *material,* the *performative*, and the *situated* aspects of sociomaterial practices as a practice of working "in the world," "on the world," and "being alive to the world":

> John: So the underlying point is quite radical, isn't it? In effect you're saying that science and social science don't represent reality neutrally. You're saying that we work in the world, but also that we work on the world. And, as the anthropologist Tim Ingold puts it, we're alive to the world too. (Law and Singleton 2013, 486)

The abovementioned post-ANT scholars all work with questions of agency in practices—that is, how agency can be understood as enacted around actors (humans and things) while situated in practices. As I am curious, throughout this dissertation, to explore the notion of agency in situa-

Picture 17: Glued to the desks in the studio, a laminated sheet of paper lists the "important numbers" with different hotlines in case of problems or uncertainty.

As the program begins, I take notice of all the different equipment. It seems pretty overwhelming to me, but Søren has assured me, "It is really quite simple when you have learned it." In their 2017 book *The Mediated Construction of Reality*, media scholars Nick Couldry and Andreas Hepp propose the concept of "media manifold" to describe the contemporary media landscape as a "many-dimensional media universe" (Couldry and Hepp 2017, 56) and the specific contemporary media object as "a many-dimensional object that can be captured adequately in a lesser

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tions, particularly in situations relating to music in work practices, let's dwell here on yet another anthropological account of agency.

In the foreword to Alfred Gell's *Art and Agency* (1998), written after Gell's death in 1997, anthropologist Nicholas Thomas suggests that to study agency is to study "doing" and theorize about "indexes" and "effects" in world-making processes (Thomas 1998, ix). Agency—understood as "doing," made up from "indexes and effects" around actors in situations, or understood, as Ingold suggests above, as a "coupling of *perception* and *action* within processes of ontogenetic development"—is a concept I take with me throughout. I will add an affective perspective on to this, as proposed earlier by Pedersen, and consider affects (as a product of *actors effects*) in the social as actors in the "ethical self conservation that takes place in performances in practice". Actors are "affectors" in the social and affects are likewise to be considered as actors in meshworks of production (Pedersen 2015).

number of dimensions" (ibid.).[56] I think it is reasonable to consider radio a medium in itself—a media manifold—including the inside of the studio. Radio could be considered a medium made up from many media that cohere also in the production. Let me develop on the idea of a *media manifold* from a production perspective in the following.

Technologies in Action in the Studio

The clock on the wall in front of us turns to 6:00, and the news comes on with Claus. The news is followed by the characteristic jingle: "P3—Det man hører er man selv" ("P3—What you hear is who you are"), then a music track followed by the jingle for the specific program: "P3. P.P.P.P. God Morgen P3, P.P.P.P.3, med Sanne, Anne og Lars." The program loudly booms out from the many speakers above our heads. From here, the first hour of the program rolls along with a combination of personal anecdotes (i.e., Lars' impending fatherhood, or *fødselsforberedelse*), talk about the weather, and a quiz with call-ins, all mixed with playlisted music, background music, and the Station IDs and program/station adverts.[57]

In the first hour, Søren continues to work with concentration. He is busy getting the program started in a decent manner, and he is following the hosts intensely through the glass between where we sit and the studio. When a host speaks on air, Søren speaks into the host's headphones through a microphone in front of him. He serves them witty phrases, passages, and ideas for funny comments. He suggests a phrase in the microphone, and two seconds later I hear it coming out from one of the host's mouths as if it were the most natural thing for him or her to say. It is indeed an impressive act of teamwork. Søren receives text messages, emails, and phone calls from listeners, and he gives the hosts a notice—a heads up—over the microphone when they must finish talking in order to maintain the proper length of the speech block.

While the team is on air, a little red light is turned on beside the door into the studio, and the members of the team wear headphones:

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On the verge of my return to academia, I found post-ANT to be an inspiring frame with which to try and work with meaning-making or world-making activity around actors or "things" in two areas that were converging for me: the practice of producing culture, where I came from, and the practice of producing theory about culture, where I now found myself.

Actor-Network Theory (ANT)

From a post-ANT sensibility toward messiness, performativity, and agency, I will now take a look at some of the guiding principles expressed in its ancestor discipline, ANT.

If I talk about a sensibility toward mess and follow this by pointing out specific theoretical points of focus, I am treading a risky (if not impossible) path, assuming, as I stated earlier, that my intention is to "stay loyal to the mess." As author Susan Sontag wrote in 1961, "Any sensibility which can be crammed into the mold of a system, or handled with the rough tools of

Picture 18: When the hosts are on air, the red light outside the door to the studio is on.

When the tracks from the playlist come on, the red light goes off. Then the hosts typically take off their headphones; they chat with each other, go to the toilet, fetch coffee or water, arrange further details with Søren, or just stand at their work station while they look at their computers or telephones, maybe dancing a little to the music (either by themselves or together). The play-listed music tracks provide the *GMP3* team with small breaks in the workflow—except maybe for the DJ, Anne, who often uses these breaks to work on her computer preparing the next steps in the flow of sounds.

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proof, is no longer a sensibility at all. It has hardened into an idea" (Sontag 2009, 276). Still, as I am exercising some sort of agency here, I find it reasonable to try and lay bare what I perceive as the *indexes* and *effects* of this research in order to dig a little deeper into the genealogy of my intended practice.

Studying Sociotechnical Processes

ANT examines processes of how the social is created by studying, according to Crawford, "socio-technical processes." Crawford explains sociotechnical processes as the "heterogeneous engineering in which the social, technical, conceptual, and textual are puzzled together (or juxtaposed) and transformed (or translated)" (Crawford 2005, 2). I will develop on this assumption as this section continues, where I will explore how ANT can be perceived as the study of how sociality is done by (dis)entangling and (re)assembling materiality in heterogeneous networks around dualisms

I see all this through the big window in front of Søren and me, but I also see it through the screens that monitor the studio through several cameras. From my seat, if I look to my right and onto three screens on the wall to the right of the producer's window, I can follow the webcams in the studio and see all the shifting angles of video recorded by the multiple cameras installed in the studio. By looking at these screens, I am actually closer to the team of hosts and their equipment than I am in my seat beside Søren.

- See Picture 19a and 19b

One of those screens shows me what "listeners" at home in Denmark see if they go on P3's web-page on the dr.dk site and click on the "See Webcam" button.[58] From DR's website, listeners can get direct access to a stream of the studio's live broadcasting. Marie, the other producer, tells me that the video recorded by the webcam in the studio is not archived in a long-term sense; it is first and foremost a live-on-air streaming. However, the social media content editor cuts out specific video clips from some (good) situations in particular programs and posts them on the P3 Facebook page. Those video clips, which often contain an especially funny, touching, or embarrassing situation with the *GMP3* hosts in action, get an afterlife on Facebook with comments and likes by P3's followers. Besides video clips from the program, the P3 Facebook content editor also posts specially selected text messages sent in by listeners during a program. Hence, (important, funny, touching) subjects proposed by the listeners are laid out for the P3 Facebook followers to comment on. Marie, the other producer, tells me that it works like this:

> So there is one that controls the internet. And then there is a production assistant/movie editor. So we tell her, "At 7:34 something funny happened. Will you see if that works well on video?" And she also makes the blogs. (Fieldnotes, Jens 6)

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such as human and non-human, subject and object, nature and culture.

ANT is often considered to be one of many anti-essentialist movements within academia that occurred in the late 1970s and mid-1980s. Mol refers to ANT as part of a movement that arose out of science and technology studies (STS)—formerly known as social studies of knowledge (SKK)[20]—with a wish to "unmask the west and its truth machines" (Mol 2014, 2). In addition to Mol and Law, major contributions to the canon of ANT include the work of sociologist/anthropologists Bruno Latour and Michel Callon. These researchers are associated with science and technology studies (STS) and share a concern with how scientific knowledge is constructed in sociotechnical processes.

Studying "Great Divides" in Sociotechnical Processes
In *We Have Never Been Modern*, Latour argues that the distinction or divide between human and

Web-cam view. One screen with the live streaming and one screen showing all different angles recorded.

Picture 19a and 19b: The producer's place and the webcam screens in the studio.

Web—cam view with person in front
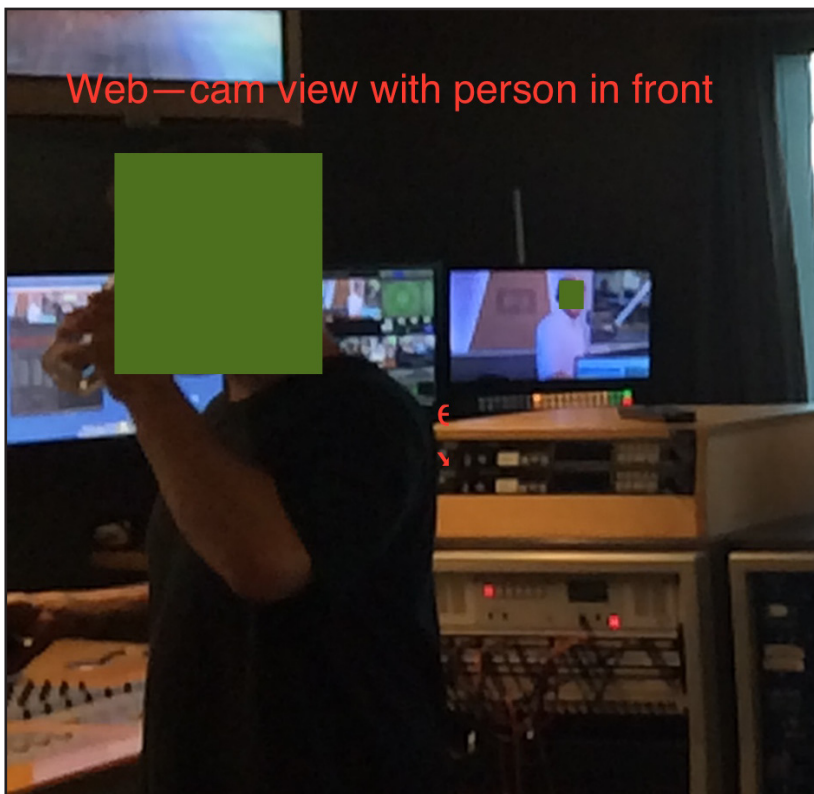
Touching Technologies While Enacting P3 as a Many-Platformed Brand

The multiple ICTs involved in radio production bear witness to how radio has changed within the last three decades. Even though radio (in the sense of *apparatuses* in homes and cars) still exists, the expression "turn on the radio" could just as well mean streaming a radio channel on your computer, tablet, or mobile device as pushing a button on a radio receiver. On these streaming platforms, you are probably also met with news feeds, adverts, and other impressions or possibilities for further "surfing" activities. "Turning on the radio" could also mean finding a radio podcast you wish to listen to, maybe in a series you specifically subscribe to. Maybe this series has been recommended by a friend or suggested to you by algorithmic recommendation services on the internet. You could also "turn on" the radio by opening your internet browser to watch live radio from the webcam of a studio—P3, for instance—on a 24/7 basis.

Contemporary radio can no longer be perceived as "directed solely to the ear," as it has been characterized throughout most of its life (Aaberg 1997, 106). It can no longer be perceived solely as a "blind medium," as Crisell deemed it in 1986 (1994, 3). As witnessed by the webcams in the studio, "turning on" the radio can involve many different patterns of action that involve accessing many different platforms of information and possibilities for further actions. In this setting, media scholar David Beer's suggestion "that we are moving towards more active types of environments, where agency becomes more complex and internetworked into the infrastructures in which we live" (Beer 2013, 26) seems a reasonable claim.

The procedures and equipment in the studio are a testament to contemporary radio as a media manifold. Radio as a "many-dimensional object" in Couldry and Hepp's terms, is reflected in the production environment of doing *GMP3*. Doing the production of a *GMP3* program involves a lot of touching and being touched by different information and communication technologies, both "old" and "new": Pushing buttons; speaking into microphones; being touched by the

non-human is not possible—according to him, this dualism is a construct of modernism in itself. He deems such divides—between nature and culture, human and non-human, micro and macro— the "great divides" (Latour 1993, 103). In 2002, he describes these "great divides" as meaningless constructions "irrelevant for understanding the world of human interactions" and as distinctions that "[stifle] any attempt at understanding how society is generated." Latour argues that nature is always (already) a mix of natures, on the one hand, and nature *and* culture, on the other (Latour 2002, 118).

A point of interest in much ANT work is the study of precisely how these great divides both *inform* and are *informed by processes of creating sociality* in practice. By (dis)entangling and (re)assembling how human and non-human actors are gaining significance in networks, ANT studies the meaning-making, or "world-making" (Baiocchi, Graizbord, and Rodríguez-Muñiz 2013, 336; cf. Burawoy 2001; Gupta and Ferguson 1997; Marcus 1995), activity that happens in

producer's voice and instructions through the headphones, by the different music and sounds in the studio, by the acoustics in the room, by lights that go on and off; touching computer screens and keyboards and different software while gathering information about content; being touched imaginatively through the ether by listeners' ears and minds in living rooms and cars throughout Denmark; being watched by their eyes on video through the webcam or on Facebook; being touched by listeners' call-ins, incoming text messages, and comments on diverse communication platforms through computers and telephones in the studio; being touched by other members in the production team while working together. Certainly the three hosts on today's program appear stylish, well dressed, and with full makeup, even at five o'clock in the morning. Is that partly because of the webcams?

In an interview the previous year, DR employee and former radio host Trine (now the editor of spoken music content) had explained to me how she considered the changing media to affect the radio hosts' position and their way of being in the studio:

> Being a radio host today—damn, that is fierce! I have always loved radio, but also *because* it is... or was... so bloody anonymous, right? One could transmit to 1.5 million listeners, and *no one* knew who you were. The listeners could not care less. But those times are over. Today everyone has to be able to stand before some webcam while delivering! Oh, but that just how it is. I liked it when you could appear at work with morning hair and no make-up, ha ha. But then again, being in the media business today attracts other types of humans. People are more, like, "on, on, on!" So... most of them *like* to be on several platforms. They are on thousands of platforms all the time anyway. They don't think about much else than what they should write next... and post on Instagram. (Interview, Trine)

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networks.

Heterogeneity and Generalized Symmetry

ANT considers *networks* in practices to be *heterogeneous*: they are made up of materials of different kinds—human, non-humans, animals—as well as from concepts, technologies, ideologies and texts (Law and Singleton 2013, 490). The situation I encountered in Afghanistan, for instance, revealed a network of multiple actors: my colleagues; the bus; its interior; the landscape; the bumpy roads; my feeling of slight carsickness; our acts of speech in terms of what was said, done, and expressed through body language or sound; my history as a theatre administrator; my feelings of anxiety; the smells and the colors; fears (of war); my personal history as a female musician; our theatre props; international politics; discourses established in me about "me" and about "us" and "them"; my colleagues' personal histories and backgrounds; our clothes; the veils; Batida as

Trine continued to elaborate on how she thought the manifold platforms and new connections and media had affected the corporation's thinking about radio. She talked about *branding across platforms* as the overall strategy:

> We have moved away from... or are on our way to move away from... thinking about things as "radio programs," but much more as brands, right? Brands that live across many different platforms. This kind of thinking has pretty much begun to permeate P3, while the other channels are not yet there, also because social media is not so dominant for those channels' target groups [e.g., P7 Mix]. Of course people make their radio program on P3. But it is just as important that they do a video format for YouTube, and that they think about how their radio program can contain something shareable on social media. And then they have a brand, the program, the spirit, or some nucleus of the program. Then *this* has to come out on all platforms. And, you know, more and more people know about P3 from Facebook, because it is shared so rapidly... and, eh... they don't necessarily listen to radio. (Interview, Trine)

Along these lines, according to Morris and Powers (2015), branding has evolved as an essential strategy in the production of contemporary media (manifold):

> [W]ithin an increasingly promotional culture (Aronczyk and Powers 2010; McAllister and West 2013), brands have become "part of the propertied ambience of media culture in which life unfolds" (Arvidsson 2006, 13). Branding, in turn, has evolved into an essential strategy for the creation and maintenance of image, reputation, character and value across a range of objects, spaces and media. Moreover, as space emerges as a critical terrain for

a collective workplace; Danish and Afghan state businesses… I could continue this list of different actors/artefacts involved in this particular situation. As Latour argues, "[…N]o science of the social can even begin if the question of who and what participates in the action is not first of all thoroughly explored, even though it might mean letting elements in which, for lack of a better term, we would call non-humans" (Latour 2005, 72).

Under the principle of *generalized symmetry*[21] (Baiocchi, Graizbord, and Rodríguez-Muñiz 2013; Callon 1986; Crawford 2005), all elements in the network can and should be treated equally and described using the same terms. When applying the concept of generalized symmetry, all actors—both what we perceive as human and as non-human—should be regarded and investigated within the same explanatory frame, and we should avoid shifting "registers when we move from the technical to the social aspects of the problem studied" (Callon 1986, 200; Crawford 2005, 2).

brand engagement (Moor 2003), brands have sought to exploit multiple levels of sensory input, including but not limited to musical sound (Powers 2010; Meier Creative Industries Journal 109 2011), in order to "reconstruct the consumer as an affective, desiring, pleasure-seeking body as they move through consumption spaces" (Wood and Ball 2013, 54). (Morris and Powers 2015, 109–10)

Brands are a part of a *promotional culture* that, according to Morris and Powers (2015), not only reflects consumers' behavior, but also "*reconstruct[s]* the consumer as an affective, desiring, pleasure-seeking body as they move through consumption spaces" (my italics).

Being Touched by Different Communication Technologies

Elaborate systems of communication, or "active types of environments" (Beer 2013, 27), have affected the ways of being a radio host. For instance, the webcams make appearance matter—this is what apprentices Kirsten and Jens and Host Talent School headmaster Lotta say when, over lunch a few days after sitting in on the program, I ask them about how they think the cameras affect the hosts. Jens says he is convinced that it changes their behavior in the studio:

> "Maybe in the beginning you are a little over-focused on them. Then you slightly forget about them, but I am convinced that it changes the way you act on a fundamental level." […] I ask Kirsten if she thinks it affects her behavior. She says, "Yes—it didn't in the beginning, but when the listeners, mostly men, started sending pictures of me via text message, I started to think about it a lot. If my hoodie was a little skewed, they commented on it, and so on." I ask if she experienced that much. She tells me, "Yes, so many [listeners'] comments on my appearance and my gender." (Fieldnotes, Kirsten 1)

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(Re)Assembling the Social: Actors, Associations, and Translations
According to Crawford, ANT thinking is informed by an idea of *relational materiality*. The idea of relational materiality means "the material extension of semiotics, which presupposes that all entities achieve significance in relation to others" (Crawford 2005, 2). Actors in networks are seen as the *material extension of semiotics*—signs that are attributed meaning in the network, *in relation*. Latour develops the notion of the actor:

> By contrast, if we stick to our decision to start from the controversies about actors and agencies, then *any thing* that does modify a state of affairs by making a difference is an actor—or, if it has no figuration yet, an actant. Thus, the questions to ask about any agent are simply the following: Does it make a difference in the course of some other agent's action or not? Is there some trial that allows someone to detect this difference? (Latour 2005, 71; emphasis original)

It seems that the media manifold incorporates many new communication technologies. But it also seems that the mere technological discourse or condition has some (re)iterative effects in the work environment. Let's see how some of the new possibilities for communication have opened up space for some rather old and unfortunate "technologies"[60] concerning gender issues, for instance.

As we continue to discuss the subject over lunch, Kirsten explains how she feels a little double about the gender-related attention:

> "The other day I came on, just for a short comment, to do a recommendation for Roskilde Festival... I recommended Joy Division... then someone commented right away, 'That girl looked nice.' 'Can we get her on again?' 'More of her!' And I was only on for two seconds. But then sometimes it is really rough repsonse that comes from the listeners. [... Kirsten continues, mentioning several examples of strange text messages, some of which I will return to later]. One wrote, after a serious comment about some music, "Does she also have tits?" We all laugh, in a sort of tragicomic atmosphere. Lotta, the headmaster, says that you get trained as a woman to swerve those comments away from yourself and just laugh at them, but sometimes what they write "is just deeply gross and hurting." Jens tells us that he does not receive such comments[59]. I ask if they have the impression that it is mostly men who write those comments, or if this also accounts for women. Lotta says that it is mostly men who write sexually loaded and gender ´abusive´ content, but women also send in text messages; women mainly write when they feel hurt about something. For instance, when it is "about animals' wellbeing, it is almost only women who write and complain about the way we treat animals," Lotta tells us. (Fieldnotes, Kirsten 1)

In Section 1, Lars talked about *the new digital reality* as something that threatens DR in contem-

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ANT can be understood to be engaged in the (*dis)entaglement* of practices in networks of heterogeneous actors that achieve significance in relation. In addition to looking at the (dis)entangling of actors in practices, ANT can be seen as a discipline that studies the (*re)assembling*[22] of meaning in those processes. The reassembling—the meaning-making—happens through processes of "association" (Latour 1996b, 2; 2005, 7) and "translation" (Callon and Law 1982, 619).

"Association" is to Latour a matter of (re)assembling "the social." In *Reassembling The Social* (2005), Latour describes "the social" "not as a special domain, a specific realm, or a particular sort of thing, but only as a very peculiar movement of re-association and reassembling" (2005, 7). The (re)assembling of the social happens through "translation," which occurs in networks as part of the acts of negotiating (and limiting) social spaces. In a text from 1986, Callon describes translation as consisting of phases "during which the identity of actors, the possibility of

porary times. Let's consider the question of new media and the media manifold as part of this new media reality and investigate some common assumptions around the implementation of new technologies in work practices, as well as around how they are causing friction in daily work life. What kind of friction do these new technologies cause?

Frictions in The "New" Media Reality

The new and multiple ICTs integrated in the work practices on P3 did *in themselves* cause some friction in daily work life, such as when Sanne couldn't get Google Docs to work. But when I asked about the complexity of the multiple new pieces of technological equipment surrounding the employees, most people just saw those challenges as conditions that were solvable and easily learned. What seemed to create more friction—especially for the female workers—was that these communication technologies tended to be used in ways that facilitated some quite old technologies, or "disorders," as Haraway put it in Section 1. Like Kirsten, who didn't really know what to think about the very persistent focus on her gender (rather than on her information about music), the women hosts felt an overwhelming focus on their gender, and this did affect them while enacting on air.

When looking at P3 as a media manifold and a many-platformed brand, what seemed to be more of a problem was what entailed the discourse of "a new media reality"—the "agenda" around new digital technologies, to return to another quote in Section 1 (Plesner, Glerup, and Justesen 2016). The many platforms and new channels for communicating suddenly seemed to open up space for, for instance some unexpected and inappropriate behavior concerning rude incoming text messages and other responses from listeners. The multiple feedback channels made the *technologies* or values or signals you fed into your brand rather important, as this made up the platform for communication. You had to be aware of your output as you were sure to get an (honost) response from the listeners. Just like GMP3, that controlled the output through a

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interaction, and the margins of manoeuvre are negotiated and delimited" (Callon 1986, 203). In an even earlier text from 1982, Callon and Law describe translation as a process by which "different claims, substances or processes are equated with one another: where, in other words, what it is in fact unlike is treated as if it were identical" (Callon and Law 1982, 619).

ANT in Musicology

The discipline of ANT has found its way into the study of music as well. In 2014's *The Musicology of Record Production*, Zagorski-Thomas uses ANT in order to study "[t]he social process of interaction [that] involves all the human actors in the network reconfiguring their mental representations of the activity, the music and each other in response to their engagement with the other actors (human and inanimate)." Danish musicologist Mads Krogh describes ANT as a tool for studying—e.g., in a concert hall—"how all things, events, or acts in the social and material world

rehearsed sociability and through pre-programmed music tracks. GMP3 did not feed the brand with any kind of inappropriate sociability—certainly not around music. In this anchor program there was no sociability created around music, nor was there inappropriate sociability around the social interrelating and "soft chatter" on air. As we will see later in relation to Kirsten's story, this was not the case with all programs on P3.

danah boyd, tech ethnographer, stresses that technology and data do nothing in and of themselves. With reference to Geoffrey Bowker, a professor in informatics and computer science, she says that "[r]aw data is both an oxymoron and a bad idea; to the contrary, data should be cooked with care." According to boyd, it is important to acknowledge that

> data doesn't speak for itself. It's the process of working with and interpreting data that makes it valuable. Who the chef is matters. Who's doing the analysis, the sense-making matters. (boyd 2014, webpage)

As our conversation at the lunch table continues, Jens says that he also thinks that ICTs in themselves do *not* enable unfortunate behavior. Unfortunate behavior, he says, is an active act in itself:

> "This is not the case," says Jens, who "finds this kind of [harrassing] behavior utterly strange. It is —by all means—an *active act* to write a text message. Texts doesn't write themselves," he says. "You make a couple of spelling mistakes, you work with the auto-correction, etc. There is actually time to think along that act." (Fieldnotes, Kirsten, Jens & Lotta)

In this section, I have communicated a sense of the places that were used in the actual production of a *GMP3* program in the early morning. I have described the morning preparations for what Crisell has called "the sequences of talk" (Crisell 1994, 72) in a segmented, structured radio program such as *GMP3*. Furthermore, I have described contemporary radio production on P3 as

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must be understood as hybrids and relationally defined, and about how boundary, identity, and stability as well as disruption and change are determined by enactments of relations, or, as they are called, associations" (Krogh 2016, 119).

I adhere to ANT's engagement in how social collective categories such as "society," "culture," "the social", "music" or "P3" are continuously constructed in processes of (dis)entanglements, (re)assembling, association, and translation in relation; I also subscribe to its focus on how particular realities are enacted in practices made up in complex relations between *humans and non-humans*. As Baiocchi, Graizbord, and Rodríguez-Muñiz state:

> ANT strives for descriptions of a very particular and foundational activity: the assembling, disassembling, and reassembling of associations. Following human and nonhuman actants and their translations, ethnographers are charged with describing the dynamic, though not

the production of a many-platformed brand that involves old and new communication technologies. The data that was put into this system had to be "cooked with care," in boyd's words, in order to avoid "backlash" from "old" technologies such as the patriarchal gender-bashing that particularly seemed to be experienced by the female hosts.

GMP3 seemed like a program that "cooked its data with care" while being what Couldry and Hepp called a media manifold. The content in *GMP3* was quite controlled around a sociability that was discussed, planned, and rehearsed.

The preparations for doing a *GMP3* program did not include reflections on music at all, or for that matter how to present it on air.[61] In this particular part of the production, it did indeed seem—as Have argues—that the verbal link between the music and the host was lost (Have 2018, 146). Music was not an issue or a subject that was taking part in preparations of the "soft chatter." It was just there.

The Branded Musical Experience

Music was just there, but it did take up a great deal of space and air-time. Just like *GMP3*'s sociability, the music tracks that the program contained were "cooked with care." Along with the concepts of branding and platforms and the emergence of new digital technologies, Trine explained how there had been a change in the role of the DJ, as well as in the relationship between the DJ and the music played on the radio. In the 1990s, when Trine worked primarily as a DJ, she just

> came into the studio with a stack of CDs under my arm and played what I felt like that particular day. Then I could play all kinds of different shit, because I liked that myself... and because it was not enough for me to DJ at parties for my own friends, right? [She laughs] And that was a completely cool feeling and probably what many dream about as a host, to be 100 percent in charge of the music and tell people what they ought to listen to, right? But

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> necessarily successful, work of enacting particular realities. (Baiocchi, Graizbord, and Rodríguez-Muñiz 2013, 336)

In ANT, the commonly made distinctions between nature and culture, human and non-human, and practice and theory are seen as the *effects* of association and translation within network activity, rather than capable of providing any explanation (Crawford 2005). Thus, through the principles of *relational materiality* and with the notions of *association* and *translation*, ANT engages in processes of how subject and object, human and nonhuman, culture and nature, and other dualisms that partake in the making of the social are (dis)assembled/(dis)entangled/(re)assembled in heterogeneous networks of human and non-human actors. By turning the processes of this "world-making" activity into the object of study through association and translation, ANT also creates possible space to change the effects of cognition. ANT hereby works in a space of politics,

seen retrospectively, this was not very appropriate and smart. Also because, as a listener, you had absolutely *no clue* what you would get when you turned on the radio. (Interview, Trine)

Morris and Powers have discussed contemporary "branded musical experiences," in which "'brand' refers to the name and identity that distinguishes one product or service from another in the marketplace" (Morris and Powers 2015, 109). According to Trine, the "old" way of selecting music based on the DJ's own choice was not "appropriate and smart" because "as a listener you had absolutely *no clue*" what to expect.

Georgina Born proposes in a 2005 article how the name Public Service Broadcasting (PBS) along with the development of digtal tools and platforms should be reconsidered:

> "[The] concept and practice of PSB demand to be reconceived. One trigger for such rethinking is the transition to digital media, a change signalled by the common move to substitute for PBS the phrase ´public service communications´" (Born 2005b, 102)

The "rethinking" of broadcasting into ideas about communication was mirrored in Trine's idea of P3's contemporary communication around music compared to earlier times music communication:

> When I started as a DJ it was very.... heavy with knowledge... and in my opinion, even though I did it a lot of that myself at that time, it was very much ... ehmmm.... focused on the sender. Everything we made in DR was very bound up on the sender, on what WE found to be cool! You could to the highest extend talk about a V-E-R-Y elitist kind of broadcasting. [...] I think almost all media have been through this development. You know getting more in the eyesight (i øjenhøjde) of the listener, and look a little beyond yourself. (Interview, Trine)

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change, and activity.

I will now delve even deeper into questions about the meaning and matter of these actors or "things"—e.g., "music" in sociality—or *artefacts*, as they are called in Marxist dialectical materialism and in cultural psychology.

Dialectical Materialism, Cultural Psychology and Cultural Historical Activity Theory (CHAT)

As the previous section on ANT has stated, we are surrounded by artefacts, or webs of actors. We use them, we produce them, and we are used and produced by them—as seen in my work situation in Afghanistan, when I found myself entangled both physically and theoretically in many seemingly non-coherent elements or artefacts. In order to dig further into an understanding of processes of relating materiality in practice through association and translation, I will now look more thoroughly at the notion of the actor/artefact. Here, I will explore theories from dialectical

To "look a little beyond yourself" in relation to music communication ment, according to Trine, a change in focus from what the DJ himself would like *broadcast* in relation to music to what kind of *communication* the channel wanted to create "in the eyesight of the listener".

Hence, along with new technology and brand-directed thinking, there had been a change within the organization regarding how music content is handled. As a courtesy toward the listener, according to Trine, today the music selection was taken care of not by individual DJs, but by the corporation and by employees with certain responsibilities. Trine said that today there was a clear organizational division—what she called "waterproof shutters"—between "the music profile" of P3 and "the music communication" on P3:

> Very importantly, we have, like, almost waterproof shutters between what one could call the "music communication" [*musikformidlingen*, the DJing] and the "music profile." The music itself that is played on the channels, you know, what is played on P6 Beat or P7 Mix or on P3, I have *nothing* to do with. That is one of my colleagues, Peter, who has that responsibility [...] Of course I work together with him, et cetera, but it is not my decision in any way. What I am solely working with is not what we play, but how we should talk about what we play. That is my responsibility." (Interview, Trine)

The *music communication* concerned how the hosts were handling music content on air. As editor of music content on P3, P6 Beat, and P7 Mix, Trine was responsible for this area. The *music profile* concerned what music was played on the channel; this work was executed by Peter as we will learn in the next section.

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materialism and cultural psychology to examine how artefacts can be understood as *dual material-conceptual objects entangled and understood in processes of mediation and internalization.*

Both *Ideal* And *Material*

In order to make an argument about how artefacts can be understood to work in practice, I will begin with the Marxist idea of dual material-ideal artefacts, as most cultural psychologists or cultural-historical activity theorists do. I will then discuss the school of Russian cognitive psychology, led by Lev S. Vygotsky and Aleksej Leontev, and the school of cultural psychology, as represented by cultural psychologist Michael Cole (1996) and anthropologist and feminist science scholar Cathrine Hasse (2008).

In *Capital, A Critique of Political Economy* (2007 [1873]), Karl Marx consider artefacts to be simultaneously *ideal* (conceptual) and *material*.[23] "With me", Marx writes, "the ideal is

4. Planning and Programming the Music for a *GMP3* Program[62]

In this section, I will momentarily jump out of the big P3 studio to look at how the music data was "cooked"(boyd) before entering a program such as *GMP3*. In order to do this, we will now take a stroll with Peter, the Head of Music and the person responsible for the music profile. Let's leave the *sequences of talk* (Crisell 1994, 72) and the sociability constructed on *GMP3* (as a media manifold) to look at the production of *sequences of music* in this kind of segmented, structured radio.

Learning to Become a Corporate Thinker

It took me nearly a year to get near the Head of Music, Peter, and to schedule my first interview with him.[63] To get to that point, I conducted a number of interviews with different DR employees, so when I was waiting for Peter in the lobby on June xx, 20xx (approximately a year before sitting in the studio with Søren), it was not the first time I had visited the buildings.

The lobby of DR was big and airy, filled with light from the skylights and the glass façades that made up the outer walls. The inner walls of the new buildings, which had housed the old and venerable institution since 2008, were made of soft, cold gray concrete—that fancy, silky style of concrete that is widely used in modern buildings—and the floors were made of shiny gray tile. It was at least 20 meters from the ground floor to the ceiling. Nevertheless, the acoustics of the room were very comfortable and soothing. It seemed to me to be a neatly designed and crafted building. I sensed excellent craftsmanship combined with the heritage of Nordic architecture and design—the light, the air, the smell, the raw materials—and it had both a kind of freshness to it and a calming effect:

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nothing else than the material world reflected by the human mind and translated into forms of thought" (2007, 25). Thinking of artefacts as dual material-ideal, constituted and constituting in ongoing processes in practice, was essential to Marx and Engel's dialectical materialistic thinking; later, according to Cole (1996) and Hasse (2008), this thinking was also foundational for the Russian school of cognitive psychology and subsequently for cultural psychology.

Vygotsky (1896–1934) has been called the founding father of cultural psychology (e.g., by Cole 1996; Hasse 2008). In *Mind in Society: The Development of Higher Psychological Processes* (1978), he develops two notions that have become central to the development of cultural psychology as a field: *internalization* and *mediation*. According to Hasse, these concepts helped to build a bridge between the individual and the cultural, between the single mind and the cultural mind (Hasse 2008, 38). Vygotsky's "theory on development" (Vygotsky 1978, 126) rejects the idea of a dichotomy between internal or external. He denies the possibility of looking at **either**

Picture 20: The lobby and reception at DR. Photo taken on the escalator going up to the first floor.

I had been standing in this lobby a little under a year ago waiting for the Director of the Department of Music and Radio, Anders. Subsequent to this first meeting, I had met up with the editor of spoken music content, Trine; the Headmaster of the Host Talent School, Sofie; and three DJs.

Still, when I stood there waiting, on this particular day in the early summer of 20xx, I was more nervous than on my previous visits to the institution. Most likely I was affected by all the stories and rumors I had heard about Peter, but I was also excited that I had come so far and was

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"internal cognitive subjective experience" **or** "behaviouristic leaning theories solely focused on external and observational reactions." According to Vygotsky, the ability to control one's surroundings and also one's own behavior is made possible in processes consisting of **both** a development of new psychological functions **and** of the use of socially created signs and tools (ibid.). The human mind, thoughts, ideas, and behavior were considered to be shaped in (and shaping) a dialectic between already existing artefacts (the material) and concepts (the ideal).

Artefacts

The notion of the dual material-ideal artefact provided some answers for a central question within cultural psychology—the question of the "relation between culture and psyche," in Hasse's words (Hasse 2008, 37). As Cole writes (with reference to Marx and Engels, as well as to American pragmatist John Dewey), artefacts in cultural psychology are seen as dual material-conceptual

about to meet someone who was apparently the "most powerful man in Danish music life," as he had been depicted in parts of the public discourse we saw in Section 1.

Power is fascinating. The flourishing stories about the power and mystique ascribed to The Head's person and position as Head of Music at P3 were what initially made me curious. I was intrigued by the debate referred to in Section 1, which, to me, seemed to be a caricature of a powerful man. This caricature appeared to be central to the recurring and stagnant discussions between the institution of DR and the public critics of P3's music programming.

The stories of The Head and his power in relation to Danish musical life also filled me with scepticism. From many years of working in cultural organisations, I knew that narratives of power are thrilling stories to tell to others. Likewise, they are thrilling when they concern you personally. I had the impression that stories of power were sometimes used to distribute agency to certain positions in a system and remove it from others or even to blur the location of real agency and influence in the system. Moreover, I often found power narratives working as self-fulfilling prophecies: The more often stories about apparently powerful individuals or positions were told, the more powerful these individuals or positions became. It was my experience that underneath these narratives of power and of heroes and villains, things were organised slowly through complex processes over time – processes that often involved many different and sometimes invisible actors in complex networks.

What kind of "truth-making" (Mol 2014, 2) around music was going on when music was selected and scheduled, and with which technologies were these truths enacted on a daily basis? Stressing the notion of sensibility and using an anthropological investigation design inspired by Hasse's ideas of *surprises* and *learning processes* as special focal points in the field (Hasse 2011; 2015), I set out in my newly acquired position as an anthropologist to explore how ontologies are enacted in the day-to-day handling and maintenance of P3's music profile, as well

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contributors to meaning-making in practice. These artefacts are part of circular movements of learning processes through the internalization and mediation of meaning in practice:

> An artifact is an aspect of the material world that has been modified over the history of its incorporation into goal-directed human action. By virtue of the changes wrought in the process of their creation and use, artifacts are simultaneously ideal (conceptual) and material. They are ideal in that their material form has been shaped by their participation in the interactions of which they were previously a part and which they mediate in the present. (Cole 1996, 117)

This thinking of artefacts as mediators of meaning in practice, as simultaneously ideal *and* material, created the possibility for a very broad definition of materiality.[24] Whereas Marx and Engels considered artefacts to be items such as chairs and tables, Cole discussed the dual material-con-

as which technologies (in the widest possible sense) help direct the spaces in which these ontologies are enacted. I wanted to go beyond the stories and myths about Peter and look at the actors—things, people, values, thoughts, tools—involved in Peter's practices of compiling the weekly playlist of one of the most popular radio channels in Denmark.

Next to me, a man in a suit was waiting. He was looking at his phone. I took my phone out, too, and started looking at it to appear busy and professional. I looked up once in a while to keep an eye on things. Many people passed by me going up or down the escalator, swallowed up by the institution or spat out of the revolving doors facing the small canal that runs between the two DR buildings. Finally, I saw Peter come down the escalator to fetch me, sending me a warm and friendly smile.

I had ascribed a great deal of agency to Peter before I even met him. According to the *Merriam-Webster Dictionary*, agency is "the office or function of an agent [that is, 'one who is authorized to act for or in the place of another'] [... or] the capacity, condition, or state of acting or of exerting power."[64] This understanding of agency as twofold—as acting, but also as acting on behalf of something—is central to my concern in this section with Peter's actions as part of his daily practice, as well as the things and technologies he acts in relation to.

Cultural anthropologist Robert Desjarlais describes agency as acting on behalf of multiple relations and sums up its meaning in terms of *who*, *what*, *why*, *how*, *where* and *when* questions concerning action:

> How do people act? What are the means of action specific to a person, a group, an institution, or a social setting, and how do these ways of acting differ from person to person, place to place, and time to time? What orientations to time, language, and social interaction accord with these ways of acting? What are the cultural, pragmatic, and political forces that tie into diverse forms of personal agency? (Desjarlais 1996, 201)[65]

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ceptual nature of artefacts in 1996 and added speech and sayings to the list (Cole 1996, 117). Subsequently, Hasse added humans and "the physical actions we perceive and interpret" to the list in her 2011 book *Culture Analysis in Institutions*:

> Artefacts are not only culturally shaped objects, such as computers and desks, but also humans, their looks, words, and—I add to the list—the physical actions we perceive and interpret just as "naturally" as the physical artefacts. The important thing here is that artefacts are not all existing physical materiality, but only the physical materiality to which humans attribute culturally learned collective meaning. (Hasse 2011, 83–84)

In this dissertation, my use of the notion of artefacts and actors aligns with the very broad definition of the notion provided by Hasse and Cole. Artefacts are all materiality— objects; humans,

Before I met Peter, he was—in my imagination—a very powerful actor with a lot of *who*, *what*, *why*, *how*, *where*, and *when* action sticking to his person. The agency I ascribed to him was to a great extent affected by magnifying pictures in public discussions: pictures of a man and his forceful use of power in relation to the music industry through long-time embedment in the institution.

When I met him, he appeared smaller than I had expected. I found him to look young and mild-mannered. My nervousness transformed slowly into a strange kind of excitement as we stood there, close together—the P3 Head of Music and I, the anthropologist—ascending the escalator from the ground floor up to the first floor. I had arrived, finally, and despite my damp hands everything had started out fine. "Thank you for spending time on this," I said to him while still on the escalator. He replied that I was very welcome, and that he found my project interesting. He added that he "liked to participate in research projects." He was actually quite human, I thought, but what had I expected? A non-human? (Fieldnotes, Peter 1).

I think those few words spoken on the escalator made me relax for a couple of reasons. First, Peter was real, he was human, and he seemed friendly. The supersized and magnified pictures of him were instantly punctured. Second, he seemed to make an effort to accommodate me by talking to my "structural identity" as a researcher.[66] According to Hasse, structural identity is the implicit expectations tied to a social category:

> [W]e have expectations of how people should behave and talk because they occupy a social role tied to a structural identity along with the social category tied to this identity. We more or less implicitly assume a structural identity, named by a social category like *priest* to determine a person's foreseeable acts as located in practiced places and in relation to other people. (Hasse 2015, 100)

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their looks, expressions, words, and actions; and, I would also add, smells, sounds, and feelings/affects—that are experienced and sensed in practice. Moreover—and this is the important part—they are attributed "culturally learned collective meaning." I will work with notions of culture and collectivity later, but first I will round off my definition of the artefact with some additional accounts.

Artefacts as Onto-Epistemology

As quoted above, Latour argues for the definition of an actor as "*any thing* that does modify a state of affairs by making a difference" (2005, 71; emphasis original). Cole argues that an artefact is an "aspect of the material world that has been modified over the history of its incorporation into goal-directed human action [...] shaped by their participation in the interactions of which they were previously a part and which they mediate in the present"(1996, 117). Hasse argues for a definition

On the escalator, he appeared to make an effort to create a kind of symmetrical relation between our two "structural identities": him, Peter, the P3 Head of Music, and me, Katrine, the cultural anthropologist. Maybe it was a friendly gesture, maybe it was just a coincidence, but it did make me relax.

Picture 21: The sofas just outside the entrance to upper section of P3 (the department of Radio and Music).

of artefacts as "physical materiality that humans attribute culturally learned collective meaning" (2011, 83-84). All have argued for an understanding of artefacts as mediators of meaning in practice, as simultaneous ideal *and* material. I will conclude this segment of the subsection with some founding philosophical ideas about artefacts' nature of existence as presented by (systemic) anthropologist Geoffrey Bateson and by –again – Barad.

Like many contemporary anthropologists after him,[25] Bateson considers "being" as ontologized epistemology (Hasse 2000). Artefacts are understood to be both material and conceptual, as "contexts within the contexts" (Bateson 1967, 30), part of the "net of epistemological and ontological premises" that surrounds "the living man." As Bateson writes in 1972's *Steps to an Ecology of Mind*:

The living man is thus bound within a net of epistemological and ontological premises

We got off the escalator and turned left for the P3 section, but he stopped me before we came to the P3 offices, suggesting that we could sit on the sofas in the hallway. I was a bit surprised and a little worried for my recording, as the noise level in the hallway was quite high, but I said, "That's fine with me."

- See Picture 21

I sat down on a gray sofa and started to arrange my gear for interviewing. He probably wanted me on more "neutral" ground than his private office until he had gotten to know me better, I thought. Fair enough. We started off with some informal chatting about children, childcare, and so on. He told me he had two boys aged three and five, and I earned some cheap points by telling him about my twin boys, who were one and a half at the time (Interview, Peter 1).

Cultural Learning and My First Misstep

As a participant observer in my investigation of DR's radio production practices, I have worked with the concept of learning processes as a method for doing culture analysis in institutions. As mentioned above, Hasse has developed an approach to participant observation centered on the notion of *surprising practices* and the *learning participant observer* as being in a *process of cultural learning* (Hasse 2015, 23). The notion of surprising practices implies a methodology that involves the anthropologist's own learning processes while doing fieldwork in institutions. Handling my data material in order to analyze the culture of the institution DR, I focused on moments of surprise, embarrassment, or just my own slight adjustments of behavior as a cultural being and a newcomer to the institution.

As described in Section 0, culture can be understood as "something we do, while we learn to create connections between materiality and meaning in social and physical spaces" (Hasse

which—regardless of ultimate truth or falsity—become partially self-validating for him [...] It is awkward to refer constantly to both epistemology and ontology and incorrect to suggest that they are separable in human history. (Bateson 1972, 314)

When referring to meaning-making around artefacts in practices, the awkwardness in constantly referring to both ontology (something that is) and epistemology (something that governs) is lessened a bit with Barad's suggestion of studying all practice as "onto-epistemology," the study of practices as knowing *in* being:

Practices of knowing and being are not isolatable, but rather they are mutually implicated. We do not obtain knowledge by standing outside of the world; we know because "we" are *of* the world. We are part of the world in its differential becoming [...] *Onto-epistem-ology*—the

2011, 69). By considering myself as learning to adjust to the organization, learning how to create connections between materiality and meaning in the spaces around Peter, I hoped to get a sense of what technologies (in a broad sense, as described above) helped organize the spaces of Peter's lifeworld in his daily practices. Hasse's theory about the "learning participant observer" is about "learning in a space that is 'topologically fluid' (Ingold 2011b, 64) yet frictioned by expectations in organised ways" (Hasse 2015, 24). Hence, through fieldwork I hoped to get a sense of the expectations towards materiality in this setting, expectations that partook in the governing and organizing of the daily handling of music on P3.

I began the interview by inquiring into the fluid space between us, and I was only at my opening question when I had my first surprise and episode of personal learning. After having introduced Peter to the concept of semi-structured interviews (Rubow 2003), which alternate between very broad and general and very narrow and specific questions, respectively, I asked him my standard opening question, which I thought somewhat innocent: "What is music to you?" The question seemed at first to make him a little confused; he looked around the room. Then, as if suddenly deciding, he responded in a clear and somewhat ironic tone of voice, "Music to me is when someone plays instruments and sings at the same time!" He then clapped his hands, pretending to stand up, wanting to shake my hand while saying somewhat sarcastically, "That was easy! Thank you very much for your time. Bye bye!" At that moment, I must admit— despite his mild and friendly appearance and the apparent joking tone of his voice—I was taken by surprise. I panicked a bit, and my brain worked hard. How could I wriggle myself out of this situation with my honor intact, do a proper interview, and establish a good relationship? Surely he was joking, but this particular joke made my heart beat fast.

Hasse elaborates on the concept of structural identity: "To be given the structural identity as a physics student [Hasse conducted a study in a physics department] is not the same as being

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study of practices of knowing in being—is probably a better way to think about the kind of understandings that are needed to come to terms with how specific intra-actions matter. (Barad 2003, 829)

The study of practices of "knowing in being" as part "of the world in its differential becoming" is reflected in a branch of organizational studies that is called cultural-historical activity theory (CHAT), which I will turn to now. Here, I will also (slowly) begin to work with my view on culture and collectivity in (work) practices, a view I will explicitly describe in the subsection about culture analysis and cultural learning processes.

Cultural-Historical Activity Theory (CHAT)
Cultural-historical activity theory first appeared in the 1990s as part of organizational studies and

recognized as one" (2015, 100). Later in the text, she states, "To get a structural identity that ensures access does not necessarily mean generating a way to fill out the social role that is accepted in the long run. It is an entry point" (ibid., 102). I had gained access to Peter's world and had been given, by him, a "structural identity" as "researcher." Would I be able to live up to the expectations he tied to the social category of "researcher"?[67]

I decided to go with the joke, then swiftly changed track and concentrated on showing an interest in the very concrete and specific details of his work practices. Apparently, he was not into this kind of "reflective" approach to understanding his practice, so after laughing with him over what I learned was an unsuitable question in this context, I steeled myself and posed the next question in my most clear and confident voice: "So if you were to see yourself as a craftsman—a carpenter, for instance—what tools do you work with in your daily practice of managing the music profile of P3?" This question seemed to have a whole other tone in our fragile relationship, and this time his response showed personal commitment. I was learning in situ, and from then on the interview went smoothly. We talked about the details of encoding and preparing music for the system and about the precise practices he performed as part of his daily routines as Head of Music. He went into detail about both the thinking tools and the physical tools he found important in his practice. Several times during the interview, to my surprise, he expressed his appreciation of "real research work like the kind of work you [in the plural] do." I ended up being allowed into his private office to take photos of the different interfaces of his working computer, and left DR with an open invitation to come back.

His ironic response to my first question, which I took as somewhat testing, gave me a small shock. It surprised me and made me adjust or nest my own behavior (Hasse 2015, 212). I learned instantly what behavior was appropriate in my relationship with Peter, and subsequently the situation fueled a great deal of reflection and sharpened my attention in particular direc-

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has since contributed to a field of anthropology in organization through looking at cognition and culture in practices of work. In 1996, when organizational theorists Yrjö Engeström and David Middleton edited the book *Cognition and Communication at Work*, they considered the book's particular collection of articles to represent a movement toward a growing interest in, according to Engeström, "situated studies of work practices in transformation" or "the way human practices emerge at work: as societally located and socially intelligible actions of reasoning and communication" (Engeström and Middleton 1996, 3).[26]

Above, I presented theories on how, in the aftermath of both Marx's dialectical materialism and cultural psychology, an artefact could be anything from a physical object to a concept, feeling, or speech—as long as it was recognized and given meaning as an actor (Hasse 2011; Latour 2005) in meshworks (Ingold 2011). CHAT looks at culture and cognition as something that happens in processes of relating materiality in practices:

tions: When talking to me—a researcher, a representative of the public, or however he thought of me—Peter did not find it at all relevant to connect his own personal feelings, taste, and ideas of music to his work practice and his position. He gave me what I found to be the most general/rational definition of music and implied in both bodily and spoken language that he did not want to go down that reflective, "personalized" alley. This first moment of surprise and "cultural learning" directed my attention and curiosity toward Peter's own perception of agency in his role as P3 Head of Music at DR. I learned that in (t)his world, there are *real researchers* and *real craftsmen*. He did not act on behalf of a "you" (as in, "What is music to you?"), but instead on behalf of... of what?

Peter Entangled in the Corporation of DR

Organizational anthropologists Christina Garsten and Anette Nyqvist (also referred to in Section 3) describe the corporation as a key entry point for anthropological interest in organizations. They define the corporation as "any collective of individuals who act as one unit for one or several purposes" (2013, 5), meaning that the corporation is a company or group of people authorized to act as a single entity.[68] Garsten and Nyqvist furthermore state that the corporation (considered one legal person) is the most dominant organizational and institutional form of our time:

> Through the production and dissemination of corporate ideology and normative ideals, [the corporation] powerfully shapes the ways its members—its employees—think and act. It also moulds public discourse and practice through its public relations and marketing efforts, and contributes to the ideological transformation of the individual from producer to consumer. The limited liability joint-stock company [the corporation] has become an agent par excellence of cultural production and, as Sahlins would have it, a site of cultural production. A thorough understanding of the corporation as an organisational form is essential if we want

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> Cartesian rationalism breaks down with the recognition that the "cognitive" does not reside inside the heads of individuals. "Cognition" is analyzable as distributed between individuals and between humans and their artifacts (Cole and Engestrom 1993; Hutchins 1994; Latour 1987; Middleton and Edwards 1990; Resnick, Levine and Weasley 1991). (Engeström and Middleton 1996, 3)

Inspired by cultural psychology, CHAT adopted an interest in how artefacts act as mediators of meaning in practice.[27] Hence, the idea that "'[c]ognition' is analyzable as distributed between individuals and between humans and their artifacts" is used in CHAT in a kind of analysis that makes "everyday work practices visible" and captures "what is happening on the shop floor when practitioners make sense of situations, solve problems and generally make things work"

to understand the workings of organisations, and their implications for the lives of people.
(Garsten and Nyqvist 2013, 5–6)

It was only much later, during my second interview (but third encounter) with Peter, that I was able to transform the immediate experiences and reactions into valuable reflection with regard to understanding Peter's working conditions and his daily practice in the corporation. We were sitting in his office chatting about the various procedures. He talked while looking at the computer screen. I tried again to get some facts and names on the table: Who were the actual people that made up his network? But he seemed reluctant to name the people around him, his colleagues. For instance, I would ask, "So when you make these decisions about changes, who do you discuss them with? An editorial board or something?"

"Yes!" he would say. Nothing more. Silence.

After more silence, I would say, "I spoke to the editor of music-related content; would she be in this group?"

Peter: "Yes, if it concerned P6 and P7, which she is editor of."[69] Silence again. The silence was demonstrative; he did not take the bait I put out for him.

A little later, I tried again. "So I have done a bit of research," I said, deciding to challenge him a bit. "Your right-hand man [here, I deliberately called him by his full name] calls himself 'Selector Expert' on his Instagram profile. What does he do here?"[70] Leaning back in his chair, breathing a little heavily (a little tired?), Peter answered, "He schedules P3 and then he backs up all the music databases."

Being here for the third time now, I wondered seriously about his silence and reluctance to give me the names of the people in his network. Then it occurred to me: Maybe it was because he did not find the titles, the "who is sitting where," relevant—just as he had refused to acknowl-

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(Engeström 1999, 63).

CHAT works with meaning-making activities around artefacts in collective practices, investigating how meaning is shaped in everyday (work) practices around artefacts. The next section concerns thoughts from performativity theory and works with the material nature of ideology, making meaning matter through (re)iterative interpellations, the notion of multiple ontologies, and possibilities for change in everyday (work) practices.

Performativity Theory

As in cultural psychology and CHAT (and culture analysis, as we will see later), performativity theory is concerned with the processual character of making meaning and matter around humans and things in practice. In *Oxford Bibliographies*, linguist Jillian R. Cavanaugh writes:

edge the relevance of his own person in responding to my very first question. Maybe it was just indifferent talk to him; maybe he did really think of himself and his colleagues as small cogs in a large machine. This would explain why he avoided questions concerning people and personality.

My new theory concerning his motives for not giving me any names—that he simply did not find them relevant—was strengthened later in the conversation. I tried to ask him the same question in a different way: Could he explain the production process of a track? I was surprised when, with no hesitation whatsoever, he willingly explained (though still without mentioning any names):

> People in the music industry or the publishers know that we have editorial meetings every Thursday. Before that, we have a deadline: Tuesday at 12 a.m., if the music is to be aired on Friday. The members of the playlist committee, at that point, will have the music sent via a link where they can hear the music. Then the playlist committee meets on Thursday to decide what we want to play. Then I tell the Discotheque what we want. They code it very minimally and send it back to us with a small amount of code. Then we fine-code it in *Selector*. [I ask, "Who are 'we'?"] My right-hand man starts, and then I finish. I decide what categories it should start out with. (Interview, Peter 2)

Now, starting to get a sense of what I would describe as Peter's *corporate thinking*, I recalled his response when I had offhandedly used the word "curatorial": "Anyone who comes in here and use the word "curating" gets a bullet in their head." I had been surprised by his directness; he actually seemed annoyed. Showing my surprise, I asked him if he could expand on that remark:

> Curating—then we just put in a person, a human, and then we call it "curated." Then we have put on a fine hat, and we say, "My God, it is curated! So someone really… so it is not a machine; it is a real person who has done this!" Or we could say, "We have some values,

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> Performativity is the power of language to effect change in the world: language does not simply describe the world but may instead (or also) function as a form of social action. […] Performativity, then, is the process of subject formation, which creates that which it purports to describe and occurs through linguistic means, as well as via other social practices. (Cavanaugh 2018)

Cavanaugh traces the concept of *performativity* as "the process of subject formation" back to philosopher John L. Austin, who develops the notion of "speech act" as "performative language, which does something in the world" in his 1962 book *How to Do Things with Words* (Cavanaugh 2018). According to Cavanaugh, Austin's thoughts about the relationship between saying and doing were later developed into speech act theory by his student John Searle in the 1969 book *Speech Acts: An Essay in the Philosophy of Language*. Subsequently, according to Barad in her

we have a format, we have some ambitions, we have some [...] and from this we create our format." (Interview, Peter 1)

It appeared to me that when it came to his colleagues and his working environment, Peter enacted agency as something closely tied to ideas of being part of a corporate ideology and organization inhabited by "structural identities" rather than tied to ideas of personality. He stressed the organizational network and positions within this network, rather than the persons inhabiting the positions, as relevant to the music programming practice. Peter described his practice as Head of Music as a practice or a craft made up from a network of "values," "formats," and "ambitions," which I will later describe as some of the various actors in his everyday network comprised of organizational structures, rationalities, categories, measurements, and technologies. It had already been indicated in the very first minutes of our first meeting, but it nevertheless took me three personal encounters with the man and two months of participant observation in the organization to actually (maybe) understand on a broader organizational level that he, the P3 Head of Music, met me, a researcher from the University of Copenhagen, as an employee of the Danish Broadcasting Corporation. He served here as just a small part of a greater puzzle, inhabiting a "structural identity" as Head of Music in a larger network of actors. If I were to do my anthropology in this foreign territory, then I would have to learn to "think with the same thinking tools as the natives," as Hasse puts it (2011, 105). If I were to learn to think like Peter, I would have to learn to think corporately. I had to sharpen my attention to an understanding of the processes of music programming as part of a larger corporate endeavor—that is, among other things, as a craft made up of a network of different positions, ambitions, and technologies supporting the overall corporation.

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article "Posthumanist Performativity" (2003), the lineage of performativity is often considered to have led to philosopher Jacques Derrida and post-structuralism and then to philosopher and gender theorist Judith Butler, who "elaborates Derrida's notion of performativity through Foucault's understanding of the productive effects of regulatory power in theorizing the notion of identity performatively" (Barad 2003, 808).

The Matter of Ideology
Judith Butler develops her notion of performativity theory in relation to Althusser's ideas of interpellation and his notion of the materiality of ideology. Althusser writes:

> […] the existence of the ideas of his belief is material in that *his ideas are his* material actions
> inserted into material practices governed by material rituals which are *themselves defined by*

Creating the P3 Music Profile in a Network of Actors

Peter rejected notions of himself as a strong and powerful actor in the field. Instead, he drew attention to the networked character of his practice. He willingly named structural positions in the network and stressed the network's meaning and its overall corporate ambitions, but was unwilling to assign agential significance to particular actors. In the following subsection, I will describe what I learned about some of the important actors in his daily practice, but first, let me reiterate my understanding of an "actor" using Latour's terminology of the ANT. Latour resolves the subject-object divide in order to consider practices as made up from whole assemblages of interwoven actors, human as well as non-human:

> [N]o science of the social can even begin if the question of who and what participates in the action is not first of all thoroughly explored, even though it might mean letting elements in which, for lack of a better term, we would call non-humans. (Latour 2005, 72)

As mentioned in Section 0, according to Latour (2005, 71), human actors and non-human "actants" make a difference in relation to other agents' actions. They are the elements that make up what Law and Mol call our "socio-material practices," where ontologies are "brought into being, sustained, or allowed to wither away" (Law and Mol 2002, 6; see also Section 0).

In the following subsection, I will describe a chain of actors in Peter's network when making up the playlist. Due to the scope of this dissertation, I have picked out a few actors who will be addressed under the following headings: 1) rationalities and technologies; 2) ideas of flow and the creation of flow through the *Selector* software; and 3) the idea of P3 as a mainstream format.

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> *the material ideological apparatus from which derive the ideas of that* Subject. (Althusser 2011, 216, original italics)

"Material ideological apparatuses" in material actions in material practices, materializes, according to Butler, through repeated material rituals, for instance the great male-female gender divide. Butler is engaged in denaturalizing the naturality of the dualisms (the "great divides") of man/woman and sex/gender. She studies how sex and gender materialize in practices through everyday repetitive processes of (dis)entangling and (re)assembling the body. Through (re)iterations, bodies matter/materialize in practices. In *Bodies That Matter*, Butler writes:

> In this sense, to know the significance of something is to know how and why it matters, where "to matter" means at once "to materialize" and "to mean." (Butler 2011 [1993], 7)

Selector: Rationalizing the Practices of Music Programming

Mads Krogh describes in his 2018 article **"**Non/Linear Radio: Genre, Format and Rationalisation in DR Programming", the 1980s and 1990s as a period in DR's history perceived by many DR employees as a time of rationalization. It was a time when "professional management competencies were highlighted as an area requiring special attention" (Krogh 2018, 71), the "DR management would compare the corporation to a company," and "the public was gradually interpreted as 'the audience' in their capacity as clients or customers" (ibid., 72). All in all, according to Krogh and the accounts of his interlocutors, it was a time when DR was undergoing processes of rationalization:

> [I] think it reasonable to regard the development in accordance with the Weberian concept of rationalisation as the pursuance of efficiency (e.g. maximum cost-efficiency in terms of listener share), calculability (via audience measurement), predictability (via corporate strategies) and control (via profiling and playlist management) through technology (e.g. automated, digitized music management). (ibid., 73)

When I asked Peter during our first meeting to explain what means and tools he used in his daily practice, he answered by explaining the reasoning behind his choice to use music controlling and the scheduling software _Selector._ There are two main reasons to consider, he said. On the one hand, choosing and encoding the music from a centralized position is a way to produce cheaper radio. On the other hand music scheduling was a way of using technology to help you create a distinct channel format.

A History of Rationalization

> [T]here is some rational logic in the way radio is produced today, compared to the way it was

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According to Butler, matter and materialization are deeply interconnected, as matter (meaning and body matter) materializes through reiterative and performative actions of ideology (such as gender stereotypes) in practice. As she writes in *Gender Trouble*:

> In the first instance, performativity must be understood not as a singular or deliberate "act,"
> but, rather, as the reiterative and citational practice by which discourse produces the effects
> that it names. (Butler 1999, xii)[28]

Ontology Matters in Practice

Mol refers to notions of performativity as part of what she calls "ontological politics." In *The Body Multiple* (2002), she investigates how bodies and diseases are enacted (performed) in nu-

done in the 1980s and 1990s, where the DJs spent a lot of time preparing for the program
and did the... uh... planning themselves. (Interview, Peter 1)

In agreement with Trine's story in the last section, Peter told me that the DJs themselves used to select music for their programs, fetch it from the Discotheque,[71] put it in order, and mark each track's starting point (for the vocalist) and mix point (where to end the number and start something else). These two points were important for the DJs to know if they were going to be able to create the right flow. According to Peter, this was a very time-consuming practice compared to today.

Now, the selection and coding of each track are both done centrally, once and for all, by Peter in *Selector*. Then, using simple algorithms, the computer selects what music is to be played on an hourly, daily, or weekly basis. Finally, Peter looks through *Selector*'s choices (at least for the music that is programmed to be played during the day) to make sure they are OK.

Krogh highlights different events in order to map DR's rationalization process beginning with the termination of the national media monopoly in 1983. Opening up for the possibility of local and commercial radio stations caused DR to face "an environment of dramatically increased competition, and as a consequence programme production was reorganised, first in local experiments in 1985 and then in a full-fledged reform in 1989" (ibid., 69).

According to Krogh, the experiments in 1985 and the reform in 1989 led to the launch of "The New Radio" on January 1, 1992:

> While programmes had hitherto been produced by various content-defined divisions (e.g. Music, Entertainment, Culture and Society, Theatre and Literature), in 1989 most of these divisions were eliminated. Instead, teams were established with responsibility for time-based slots (early morning, morning, early afternoon, and so on) on various channels (Poulsen

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merous ways in hospitals and within situations of medical care. But the processual character of shaping matter is not, for Mol, confined to body matter. According to Mol, the notion of "ontological politics" engages in how ontologies—in terms of ideas of "what belongs to the real"—are enacted or performed in numerous ways in practices. The multiplication of ontologies comes to be political, argues Mol, because it underlines "the active mode," "the process of shaping," and the "both open and contested" nature of reality:

> Ontological politics is a composite term. It talks of ontology—which in standard philosophical parlance defines what belongs to the real, the conditions of possibility we live with. If the term ontology is defined with that of politics, then this suggests that the conditions of possibility are not given. That reality does not precede the mundane practices in which we interact with it, but is rather shaped within these practices. So the term politics works to underline this

1997, 70; Bonde 1991, 95). This development, which may be described as an exchange of 'block radio' for 'flow radio' (Jauert 2002, 6), paved the way for a thorough formatting of DR channels, launched as the 'New Radio' on 1 January 1992. (ibid., 69)

With reference to Danish media scholar Per Jauert, Krogh describes the post-1989 internal restructuring in DR's production units as an "exchange of 'block radio' for 'flow radio.'" Content-defined divisions were eliminated and replaced by working teams who referred to time parameters (i.e., "early morning," "morning," "early afternoon"), laying the groundwork for format radio as we know it today.

According to Krogh, "The New Radio" was full-format, four-channel public service radio: P1 (talk), P2 Music (classic music), The Denmark Channel (adult contemporary; later renamed P4), and P3 (for young audiences with music, news, and youth-related topics and services):

> Concurrently, dominant ways of thinking about programme production changed – from a concern with content areas to listener demands, according to the aforementioned time slots. Furthermore, prior views of departments as expert formations and strict divides between editorial and technical units gradually disappeared (Jauert 2002, 10), and this effacement of professional roles led to cuts in technical staff. Whereas local experiments in 1985 had carried a spirit of flexible editorial self-management within production groups, the tenet of the 1989 reform appeared – at least to some employees (Bonde 2014) – to be one of increased cost efficiency, just as editorial authority shifted from production units to channel and corporate management. (ibid., 69)

When *MusicMaster*[71b] was introduced as a tool on P3 in 1996, ideas of flow and format were already being enacted on a daily basis. It could be argued that this software was merely a tool

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> active mode, this process of shaping, and the fact that its character is both open and contested. (Mol 1999, 74–75)

Before providing suggestions of how to look at the practice of *doing* music on P3, I will elaborate more on my sense of how to study process, how to study the "both open and contested" nature of reality, and how to study music and agency in networks of culture production.

Culture Analysis in Organization of Culture Production

As the reader has probably figured out, the word "matter" in the question *How Culture Matters...?* in the title of my dissertation is intended to play on a double meaning of "matter" as both meaning and materiality, as those notions are deeply intra-connected in the aftermath of dialectical materialism, where material instantiations happen through repeated interpellation.

for supporting previously implemented ideas and corporate strategies concerning efficiency, calculability, predictability, and control, which Krogh describes as central to processes of rationalization within the organization of DR. Hence, when talking about music controlling software, in addition to examining the use of digital technology in itself, it is also important to focus on corporate decisions and strategies, as well as decisions about more or less commercial and "rational" strategies, as drivers of change. Still, it must also be noted that the implementation of digital technology, which was used as a tool to enact these ideas of rationalization, was (and is) perceived by some critical voices as a way of stabilizing and cementing such ideas in the daily workflow. The digital tools *MusicMaster* (introduced on P3 in 1996) and *Selector* (introduced on P3 in 2003) have received focus and caused debate—both internally within the corporation and in the public sphere (see Krogh 2018, 67).

I will return to the contemporary coding of tracks in *Selector* later. For now, it suffices to say that the most obvious effect of *Selector*'s introduction appeared to be the centralization and reduction of the number of human actors involved in the network responsible for putting together the weekly playlists. According to Peter, this was some of the "rational logic" behind the use of *Selector*. The practice of selecting and encoding music, which was previously done by the station's various DJs (maybe 20 to 30 people), a music library (the Discotheque), and a cardboard songfiling system (keeping track of rotations by arranging "songcards" around in systematic ways), was now done by mainly two actors: Peter and his computer software, *Selector*.

Shaping of Formats and Audience Research
On the other hand, Peter told me, music scheduling was a way of using technology to help you create a distinct channel format and thereby give listeners precisely what they expected (according to the corporation). He explained:

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I have looked above on the notion of dual material-ideal artefacts as matter. I have looked on notions of actors in networks, on notions of multiple different enactments of ontology in different settings, *and* on ideas about how material instantiation of ideology happens through reiterative performances around matter in practices. In the subsection on ANT, I touched on the notion of sociality and on the (dis)entanglement and (re)assembling of "the social" in sociomaterial practices. I then discussed the notion of collectivity and work communities in the subsection on CHAT. This has led me to a diffracted view of how artefacts emerge in specific practices and must be understood in specific relations. But what about notions of collectivity and culture?

Before I round up and consider how I intend to study music as part of social entanglement, I will, in the following, explain how I wish to consider the notion of *culture* in this dissertation and how I wish to study *how culture matters* in the social in the production of P3. I will explain how I intend to study some of the social dynamics around how the notion of culture matters on an

On the other hand, there is also... it gives... the potential that you can create a more distinct format. [...] You create a closed universe by having a centered music profile that goes from here to here [indicating with his hands]. Whatever is outside this, we do not touch. Also not as DJs, because it blurs the message according to what kind of a radio station P3 is. You know, you cannot play both Mozart and Metallica. [...] What we know through Medieforskningen [DR's Media Research Department] and through common knowledge is that people want to use radio like, for example, McDonald's or Noma.[72] You do not go to Noma and expect to get hot dogs. Or what if you came into McDonald's and could not get fries, because it was Tuesday, and Tuesday was salad day! It is all about the expectation to... that you have some expectations of a product or a media... There just has to be what you want, when you want it! And for this purpose, music scheduling is very effective. (Interview, Peter 1)

Krogh details how rationalization processes in DR (such as the implementation of format radio and automated music scheduling) went hand in hand with a rise in use of audience research:

It is significant that DR's criteria for success in the 1992 reform (Poulsen 1997) and the 1994 strategy paper were stated in terms of listener share (percentage of coverage within target groups). This indicates the media-scientific background of DR rationalisation. The area of audience research had seen increased activity since the 1980s under the auspices of Danmarks Radios Medieforskning/Radioens Udviklingsenhed (DR Media Research) and in collaboration with external research agencies (notably AIM). A prerequisite for the late 1980s transition from block radio to flow radio had been a comprehensive mapping of listener lifestyles (dBY 1990), just as the mid-1990s development and implementation of channel profiles relied on mappings of 600 listeners' music preferences (Jensen 1994). In the following years, further quantitative tools for segmentation based on lifestyle were applied in

everyday basis in relation to artefacts, and how culture in processes of entanglement becomes as an onto-epistemological artefact that in it self (re)iterates sociality.

Culture Analysis in Organization

In Section 1, I put forward both an ontological suggestion of what culture "is" (art-products in society) and an epistemological suggestion of what culture "does" (a social glue that is "constantly on the move").

Hasse, as well as a great part of the field of Culture Analysis in Denmark[29], addresses cultural practices within the dynamism between the ontological and the epistemological, between the singular and the plural, or, in Haraway's words, "the historical specificity" and the "contingent mutability." In the following I will explain how I understand and analyze culture as a part of a constant world-making process, as onto-epistemology that happens and evolves in situa-

gradual combination with qualitative studies (e.g. Alsted Research 1999), and listener mea-
surements were automated, becoming ever more available for managers and programmers
to take account of. (Krogh 2018, 71–72)

More listeners (via predictable formats and a good flow) at a lower cost (via less DJ preparation) were what Peter presented as the reasons for using the music scheduling system that he managed. Not only was the number of agents and actors reduced when music scheduling was introduced; *Selector* also seemed to enable the (now fewer amount of) actors to *create* an overall distinct and demarcated music universe based on ideas of the P3 listener in order to fulfill their *expectations*—to give listeners *what they want, when they want it*. It could be seen as a tool for working with what Morris and Powers call "branded musical experiences" (2015, 109).

It seemed that *Selector* made quite a "difference in the course of other agents' actions" (Latour) and hence was an important actor in Peter's daily practice. It made a difference as a central tool in the course of Peter's actions, just as it made a difference for music and the listeners of the channel. In the following subsections, I will take a closer look at how *Selector* acts in the network of actors that make up Peter's daily work practice of creating this distinct music universe, giving the listeners *what they want, when they want it* through music scheduling. I will look at the concept of flow and how flow was created (i.e., how tracks are coded and prepared in *Selector*), as well as how the distinct P3 music format was conceptualized, created, and obtained (i.e., the criteria according to which tracks were continuously selected for the playlist) in the daily work practice.

Flow and Texture: Coding in Selector
When I met Peter for the third time, we sat in his office in the editorial section for P3, P6, and P7

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tions around certain artefacts, and as an actor among actors, knowing well that it works—like all dual material-conceptual artefacts/actors—as both ontology (something that is) and epistemology (something that governs) (Hasse 2000; Hastrup, Rubow, and Thomsen 2011; Scott-Sørensen, Høystad, Bjurström, and Vike 2010). In *An Anthropology of Learning* (2015), Hasse writes:

> Cultural analysis must acknowledge that at one level, cultural practices are composed of individual performances that are only intelligible within a group of practitioners. At another level cultural practices can be studied as patterns, systems and societies identified by researchers "against the more or less stable background of other performances," which can be understood through practice theory (Rouse 2006, 505). (Hasse 2015, 11)

Culture as Onto-Epistemology
Culture can, according to Hasse, be studied and analyzed as "patterns, systems and societies"

108

and for the people in charge of the music events KarriereKanonen[73] and P3 Guld.[74] This was on the first floor, and by now I had been in this area a number of times. Downstairs, on the ground floor, were sections for the production teams of the specific radio programs and the big P3 studio. I was familiar with the layout, as I had already done two months of fieldwork there following Jens and Kirsten. Now I was back on the top floor. Peter's office had solid walls on one side, behind us. In front of us were a desk and a computer; the walls behind the computer were made of glass. Peter's office was literally a glass box located in the middle of the P3 editorial office. If we wanted to, we could look directly at the P3 employees at work outside the office:
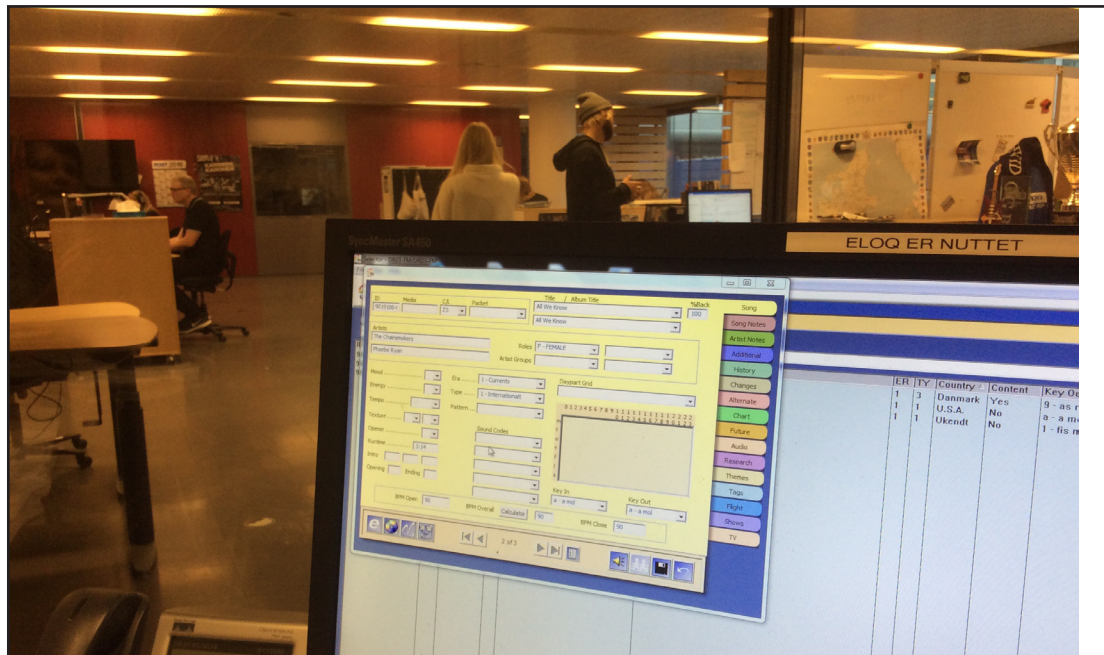
Picture 22: Peter's computer screen, showing the interface of a track in Selector, and the glass wall between Peter's office and the editorial section of the P3 Department of Music and Radio.

or maybe as, what Geertz called: "[t]he reach of our minds, the range of signs we can manage somehow to interpret" and that "what defines the intellectual, emotional and moral space within which we live (Geertz 1985, 263)". I will, in this dissertation, stick to Hasse´s (onto-)**epistem**ological explanation of culture on one side as something "we do" when we act around artefacts in practices:

> Culture cannot be reduced to something we have or is, because it is constantly on the move. Neither it can be reduced to something we write in a text, because the written text will point backward and forward to past and future connections. In this section I will argue that culture can be understood as something we do while we learn to create connections between materiality and meaning in social and physical spaces. (Hasse 2011, 69)

We did not look outside the office much, though. We looked at his computer, mostly the interface of *Selector*. Produced by the company RCS Sound Software, *Selector* was launched in 1979 and, according to the company, is one of the best-selling scheduling tools in the world:

> When it comes to creating great music logs, stations demand a common need for consistency, variety, balance, and control. Selector delivers consistency in the mix, variety in the flow, balance in the log[75] and control in the entire music library. For over 27 years, the best radio stations have been using Selector to schedule their music. (RCS 2017)

Working in *Selector*, Peter turned on some music that blared loudly from the speakers. He turned it off very quickly. His fingers moved swiftly over the keyboard, and he steered the mouse with unconscious precision as he clicked himself in and out of the different interfaces on the screen. One moment he was using *Selector*, looking at categories and setting the parameters for the track in question, the next he was using the software *Dalet* to edit the track. The track he was working on was "All We Know" by the Chainsmokers featuring Phoebe Ryan. He talked, thinking out loud, while he worked: "So, is this a track that we wish to open with? No, it isn't." He ticked off the category "N" under "Opener" in the *Selector* interface:[76]

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The picture of the "dust bunny" is Hasse's metaphor for culture in organization where it "can be studied as patterns, systems and societies" through processes of learning in relation to artefacts, as I will explain later. Hasse depicts dust bunnies as by no means stable or closed-off:

> Dust bunnies come in all kinds of shapes and sizes and consist of many different materials forming the entanglements. They form in strange places and often go unnoticed. They spread out in space and shrink again, form tubes overlaying each other and make unruly lumps which link together all kinds of materials. They may entangle organic and inorganic dust, skin cells, and house dust mites or other parasites. They are moved about by outside forces like wind, but they are also held together by forces tied into the fibres and between them in the frictions created by the relations. Physicists have actually studied these creatures of living and dead organisms organised as wholes—momentarily built but physically present, none-
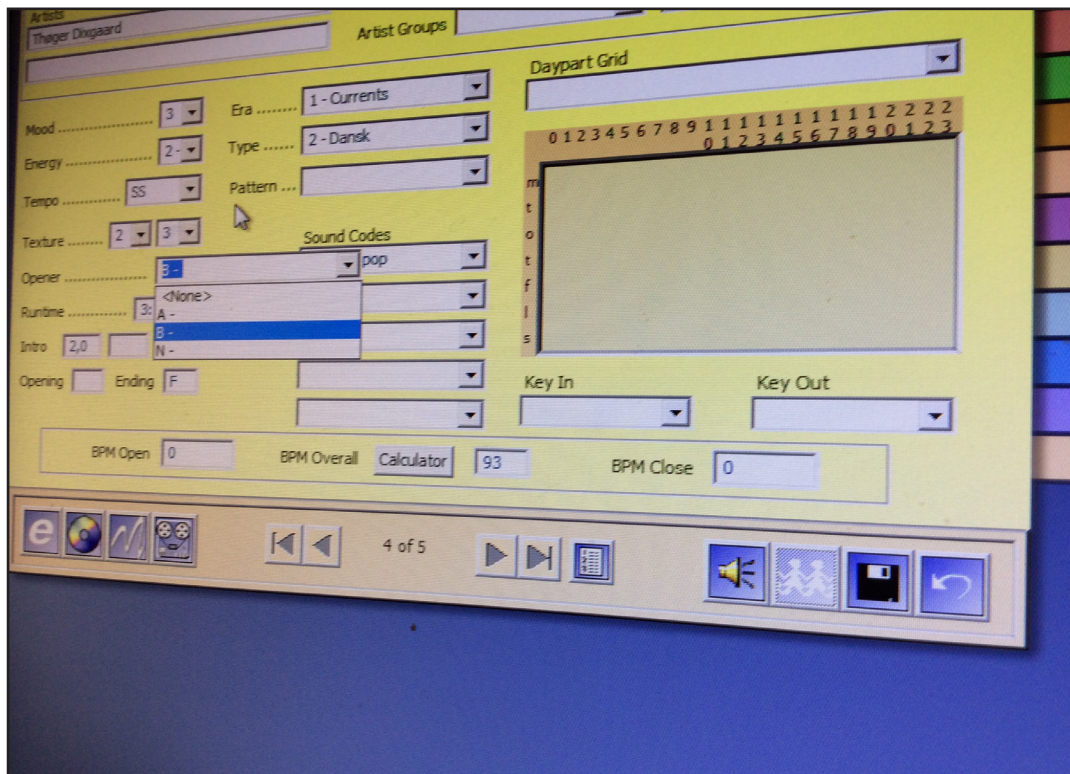
Picture 23: The interface of Selector, showing the various possibilities for categorizing the track as an "opener" or not. .

I asked Peter how he knew that this was not an "opener," and he responded, "Because of the jingle... try and listen to how this sounds." He then played the P3 jingle: "D... D... D... DET MAN HØRER, ER MAN SELV. Det her er P3!" ("W... W... W... WHAT YOU HEAR IS WHO YOU ARE. This is P3!"). The jingle was loud and forceful. Immediately after the jingle, he again played the intro to

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theless. They almost seem to be alive. (Hasse 2015, 21).

Culture as Onto-epistemology

On the other side – and in combination with – Hasse and Geertz' notion of culture as epistemology, I will work with some rather specific ontological understandings of culture as part of work in organization. I will use throughout, what in Hasse's words could be called, three specific "cultural models" (2015, 106) of how culture is often perceived to work in organizations of production.

The following three understandings of "culture" can, according to Hasse (inspired by organizational theorist Joanne Martin (2002)), exist and be enacted in organizations simultaneously, hence they are all good to keep in mind when analyzing culture in organization: 1. The integration perspective on culture. 2. The differentiation perspective on culture. 3. The fragmentation

the track by the Chainsmokers. It had an electric guitar as the only instrument, and even though a great deal of chorus and delay effects had been added to the guitar, it sounded rather thin compared to the jingle we had just heard. All of this took less than 15 seconds.

"It simply feels too tinny, too thin, compared to what has just played, right?" he asked rhetorically, though he had already moved on, clicking and ticking off more boxes on the screen.

"Oh, it is a question of texture, right?" I asked.

"Yes, texture," he replied. "Texture... *tekstur* [he repeated it in both English and Danish, savoring the word]. I do not know what it is called in Danish: *tekstur*? Yes. It simply has to be more voluminous." To be able to classify as an "opener," a track's texture thus had to correspond with the P3 jingle to allow an adequate flow between jingle and track.

We saw in Section 2 how Berland described flow as the "natural condition" of format radio, creating what many perceive as format radio's "indifferent wallpaper of continuous music and sound" (1990, 231). Talking to Peter, I learned that the creation of flow in the music programming on P3[77] was sought through the appropriate scheduling of tracks. This scheduling relied on cooperation between *Selector* and Peter (as well as his right-hand man and the Discotheque) in what I considered a rather complex process: I learned from Peter that every track had its own scheme within *Selector*. Here, you could designate different values to a track and index it according to different categories and library sections. Afterward, you could set up rules for how *Selector* should make the track act and react (according to the previous coding) in relation to other tracks and in relation to the hourly, daily, and weekly time schedules.

If flow is conceived of as the "natural condition" of format radio, then *Selector* claims to be a music scheduling tool for creating flow in accordance with the tracks' "natural demands," as described by RCS Sound Software:

> The RCS patented goal-driven demand-based scheduling engine in Selector is like no other

perspective on culture.

The *integration perspective* is concerned with what makes up the whole in the organization. It is "holistic" (Hasse 2015, 57) and underlines "the notion of harmony" (Ibid, 214) in the organization. Here "cognition is distributed not just socially but in ´whole environments´ [...] in a group where people do not do the same, but together they contribute to a common activity". Such a perspective can for instance be concerned with establishing ideas about ´what elements *are* in the action´ (Latour), by drawing up what things and humans the particular network contains. This perspective on the organization is perhaps best learned from a more experienced point of view, from people with high "cultural literacy" (Hasse 2015, 217) in the organization that are able to point out important and less important actors in the holistic understanding of the phenomenon in focus (Hasse 2015, 245).

Where the integration perspective focuses on cultural harmony in "the whole" of the orga-

music scheduling program. You create a station, design clocks, enter and code your tracks, and then Selector will schedule them according to their natural demand. You're still in control because you can adjust overall rotations, sound and flow with simple-to-use attribute sliders. Improve your station with just a few clicks, then sit back and watch Selector create schedules that reflect your changes. (RCS 2017)

Peter, too, created a "station"[78], designed clocks, and entered and coded his tracks, and judging from the speed of his work, he was good at it—an equilibrist, I might say. When I asked how he was able to overcome what seemed to me to be a big workload, he told me that it took him around two minutes to "do" one track. I will come back to what I conceive of as the shaping of "the station's" (the channel's) music format. In the following subsection, I will elaborate on the practices of creating flow through the practice of designing clocks and coding tracks.

The Clock and the Libraries

Krogh describes a shift from "content-defined divisions" (block radio) to "time-based slots" (flow radio) after the reform in 1989 (Krogh 2018, 69). In correspondence with this, one of the central planning tools in *Selector* specifically regarded *time*. *The clock* was used as an overall structuring tool for fashioning the station's daily program, hour by hour. Every hour was scaffolded, so to speak, by Peter. Here, each hour of broadcasting was cut up into slots of approximately two to three and a half minutes each:

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nization, the *differentiation perspective* focus, according to Hasse, on "conflict between groups and how they may challenge management's assertions of egalitarianism and strong culture" (Ibid, 94). The focus in the analysis is here on subcultures in the organization, and on how certain amounts of conflict is integrated into "the whole". As Hasse writes:

> "The researcher's attention is not directed at major common events such as common rituals and symbols, but on how employees are reacting against each other and treated differently as well as how subgroups of employees tend to confirm each other's values – perhaps in opposition to those espoused by management. (Ibid, 49)

The last perspective on organizational culture that Hasse (and Martin) pull forward as a relevant orientation when studying culture in organization is the *fragmentation perspective*. Here the re-
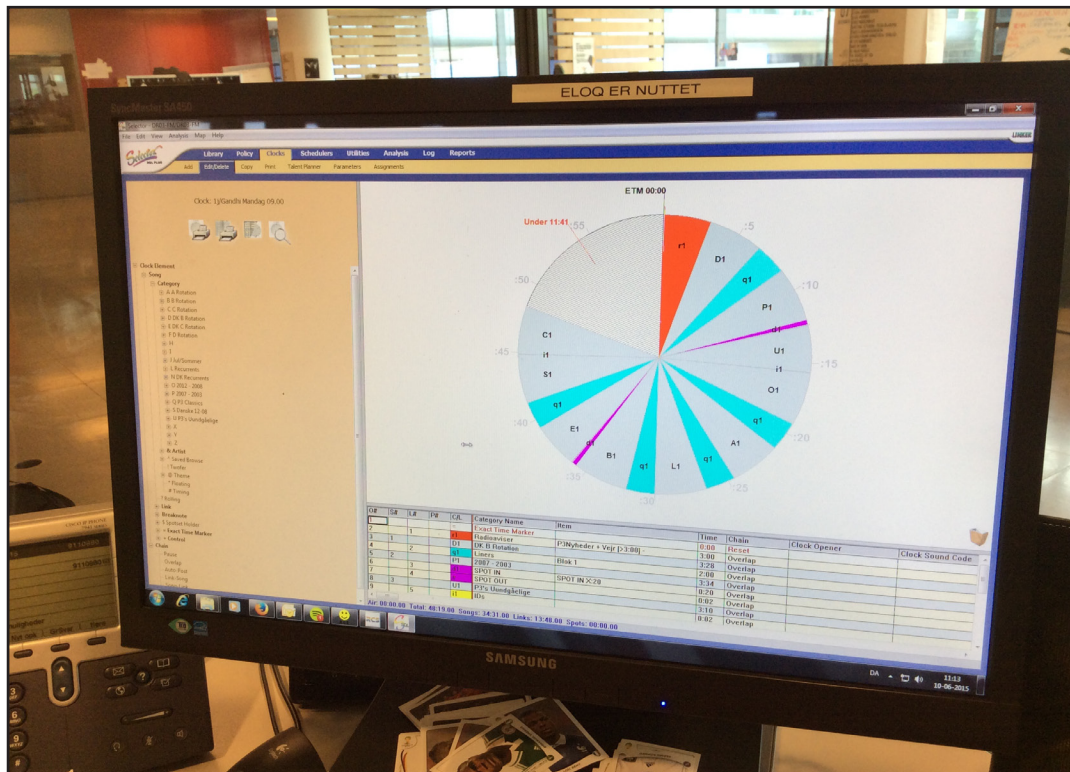
Picture 24: A clock in Selector.

The picture above shows a clock for the P3 program *Gandhi* ranging from 9 to 10 a.m. on Monday morning. The gray parts illustrate music slots; the red part is the news slot; the purple parts are the spot slots (advertisements and announcements); and the blue parts are the blocks during which the program hosts speak. At a quarter past and a quarter to the hour, the "i1" marks indi-

searcher focus on "the ambiguities and complexities of the organisational culture" (Hasse 2015, 46). In order to capture some of the complexities in organization culture, this perspective moves focus away from the seeking of harmony in organization as a whole and looks at what artefacts that gets to cross the borders of the different "cultural dust bunnies" and, perhaps even more important, at what artefacts that do *not* get to cross. This perspective focus on friction and on actors that "stands at the fringes of a dust bunny looking at the frictions (Hasse 2015, 244)" as Hasse wrote in a previous quote. It considers frictions in the practice space:

> [F]rictions are created all the time. Some lead to expansive learning, some to expulsion. Cultural learning processes are scalar learning because everyone cannot learn to engage in everything, and when we learn, we do so through our participation in everyday life. Although it is a condition for the whole of the activity that embodied practices and cognitions are distributed, some embodied practices and agential cuts may be excluded by the cultural forces. (Ibid 245)

cate the station ID, which is most likely a P3 jingle. The letters and numbers (D1, P1, U1, O1, and so on) indicate the category/library of the track. All the tracks in the library have been grouped into overall categories, as seen in the picture below:
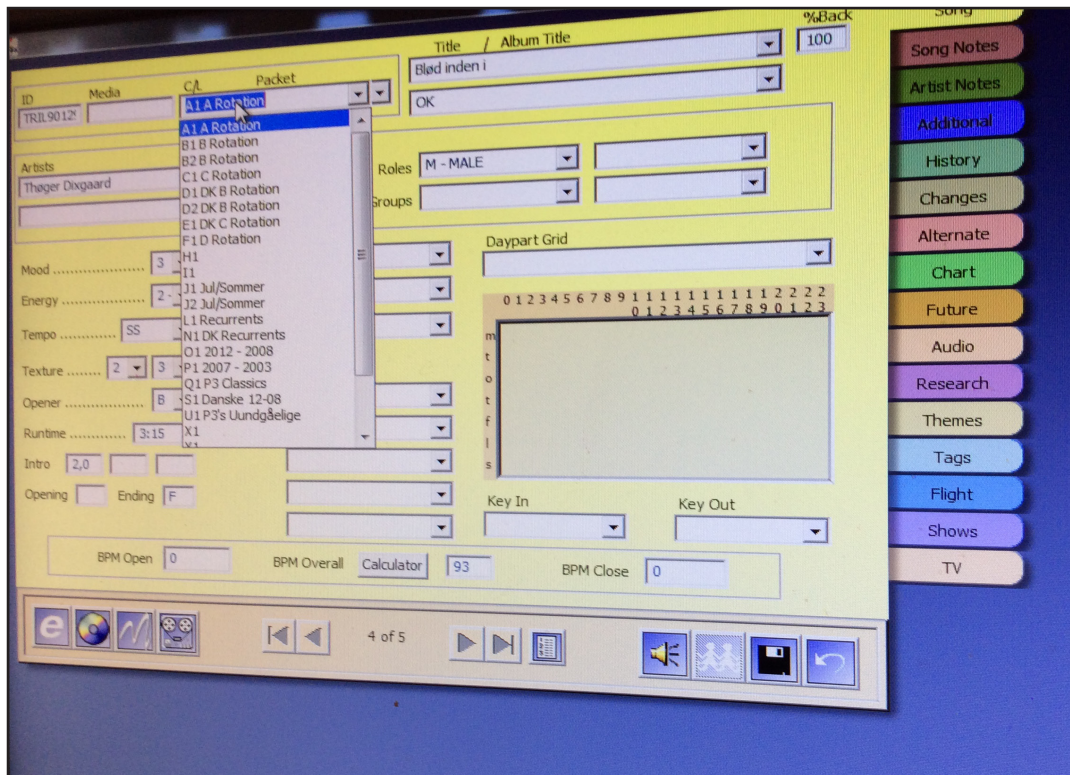
Picture 25: The different categories/libraries into which each track is grouped.

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To apply all three perspectives makes, according to Hasse, a picture of organizational worlds that can capture some of the ambiguities in the organizational cultures on different layers in the organization. But the three definitions are just *some* out of many ontological suggestions to what organization culture *is*, that can be useful when "carving up" the organization in terms of cultural understandings:

  The three approaches are, however, even when used together, just 'one among many ways to "carve up" this domain of inquiry' (Martin 1992: 43). There are no single definitions of culture and no agreement of its meaning, says Martin. Yet something is holding cultural dust bunnies together. Humans still live in material worlds, which emerge as selfevident to some but cultural to others (Hasse 2015, 57)

When Peter talked about "openers," he was referring to tracks that could follow a jingle, texture-wise, and thus create the desired flow. Looking at the clock in Picture 24, if we presume that the jingle comes after the news, as well as at a quarter past and a quarter to the hour, this tells us that the D1 ("D1 DK B rotation" in Picture 25), the O1 ("O1 2012-2008" in Picture 25), and the C1 ("C1 C rotation" in Picture 25) in this particular clock are all tracks that have initially qualified as "openers" and therefore correspond texture-wise to the P3 jingle. "All We Know" by the Chainsmokers featuring Phoebe Ryan does not qualify as an opener and will therefore not be selected by *Selector* to be played at these particular times of the hour.

So, flow was created on an hourly basis premised on the scaffolding of the hour. Peter created the recipe for the given hour, according to music categories (what he found suited the particular program), and *Selector* selected the music following his prescriptions. But flow was also created via the coding of each track according to specific parameters in order to control how the tracks succeeded each other. I will illustrate the coding of tracks in the following subsection; I will only touch briefly, at the end, on some of the overall rules for creating music logs (repetition, gender representation, and so on). First, however, I will direct my attention toward the work practices of appointing values to each track via different parameters, then finally look at some of the practices of creating the channel format of P3 (which Peter described as "mainstream").

Coding of Tracks

Back in his office, working with "All We Know" by the Chainsmokers featuring Phoebe Ryan, I inquired about the track's texture, which was a parameter for coding tracks in *Selector* (see Picture 26). I asked, "How would you categorize this track in the category 'Texture'"?

"One," Peter said, while clicking around on the screen, and continued:

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Analyzing Cultural Learning and Processes of Nesting in Dust Bunnies
According to Hasse, culture can be understood as something we *do* while we learn to relate to artefacts or "things" in practice (such a "thing" could also be for instance an ontological notion of "culture" itself). Cultural practice is, on the one hand, an "individual performance," as she wrote in an earlier quote; on the other, it is often perceived in "patterns" or as "systems." Hasse addresses, like her colleagues in the field, the challenge of studying cultural practices as "patterns" where culture is "constantly on the move". Hasse proceeds in this complex field of study with her theory of learning, that implies an understanding of culture as collective expectations towards "things" within (and without) borders of organization.

When practitioners "(re)act and create new cultural connections" (when they make "agential cuts") in organizational culture, they are gradually (through "friction") nested into a learning of what Hasse calls "cultural literacy" (Ibid, 217) and the awareness of and ability to read the

And here one always exaggerates a bit, because otherwise suddenly everything is between two and four. And then in principle, everything is possible. Because we have as a rule that there cannot be more than a two-step jump between tracks succeeding each other. So, if a track ends on five in texture, then it has to be followed by a track that has four or three in texture. Otherwise the shift will be too abrupt, right? But if all tracks are categorized as two, three, or four, you think, "Oh, but you *can* hear it." Right? And so forth... So one has to be a little more rigid and say, "Well, but how many instruments are there?" Right? There is one instrument here. Therefore, texture is one, right?[80] (Interview, Peter 2)
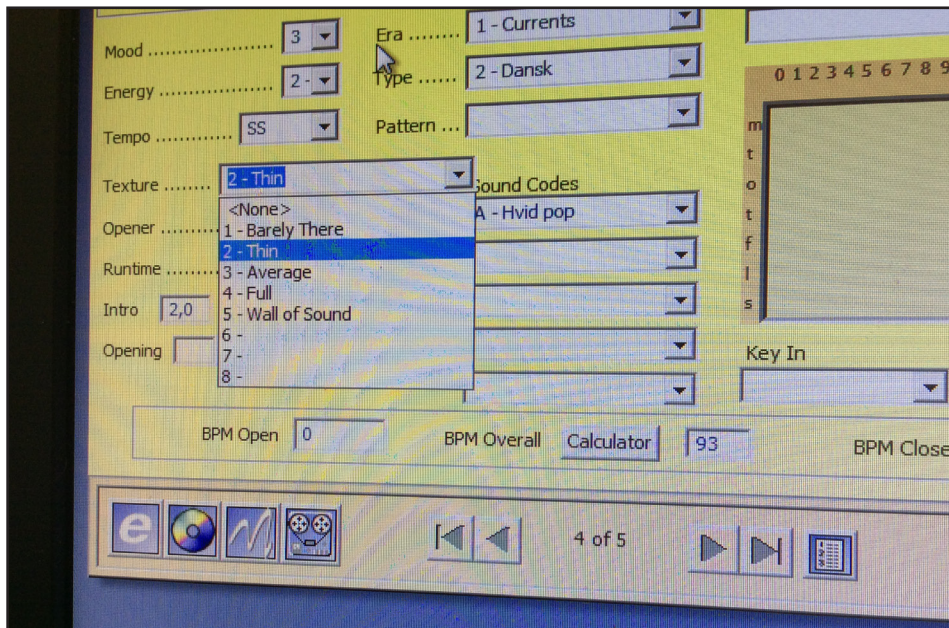
Picture 26: Options for categorizing the track according to the "Texture" parameter.

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"expectations of the collective consciousness through cultural markers" (Ibid, 218):

> I have argued that organizational cultures have a directive force. Culture, as a force that acts through learned connections tied to materials, emerges as we (re)act and creates new cultural connections. Practitioners become entangled in more or less collectively shared dust bunnies. They become nested in the lines of friction connected to various phenomena emerging as artefacts, and their (re)actions keep dust bunnies together.(Hasse 2015, 252).

Cultures around artefacts/"things" have a "directive force". Most people would for instance feel directed towards *sitting* on a chair rather than *burn it* on a fire, even though it could be used for both purposes. Hasse calls these directional forces around artefacts for "cultural models" (Hasse 2015, 106). In her anthropology of learning she studies how people and things are nested into col-

Here, I am interested in how Peter categorized a specific track in relation to the five-part spectrum. He seemed to indicate that the human mind could be tempted to categorize all tracks as two ("thin"), three ("average"), and four ("full") in the spectrum of five possible choices (because you "think" you can hear the difference, as he said). By placing the tracks in the middle categories, you would enable the software to pick from all tracks. So he encouraged the use of the entire spectrum from option one ("Barely There") to option five ("Wall of Sound") so that not everything is possible for the software, as he stated, and to create variation. In the act of coding the specific track, there was a concern for the software's ability to create variation on a more overall level. Indeed, I thought, Peter administered a complex practice that demanded a great deal of knowledge about and overview of the capacity of the software.

Another parameter concerning incoming tracks was the mood of the track. Peter told me that the mood parameter indicated the mood of the track within a spectrum of, again, five possibilities:

> So one is called "suicide," and five is called... uh... "rage." So, Katrina and the Waves' "Walking on Sunshine" would typically be a five in mood, right? It is really sort of happy-happy, right? While "Nothing Compares to You" by Sinéad O'Connor would typically be a one. Because... it is disruptive. You know this is where the track is actually disruptive in terms of doing your job or driving your car... you know that it really does something to you when you hear it. (Interview Peter 1)

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lectivity through learning about the cultural models that sticks to artefacts in practices.

Studying "Single Individuals' Consecutive, but Different, Cultural Learning Processes"
In *An Anthropology of Learning*, Hasse proposes the concept of "scalar learning" as a means "to resolve the basic question of how to reconcile individual performances with cultural wholes" and to create a reconciliation (in the analytical field) "between methodological individualism and methodological holism" (2015, 211):

> People learn to share more or less collective wholes of cultural connections through what I have called "cultural learning processes." Cultural learning processes align artefacts as relata-within-phenomena. Artefacts to some extent become collectively shared anchors that nest a force of cultural thinking and vectors of movement with material surroundings. This
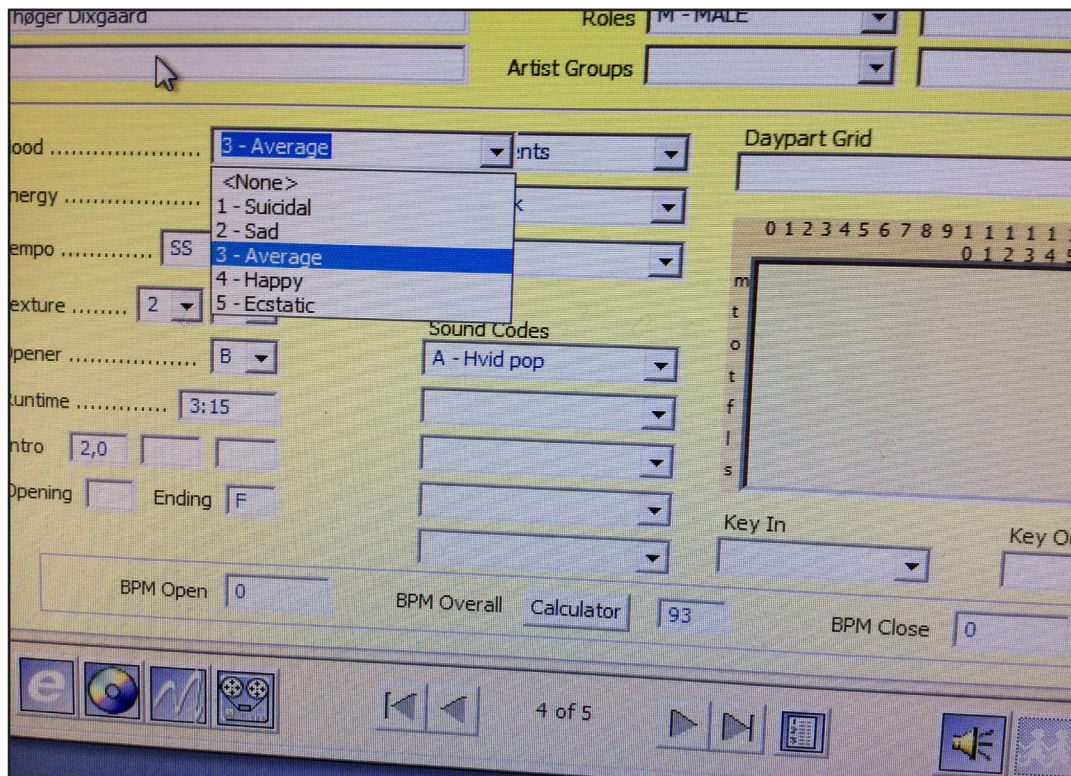
Picture 27: Options for categorizing the track according to the "mood" parameter. Here there is a mismatch between the picture and Peter's explanation (see quote in text). He calls the fifth category "rage," but in the photo (taken on the same day), it is "ecstatic."

Another parameter indicated the "energy" of the track. "How much energy is there in the track?" Peter explained. "Here, again Katrina and the Waves would be a five, while Sinéad O'Connor

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"more or less" or "to some extent" can be argued to be resulting from the participants' different cultural learning processes. (Hasse 2015, 212)

The "more or less" sharing of collective wholes—or the sharing "to some extent" of the meaning of artefacts as cultural anchors or vectors of movement—is important here because it stresses the agential significance of each individual that partakes in the learning process. As Hasse writes elsewhere:

The thesis [...] is that what objectively can be named "a group of physics students" must in practice be understood as single individuals' consecutive, but different, cultural learning processes when meeting a certain [new] world. (Hasse 2000, 10)

would be a one":
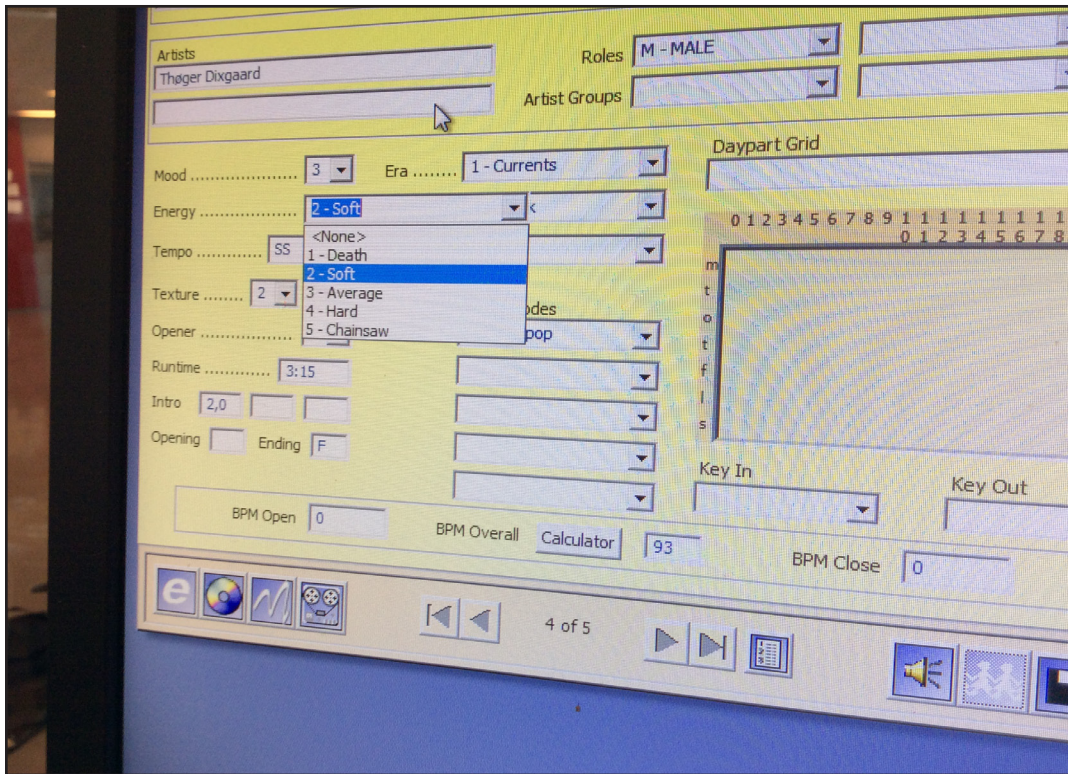
Picture 28: Options for categorizing the track according to the "energy" parameter.

Yet another parameter indicated the tempo. "So you use tempo… tempo codes," Peter told me. "How many beats per minute does the track have? Is it slow-slow, medium-slow, medium-medium, medium-fast, fast-fast, et cetera?"

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With a nod to Barad, Hasse refers to each single individual "agential cut" when she explains her theory of "scalar learning." Through enactments and non-enactments of culture markers/artefacts/"things", these different agential cuts are what make up and maintain the dust bunnies (of cultural models) in organization:

> The scale I have in mind is not one of equally sized pixels in a map, where we can zoom in and out—diversity in humans is non-scalable in any scientific sense (Tsing 2012). It is a scale of more of less aligned agential cuts (Barad 2007), where newcomers are most ignorant of what counts as cultural markers while expert practitioners have become more or less aligned in their nested being-in-the-world. (Hasse 2015, 212)

Studying collective dust bunnies by studying participants' different cultural learning process-
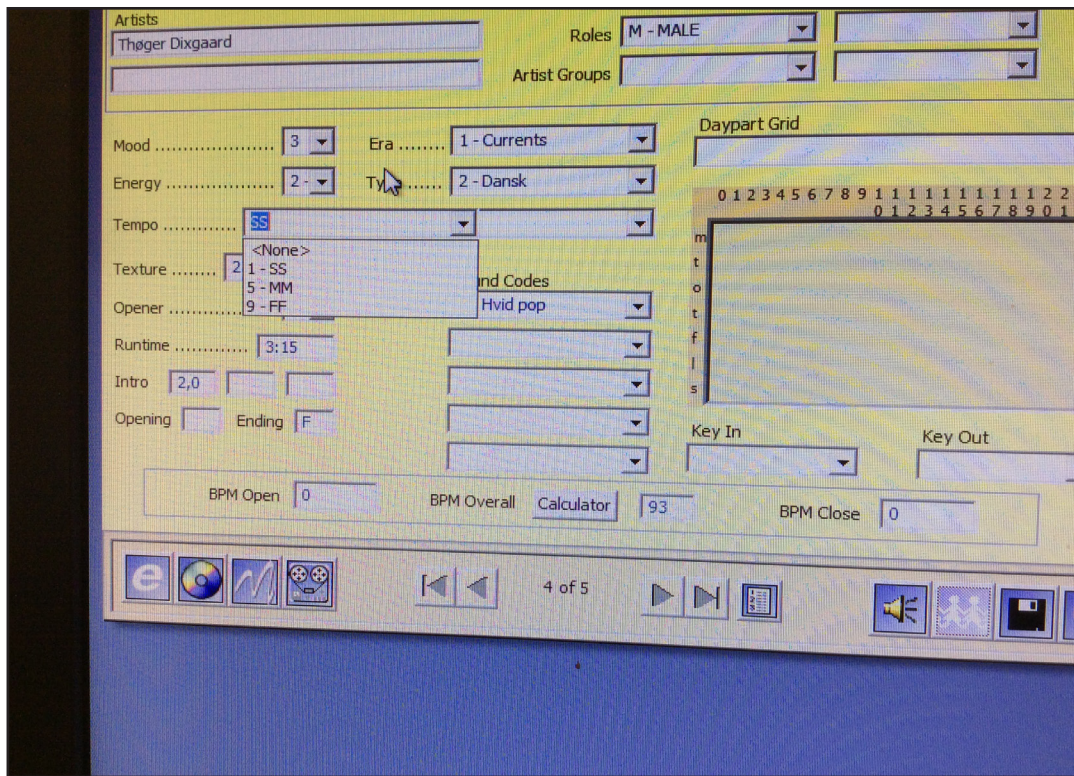
Picture 29: Options for categorizing the track according to the "tempo" parameter.

Another parameter that enabled the software to create the right flow was the "sound codes" category:

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es creates, in Hasse's terminology, a field of "newcomers" and "expert practitioners." Whereas newcomers are ignorant of "what counts as cultural markers," expert practitioners have become "more or less aligned in their nested being-in-the-world". This also points to the fact that the level of knowledge about particular cultural dust bunnies in a particular organization grows as the newcomer gradually becomes more "culturally literate" (Hasse 2015, 217).

It is, according to Hasse, important to recognize, that in organizational nested learning, "[e]ach single human being's agential knowing and attention fields, in which intra-actions make materiality emerge, are unique" (Hasse 2015, 213). The single individuals "uniqueness" matters, according to Hasse in processes of inclusions and exclusions as we will see in the following.

Inclusions and Exclusions of Dust Bunnies
Hasse's   work   is   significant   in   that   she   works   "on   the   edge"   of   organiza-
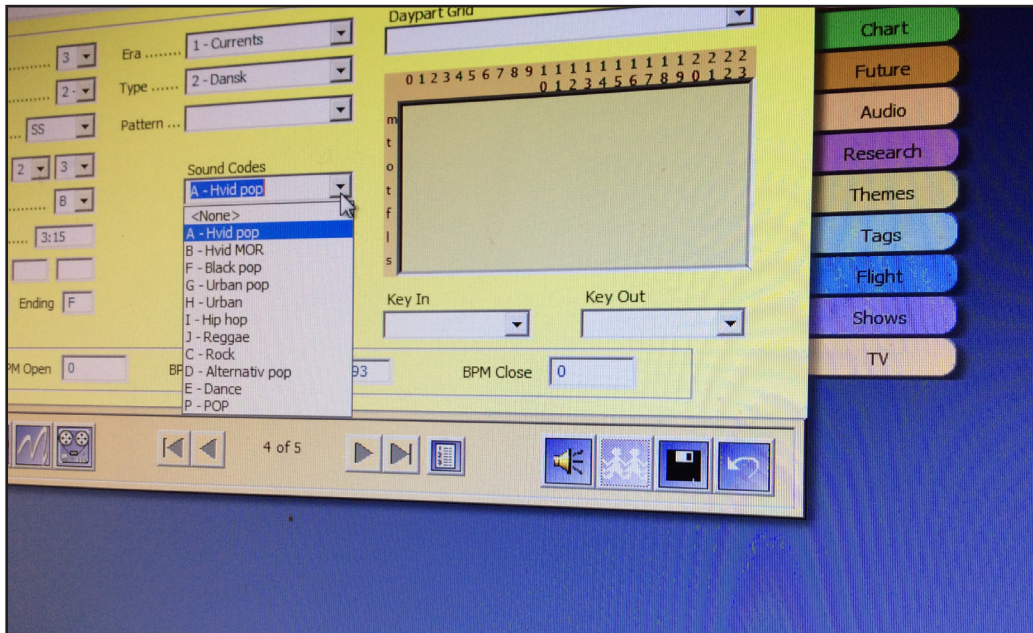
Picture 30: Options for categorizing the track according to the "sound codes" parameter.

I asked Peter what rules were important to set up for the machine to create the right flow. What about concerns regarding gender representation, for example? Instead of explaining about gender, Peter directed my attention to the sound codes, which he described as important:

> So we say, "Please see to it that there will not be two urban tracks in a row, for example, with sound codes." [...] With the outer positions, the periphery of the scale, you can only have one, right? But with what we just call ordinary pop music, there can be, like, three in a row... right? But with hip-hop and reggae or something very distinct like that, like real hip-hop, only one and then something else! But with that [gender], we are a little looser. (Interview Peter 1)

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tion; she works with what is included *and* what is excluded in situations. Not all actors coming into an organization, says Hasse, gain cultural literacy:

> Some people are good at and some people less apt at learning cultural markers and what matters to others. What is shared by the rest of the collective may never be shared by particular participants. Such invisible scalar learning processes do not necessarily lead to expansive learning and subsequent harmony. Instead of expansive learning, it forms a subtle background for expulsion and transformation of humans, which are rarely explicitly acknowledged in the analytical field. (Hasse 2015, 217)

Hasse uses the aforementioned notion of "cultural models" to explain stability and change in organizations:

Hence, it seemed that the "right" flow concerning the "sound codes" category also pointed to ideas of the channel's musical format. Next, I will continue this story about Peter in terms of ideas of creating the musical format on P3 on a daily basis.

P3's Format: The Mainstream

The music *format* on P3, what Peter called the channel's "universe," seemed important. As we saw earlier in this section, Peter argued for the use of digital music scheduling software in order to "create a more distinct format," to create "a closed universe by having a centered music profile," or to "give people what they want, when they want it."

As mentioned earlier, *format radio* was, according to Krogh, introduced in the Danish public service context with "The New Radio," which emerged on DR in 1992[81]. American radio musicologist Eric Weisbard also describes format radio in his 2014 book *Top 40 Democracy: The Rival Mainstreams of American Music*. Weisbard touches on the concept of radio formats in U.S. radio history, appearing in the United States at the beginning of the 1940s and into the 1950s. He understands radio formats as build upon a logic of "skillful matching of a set of songs with a set of people: its proponents idealized generating audiences, particularly new audiences, and prided themselves on figuring out what people wanted to hear" (Weisbard 2014, 13). Weisbard argues further that whereas music *genre* tends to close off and exclude or include certain people, music *formats* (still closely entangled with ideas of genre) open up and include (as many people as possible) qua radio's overall capitalistic purpose of reaching out to as many people (consumers) as possible.

It appeared that Peter's associations (conscious or unconscious) with the different radio formats influenced the choices he made during his daily practices of coding and categorizing music for P3. For example, when he described setting a track's "tempo" on P3, he explained that

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On the one hand, cultural models can act as a centripetal[30] power that maintains and includes, and on the other hand, the models can also function as a centrifugal (and exclusionary) force (Hasse 2015, 294). [...] [T]he theory of cultural models[31] can help to explain what holds a dust bunny of activities together and how newcomers learn to make patterns of connections, which make them expect how others will act and attribute meaning to material artefacts. Cultural models may be stated as organised expectations (formed by social designation) of how employees should behave at work and thus be connected with a local public discourse that ascribes meaning to actions and physical material artefacts. Cultural models may also be learned through everyday doings, subtle acts and reactions. In our practical everyday life, we internalise and incorporate the new connections differently (according to prior experiences), and cultural models are thus also shaped into our "personal semantic networks" (Strauss

its coding always related to an overall perception of the channel's format:

> It [the setting of a track's tempo value] is not a generic one. It is very dependent on the fact that something that would be characterized as "medium-medium" on P3 very well could be categorized differently on P7. [...] You have to decide: Is it the tempo that is important for this channel? Or is it the energy of the track? Or is it the sound code? You could say that on P7, "Walking on Sunshine" would be a rock track, while on P3 it would be a... "soft rock" track.[82] (Interview, Peter 1)

Peter used notions like "the channel's DNA" and "the channel's plexus" (*hjertekule*) when explaining the practices of creating the channel's "universe." He illustrated this way of thinking by describing an actual ongoing process of rethinking the format for the P6 Beat channel:

> The way you do it concretely is [...] to say, "All right, where are our borders? What kind of field is it that we operate within? Then what is the heart inside it? What kinds of bands and artists do we know of that the audience is passionate... uh... interested in?" Preferably a big audience. And then when you have your center, your heart, your DNA, then you can draw some lines from that and say, "If Nirvana is a part of the plexus of P6, should we not then also play some Pearl Jam? Or maybe we should look at other grunge things? If the Smiths are a DNA band in the P6 universe, what other indie music was there at that time, and how did it sound?" And so on. In that way you build your *library*, you call it. (Interview Peter 1)

When referring to the format for P6 Beat, he seemed to adopt a rather traditional way of thinking about genre expectations. However, his thinking about P3 was slightly different. Here he expressed a different understanding of the P3 format, the channel's so-called "universe," which he called the "mainstream."

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1992: 1). (Hasse 2015, 241)

Hasse considers the dust bunny as an entanglement of various "cultural models." Leaning to become around cultural models causes friction and change, and the processes of friction, Hasse argues, is what composes the ever-changing dust bunny among other factors:

> The point is that dust bunnies are reinforced both by outside effects and internal frictions, and whatever connection is formed may be dissolved. It is when we move in energised practiced places and connect meaning with material that lines of fibres become culturally entangled and hold dust bunnies together. A dust bunny is composed of many fibres that twig, surprise and twist our perceptions of material objects, but the fibres go in all directions, inwards and

When choosing music for P3's mainstream format, Peter seemed to be concerned with individuals, archetypes, and different stories enacted in the music rather than with ideas of genre:

> These days [on P3] it is more about artists [earlier, it was about genre]. So what kind of archetype is the artist? Is it that sweet girl? Is it that bad boy? How many bad boys are currently there? [...] Is there always a bad boy, and is there always a sweet girl? It is very much like narrating a fairy tale. You know, like... archetypes. There are not a lot of different stories within the mainstream. You can always take it back to... you know... archetypes. You very rarely think, "OK, this is really a purple unicorn! This is different!" (Interview Peter 1)

As Peter explained, in the mainstream there are a lot of different stories. According to Swedish popular-music researchers Alf Björnberg and Thomas Bossius (2016), mainstream music is defined by "processes of circulation and distribution" rather than by "features of musical style":

> "[M]ainstream music" is music distributed, circulated and used in certain kinds of contexts of production, mediation, and consumption (also cf. Huber 2002, 430f). Rather than starting from a definition based on features of musical style—"mainstream" as a set of musical structures that are more or less reasonably assumed to be socially accepted—this perspective implies regarding the circulation processes in themselves not only as an indicator, but also a cause, of the social acceptance of music. (Björnberg and Bossius 2016, 12)

The authors describe *mainstream* as a music format that both distributes and creates broadly "socially accepted" music in processes of circulation; these circulation processes are a fundamental feature in mainstream music, creating both the matter and meaning of socially accepted mainstream music in continuous iteration. But, as Björnberg and Bossius continue, mainstream music must be differentiated according to where and how it is contextualized. Commercial

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> outwards. A dust bunny never reaches a permanent shape but remains an energised field of new potential connection lines. (???)

Hasse's approach to culture analysis around notions of "surprising practices" and of "the learning participant observer"[32] as being in "a process of cultural learning" (Hasse 2015, 23) is a methodology that considers learning processes in practices while responding to theories of materiality, performativity, and diffraction, as described here in previous subsections. This theory gives us some useful—and in my view, completely necessary—tools to work with inclusions, exclusions, and change in communities. We'll see in the following paragraphs how this occurs according to her concept of scalar learning.

broadcasting media and public service media, such as DR, provide slightly different contexts for creating the mainstream:

> We would argue that commercial broadcasting media, both radio and television, are primary among the circulation contexts that define the twentieth-century popular-music mainstream. Public-service media tend to offer a somewhat more complicated picture, due to the more composite bases of their program policies, but particularly in mediascapes where a distinct differentiation of formats between different channels has been implemented, public-service popular-music channels are central mainstream-defining actants. (ibid., 12)

In a 2015 debate column, Anders, the director of DR's Department of Music and Radio, describes P3's public service mainstream as "the kind of music that many people enjoy and feel like listening to" while still "taking chances" and "introducing new music":

> Mainstream is in this connection not a bad thing, because it is just another word for the kind of music that many people enjoy and feel like listening to. We supplement this by taking some chances and by introducing new music that we are not certain will catch on [*som vi ikke ved om vil fange an*]. "P3's Unavoidable" is a good example of this, and we also present relatively unknown music every year when we celebrate Danish music with [the event] P3 Guld. (Politiken 2015)

Let's investigate further how Peter, *Selector*, and other actors produce a "somewhat complicated picture" of the mainstream on P3—a channel that, according to Björnberg and Bossius, is a "central mainstream-defining actant."

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Diffracting the Meshwork with Feminist Science Studies

How are limits created for the network or the assemblage? Or maybe the question is: *Who* creates limits for the assemblage, and how should agency be considered in these systems of relation? This section works with notions of agency, with intra-actions in total situations, and with "lines" versus "bits and pieces."

Leaning on the work of Ingold, Barad, and Hasse, I will propose a very situated sense of agency, which connects to what I understand as a *diffracted* view on meaning-making in socio-technical processes and to the aforementioned onto-epistemological idea of "knowing in being" (Barad 2003). I will develop on this notion as we go along, but first let's start with a more official definition of diffraction. According to the Oxford English Dictionary, diffraction is defined as

The Production of P3 Mainstream

Sitting in his office for the second time, I asked Peter more about the creation of their particular mainstream format. Can the flow, for instance, get too "flowing"? He responded:

> We usually say that we make an unusually extraordinary good brown sauce, *but* it is still just brown sauce. So if we want to call it something else, tarragon sauce or mushroom sauce or something like that, then it takes some hosts, some communication, some something, right? Because it is still a brown sauce, because you can't... you can't music-control your way into nuances or anything else. There you are dependent on some bright people who can [angle it]. (Interview, Peter 2)

Using music scheduling has it limits. It cannot create nuances around the music; it cannot "angle" the music in certain ways. Music scheduling *can*, according to Peter, create a lot of listeners: it offers a "homogeneous product that people can understand and find useful in their daily life, in the twenty minutes they listen to us, while they are on the toilet or driving their car or are in some shop" (Interview, Peter 2). But while Peter and the music-controlling software create the flow of brown sauce by using the above systems, the nuances must be added using other means. Peter used the expression of "a purple unicorn" as a metaphor to describe "the spices for the sauce." As he said, it is "very rare for the purple unicorn to come flying into the mainstream."

The means of *putting* "purple unicorns" into the P3 mainstream format are many, I suppose, but I will primarily work here with two perspectives concerning this matter: 1) the weekly choice of P3's "Unavoidable," and 2) a corporate reliance and dependence upon the single employee's expertise, trust, loyalty, "humanness," and ability to make a judgment in a given situation. This last point, I suspect, is not an outspoken policy in the corporation, but throughout this dissertation and with the use of empirical examples, I will argue that this attitude is enacted in

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> [t]he process by which a beam of light or other system of waves is spread out as a result of passing through a narrow aperture or across an edge, typically accompanied by interference between the wave forms produced.[33]

Earlier, I introduced Ingold's proposed metaphor of the SPIDER (<u>S</u>killed <u>P</u>ractice <u>I</u>nvolves <u>De</u>velopmentally <u>E</u>mbodied <u>R</u>esponsiveness), which works along the lines of the web. In his 2011 book *Being Alive*, the SPIDER and the ANT (Actor-Network Theory) have an existential conversation with each other. The SPIDER says to the ANT:

> The world, for me, is not an assemblage of bits and pieces but a tangle of threads and pathways. Let us call it a *meshwork* […] so as to distinguish it from your *network*. My claim, then, is that action is not the result of an agency that is distributed around the network, but rather

daily practice.

P3's "Unavoidable" (P3UU)

Every week, a song is selected for power play. This song is called P3's "Unavoidable of the Week" (from hereon called "P3UU"). As Anders stated in the earlier quote, the P3UU is one of the ways DR is "taking chances" and "introducing new music." The P3UU is played between four and eight times per day for one week. I asked Peter how he considered the P3UU in relation to the P3 mainstream format, and he responded:

> Well, it [the P3UU] should challenge it. You know, in my ideal world it [the P3UU] is like a Trojan horse. It contains the layers in… contains all the features that you know work in the mainstream. And then it also contains something, where you don't realize that you just got it in another way… maybe something else in the song… something avant-garde or… a new grasp on things. A conventional track that does something unconventional, where you suddenly wake up and think, "Oh, is a chorus supposed to sound like that these days?" (Interview, Peter 2)

Peter searched on his computer, eager to find an example of such a track that illustrated his idea of a Trojan horse that *changes while maintaining the mainstream*. He landed on one. "You know, for instance, the Chainsmokers' track 'Roses'? That is a genuine trap[83] track that they have just packed in so amazingly, right?"

"Roses" boomed loudly out of the speakers in the little office,[84] and Peter continued talking. "It just sounds like Lorde,[85] where… where there is no chorus! There is only a 'drop' that just comes really full-on, right?" He guided me through the song: "So here comes the bridge… This

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> emerges from the interplay of forces that are conducted along the lines of the meshwork. (Ingold 2011, 91–92, original italics)

As illustrated by the above quote, questions about agency have been a concern for representatives of ANT. When ANT has received critique, it has typically been in relation to its notion of *assemblages,* its idea of *listing* actors in particular practices and, as mentioned earlier, the idea that agency is distributed in networks of actors. Ingold implicates this discussion in the conversation between the SPIDER and the ANT, in which he proposes talking about *meshworks*, consisting of tangles of threads and pathways, rather than *networks*, consisting of assemblages of bits and pieces. He stresses that agency "emerges from the **interplay of forces** that are conducted along the lines of the meshwork" rather than being "distributed around the network."

Ingold places the SPIDER, with its "embodied responsiveness," in a play of forces in the

track is totally shown to be setting standards afterward, you know."

We waited for the chorus. The music built up, and then a significant beat drop came on instead of a traditional chorus. I told him, "That's cool!" He replied, "Now should that be a chorus?! Yes, so it seems. You know, with this particular track people realized that 'drop' was the new chorus!"

Another track that was selected as the P3UU and which Peter described as a "Trojan horse" was the track "Bara få va mig själv," by one of my personal all-time favorites, the Swedish artist Laleh. I told Peter that I was so happy, and slightly surprised, when I found out that this particular track was the P3UU while I was doing my fieldwork in the P3 production section. He replied, "Yes, it is a good track. You know, who else in Denmark would take in such a track?" It was a rhetorical question.[86] I asked him why they took this particular track in as the P3UU, and he replied:

> Well, the lyrics are fantastic, right? And then it complies to all the [mainstream] conventions, while it also... something else happens, right? You know, you can just feel that it, like, comes from another perspective, like... really! Ehmm. I thought it was a fine little Trojan horse, right?

I wondered how and where Peter kept himself informed in order to find "the spices for the sauce" and create this "somewhat complicated picture" of the mainstream, as Bjönberg and Bossius described public service mainstream music formats. Peter explained that he was able to do so through advice from, and discussion with, the very skilled DJs employed by DR. This happened at the weekly playlist meeting every Thursday at eleven o'clock.

The Weekly Playlist Meeting

The weekly playlist meeting was a gathering of DJs and music workers employed by DR. Peter

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meshwork of threads and pathways. As we saw earlier, Barad also adheres to a more embodied understanding of agency, suggesting a shift in focus to "physical optics, to questions of diffraction rather than reflection" (Barad 2003, 802–03). In *Meeting The Universe Halfway* (2007), she argues that agency is enacted in the situation, not something that is attributed—or, as Ingold says, "distributed"—to someone or something though channels in a network. Agency is to be understood as situated and "intra-acted" within relations of specific humans and things that work dynamically between material-discursive practices and phenomena in situations:

> Crucially, *agency is a matter of intra-acting; it is an enactment, not something that someone or something has*. It cannot be designated as an attribute of subjects or objects (as they do not preexist as such). It is not an attribute whatsoever. *Agency is doing or being in its intra-activity. It is the enactment of iterative changes to particular practices—iterative reconfig-*

had described this particular group of people as inspiring and said that they helped him in his work in making the weekly playlist:

> [They are] extremely well informed about what is going on right now and know that "something is burning over here." They have knowledge about what songs are on the radio at the moment, what songs the listeners react to, what songs they themselves get physically ill from playing as DJs, and what songs they can just feel some special energy around. (Interview Peter, 1)

When I had previously attended one of those meetings at Peter's invitation, the P3UU was discussed along with other incoming music for the week. In this meeting, held in the big meeting room on the second floor, Peter sat with this week's panel of three DJs and his right-hand man, and they debated and discussed incoming music that sought to be selected for the weekly P3 playlist.

- See Picture 31

Everyone had been given the music beforehand in order to prepare. The music tracks came on one by one, and everyone around the table gave their uncensored and qualified opinion, with remarks such as, "She is already booked for Roskilde Festival," "I think this would have many listeners on P4," "This Bieber single is from a two-year-old record. Isn't that a little cheap, you know? It is very 'earn-money-like.' I mean, it is a really good track, but isn't it a little cheap to send it out as a single two years after its release?" "Is this not more suitable for P6 Beat?" "That electric chorus guitar—is that a music wave or something?" and "Isn't this a little old and on the scene already?"

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urations of topological manifolds of spacetime-matter relations—through the dynamics of intra-activity. (Barad 2007, 178, original italics)

According to Barad, agency "is a matter of intra-acting"; it is "the ongoing reconfiguring of the world" that happens in the dynamism between "phenomena"[34] (understood as "the primary ontological unit") and "material-discursive practices through which boundaries are constituted" (Barad 2003, 818). I subscribe to an understanding of agency as radically situated—as "doing or being in its intra-activity," as Barad writes in the above quote.

Artefacts as Relata-Within-Phenomena
Agency, understood as doings around matters in practices, must hence be understood as radically situated and studied in situations where multiple ontologies (ideas of what belongs to the real)

Picture 31: The weekly panel gathered around this table in the big meeting room on the second floor

People also contributed with more personal utterances, such as "That song could be on the soundtrack to *Love Actually*," "This one I REALLY like. Put it on the playlist right now!" "This doesn´t touch me at all!" and "This track is good for bicycling" (fieldnotes, playlist committee).

At the playlist meeting, the DJs were also asked what they themselves were listening to

are intra-acted in relation to multiple specific artefacts in the situation. As agency is intra-acted, materiality and matter emerge in specific activities and are to be learned in relation. Artefacts are "relata-within-phenomena," as Hasse writes:

> Throughout this book I discuss the notion of mediation, but also challenge the widespread notion in the analytical field that materials, seen as mediational means, as stand-alone objects, are *carriers* of culture and collective consciousness. It is precisely because mediational means are not simply abstract *cultural tools* but emerge in specific activities that mediation is complex, situated, embodied and intra-active. Artefacts are relata-within-phenomena (Barad 2007). It is with this definition of mediation in mind that ethnographers are in need of relational expertise. (Hasse 2015, 9, original italics)

these days, and each of them played a number of tracks from their personal library on their phones (connected to the speaker system). Peter listened carefully and asked about the particular artists, and the group seriously discussed the tracks. After the meeting, the group dissolved and Peter selected the actual tracks for the weekly playlist as well as the P3UU.

At the particular meeting that I participated in, a track called "Jaja" by Danish hip-hop artist Sivas was selected as the P3UU. At the meeting, there was not a lot of discussion around this particular track—they all seemed to have agreed beforehand that this would be the P3UU—so I asked Peter on a later occasion about the choice of "Jaja":

> Choosing Sivas' "Jaja" was a "follow up on something that returned" choice. And even though the track was not so strong, then... Sivas is really a character, so now we're just holding onto the table here, even though it was not the same as the previous track. You know, if we pull the plug on everyone that does not have as big a hit as the last one, we are aware of the energy in the music industry [...] It is not just "Hit or disappear!" There can be a development, some continuity. Otherwise it turns into a Spotify hell, right? Like, "If you do not stream twenty million times on every song, then fuck off!" (Interview, Peter 2)

Mainstream as Culture of "Containment and Resistance" and as Standalone Actor

As described above, Peter and actors around him *cooked* the mainstream format on P3 as a brown sauce (i.e., a gravy) that took on different spices ("tarragon" or "mushrooms") in the form of new P3UU tracks (what he called "purple unicorns"), which created and contributed to the mainstream while changing it slightly. This change happened through (re)iterative cyclical movements of renewing and integrating and renewing and integrating slightly new "stories" (such as Laleh) or "music features" (such as the Chainsmokers). At the same time, Peter kept an eye on contributing to some kind of continuity in the Danish music industry (like Sivas). In these cyclical

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"Mediational means"—artefacts or actors or what Barad elsewhere calls "things" such as radio, music, or culture (or, for that matter, this dissertation, "me," or "you") *emerge* in specific activities. This makes mediation—what the artefact "does," its agency—into a "complex, situated, embodied and intra-active" matter that matters in situations.

Exploring agency and the complexity of mediation, of indexes and effects in all its mutual contingency, requires participation. According to philosopher Ludwig Wittgenstein in *Philosophical Investigations* (1958), this study of agency in practice is an empirical proposition:

> Does the signpost leave no doubt open about the way I have to go? […] But where is it said which way I am to follow it; whether in the direction of its finger or (e.g.) in the opposite one? [...] [The signpost] sometimes leaves room for doubt and sometimes not. And now this is no longer a philosophical proposition, but an empirical one. (Wittgenstein 1958, 39e–40e)

movements of continuity and change, the mainstream was defined and developed:

> It [negotiation about what is mainstream] is up for discussion all the time [...] We think that we are partly defining it [mainstream], right? You know, it was a UFO that landed, the Chainsmokers track "Roses." And the Rag'n'Bone Man track ["Human"] was also a UFO that landed. Because then suddenly everything sounds like... then this becomes the standard sound. Now everything sounds like that, right? So then we try to get away from that again relatively fast. And then we look to the next [purple unicorn] afterward, right? That is why it is interesting with such a track, right? (Interview, Peter 2)

P3 partly defined it's mainstream as a format that took chances and integrated change. The P3 mainstream was a mainstream that integrated difference and variation under certain circumstances and according to certain parametres. The Mainstream "culture" could, in this light, be considered to be what Hasse in Section 0 suggested as "differentiated" in its organization of "the whole" as it took in conflicting subject matters and integrated it into "the whole" (in a tolerable and gradual degree).

But besides enacting certain cultural dynamics that somehow depicted popular culture as a "double movement of containment and resistance (Hall 1998, 443), P3's *mainstream* format was also depicted by Peter as a standalone actor with certain interests:

> Otherwise, it is just reproductions of archetypes! Having practiced this for many years, I can go in and say, "OK—are there any artists in this, are there any producers, is it the right time?"... What will happen after two more tracks? Is the mainstream even interested in them? Or is it some kind of culture-box environment that will only bear fruit after ten years? (Interview Peter 1)

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Agency is not just about following the signposts—the situationally enacted cultural expectations—in "the direction of its finger," argues Wittgenstein. The "I" could for instance be going in the opposite direction! Hence, agency is not just about *doing* in terms of blindly following indexes in situations. Agency is also, as Barad explains, about

> changing possibilities of change entailed in reconfiguring material-discursive apparatuses of bodily production, including the boundary articulations and exclusions that are marked by those practices in the enactment of a causal structure. (Barad 2007, 178)

According to Barad, the *reconfiguring* within the dynamics of intra-activity opens up "changing possibilities of change." Hence, I account for the specific human material in the equation, and it

When Peter asked, "Is the mainstream even interested in them?", he depicted a "mainstream" as an actor with agency on it own, an actor in itself that for instance demanded for a certain amount og "sweet girls" and "bad boys". The idea of the mainstream referred not only to Peter's personal perceptions, shaped by daily practice and many years of experience in the field; it was also a concept or an actor in itself that was fed and sustained by another system or network of actors. The mainstream, according to Peter, was something that was negotiated in a larger, inter-connected network of actors within musical life and the music industry:

> I see it very much as synchronous movements, you know, there is something out there. There is an environment; there is a need. It is very much all interconnected. One reacts to energies throughout musical life, you know. It is very rare for the purple unicorn to come flying into the mainstream. (Interview Peter 1)

Peter depicted "the mainstream" as an actor in both its ontological *and* epistemological sense (see Section 0). It was enated by Peter in both its ideal *and* its material form. It was "part of the world in its differential becoming" (Barad 2003, 829). It could be studied as onto-epistemology.

P3 Music Planning in a Meshwork of Humans and Things

The music planning seemed to move from one system to another—from a network composed of a man and a piece of computer software in a public service radio broadcasting corporation, on the one hand, to a network enacting ideas of the mainstream created by various actors in the popular music industry, as well as internally through the corporation's skilled DJs, on the other. It seemed to me that Peter's position as the P3 Head of Music was all about being in and sustain-ing existing networks, going with the flow of these while at the same time keeping the (main) stream flowing.

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opens up possibilities of change through intra-action.

Wittgenstein talks about "signposts" as hints in situations and moments—maybe cultural indications—that somehow affect individual choice, "the way I have to go." He suggests that investigating and studying this choice of direction in people's actions is an *empirical proposition* rather than a "philosophical proposition" or "mental activity"—unless, as he continues in the previous quote, "one is setting out to *produce* confusion" (Wittgenstein 1958, 172e; my empha-sis). To study (and hence create) possibilities of change is an empirical task (ibid., 39e–40e), he concludes.

In my study of culture in organization, I will study what "*emerge as self-evident to some but cultural to others", as Hasse wrote*, or as Geertz proposed in an earlier quote, I will study the "reach of our minds, the range of signs we can manage somehow to interpret" (Geertz 1985, 263) in different cultural dust bunnies in organization.

In this section thus far, we have seen a lot of *interaction* in a network of relations between Peter, *Selector*, and various pieces of music. Considering his many choices concerning the daily creation and maintenance of the *Selector* database, the choosing of tracks, the coding of tracks to create flow, and the setting up of clocks, Peter was indeed, in Latour's words, an "agent that made a difference" for *Selector*'s capability to organize and schedule the music when it came to deciding which tracks would be broadcast and how they were contextualized in order to meet the expectations of the P3 audience. However, the many choices Peter made as part of his daily practice were made in close connection with various technologies, materialities, cultural models,[87] and strategies: Peter interacted with the software *Selector*, and *Selector* then organized and scheduled music based on notions of it as a tool creating "consistency, variety, balance and control" as well as on a form of scheduling that referred to the tracks' "natural demands"—thus, "with just a few clicks," he created the desired channel. To do this, the software organized the tracks in a certain infrastructure (e.g., five options of choice in all categories), using certain categories (e.g., mood, energy, tempo, texture, opener, era, type, sound code), certain descriptive presets (e.g., mood: suicidal, sad, average, happy, ecstatic), and a certain scaffolding for organizing time (e.g., the clock). Peter interacted with particular tracks and with common perceptions of channel formats and various tracks' enactment of genre. Furthermore, he and *Selector* interacted with the musical materiality or "texture" of the P3 jingle, which seemed to be a given anchor point (probably made by a DR corporate branding unit) when it came to the textural character of the channel's flow.

Besides (and inside) these tangible technologies and materialities, Peter interacted with cultural models (Hasse 2011)—mental technologies, one might call them—that seemed to govern his daily practice as both ontology and epistemology (see Section 0):

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"We are nested in collective expectations", and we use material artefacts as "anchors" in these processes of cultural nesting (Hasse 2015, 245), writes Hasse consludingly in her 2015 book. Music is one among many artefacts or *anchors* or "signposts" (Wittgenstein) that, through daily entanglement, make up the dust bunnies at P3. Hence, let's consider music as a dual material-conceptual artefact that works performatively in meshworks of production and of practices of cultural learning. In the following subsection, I will work with the nature of music as a "signposts," and with perceptions of collectivity and learning around music as actor or artefact or "thing" in the nesting of collectivity.

How Culture Matters Around Music in Public Service Popular Music Radio Production

This is an ethnomusicological study about the work practice at DR's P3, and the focus shall now

1. Associations of the P3 universe as mainstream (as made up of archetypes, individuals, and different stories) in relation to the more genre-defined channel formats of P6 and P7
2. Ideas of flow as the natural stylistic aesthetics of format radio
3. An overall corporate rationalization strategy of attracting and retaining listeners by giving them "what they want, when they want it!"

These very different technologies may all be regarded as actors in their own manner (in terms of enacting agency in the situation), which are again presupposed by other actors in other networks. So, in the Latourian sense, Peter was a dominant actor who played a leading role in selecting music for P3 in his daily practice, on the one hand. On the other, it could be argued that he—as an actor in a complex network of relations—was merely a puppet on a string conditioned by a wider array of technology, corporate rationalities, or cultural models nourished, for example, by the music industry, software producers, DR strategies, and Danish public service policy. He was an actor who acted, but he did not act alone (Mol 2010, 256).

Entangling Agency in Meshworks

We saw how Peter rejected any notion of a "you" in the question "What is music to you?" I personally understand his reaction, as I have often used the same reasoning when dealing with external relations in my former work as a theatre administrator. Within the idea of a net*work*, understood as cooperation between many different entangled actors, it is tempting to leave the "you" and "me" out of the equation and consider practice as a flow of meaning and action somehow determined by all the (other) actors implicated.

As I witnessed during the playlist meeting, what also kept the certain "somewhat complicated" P3 mainstream flowing was a trust and reliance on the knowledge about music held by the DJs and other DR employees. This trust also extended to their abilities to understand and

be on how *music* is attributed "culturally learned collective meaning" (Hasse 2011, 83–84) or seen as an actor that "makes a difference in the course of some other agent's action" (Latour 2005, 71) when studied as a part of sociality in the production environments at P3. In order to see what this line of theory can help us resolve in the realm of (ethno)musicology, I will consider some standpoints from within (radio) music theory and ethnomusicology.

As mentioned in the very beginning of this section about my theoretical apparatus, I understand music from two angles: 1) as an artefact that must be understood for its emergence in relation to a mesh of entangled actors in (radio) production contexts, and 2) as an onto-epistemological artefact that enacts in a situation according to both its historical specificity (its cultural history) and its contingent mutability.

take responsibility for creating good communication around the music and its delivery while on air (of course, this depended on the kind of program they made). This was not an outspoken policy, but it was implied between the lines and enacted in practice, which we will see as we go along. Peter told me, for instance:

> Because you cannot music-control nuances and other stuff, you are pretty dependent on the fact that there are some skilled people who can say... Luckily we have such people [in DR] around the clock! [...] It is part of the expectation that they themselves can find a piece of music to put on that they find interesting, if necessary.(Interview, Peter 2)

While there was rather strict control regarding the music that was planned (the "brown sauce") from the official side, there *also* seemed—maybe in the more unspoken layers— to be a reliance, or at least acceptance, on the employees' individual judgments inª situations. For instance, we saw Søren put on a song that he just *had* to hear that particular morning, which was pretty timely as the UEFA European Championship was in full swing. There was an openness toward the fact that this "improvisation," if done by skilled and experienced employees, added positively to the mainstream, either as another kind of "purple unicorn" or simply as a spicy ingredient.

In my opinion, relying on the *human* and his or her personal contribution, with a great deal of responsibility to the system, also accounted for Peter and for the position of Head of Music. Let's consider this possible perspective of a certain occasional reliance on the individual employees' "humanness" in relation to Peter and me, contributing to the argument about how "humanness" or "developmentally embodied responsiveness" (Ingold 2011) must *also* be considered as part of the meshwork of production.

Mirroring this reflection on how to consider agency in networks, STS scholars Gad and Bruun Jensen describe how ANT has repeatedly been attacked for its apparent dissolution of in-

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Radio Music Studied as Situated and Emerging in a Radio Production Context
I am interested in the doings of music in the production landscape of making P3. I am also interested in music as an agent partaking in a web of multiple actors in the field of practice I have been studying. The idea of "the body multiple" or of culture multiple; of multiple different enactments of ontology such as "culture" in different settings; *and* the idea that material instantiation happens through reiterative performances in relation in situations has led me to some suggestions for understanding the phenomenon in focus here, namely the everyday doings—or (dis)entangling and (re)assembling—of *music* in the production of radio.

In 1977, ethnomusicologist John Blacking argued for a contextual understanding of music when he wrote that

> musicologists cannot account for the logic of musical systems without considering the pat-

dependent actors, with morality and intentions in a "play of forces" in which no change through human intervention seems possible (2010, 61). But what if we look at Peter's practice, and his practice meeting my practice? How are the "yous" enacted here? In the following subsection, I will attempt to reflect on such questions relating to notions of human agency in networks such as DR's music radio production or my own entanglement as a researcher.

Peter as "Only Human" Enacting Developmentally Embodied Responsiveness
It was my third meeting with Peter. He turned up the volume and leaned back in his office chair.

> *I'm only human after all. I'm only human after all. Don't put the blame on me. Don't put the blame on me.*

The track "Human" by Rag'n'Bone Man sounded from the loudspeakers. Everything seemed relaxed this time, and we seemed comfortable with each other and with the situation. "This is a fantastic track!" he said. I felt that this was the first (and only) time he had made a personal statement about music.

The lyrics were accompanied by music with a raw, Southern blues feeling to it. Peter found the track swiftly on Spotify and was now playing it for me to illustrate further what he meant by the notion of a "purple unicorn" that had come up in our meetings. He had used it as an analogy for something new and unique that provided what he had earlier described as the "spice for the brown sauce." As he had stated in our previous talk, "You usually say that for a hit to become a hit, it has to be the right track by the right artist at the right time!"

This particular track, "Human" by Rag'n'Bone Man, was selected as the P3UU for week 37. It was announced on September 12, 2016 on DR's website under the headline "Sensitive Soul from British Macho Man" and presented on P3's Facebook page with the words, "If you do not

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terns of culture and of social interaction of the music-makers. (Blacking 1995, 156)

The understanding of music as embedded in context, of studying music (ethnographically) as a *world-making* actor part of *total musical systems* (Merriam 1964), has been supported and developed by ethnomusicologists throughout time.[35] But what about studying music as part of a radio production environment?

Within the narrow (but in these day expanding) field of studying intersections of radio and music, media sociologists Antoine Hennion and Cecile Meadel have argued in favor of situated practice studies of music on the radio. In their 1986 article "Programming Music: Radio as Mediator," they argue for a contextualized understanding of music on the radio and for a practice perspective within radio sociology that looks at the multiple actors in the network "that create and attribute meaning"—in other words,

already know Rag'n'Bone Man, aka Rory Graham, NOW is a good time to start listening to him."

In the office, as the music continued with Graham's rough voice singing, "I'm no prophet or Messiah. Should go looking somewhere higher," Peter told me that this is a purple unicorn:

[It is] out of format, you could say. It is a kind of "white man's blues." It is a fantastic track! You would not expect P3 to be on top of a track like this one, right? Because it is really old-fashioned in a way, right? It is very different from that Chainsmokers [track] we heard before, right? [...] I like it when you can get... you know, people between... it is people between 12 and 20 years old who are streaming, right... when you can get them to listen to music like this, right? [Me: "Yes, it is very old-school."]. Yes. It is just timeless. (Interview, Peter 2)

"I'm only human, I make mistakes. I'm only human, that's all it takes," the music went on, and we talked a bit about the bass and some of the details of the track. I began to feel that the enthusiasm I expressed in our conversation about "Human" was a bit false, as the track did not have the same effect on me that I sensed it had on Peter. I did not disagree with Peter: This was an interesting and well-produced track, but I would never cherish it the way I sensed he did, calling it "timeless." To me, the track was filled with timely, significant characteristics. I did follow his description of the track as "white man's blues," but I had never favored that style in particular. I just could not match his enthusiasm, even though I tried to, and (to my own disappointment) I think I said something—unintentionally—that somehow signaled to him that we did not share taste here, because after a while he showed less enthusiasm and the situation became a bit awkward.

What I am trying to illustrate here relates to Peter's choice of "Human" as "P3's Uundgåelige" and the enthusiasm that came into play when he talked about it as a purple unicorn and the "spice for the brown sauce." I sensed that here—in Peter's enthusiasm, which was somehow related to the knowledge and taste he had built up over the years—lay a potential for

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the practical mediators of meaning (institutions, the organization and relations of labour, technical supports, spokespersons and representatives of all sorts) who create and attribute meaning through procedures which are "impure," multifarious, and which stretch from those which are completely internal to the product to those which are completely external. (Hennion and Meadel 1986, 283)

Recently, Finnish ethnomusicologist Heikki Uimonen has considered "radio as music culture" in his 2017 article *Beyond the Playlists: Commercial Radio as Music Culture*. His system of radio music culture includes "all practices that have an effect on radio music content [...] [I]t includes the processes of acquiring music, music selection and the governing of music" (Uimonen 2017, 2).

innovation, a drive that made P3 something other than the ordinary "gravy" we know from commercial hit radio, for example.

As an approach to questions of agency in networks, let's return to Tim Ingold's idea of the SPIDER ("Skilled Practice Involves Developmentally Embodied Responsiveness") as a way to reflect on how living organisms act in networks. As discussed in Section 0, Ingold describes how the SPIDER lives in a "webwork" or "meshwork." Skilled practice is seen as a particular person's unique responsiveness, which has developed through years of personal experience:

> SPIDER's world is a tangle of threads and pathways; not a network but a meshwork. Action, then, emerges from the interplay of forces conducted along the lines of the meshwork. It is because organisms are immersed in such force fields that they are alive. To cut the spider from its web would be like cutting the bird from the air or the fish from water: removed from these currents they would be dead. Living systems are characterized by a coupling of perception and action that arises within processes of ontogenetic development. This coupling is both a condition for the exercise of agency and the foundation of skill. Where ANT, then, stands for actor-network theory, SPIDER—the epitome of my own position—stands for the proposition that skilled practice involves developmentally embodied responsiveness. (Ingold 2011, 64–65)

In relation to Ingold's notion of the SPIDER, I would like to consider the "embodied responsiveness" of Peter. This responsiveness is unique to Peter and his entanglement in radio production networks, and in the example above, it was what made him go for the Rag'n'Bone Man track and helped create this hit, this particular story of success. In this case, following Ingold's point about the behavior of the SPIDER, it would have made a difference if, for example, I was put in the position of Head of Music (as unlikely as it may sound). Despite the powerful field of network rela-

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I, too, understand the *total musical systems* in this connection, when working with doings of music on the radio, to be humans, offices, computers, strategies, software, channel formats, listeners' ideas, and all things that are involved in the daily making of P3—just as much as I consider the musical instruments, musicians, and concert venues that would be elements involved in a more traditional ethnomusicological study.

I understand here music as part of dynamic work practices, and I intend to study music in the production practices of producing radio as a part of a greater meshwork of actors, agents, or artefacts that make up multiple and dynamic dust bunnies of culture in the P3 organization. My ethnomusicological work here is supported by the idea, presented by Thomas Porcello (1998, with reference to Jeff Todd Titon 1997), that "ethnomusicology has moved away from comparative, historical, and primarily textual analysis into a more direct investigation of music as a dynamic, emergent cultural process (Titon 1997)"[36] (Porcello 1998, 501).[37]

tions, I would not enact "timelessness" and "purple unicorns" the same way he did. I would have made other choices, and I would have talked about things in different ways. I probably would not have chosen the Rag'n'Bone Man track; I probably would not have recognized its hit potential (as the right track by the right artist at the right time), and I would not have been able to contribute, as Peter did, to this particular story of success. Maybe then, just maybe, Rag'n'Bone Man would not have performed at Roskilde Festival in the summer of 20xx.

Katrine as Human: Embodying Other Kinds of Responsiveness

However, in my experience, Peter's particular "embodied responsiveness" did not *only* relate to his position or "structural identity" as Head of Music in this given public service network of radio production. It also related to other kinds of culturalizations or qualifications resulting from years of working and existing in other practices. For example, his experience with commercial radio did seem to help him bring forward what some would call neoliberal logics or reasoning in the most natural way—treating listeners as customers, whose expectations should be met.

Another example may be the "developmentally embodied responsiveness" related to his many years of practice as a "man" in society. Certainly the character of this responsiveness, connected with his practice of being a gendered body in society, was not consciously enacted,[88] but it was most probably unconsciously enacted through what I—with my developmentally embodied responsiveness of a "woman"—would consider to be a deprioritization of issues of gender diversity and setting up unnecessary juxtapositions of "quality in culture" and "musicality" versus "gender diversity in culture," for example.

Let me develop this point empirically: Peter told me about the prioritizations concerning setting up rules for each track. With regard to the coding of the tracks' actions and reactions in relation to each other, Peter described two different categories of rules: unbreakable rules and breakable rules, that is, rules that simply have to be obeyed every time and rules that are break-

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The situated, embedded, and emergent character of an artefact such as music in networks of production has also been stressed from within the field of (mass) communication and culture. Here, anthropologist Mark Allen Peterson encourages us to consider work practices of production of media and culture as social practices and sites of production of meaning on many levels. As he states in 2003's *Anthropology and Mass Communication*:

> [E]thnographies of [media] production must recognize the fundamental relationship between the production of texts, the construction of identity, and the connections between production cultures and the larger cultural worlds in which they are embedded. (Peterson 2003, 162)

Music is situated in the instances of culture production. Given its individually perceived historical specificity and mutual contingency in relation, it can be understood as an artefact that enacts and

able in the sense of being unstated guidelines rather than strict terms to follow. I sensed that the most important unbreakable rules concerned artist separation and the length of time before a track could be played again. Another unbreakable rule, as described earlier, was about creating a good flow by not "jumping" more than one step on the five-point spectrum, for example in texture value between tracks. Yet another unbreakable rule was not to allow tracks with "distinct sound codes" to succeed each other.

The question of gender was also a preset in the software that had to be ticked off for each track. Though gender was a focal point in the software, it was a so-called "breakable rule":

> I actually think that we have "role" [male/female] as a breakable rule. You know: "Please do not play four women in a row, please do not play four men in a row. If you can, please throw in a track by another vocalist in between the four tracks," right? If it cannot do that, well, well, no harm done, right? There is probably a man singing in the choir if there is a female lead, or the other way around, right? [...] Well, it is more... the sound. [...] I mean... there are also a lot of... it is more the musicality of it all. (Interview Peter, 1)

The question of gender diversity somehow seemed to be a blurred area and something that, to some extent, was addressed by Peter's ideas of "musicality" when he looked through the playlists every day:

> It is also a bit like... when you look through what the machine has suggested for the hour and think, "OK, this looks alright," but then start thinking, "OK, so... so... so gender comes before quality?" So we really need a worse track here, because now we have just had two men in a row? No, I think not! But when you look at it and think, "Right, there are only women during this hour. We will change that slightly." (Interview Peter 1)

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that (re)enacts ontology in the sense of "what belongs to the real" (Mol 1999) in situations. Music, then, can be understood as onto-epistemology. It is situated and it is multiple. It is world-making, as it partakes in networks of various actors (all enacting ontologies in terms of historical specificity combined with mutual contingency) and contributes to the contingent mutability that makes up the experience of "total social situations" (Hasse 2000).

Music as Onto-Epistemological Artefact
When studying music at the intersection of radio, music, and organization as part of a greater (societal and institutional) system of making up P3, I consider music and talk about music—like other artefacts understood in the aftermath of Marxist dialectical materialism—to be *simultaneously* ideal (conceptual/discursive) and material when enacting in situations where it is attributed culturally learned collective meaning.

Peter talked about "quality" and "gender" and for that sake "the mainstream" as standalone actors with agency attributed, actors that interacted in his network of production. In above quote he even put "quality" and "gender-considerations" in some sort of antagonistic relation when he rhetorically asked: "so gender comes before quality? No, I think not!"

But also the mainstream format as actor in itself, maybe entailing historical accounts of "the mainstream" as "commercialized cultural pluralism" (Weisbard 2014, 1), seemed in Peter's lifeworld to close of for further actions towards more gender equality in the music industry. It seemed that the idea of mainstream as a somehow pluralist music format, partly took away the personal responsibility for dealing with political issues such as for instance gender biases in the music industry. As Peter said:

> "Especially in a format such as P3, where ... where the artists themselves extensively discuss gender... you know with Miley Cyrus, she discuss gender a lot, right? ... and men that sings like women... and women with.. you know traditionally very masculine values like Nicky Minaj... you know gender is a discussion there already, so we don´t have a need to sort of boost that, sort of blow to that, right?" (Peter 150619)

It seemed to me as if Peter interacted between actors in networks, where he considered agency as attributed to actors rather than enacted in situations. Different actors such as "quality", "mainstream", "rock", "soft rock" etc. interacted in (t)his dynamic net as onto-epistemology, but in my perception sometimes the ontological part in the equation seemed to stiffen. This stifling of certain actor's ontology, was, in my perception, hindering for some kinds of flow and progression while allowing for other developments.

Being me, with my life and personal history (a female musician, born and raised in a feminist environment, working for years for more gender equality in the music industry), I would

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In her 2004 article "Studiet af Musik i Antropologisk Lys," *(The Study of Music in an Anthropological Light)* Danish ethnomusicologist Annemette Kirkegaard suggests that music acts with a double character as part of sociality:

> Music often re-enacts something known, and the re-enactment, which is both repetition and change, shows the double character of music. The event and the music will never be completely identical to previous enactments, but they contain/embed [*indeholder*] recognizable elements and structures that call for historical work. (Kirkegaard 2004, 8)[38]

Music "(re-)enacts something known" in every event, and this (re-)enactment is "both repetition and change," as Kirkegaard writes above. Music (re)iterates meaning. An emphasis on how music in sociality works as both something that "call[s] for historical work" and as something that calls

have had another approach to the question of gender, and maybe also another idea of "the musicality of it all." If I were in his position, I would probably develop a thorough notion of gender and make gender diversity a priority, as inappropriate as that might seem in particular parts of the network. Furthermore, I would probably have the software redesigned to perform better as a tool able to handle issues of gender diversity. And finally, on the rare occasions when I had my small, personal, human moments of choice within the system, I would probably make slightly different choices than Peter.

I would, inspired from Barad, look at production differently, namely as intra-action, where agency is considered as much more situated and where agency is not an attribute but the "ongoing reconfigurings of the world":

> "The world *is* intra- activity in its differential mattering. It is through specific intra-actions that a differential sense of being is enacted in the ongoing ebb and flow of agency. That is, it is through specific intra-actions that phenomena come to matter—in both senses of the word..[..]the primary semantic units are not "words" but material-discursive practices through which boundaries are constituted. This dynamism *is* agency. Agency is not an attribute but the ongoing reconfigurings of the world. (Barad 2003, 818)

My point here is rather simple and in keeping with Ingold's notion of agency above, as conditioned by a coupling of perception and action. As part of a consistent system of music controlling, it seemed that in *some* (relatively rare) contexts and situations, who occupied the position of Head of Music did matter in terms of the music, just as it mattered that Søren was the producer on *GMP3* on the particular day I participated. For good and bad (in certain perspectives), along the lines of webs or networks, choices were made every day, every hour, every minute. Those small choices, prioritizations, and formulations to some extent *also* depended on the subject's

for a situated understanding corresponds, I would argue, with the understanding of (re)iterative practices that make matter, as expressed above in the subsection on performativity theory. But what kind of matter does music create?

The Matter of Music
Like Kirkegaard, who points to the processual character of music's enactment in sociality when she talks about both "the event" (*begivenheden*) and "the music" in a continuous, ever-changing circulation, music sociologist Tia de Nora is concerned with "music's social 'effects.'" These depend on both "music's conventional signifying materials"[39] (DeNora 2000, 61)—well-known musical categories such as music style, identity, genre, instrumentation, and

the ways in which individuals orient to it, how they interpret it, and how they place it within

position in the skilled practice involving developmentally embodied responsiveness.

But skilled practice is not acquired in just one field of practice; it cannot be isolated and related to a single system/network/meshwork. The skills of the living organisms (in this case, Peter and I) in the networks result from their participation in many different networks throughout life. Peter's "embodied responsiveness" (as well as mine) consisted of various kinds of cultivation through different practices—including cultivation or skill-formation that did not strictly relate to public service music radio production. The practice of production was a meshwork.

Doing Music Programming on P3...

I started out this dissertation by sketching out a contemporary Danish public debate focusing on Peter as a powerful gatekeeper who determines which music is played on P3, the most listened-to channel in Denmark. In this section, my initial intention was to clear away the scrutinized images of Peter and the stiffened debate around his position; I wanted to begin to understand the practice of music radio production from a contemporary cultural-studies perspective and to see how such studies are possible in times of rapid technological development within both media and music.

Regarding Peter and the many allegations surrounding his person, I found him to be a man of the corporation. He held a central position and stood out as an important actor in a large web of other important actors concerned with the daily practice of creating the P3 music profile. Still, aside from Peter and his helper *Selector*, what stood out to me as main actors in this web were the governing corporate strategies about rationalizing the production practice (e.g., by using music scheduling software) and attracting more listeners at a lower cost. *Selector* seemed to be an instrument that could be adjusted according to corporate expectations of the channel format, the P3 mainstream. The bottom-line formula seemed rather straightforward, as Peter expressed:

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their personal music maps, within the semiotic web of music and extra-musical associations […] such as occasions and circumstances of use, and personal associations, where the relevant semiotic unit is more likely to be a fragment or a phrase, or some specific aspect of the music, such as its orchestration or tempo. (DeNora 2000, 61)

According to DeNora, music is a "part of the construction of the self as aesthetic agent," as through its "ongoing constitution of social, psychological, physiological and emotional states," it works with the "maintenance of mood, memory and identity" (DeNora 2000, 47). DeNora speaks of music's "effects" and argues that music is a "technology for spinning the apparently continuous tale of who one is" (DeNora 2000, 63).

Besides being an artefact that takes part in the construction of "the self as aesthetic agent" and in spinning the continuous tale of "who one is," music helps in "bridging" (or not bridging)

> A few music tracks played a lot [i.e., a high degree of familiarity] generate large numbers of
> listeners, but a short listening time. More variation in the tracks [i.e., a low degree of famil-
> iarity] generates fewer listeners, but a longer listening time. (Interview, Peter 1)

When setting up the algorithm for *Selector*, one of the underlying questions seemed to be: What
kind of radio listening do we wish to generate on this channel—do we want many different lis-
teners listening for a short period of time, or fewer listeners listening for an extended period of
time?

...In BOTH Networks of Actors...

An empirical study of the daily practice of doing the playlists on P3 suggests that attempts to
investigate P3's music radio could embrace the complexity of the daily practice of music schedul-
ing as a practice made up of relations between various human and non-human actors, *all given
agency by being understood as actors in the situations*. According to media and cultural studies
scholar Jeremy Wade Morris, the first step in this process of embracing complexity is to leave
behind a previously predominant focus on "cultural intermediaries" (Bourdieu 1984) and on "cu-
rating" as a solely human, person-dependent activity:

> Just as the term cultural intermediaries has referred almost exclusively to people, we tend
> to think of curation as a distinctly human capability as well. Romantic ideals around the
> nature of music and the intimacy of personal taste heavily structure the discourse around
> recommendation services and their various differences (Steiner 2012). (Morris 2015, 456)

Here, Morris seems to agree with Peter, who firmly rejected my use and understanding of the
word "curating" as a person-dependent activity. Instead of focusing on "cultural intermediaries"

the individual and the social. Musicologist Simon Frith suggests that music "is [like identity]
both performance and story," as it "describes the social in the individual and the individual in the
social" (Frith 1996, 109). Danish ethnomusicologist Kristine Ringsager argues, as an addendum
to Frith's argument, that "music helps make identity social" and understands identity (and music)
as part of a "processual and continued articulation work happening in the relation between the
individual and the surrounding society" (Ringsager 2015, 6). I will argue, with borrowings from
Pedersen, that music is an *affector* (Pedersen 2015) in the self-conservation that takes place in
performative settings.

Learning Music as Part of Learning Culture
Music's "indexicality" (Gell), "historical specificity" (Haraway), or conventional signifying ma-
terial (DeNora) is performative as well as situated and must be considered in relation: "(M)usic in

as "meaning-making workers that mediate both consumers' experiences of cultural goods and producers' understandings of their target audiences" (Morris 2015, 447), Morris—again in line with Peter— suggests looking at the *processes* of intermediation and adopting an algorithmic perspective, where "devices and non-human actors can play an equal if not more important role than traditional cultural intermediaries" (Morris 2015, 450).

Sociologist David Beer (2013) likewise suggests looking at the algorithmic aspects of culture production when studying contemporary circulations of popular culture. He encourages cultural studies to "appreciate the part that algorithms now play in cultural formations," as "this [appreciation] tends to be absent in cultural sociology and cultural studies, where taste formations tend to be understood as being the product of social networks, friendship groups and even class positions" (2013, 10).

Hence, one route to further inquiry into the daily practice of music radio production might be to supplement studies of "social networks, friendship groups and class positions" with studies of how a multitude of technologies are enacting in relation in situations. For example, one might follow Morris and Beer's calls to look at algorithmic culture production—and examine it as an aspect of music radio production.

...AND in Meshworks of SPIDERS

In addition to unraveling the contemporary everyday work practices of selecting and programming music on P3, my research took me onto a parallel track of investigating questions of agency in complex networks such as the music production network on P3.

Following Latour's idea that "no science of the social can even begin if the question of who and what participates in the action is not first of all thoroughly explored" (Latour 2005, 72), this section mapped some of the actors involved in the P3 Head of Music's daily practices of creating P3's music program. But this section also sought to illuminate internally discussed ANT questions

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itself 'makes nothing happen,'" says DeNora (2006: 21). Acknowledging this, Ringsager points out that it is "both individual and collective experiences as well as the specific situation of listening and the power relations in situ that are of utter importance to the feelings that are interpellated in the subject, in connection to the use of music" (Ringsager 2015, 3).

As in my introductory narrative about my own first day as a PhD student at the University of Copenhagen, music matters in sociality and in groups. On my first day at work, music mattered to me as an *affector* in my own self-preservation in this new environment. I didn't bring up music-related subjects in that informal context again; I don't recall hearing much informal talk about so-called pop-cultural phenomena in that space either. It was all about Rancière, Žižek (never mentioned with their forenames or titles), and other men I didn't know and was never proper introduced to. I am certainly not proud of it, but I went too rarely to those lunches, nor did I participate in the reading groups. For me, the atmosphere felt cramped, competitive, and unac-

about networks/assemblages and borders. These questions concerned the notion of agency for the single actor and the scientific practices of either mapping actors in networks (where agency is spread out through the network) or following SPIDERS in meshworks (where agency is intra-acted along lines of entanglement). In this latter perspective agency of actors or algorithms or computer programs must be considered as situated and in relation. Agency is intra-acted.

In this section, I opened up space for questions concerning agency, as I argued that Peter's agency in the P3 network was a complex and delicate matter that concerned "developmentally embodied responsiveness" on several levels. If agency is to "act on behalf of someone or something," as stated earlier, it seemed that Peter's agency and actions were related to various skills—or a skilled expertise—developed through a life of experience with being entangled in complex networks of different actors. Furthermore, agency was not a standalone attribute to certain actors. Agency was, I would argue, intra-acted in the everyday production.

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commodating and not – with my historical specificity – super supporting for my idea of a safe and secure space for an intensive learning process[40].

In my examination of how music emerges (or dissolves) in the work environment of P3, I intend to on one hand find out how music entangles in the meshwork that makes up the daily production on music on P3; to find out how music is placed in the mesh of multiple elements that makes up the daily production. On the other hand I will study music as part of "single individuals' consecutive, but different cultural learning processes" (Hasse 2000, 10) in the many different entanglements and situations I have come across. Music is an agent in the social. If recognized and attributed meaning as an actor, music *does* something in the contexts it appears in, and it emerges, according to the abovementioned scholars, in collective practices as a technology for the self as part of a community and vice versa.

After my lunch experience at the university, I wondered if I could have acted differently.

5. DJing on a *Go' Morgen P3* Program

There goes the last DJ

Who plays what he wants to play

And says what he wants to say, hey hey hey?

And there goes your freedom of choice

There goes the last human voice

There goes the last DJ

(Tom Petty and the Heartbreakers, "The Last DJ")

Back in the *GMP3* studio on June, 20xx, I am curious to learn how the music tracks selected by Peter are being entangled in the program flow of an actual *GMP3* program. I am also eager to dig into questions about the role of the DJ, which I assume to have changed, in this kind of live radio production environment.

In her 2018 article, Iben Have argues that along with the advent of digitalization and rationalization processes in public service media production, there has been a change in the treatment of music: seen from the angle of reception, the verbal link between music and host has been lost (Have 2018, 146). Furthermore, she argues for using the more appropriate term "host" rather than "DJ" to announce the person presenting the music on programs such as *GMP3* (ibid., 130). The reasoning of her argument follows these programs' shift in focus from music to soft news and entertaining chatter (ibid., 138–39).

There is widespread discourse—not least within music production environments—about "the death of the radio DJ" alongside the introduction of digital music scheduling tools, format

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For instance, could I have spoken with this guy about my own background as a classical pianist? But then again, I felt that his act of implementing a hierarchy (or hegemony) of music genres of this kind in a group space was not at all about the music—rather, it was about acting in cultural structuring. No matter what statement I came forward with regarding classical music, I probably wouldn't be able to say it with quite the right accent, with quite the right nuances, or with quite the right body gestures in order to create an authentic statement. In that situation, the music was not the point. The way that music was entangled in that particular sociality, with a certain accent, by a certain body, in a certain hegemonic infrastructure—or, as Ringsager writes, "the power relations in situ"—was the point.

I intend to study how music emerges (or dissolves) as part of processes where "practitioners become entangled in more or less collectively shared dust bunnies" (Hasse 2015, 21) at workpractices and here specifically at P3. I intend to study music as a part of the "organized

radio, and rationalization processes in radio corporations. Tom Petty, for instance, released the track "The Last DJ" in 2002 (see lyrics above). According to the website Ultimate Classic Rock, the song was "a requiem for radio as it was, when Petty was first a fan, when DJs were tastemakers with distinct personalities." According to the same website, "corporate radio took a strong dislike to the album and its lead single, in some cases banning it from the airwaves" from the day the song was released.[93]

Like Section 3, this section will supplement Have's reception study of *GMP3*, using perspectives from the production site to investigate where and how the music and sounds are placed and handled in the production space of making a *GMP3* program. This section will also re-inspect some of the vocabulary used for analyzing radio sound elements proposed by Andrew Crisell in his 1994 [1986] book and make some updated suggestions for a 2019 PSPMR setting. Let's see what role the DJ[94] played on *GMP3* on this particular morning in June 20xx.

Anne: The PSPMR DJ on *GMP3*

As I sit beside Søren, he tells me that Anne is a highly renowned DJ in DR. I am surprised that Søren describes and recognizes the position of DJ as something that can be ascribed special expertise and know-how. I presumed, I tell him, "that music in this kind of formatted flow radio program did not need any specific person to 'do' the music." I had the impression that everybody in DR was learning "the technique" in order to be able to do the job; I would've thought that who was assigned to do the job as DJ was more or less insignificant now that the DJ had no influence on the music choice, working in a media corporation that had "waterproof shutters" between what Trine called "the music profile" of P3 and the "music communication" on P3. But Søren responds, to my surprise, that "it *is* common practice to pick a DJ that permanently acts as DJ on the show, particularly on a show like *GMP3* that is one of the channel's anchor programs and considered very important for the channel." In this morning team, it is Anne who has the role as

expectations (formed by social designation) of how employees should behave at work and thus be connected with a local public discourse that ascribes meaning to actions and physical material artefacts" (ibid., 241). I am interested in how "cultural models" enacted around music result in frictions, inclusions, and exclusions of people and things in those environments. I am interested in the role that music plays in processes of gaining "cultural literacy" as part of the gradual process of sharing "more or less collective wholes of cultural connections" (ibid., 212).

All in all, I am interested in how music plays a part in the "nested being-in-the-world" (Hasse 2015, 245) among newcomers and expert practitioners in the daily practices of producing PSPMR. In addition to my interest in how music causes frictions in collectively nested dust bunnies when it is integrated, I am interested in the music that disappears—the music that is never integrated in the social space. I am interested in the processes of inclusions and exclusions and the affective consequences of these processes.

DJ; "she is just a really good DJ," Søren says (fieldnotes, Søren).

My surprise on this issue mirrored that of the host talent Kirsten, who expressed feeling a similar sentiment when she first entered the practice of PSPMR production:

> You know, listening to radio earlier I had no clue that it [music] was something that the hosts controlled themselves. It sounds just like a machine that is running, right? So it is weird that they [the DJs] themselves steer the music up and down. You know—it is much more... The music is really much more dependent on you than what it sounds like. (Interview, Kirsten)

It seems that even though the music was not selected by the DJs anymore, there was still some common idea in this work environment of "who was good at DJing" and who was not.[95] And Anne was one of the good ones.

I had met Anne before on my previous anthropological journey inside the corporation. When I attended one of the weekly playlist meetings at Peter's invitation, she was a member of the playlist committee, one of the people that Peter had described as "extremely well informed" when it concerned music. During the playlist meeting, Anne was given a lot of time to speak when the DJs were asked what they were currently listening to. She played new tracks from her personal library on her phone; Peter listened carefully and asked about the particular artists, and the group seriously discussed the tracks. Anne seemed to have a highly respected position in this gathering of people.

Like several other DJs in DR's music sections, Anne had also worked for commercial radio stations. Before coming to DR, she was on Radio 100 FM in Copenhagen, Skala FM in Kolding, and Radio 3 and Mix FM in Odense.[96] Unfortunately, Anne was now leaving her position as DJ in DR—she had recently announced that she had another job offer and that this was her last season of doing *GMP3*.[97]

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My situation during the lunch meeting works as an example of how music and people can either emerge or disappear in certain work environments or fractions of culture in work environments. In this particular case, popular music dissolved from the particular conversation, as we, the newcomers, was met by a "stop" from one of the expert practitioners in the new work environment. I gradually pulled away from this group where, in my mind, "my" music or "my" ways of socializing was not recognized and where I generally didn't understand a word they talked about. Instead I sought other trails and suddenly I found myself as a part of other dust bunnies and other group formations withing the same organization. In those groups I was among what I perceived as more likeminded, I was here on the inside of the Möbius band, in Hasse's words, while others seemed to be on the outside:

I have defined cultural ecology as a dust bunny of materials held together by lines and fric-

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Anne's Tools: The DJ Setup and the Sound Screen

In the setup in the studio on this particular morning, Anne had two computers like the other hosts on the program. On her left side was the computer for sound and music, and on her right was the computer for speech, internet, and text messages. Unlike the other two hosts—but similarly to the news presenter, Uffe—she had quite a few sliders and buttons and control panels in front of her.
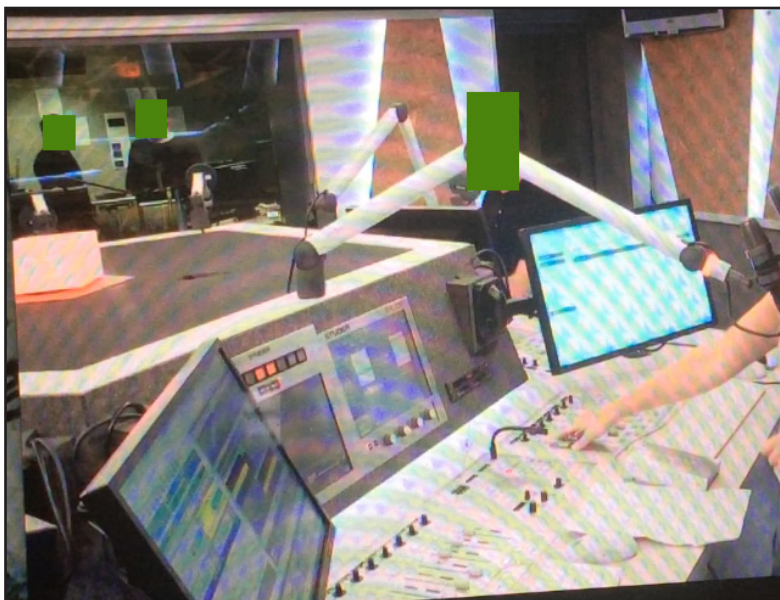
Picture 32: Anne's workspace.

During the program, in addition to participating in the sociality with the other hosts, Anne was the one who introduced and ended songs with phrases like "Drake, WizKid, and Kyla with 'One

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tions. By giving learning a central position, culture becomes a fluid force that marks a difference between the anthropologist being inside and outside of cultural dust bunnies, though with connected sides as in a Möbius band: Sometimes the outside turns inside and vice versa. (Hasse 2015, 296)

Mirroring my own brief entanglement with music in my new work environment, I am interested in learning about processes around music and about music's entanglement in sociality in practices at P3. I am interested in how music plays a role, as cultural artefact and aesthetic agent, in the meshwork of connections that are created when newcomers (such as myself) arrive at a culture production environment such as *GMP3*. I am interested in different possible "learnings" and "agential cuts" concerning music in those environments. I understand life as lines participating in

Dance,' and the time is four minutes to seven."

Let's take a closer look at the tools Anne had at hand—mainly the computer screen on her left side—in order to learn how Anne entangled herself and how she entangled music in the production of *GMP3*.

Dalet and the Organization of Sound

On the left-hand computer, Anne uses the software *Dalet.* We were (briefly) acquainted with *Dalet* in the last section, when I described how Peter was editing the music track "All We Know" by the Chainsmokers featuring Phoebe Ryan. He used *Dalet* to edit the track and made it suitable for radio by cutting off the introduction, adjusting the length, etc. *Dalet* is described on its company website as a

> Media Asset Management (MAM) and Workflow Orchestration platform that unifies the content chain by managing assets, metadata, workflows, and processes across multiple and diverse production and distribution systems. Specially tailored for media workflows, this unique technology platform helps broadcasters and media professionals increase their productivity while providing operational and business visibility.[98]

The following picture shows Anne's screen using *Dalet*, which I have chosen to call the *sound screen*:

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meshwork in a similar manner to Hasse:

> Inspired by Tim Ingold, I see cultural dust bunnies as a meshwork of lines and frictions. Lines are not only extended minds spilling over into materiality, they are also learned connections that make materiality emerge as cultural attention fields. Here the social, and sometimes collective, consciousness is materialised. The frontiers of culture are, in this perspective, not created by physical boundaries, like water surrounding an island or geometrical places with idem et idem natives. Culture is a force floating as waves that sound through people. This force is felt in material surroundings as we learn to align agential cuts. Our agential cuts clear the paths of the lines we follow in a material world. (Hasse 2015, 296)

According to Hasse above the organization, or in this case the production environment on P3,
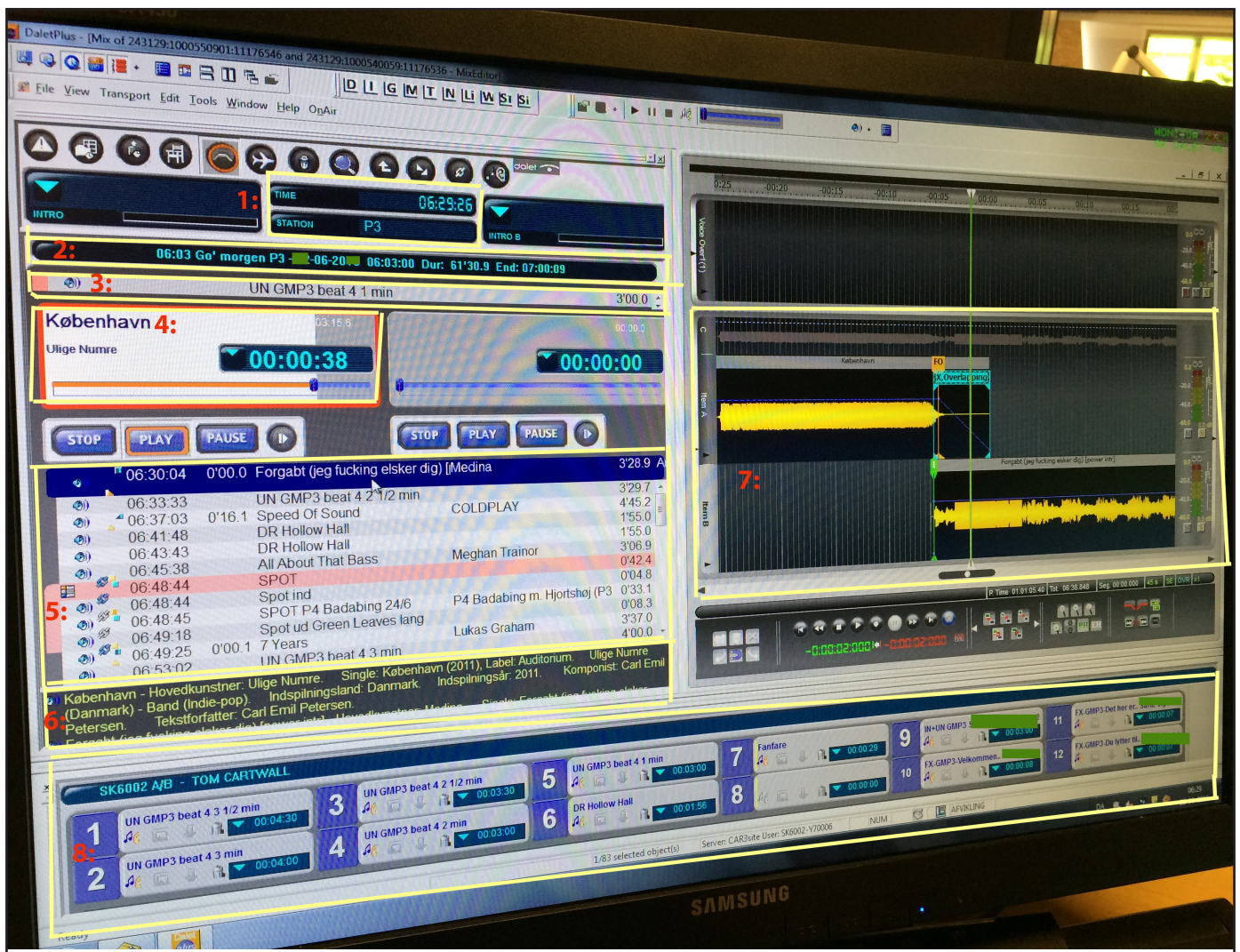
Picture 33: The sound screen containing the log. The log shows the playlist, the background music, and other elements of the sound sequence. I have "diffracted" the picture in numbered boxes and explained each fraction in the text.

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consists of entangled "meshwork of lines and frictions" that make "materiality emerge as cultural attention fields".

In this dissertation, I have chosen some agential cuts (described in Section 1) in order to clear the path for a contemporary journey into the realm of Danish PSPMR; I will look at how materiality such as "music", "technology" and "gender" emerge as cultural attention fields in this particular production environment and contribute to the ongoing and (re)iterated materialization of "social and [...] collective consciousness". I do this with the hope of opening up a fractional view of life in DR's P3 and of life and production in general. I will in Section 2 begin my explorative journey into P3 and into what I call ´diffracted culture analysis´.

(This was the end of "Green Track" - Go back to Section 2)

A DJ on P3 uses *Dalet* to maneuver the sounds of the program—to create and keep sight of the right flow of sounds for the program. This screen is also used by the other members of the production team to keep track of the flow of sequences, to keep an eye on the composition of the program, and to view different information about sounds and songs that can come in handy when on air.

Let's see how this software "unifies the content chain" and provides "operational and business visibility," as promised by its makers in the above quote. I will provide a diffraction of the sound screen, explaining the different elements or fractions it contains to give a greater understanding of how music and sounds are embedded in this structuring "Workflow Orchestration platform."

1. Here we see the exact time and the station. The above picture is taken at 06:29:25, and the station is P3.

2. Here, we see what "clock" we are maneuvering in. We saw in Section 4 how *clocks* were pre-made for all programs, hour by hour, by Peter and his right-hand man Henrik. This particular clock begins at 06:03. It is made for *Go'Morgen P3* on June xx, 20xx. In this picture, it lasts 61:30:09 minutes and ends at 07:00:09. This time span is elastic. It expands and shrinks along the way according to the changes the DJ makes during the program. After the news at 07:00, a new (pre-made) clock is started.

3. This bar shows the name and length of the sound sequence that was played before the sound sequence/music track currently playing. The previously played sound sequence is called "UN GMP3 4 1 min" and works as background sound for a speech sequence. I will explain this later.

4. This bar shows the name and length of the music track currently playing. Right now, the track is Ulige Numre's "København."

5. Here is a cutout of the log with the pre-made compilation of sound sequences put together (in a clock) and seen in a consecutive order (another way of showing "the clock" that we saw made by Peter in Section 4). We see here a particular cutout of the log that goes from 06:30:04 to 06:53:02. It shows the planned timing for each sound element, the name of the sequence, and its duration. When it comes to the music tracks, it also shows how many seconds the DJ and the hosts have to speak in before the starting point of the particular track, and it shows the artist's name. In this log, we can find playlist songs coded by Peter and selected by Selector and Peter. While listening to Ulige Numre's "København" at 6:29:27, we can see that from 6:30:04 until 06:53:02, the other pre-programmed songs are Medina's "Forgabt," Coldplay's "Speed of

Sound," Meghan Trainor's "All About That Bass," and Lukas Graham's "7 Years."

6. Here are selected metadata for the track currently playing, in this case "København." The *main artist* (*hovedkunstner*) is Ulige Numre. The track was *released* as a single in 2011 by the *label* Auditorium. The band's *nationality* is categorized as Danish. The music is placed within the *genre* Indie Pop. It was *recorded in the country of* (*indspilningsland*) Denmark in the *year* (*indspilnings-sår*) 2011. The *composer* (*komponist*) is Carl Emil Petersen. The *lyrics* (*tekstforfatter*) were also written by Carl Emil Petersen.

7. This shows how *Dalet* is used as an editing tool to make smooth transitions between sound elements used in the program. I will get back to this later.

8. Twelve "buttons" are shown at the very bottom of the screen. These are the buttons that link to specially selected "packaging elements and trailers" (Föllmer 2013) for the DJ and the team of hosts to use in the program. I will also elaborate on this notion in the following subsection.

The Pre-Programmed Packaging Elements and Trailers

This screen, showing the software *Dalet* in use, is the main tool that the DJ uses in the studio to work with the flow of sound beads and music tracks—what Crisell calls "talk, music and other elements" (Crisell 1994, 73). Now let's take a closer look at the log (segment 5 in the picture) and consider the compilation of sounds that these twenty-three minutes contain.

I will leave the actual music tracks aside for now to first consider what German radio researcher Golo Fölmer (2013) calls "packaging elements and trailers." In Crisell's vocabulary, these are the "other elements" in his description of what radio is comprised of.[99] These include sound sequences such as the station ID, background music, trailers for programs on DR, and other musical/sound elements that, according to Föllmer, "have to be acoustically striking and consistently of high quality in order to constitute the channel identity of a station effectively" (Fölmer 2013, 335). Let's begin with the "trailers" and the advertising, then move on to the other "packaging elements."

At 06:48:44, there is something called "SPOT." A spot is an advert or trailer for another DR radio show: *Badabing* on P4. This kind of advertising is accepted as a part of DR; according to Crisell, such internal advertising is "conformable with the station's public service obligations" (Crisell 1994, 73). Crisell writes that public service adverts typically contain "trailers for the station's own programmes, competitions which are in effect promotion for concerts since they offer tickets as prizes; and public service adverts offering advice to young jobless, those with sexual and drug problems and so on" (ibid.). DR is a huge media concern, and its machinery is big—therefore, they have plenty of events and programs to advertise for. This can seem like a self-perpetuating system of circulation, for instance when music awards such as P3 Guld are built up in a big advert for the DR corporation and for DR's position as a vital entrepreneur for music in

society (as also described in Wallevik 2018).

Let's make use of Crisell's vocabulary when looking at this spot at 06:48:44 and diffracting this particular sound bite. We can see in the log how the spot itself is made up of several sound elements: "Spot ind,"(Spot in) "SPOT P4 Badabing 24/6," and "Spot ud Green Leaves lang."(Spot out Green Leaves long) "Spot ind" is a very short sound that is barely noticeable. Still, as a little "pling," it works as what Crisell probably would call "music as link" (Crisell 1986, 51). Like "Spot ud Green Leaves lang," it "keep[s] certain aspects of the programme apart and may additionally signal advertising breaks [...] as well as [...] bridge the changes of scene or subject, thus providing a kind of continuity" (ibid., 51). All the short elements that make up the spot are linked and locked (see the log's right side) so that when combined, these elements make up a particular coherent and longer sound sequence.

In addition to the "trailers" that make use of "music as link," Crisell accounts for other kind of usages of music in radio: "Music as framing/music as boundary mechanism," "mood music," and "music as a stylized sound effect/music in an indexical function" (ibid., 51–52). Referencing Ervin Goffman's work (1980) on radio drama, Crisell works primarily with commercial radio, but argues that public service popular music radio stations are quite comparable to commercial ones. Let's look at the log and listen to the program to find out if—and how—such a diffraction of radio's *packaging elements* can be of use to understand the content line-up in the production of contemporary public service flow radio.

A sound sequence appears at 06:33:33 that I would describe as "mood music" (Crisell 1994, 51). This sound sequence is named "UN GMP3 beat 4 2½ min." It functions as *background music* while the host team enacts their speech blocks on air. It appears as an ethereal sound sequence, as it contains no significant chord progressions but primarily consists, tonality-wise, of one chord rising and lowering in texture, volume, and intensity. In terms of rhythm, this sound sequence has an underlying beat that keeps up the pace. Let's understand this as "mood music" in the sense that it "acts as a background enhancement which is understood not to be heard by the characters" (ibid., 51).

In this particular cutout of the log, there are two other sequences I would categorize as *mood music*: "UN GMP3 4 3 min" and "DR Hollow Hall." "UN GMP3 4 3 min" is very similar to "UN GMP3 beat 4 2½ min," whereas "DR Hollow Hall" differs because it has no underlying beat; it consists of a chord that rises and falls in intensity. The mood music that Crisell refers to as "understood by the listeners as not to be heard by the characters" is probably based on the radio drama form that Ervin Goffman (1980) worked with, in which mood music is most typically applied afterward. Here, however, the background music in the live production of *GMP3 is* actually heard by the hosts/characters in their headphones while they are speaking. According to Søren, this was a source of great annoyance for some radio hosts, who turned this sound down to a minimum in their headphones while speaking. The host talent—Jens, for instance—found the background music disturbing for their appearance on air:

The background music is something that I have become extremely aware of. Because it is...
I seriously think that it changes the whole product, you know, also almost the content [...]
It is fast, really, really fast background music, so sometimes I feel... when I have made radio
on fast background music... I can feel, you know, my speech tempo increases. And I can feel
like... you know, that my rhythm changes. (Interview, Jens)

Furthermore, in Jens's mind, the background music and the music tracks are sometimes difficult
to differentiate from one another:

Sometimes P3 seems to turn into one long stream of exactly the same, because it is a cer-
tain type of music that goes over into a certain type of high-tempo background music. And
sometimes I really do not think that the listeners can differentiate between being in the
middle of a Gilli [100] track and being in the middle of a speech block with high-tempo back-
ground music [...] For me the question is not whether I like P3's music or not. It is more that
it turns into, ehmm, a sort of... P3 porridge. (Interview, Jens)

For Jens, the mood or "background" music on the channel makes the radio sounds (the "talk,
music, and other elements") turn into a "P3 porridge," where it gets hard to distinguish one ele-
ment from another. We saw in Section 4 how Peter was striving to do exactly this, for instance by
using the texture of the P3 jingle as a marker when compiling music tracks and assigning "open-
ers" in order to make a flow of what he called "brown sauce."

In Crisell's understanding, "music as framing"/"music as boundary mechanism" denotes
the music jingles that identify and signify radio stations as well as individual programs. The sta-
tion, channel, or program IDs (the P3 jingles) are important in the establishment of the channel's
identity. As previously mentioned, the channel ID is used to signify the sound texture of the
channel. According to Föllmer, these sound sequences play a crucial role in order to "constitute
the channel identity of a station effectively" and reinforce "the brand image" (Föllmer 2013,
335).

P3 has significant station IDs that are well known by the majority of the Danish popula-
tion: "P3. Det man hører er man selv. Du lytter til P3." ("P3. What you hear is who you are. You´re
listening to P3.") *GMP3* also has its own set of ID jingles, which sound similar to the station ID:
"P3. P.P.P.P. *God Morgen P3* (P.P.P.P.3) med Sanne, Anne, og Lars" ("P3. P.P.P.P. *GMP3* (P.P.P.3) with
Sanne, Anne, and Lars.")

The P3 station IDs are not seen on this particular cutout of the log, but they are heard
within the shown timespan between 6:30:04 a.m. and 6:53:02 a.m. When listening to the pro-
gram, one will hear a station ID appear just after the news at 6:30, just before the Medina track
begins. It also appeared earlier, just after the news at six o'clock. The lack of (visible) station IDs
in the log indicates that the news host, Claus, puts on the station ID after he finishes the news
to re-situate the listener in this particular program and its particular sound universe and atmo-

sphere; it also is a signal for the DJ to take over and continue with the music log again. As such, in addition to signifying the channel in terms of sounded texture, the IDs work as a "boundary mechanism" framing the program on several levels in the flow of production.

Improvising with Sound in the Studio: Entangling Sound in Sociality

Above, we have seen how packaging elements and trailers can work as pre-programmed music elements in the log.[101] But while I sat beside Søren this morning, taking pictures and listening to the program, I also witnessed space for improvisation with the sounds in the production of the program.

Some of the packaging elements and trailers were shown as buttons in the lower part of the left side of the DJ screen (number 8 in the screen photo). These buttons were linked to a piece of physical hardware in the room that had real physical buttons numbered 1 to 12:

Picture 34: Twelve buttons are connected to the numbered buttons on the sound screen (in box no. 8)

Buttons 1 to 6 contained sound sequences with mood music or background music, e.g., the ones we saw used in the log named "UN GMP3 4 3 min," "DR Hollow Hall," and "UN GMP3 beat 4 2½ min." I suspect that buttons 8 to 12 contained different versions of *GMP3*'s IDs (see sound screen photo). But some of these buttons were also linked to sound sequences that were not necessarily listed in the composed log. Let's consider the use of button number 7, "Fanfare."

At 06:41:48, just after Coldplay's "Speed of Sound," there are two consecutive speech

blocks with the background mood music "DR Hollow Hall." Here, the team enacts a competition well-known to loyal *GMP3* listeners: "Win a Day Off from Work." The hosts encourage listeners to phone in if they would like to get the day off from work. After a short conversation between the Morning Team and the employee, the Morning Team calls up the employee's boss and tries to persuade him or her to give the worker the day off. As a reward, the boss gets a glass-framed certificate from P3 for being "the best boss in the world."

This morning, the team succeeds in the challenge (they often do, but not always). The boss allows the worker to turn his car around and go home instead of going to work. As the success becomes clear, we hear a rising fanfare and the sounds of fireworks and glitter cannons. Someone (probably the DJ) has pushed button number 7, "Fanfare," on the screen or on the hardware connected to this function.

This kind of sound sequence could well be called, using Crisell's terminology, "a stylized sound effect" or a sound sequence with "an indexical function" (Crisell 1986, 51–52), as it works as "a stylized sound effect [...with] an imitative function and [...] a sort of iconic index" (ibid., 52). It certainly contributes to a happy and cheerful atmosphere in the studio.

Similarly, later on—around 7:26—we hear another sound sequence. This one, called "Steffen Kretz raket," is a clip from a previous program: for about 45 seconds, DR reporter Steffen Kretz describes the launching of a rocket with great (and rising) enthusiasm and in rich metaphorical language. This special clip from a previous program has (apparently) been used over and over again by the Morning Team. It contributes to the sociality in the studio, since the team finds it really funny (probably because of its repetition and its various possible meanings due to the metaphorical language). The sound clip appears to have an "indexical function" for the sociality between the hosts and between the hosts and the listeners. It tells of (and establishes) a shared history, and maybe also an underlying shared "crazy," slightly absurd, and potentially sexually charged sense of humor. As such, this clip becomes an "index" of a shared sociability, history, and humor; it has the "effect" of making a cheerful and cozy atmosphere in the studio (Crisell, 52) and between the hosts and their listeners.[102]

How Anne Mattered as DJ
In the instances described above, the sound sequences were actors in the sociality created in the studio. The sound clips' indexical functions were used by the DJ in improvisation as the program was created. Let's look a little closer at how exactly the DJ technically entangled those sounds in the flow of producing radio on this particular morning.

When the aforementioned sound sequence "Steffen Kretz raket" was to be integrated into the flow, it was Anne, the DJ, who smoothened this integration. She embedded the particular sound clip into the run-in of the following track, "Hot N Cold" by Katy Perry, by using the sound editing tools on the right side of her screen. You can see how the two layers of sound are put together if you look at the equalizer (soundwave) graphics depicted in yellow:
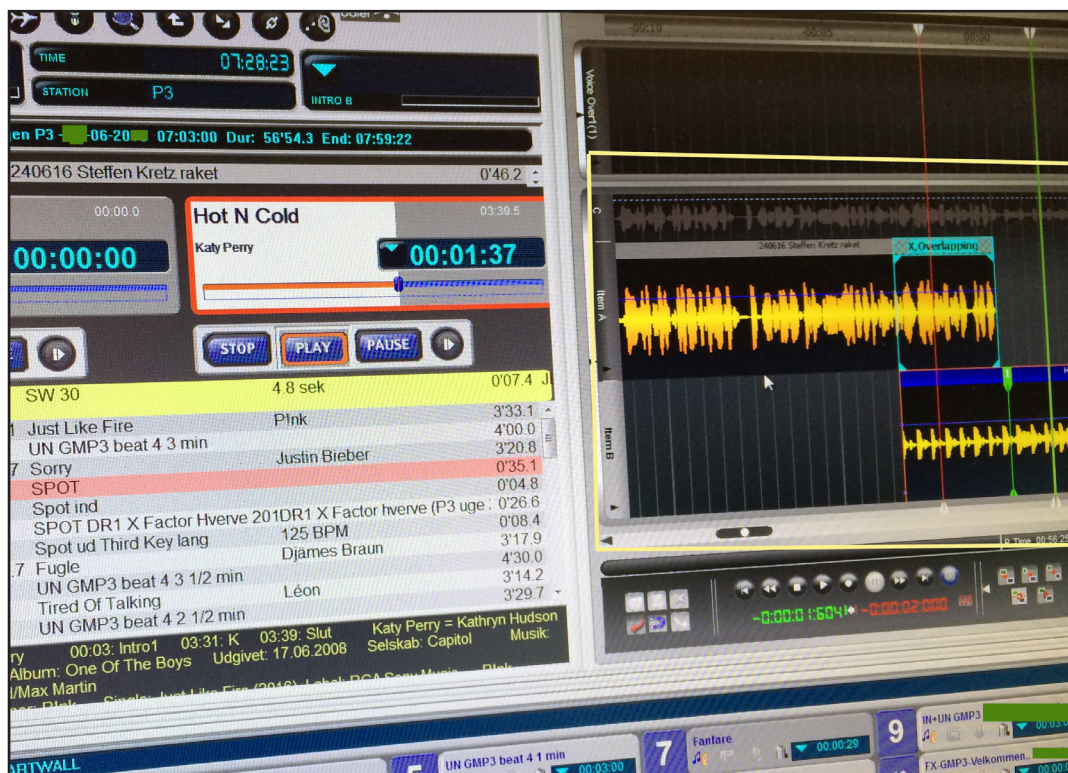
Picture 35: Taken of the log at 07:28:23, showing the layering of sounds when making smooth transitions between sound sequences. (NB equalizer (soundwave) graphics depicted in yellow)

Anne, the DJ, used *Dalet* as a sound editing software tool to create—on the spot—a smooth transition between the track and the sound clip.

Changing the Music Tracks in the Log

Besides smoothening the transitions between sound sequences, the DJ also worked with, and changed, the pre-programmed music tracks in the log; these were the music tracks that Peter (and Henrik) had prepared and that Crisell considers to be "the mainstay of radio's output" (Crisell 1994, 48). Let's see an example of this.

Here are two pictures of the log taken with six and a half minutes in between:

Picture 36a: The log, taken at 06:22:48.
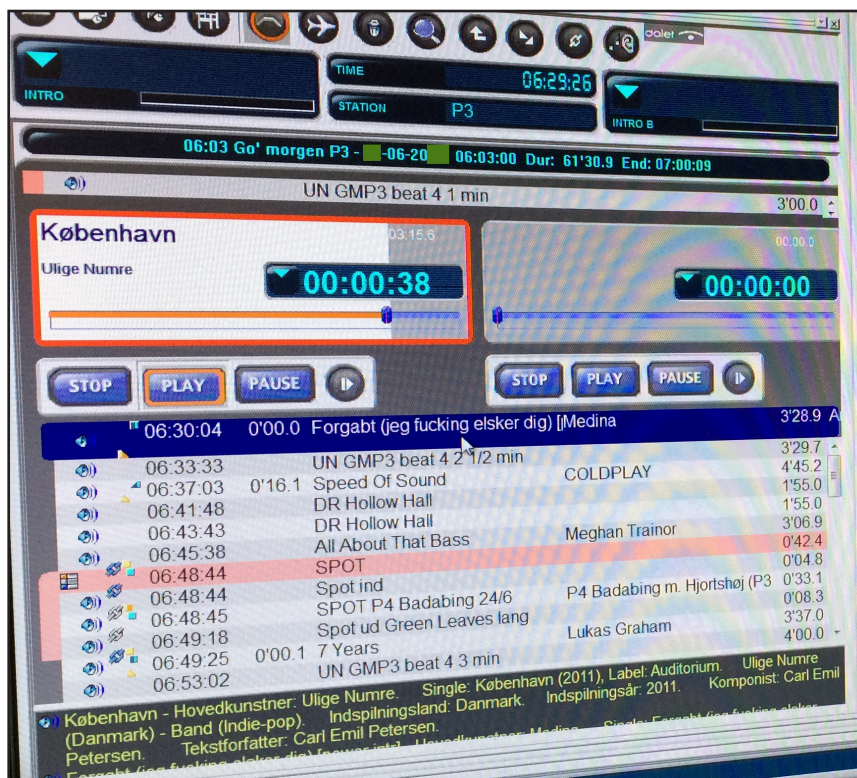
Picture 36b: The log, taken at 06:29:27. Ulige Numre's track "København" was playing while this picture was taken, just before the 6:30 news.

In the picture taken at 06:22:48, we are supposed to hear Meghan Trainor's "All About That Bass" before the 6:30 news, while Ulige Numre's "København" is scheduled to appear at 06:47:47. But at the time the second picture is taken, we're listening to "København," and "All About That Bass" has now moved down the list and swapped places with "København." In the six minutes between the times the two photos were taken, the DJ edited the log.

Rather than pondering the reasons for this particular swap of songs,[103] I am interested in the dynamics of the making of the program; it seems that the DJ *was* working with degrees of independence and creativity within the frame of doing the flow in the production space. In this space, in relation to the music, the DJ was enacting as the constant keeper of time and sounds; she was improvising with sound clips and using them to create certain sociability (as index and effect); she was smoothening transitions; and she was tweaking the order of songs in the playlist. She was hereby an important actor in the creation of the flow of speech, sounds, and music in the entanglement or intra-action between humans and things in the studio.

Trine, Uffe, and Sofie: How the DJ Matters

> If you asked a listener, "Does it matter to you if Sofie hits a run-in on a song or not?" they would say, "I couldn't care less." But they do care. It matters because, you know, because it sounds more like... flowing. And it just sounds better and more safe and... and it just sounds nice, when people [DJs] know their shit! (Interview ,Trine)

We have seen above how the DJ does special maneuvers in the practice space of *GMP3* and in the making of public service flow radio. In the above quote, Trine, the editor of music communication, expresses that it matters if the DJs "know their shit!" What does it mean to "know one's shit" as a contemporary flow music radio host and DJ? I interviewed two experienced music radio hosts working at DR about their ideas of being radio hosts in contemporary public service flow radio. Let's take a stroll with Uffe and Sofie.

Uffe: Using Music Tracks as Instruments to Create Flow

Uffe is a host with experience from both P3 and P7 Mix. He began his career as a DJ on Radio Kolding, a local radio in the southern part of Jutland. He attended the Danish School of Media and Journalism, and after finishing his education he came to P3. He told me that the feeling of "flow" was something that not all DR radio hosts had a feeling for or experience with:

> So coming from commercial radio, where it has always been important, it [the idea of flow] is pretty much sitting on my backbone. I still find people at DR who are not aware of: What is flow? Why is it important? You see, flow is... a feeling of coming from one thing and then effortlessly sliding over into something else. In terms of using music, it is to use the music actively... let's say there is a thirty-second instrumental ending on a song. This you use actively, for instance to round off the song, while still being in the sound universe of the song.

Uffe thought of his understanding of *doing flow* as closely connected with his background in commercial radio. He continued by explaining that his idea of creating flow with music in radio was connected to his awareness of the possibilities that lie in using "music as an instrument" in creating radio. As a DJ, he creates flow by relating to the musical structure of a track:

> On a typical flow music radio program—not specifically a music program—the songs are pre-determined. That is a part of the whole music controlling system. But still I can very well have an awareness of the fact that when we go from this up-tempo pop track with this kind of outro and enter into a slow ballad, then of course I also change my... maybe not my tone of voice, but I make a shift in mood or feeling in relation to, "What are we going over to now?" This I do in relation to my dictation and to what I say and how I say it... So flow is the awareness of using the music as an instrument. (Interview, Uffe))

Even though the music is pre-selected, Uffe relates to it. This may not be in terms of verbal content—in terms of his own personal feelings about the music—but in terms of changing his "tone of voice," his "mood or feeling," his "dictation," and what he says and how he says it. He creates flow by being aware of "using music as an instrument." He continued, explaining how he creates flow with music in practice:

> Let's say there is a 30-second intro on a song. That intro is not 30 static seconds. It is, by all means, also a song that develops. Let's say that the first 10 seconds contain a drum, starting up. Then I speak over that. Then I take a short break when the other instruments are coming on. Then I talk again. And you can do the same on the outro of a song [...] So there I go in and play with the possibilities that the musical structure gives me, and I work together with the pauses that lie within it. To think in this way—that is flow for me. (Interview, Uffe)

Later in our conversation, Uffe explained that he uses "music as setting, as the scene, and as the frame." Connecting the intros and outros of songs with speech and words that relate his presence to the music in some way is what Uffe considers real, elegant DJing. He is very engaged in the music and in his job of creating good flow music radio.

Sofie: Touching on the Atmosphere of the Day
Sofie, another radio host I spoke to, was similarly engaged in the presentation of music in flow radio. She had been at DR since the age of 20 years old, when she came from Jutland as part of DR's host talent arrangement. Now she was 37 years old, and over the last 17 years she had worked in both commercial and public service radio. She had additionally obtained an education in journalism. Like Uffe, she talked about entering into a relationship with a certain song and creating an atmosphere in the studio to pass on to the listener:

> Sometimes when I come in in the morning, then I can sit and look forward to a certain num-
> ber in the playlist. And then I know that this song... this song I look forward to presenting to
> people, so they get... to try and pass on the feeling or atmosphere I get from that particular
> song, and then pass that on, right? (Interview, Sofie)

Both Sofie and Uffe do their homework before entering the studio. They check out the playlist a day in advance and think about how certain music tracks can be presented. When I asked how they felt about being subjugated to a pre-determined playlist, they seemed pretty relaxed about it. Sofie did not feel particularly restricted by the playlist. As she said:

> Yes, of course we are subjugated to follow the playlist made by Peter. But on the other hand,
> I can change a song or two if I think to myself, "This we've got to hear!" Maybe because
> there is a certain history related to this particular day or... to some other thing I would like
> to bring forward. [...] I personally welcomed the music controlling system [...] *but* I also take
> some freedom in my work. If I want some different tracks, I do that sometimes... not all the
> time. [...] Maybe there is a situation where you think, "This day just tastes so much of this
> particular track." Then I put it on [...] and then maybe they [the editor] come and tell me,
> "Okay, then you played this and this, ha? Oh my, oh my," but never anything more than that.
> So, ehmm, I am happy to have music controlling [...] but if you ask the guys on P6 Beat, they
> would say the opposite. They want to choose themselves. (Interview, Sofie)

The Public Service Popular Music Flow Radio (PSPMFR) DJ

Being a DJ in this system and creating the flow of sounds and music on P3 appeared as a prac-tice that one could manage, and that some managed better than others.[104] It seems there was space—certainly an altered space, compared with earlier times of DJing—for Anne, the DJ on *GMP3*, to adjust, to *do* things with music and sound in this system of production. Even though she did not select the music herself, she made smooth transitions, she moved tracks around, she added sound effects, and she changed the playlist, for instance when she collaborated with Søren to get a new track in the playlist (see Section 2).

Experienced and established DJs such as Uffe and Sofie worked with entangling their voices and the atmosphere of the day together with the pre-selected music tracks. They worked with elegance in transitioning, and they sometimes took the liberty of putting a track or two of their own selection in the playlist because of "a certain history related to this particular day"—because the day afforded it.

The PSPMFR DJ reality could be characterized, then, as this entanglement between the DJ, the atmosphere and musical attributes in the specific music track, the sounds and the social-ity in the studio, numerous pieces of more or less digital tools, and— importantly—the music profile of the channel, combined with an ideal of making the radio sounds flow in the right P3 way. It seems that the DJ had a great deal of intra-acting with music and sound, sometimes as

a prolonging of the self, but also at the same time as a loyal and trusted employee that acted in close relation to—and with great awareness of—the corporative strategies around flow and format.

How Anne Mattered, Part 2: Anne's Last Day at Work

Seen in retrospect, it was naturally Anne, with her interest in new music and her background as a flow DJ in commercial radio (like Uffe, and for that sake, Peter) who had been assigned the DJ position in this host constellation. Unlike Søren, I wouldn't be able to judge if she was "good at it" or not, but I felt a great respect around her person in this working context, so I guess she was. Listening more carefully to the program afterward, I felt the music flowing neatly, and I noticed that there were no interruptions or ruptures. I guess that being able to do that—to make the flow and to create smooth transitions between different segments—was what this job needed. But unfortunately, Anne was leaving the Morning Team for another job outside DR.

In earlier sections, I passed on de-centered, person-related stories (e.g., in Section 2, when Søren influenced the playlist of a particular production of *GMP3*, or in Section 4, where I passed on a reflection about how Peter's possible personal engagement could be seen to matter). Like-wise, I will here relate a story about how Anne, an experienced DJ, added "spices to the brown sauce," to use Peter's words. Like Søren and Peter, she contributed to the system of PSPMR with some of her own agency concerning her handling of music.

We are moving a couple of days forward in time again to a situation introduced in Section 2: the last program before summer and the goodbye program for Anne, the *GMP3* DJ of five years.[105] As previously described, I was touched sitting before my computer screen and following it live on webcam; I was moved by the goodbyes and the whole atmosphere and sociality that played out in front of me. And maybe, thinking about it retrospectively, I was particularly moved by the music that came out from the speakers this particular morning, even though I did not real-ize it at first.

At one point in the program, Sanne said, "So, Anne, because this is your last day, I have encouraged you to play all your own music." So far, listening to the program, I had not taken any special notice of the music, so I instantly thought, OK—Sanne had *encouraged* her to do that, but she surely wasn't doing it. Maybe she didn't dare, I thought. To me it sounded like it always did. There were no personal remarks about the music, just the usual: title, artist, and time. It was flowing like always. Afterward, I looked through the playlist and compared it to the playlist on June 22. And wow, what a difference! I was surprised that I hadn't noticed it instantly:

06:04	Go' Morgen P3 - musik, nyheder, journalistik, satire og sport starter den nye dag. Værter:
06:02	Lady Gaga – Do What U Want (feat. R. Kelly)
06:09	Saveus – Everchanging
06:13	Wafande – Se mig i dag
06:18	Selena Gomez – Hands to Myself
06:22	Mø – Final Song
06:26	Ulige Numre – København
06:33	Medina – Forgabt (Jeg fucking elsker dig)
06:39	Coldplay – Speed of Sound
06:47	Meghan Trainor – All About That Bass
06:51	Lukas Graham – 7 Years
06:57	Shawn Mendes – Treat You Better
07:04	Shaka Loveless – Dengang du græd UU
07:10	Volbeat – For evigt (feat. Johan Olsen)
07:15	Bruno Mars – Grenade
07:22	Gulddreng – Model
07:26	Katy Perry – Hot n Cold
07:33	P!nk – Just Like Fire
07:39	Justin Bieber – Sorry
07:43	Djämes Braun – Fugle
07:50	Léon – Tired of Talking
07:57	Alex Vargas – Shackled Up UU
08:04	John Newman – Love Me Again
08:10	Kent Jones – Don't Mind UU
08:15	Malk De Koijn – Pige, Girl
08:19	Big Wild – Aftergold (feat. Tove Styrke) UU
08:26	Gilli – C'est la vie (feat. MellemFingaMuzik)
08:33	Karl William – Alt er fint UU
08:40	Ellie Goulding – On My Mind
08:44	Capital Cities – Safe and Sound
08:51	Drake – One Dance (feat. WizKid & Kyla)
08:56	Gala – Freed from desire

06:04	Go' Morgen P3 - musik, nyheder, journalistik, satire og sport starter den nye dag. Værter:
06:03	Daft Punk – Get Lucky (feat. Pharrell & Nile Rodgers)
06:09	La Roux – Bulletproof
06:13	DNCE – Cake by the Ocean
06:19	Medina – Velkommen til Medina
06:23	Drake – One Dance (feat. WizKid & Kyla)
06:26	The White Stripes – Seven Nation Army
06:33	Maître Gims – Est-ce que tu m'aimes ? UU
06:40	Jack Ü – Where Are Ü? Now (feat. Justin Bieber)
06:48	Nick Jonas – Levels
06:52	Scarlet Pleasure – Wanna Know
06:57	Imany – Don't Be So Shy (Filatov & Karas Remix) PREMIERE
07:05	Janelle Monáe – Yoga (feat. Jidenna) UU
07:12	Justin Timberlake – Can't Stop the Feeling
07:19	Liss – Miles Apart
07:23	Kungs & Cookin' On 3 Burners – This Girl (feat. Kylie Auldist) UU
07:26	The Notorious B.I.G. – Hypnotize
07:33	Laleh – Bara få va mig själv UU
07:39	Big Wild – Aftergold (feat. Tove Styrke) UU
07:43	Emil Stabil – Allerede is (Salsa Remix) (feat. Nikolaj Koppel)
07:50	Lykke Li – I Follow Rivers (The Magician Remix)
07:56	Jay-Z & Kanye West – Niggas in Paris
08:04	The Minds of 99 – Stjerner på himlen UU
08:11	Nik & Jay – Lækker (Nexus remix)
08:15	Ariana Grande – Into You
08:20	Muse – Starlight UU
08:34	Gulddreng – Model
08:40	Warren G – Regulate (feat. Nate Dogg) UU
08:44	MC Lyte – Cold Rock A Party (Bad Boy Remix) (feat. Missy Elliott)
08:51	Salt 'N' Pepa – Push it
08:59	Britney Spears – Stronger

Picture 37a & 37b: On the left is the playlist from June 22 (the day where I participated beginning in the early morning), and on the right is the playlist from June 24 (Anne's last day as a GMP3 host).

In the playlist[106] from June 22, two days before Anne's goodbye show, almost all tracks had been played on P3 over 400 times at the time of writing, independent of release date. Only two tracks had been played around or less than 200 times ("Fugle" by Djämes Braun at 166, and "Tired of Talking" by Léon at 202). One track had been played nine times: "Freed from Desire" by Gala (Søren's song).

The playlist from June 24, Anne's playlist, had quite a different character. Many of the tracks had been played fewer than 100 times: "Bulletproof" by La Roux (19 times), "Allerede is" by Emil Stabil (24 times), "Hypnotize" by The Notorious B.I.G. (eight times), "Lækker" by Nik & Jay (five times), "Stronger" by Britney Spears (six times), "Cold Rock a Party" by MC Lyte feat. Missy Elliott (five times), "Regulate" by Warren G feat. Nate Dogg (29 times), and "Push It" by Salt-N-Pepa (14 times).

In the playlist from June 22, the tracks were very contemporary. Only three tracks were from before 2010. On Anne's playlist from the 24th, 10 tracks were from before 2010—some

went back to 1988 (Salt-N-Pepa), 1992 (Warren G), 1996 (MC Lyte & Missy Elliott), 1997 (The Notorious B.I.G.), 2000 (Britney Spears), 2002 (the White Stripes), or 2004 (Nick & Jay).

Furthermore, there was a difference between the two playlists when it came to diversity in skin color and gender representation:[107]

In the playlist from June 22nd, 45.2 percent of all tracks represented *only pink*, *only male humans*,[108] compared with 30 percent of tracks in the playlist from the 24th.

In the playlist from June 22nd, 74.2 percent of tracks contained *only pink humans*, compared with 53.3 percent of tracks in the playlist from the 24th.

In the playlist from June 22nd, 32.3 percent of tracks contained *one or more female contributors* (meaning that 67.7 percent of tracks had only male contributors). In the playlist from the 24th, 46.7 percent of tracks contained one or more female contributors (53.3 percent of tracks had only male competitors).

In the playlist from the 22nd, there are zero tracks with *only female appearances*, compared to the playlist from the 24th, which has one track featuring a female-only appearance (3.3 percent of the whole playlist).

Analyzing the two playlists in retrospect made me certain that Anne had put in her own music on "her" last program. Yet she did it while maintaining the flow with such adequacy that it was actually a rather hidden change for the unknowing ear despite the differences in the tracks' popularity, familiarity, and contemporaneity, as well as the differences in content in terms of possible gender/color identification.

Maybe I didn't notice the difference because the music was entangled in the P3 texture, as Jens had mentioned when he spoke about the entanglement of words into the flow of sounds:

> That is exactly the point—you can really be allowed to say a lot! I have a feeling that one is allowed to say really quite a lot: real wild things, as long as you fall into the rhythm of that background music. (Interview, Jens)

Or maybe I didn't notice the difference because this kind of music was actually my personal kind of music? Maybe I, with my developmentally embodied responsiveness, heard this music as the "most natural" kind of music? I had listened to many of the tracks before. In Anne's playlist from the 24th, there was great potential for other-than-hetero sexual identification in many of the artists presented: LaRoux's androgynous singer, Elly Jackson, identifies as pansexual; Janelle Monae recently came out as having a girlfriend; Missy Elliott was already transgressing borders in terms of sexual identification back in the '90s; Salt-N-Pepa, the all-brown, all-female rap group, has been highly idolized in the female gay community since their appearance in the 1980s; and then, not least, Anne introduced a whole new track for the first time on P3: Imany's "Don't Be So Shy," whose official video contains quite explicit lesbian content. Furthermore, the playlist exposed an affinity for African-American hip-hop from the '80s and '90s with Warren G, Salt-N-Pepa, MC Lyte, Missy Elliott, and The Notorious B.I.G. I had myself, in the '00s, had a hip-hop period.

The reason why I didn't notice the difference in content is not too important here. With this example, I simply wish to illustrate how it was flowing (to me, maybe to others?) despite the music content being different from usual. I pull out this example to show how Anne contributed to "the whole," like Søren and like Peter, with her personal spice and made an absolutely touching radio program (at least to me). In this situation, in her Skilled Practice that Involved Developmentally Embodied Responsiveness, she contributed to the P3 mainstream format right there in that moment, but also contributed to and influenced "the whole" in a future perspective. For instance, the Imany track "Don't Be So Shy," which she introduced as a premiere on P3 that morning, has since been played on P3 255 times. She and her music were a spice (unfortunately, now gone) that contributed to the brown sauce on P3. She contributed to P3 as a cohering object with her particular embodied responsiveness.

DJing the Flow

I hoped in this section to gain insight into the PSPMR flow DJ's practice and maybe slightly complexify the stories of *human detachment* and the *indifference of the contemporary flow radio DJ* when doing music on air in the production of contemporary PSPMR—stories that are often paired up with stories about the introduction of digital music-controlling tools and rationalization thinking in daily production procedures.

In addition to presenting the music in a stylized and uniform way (and hereby being the keeper of time, sounds, and music in relation to the listener), the DJ was managing the log of music tracks and the time on her computer, managing other sound elements while maneuvering within the log, and smoothening the transitions between segments of sound in the log. In these processes, she thought of smoothening her voice, making neat transitions, creating an atmosphere in relation to the music, and once in a while adding a track of her own to the playlist.

I acknowledge that a change has taken place in ways of presenting music—both with the advent of digitalization and also with implemented ideas of rationalization in radio production environments. However, in relation to my conversations with different DJs in the corporation, I argue that being a music presenter, or being the one "in charge of the technique," is still a position that requires some special skills and expertise on an anchor program such as *GMP3*, as well as a closer relationship to music than those who are not "in charge of the technique," the ones not "jockeying the discs." It did not appear to be completely arbitrary who was doing the music and the sound in the practice space of an important program such as *GMP3*. Rather, the DJ position appeared as an important and valued position in the corporation.

Rather than speaking about a lost link between the DJ and the music along with the introduction of rationalization and digital conditions, it could be reasonable to speak about a *changed* link between the music-presenting human(s) and the music in this system. I will suggest that *the death of the DJ* is a simplistic optic through which to look at these matters—yes, maybe even what Barad calls a "representational trap of geometrical optics" (2003, 801).[109]

Besides gaining insights into the contemporary PSPM flow radio DJ practice, this section

also reworked the use of a vocabulary in radio analysis on a PSPMFR (Public Service Popular Music *Flow* Radio) program such as *GMP3*. We saw in this section how flow was composed by entangling sound elements into the "flow of speech and soft chatter," and here I used Crisell's terminology for radio sound analysis from 1986. Crisell´s vocabulary of radio sounds can still be used in order to understand and diffract the composition of sounds in radio production. In a 2019 PSPMFR setting, however, I would suggest exchanging the notion of "mood music" for the notion of "background music."

Hence, for future analysis of a PSPMFR program such as *GMP3*, I suggest a vocabulary where the sound elements in PSPMFR production consist of the following: *talk*, *pre-programmed music* (planned according to the corporate procedures and strategies), *background music* (what Crisell calls "mood music"), *spots/trailers/adverts* (using "music as link"), *station, channel, and program IDs* ("music as framing" / "music as boundary mechanism"), and *indexical sound clips* ("music as stylized sound effect" / "music in an indexical function") (Crisell 1994, 52).

6. Bau$$ or Bitch… or Just Human? The Social, Music, and Gender in the Informal *GMP3* Research Area

> The difference between the experienced participant and the newcomer who, metaphorically speaking, stands at the fringes of a dust bunny looking at the frictions without being engaged is that the newcomer is about to learn to become engaged by aligning his or her basis for sensing frictions. Here, implicit comparisons constitute a starting point for the creation of frictions, followed by social designations and practice-based learning. Through these cultural learning processes, we never come to align with what matters to others—not completely but more or less. (Hasse 2015, 244)

"Closed" and "Open" Cultures at P3

Unfortunately (for me, for her fans, and for her persistent stalker), the DJ Anne decided to leave DR just after my anthropological entanglement. She had a more attractive job proposition. She later stated that she found it hard to be on DR because of the "lack of recognition" (Pontoppidan 2018).

According to Hasse, cultural matters can be influential for whether a person (or an artefact) decides to stay or to leave an organization:

> Even when people are assumed to voluntarily leave an organisation, we can identify the directional force of the organisational culture that lies behind that decision. Thus, it is my argument that rather than personal decisions and matters external to an organisation, the culture of expulsion is what really determines whether a person or an artefact stays or leaves the physical space of an organisation. (2015, 246)

After Anne left P3 and after I "returned" from the field, there was a whole new structuring of the internal organization of the P3 channel. I learned this at a recent birthday party (2019), where by coincidence I was seated at the dinner table next to a superior in a DR department related to P3. He told me that P3 had undergone some drastic changes over the last couple of years. It had changed, as my tablemate at the party expressed it, "from being a very closed culture to being an open culture."

In Section 0, we saw how Hasse uses the notion of cultural models to describe the "organised expectations" around artefacts, which on one side can "act as a centripetal power that maintains and includes" and on the other side "function as a centrifugal (and exclusionary) force" (Hasse 2015, 294).

In this section, I move the topographical center thirty meters away from the P3 studio to examine the P3 cultures at work in the more informal research area during the time of my entanglement in 20xx. Here, I will work with issues of so-called "open" and "closed" cultures in

organization, as my tablemate called it that day.

This section works with "cultures of expulsion." Continuing Hasse's vocabulary, it works with the cultural models around artefacts that can both act as a *centripetal* power and as a *centrifugal* force. In this section I investigate the idea, presented by Hasse and other strains within the field of CHAT, that sociality or culture done around actors can have directional forces that influence the reasons why some actors are attracted and accepted in culture while others seem to get rejected and expelled.

This section also investigates cultures in organization as highly differentiated and situated or diffracted, as Law might say. It suggests that an enactment of culture is both a topographical or site-specific matter, a matter that is sensitive to the place of action, and also a topological matter, a matter that is sensitive to what people and things the particular situation contains, as well as to the implied actors' or artefacts' "historical specificity" and "contingent mutability,"[110] as Haraway puts it.

This section looks at how music, just like all other actors, is a part of this entanglement. Music is intra-acted in everyday entanglement with its particular historical specificity and contingent mutability, hereby contributing to ongoing constructions of what can be called sociality or culture. Specifically, this section looks at the different kinds of friction that occurred when *newcomers* like Jens, Kirsten, and I arrived in P3 with our different developmentally embodied responsiveness. As such, this section investigates matters around transgressing the more or less visible borders of the everyday work cultures constantly reproduced at P3 in 20xx. It investigates some of the blind angles that affected everyday decisions—or, in Geertz's words, the "reach of our minds, the range of signs we can manage somehow to interpret" (Geertz 1985, 263)—within the 20xx P3 culture(s).

This section looks into "what the things done at P3 *did*" (Foucault 2013, 187), to paraphrase Foucault's words at the very beginning of this dissertation—the things, according to Foucault, that most people *did* without knowing when they entangled with other actors in the everyday sociality at P3. Thus, this section reflects on cultural processes of inclusion and exclusion, as well as what could be seen as some of the more invisible mechanisms of "which voices get into the nation and which do not" (Bohlman 2011, 6; Western 2018, 259).

I find it important to stress that this is not a description of P3 as it is now, but as it was at the time of my entanglement. It investigates the 20xx culture at P3, a culture that DR itself later called a "closed" culture.

A Microstudy of a Gender-Segregated Workspace

At the particular time of my participant observation, during the particular hours from eight in the morning until lunch, I was entangled in a sociality that, in my perception, was entangled with an unspoken but pretty massive "gendering" (Bloksgaard 2011) around different artefacts such as bodies, music, and technology. To me, and also to my fellow newcomers, gender matters stood out as an omnipresent yet pretty unaddressed issue in this sociality (as we will see later). Hence,

this section focuses on entering a very localized everyday workspace of radio production, learning to be a professional radio host, and navigating around artefacts such as (gendered/gendering) bodies, music, and technology, as well as their cultural models in practice.

As mentioned in Section 1, the Danish music industry is a highly gender-segregated field in Denmark, made up of approximately 80 percent men and 20 percent women. But gender segregation in the Danish workforce includes far more industries than music alone: in 2011, according to sociologist Lotte Bloksgaard, Denmark was one of the most gender-segregated labor markets in the EU (Bloksgaard 2011, 5). This is due to what she calls "horizontal segregation," in which "women and men are employed in different sectors and professional fields and with different tasks" (ibid.). This high degree of segregation is one of the reasons that there is a continued overall pay gap between men and women in Denmark, since men generally seem to inhabit higher-valued (and more prestigious) sectors and positions than women.

At the time of my participation, the informal workspace around *GMP3* resembled the picture of Denmark's gender-segregated music industry, with an approximately 80/20 male/female split. Most of the time there were eight men and two women sitting around us in this area, Jens being one of eight men and Kirsten being one of two women. At the time of my participant observation following Jens and Kirsten, they both sat in the back of the large research area. Jens sat in the third row of tables, and Kirsten sat in the fourth row.

Also at the time of my participation, a massive public critique occurred toward P3's content in terms of gender. Many listeners reacted to P3's solid promotion of the hip-hop group Suspect, with misogynous songs like "Suck it Up from Slack" (2010), "Sunday Child" (2015), or "She Was So Happy" (2017).[111] Many P3 Facebook users also reacted strongly to P3's allegedly satirical song and video that paid tribute to the Olympic gold medal winner, Pernille Blume, just after her victory, containing the lyrics (performed by a male performer): "You are lying there, smiling, wet"... "Wouldn´t dream about dreaming about you to empty my sperm depot"... "You make something grow and beat in my body."[112] But these incidences or "slips," which DR sometimes did publicly apologize for, are not in immediate focus here, even though they clearly contributed somehow to the whole picture of the channel at that time.

In her article, Bloksgaard wonders how to "explain the continuing reproduction of this [gender] segregation" (Bloksgaard 2011, 5). In this section, I will describe some of the (dis)entangling of culture, artefacts around gender, and other artefacts in the P3 informal research area as seen from the newcomers' perspectives. I will look at the processes of learning to adapt in this particular everyday sociality, where the perception of artefacts such as bodies, competition, quality, host training, creativity, humor, and music acted as anchors in the daily nesting of collective expectations (Hasse 2015, 217) and sociality. The following must be understood as a qualitative account of what it can feel like to arrive and learn to be in a gender-segregated environment.

As we meet Kirsten and Jens, we will consider their "single individual's consecutive but

different, cultural learning processes" (Hasse 2000, 10) when arriving in the more *informal* parts of the P3 production space. They both arrived at DR with a self-perception of being the "funny" one in social settings, and they saw their apprenticeship as a possibility to develop their own "funny" host characters on DR. Let's see how this worked out for them at the beginning of their careers at DR.

Kirsten and Host Expectations

When I met Kirsten for the first time, she was on leave from the host talent apprentice program. I met her just after her twenty-first birthday. As one of the new radio host talents on DR's Talent-holdet ("the Talent Team"), she had agreed to be the first participant in my research project. We started out with conversation and coffee in my office at the university.

Before Kirsten applied to be a host talent on DR, she had discovered she had a talent for comedy and being funny in public. She applied for the host apprentice program after her time at a Danish folk high school (*folkehøjskole*), where she detected and practiced her talent for being funny and creating a good "LOL" atmosphere among her fellow students:

> I was told by the people at the folk high school that I *had* to apply to get onto the DR host talent team. I had never thought about that idea before by myself. But there it was just like... no matter what I said, you know, I was just... hee hee... *in the game*! All the time. I think when you feel *very* secure, then you can really perform! No matter what I said or did, then there was a positive response. (Kirsten, interview)

In the "secure" social nest of the folk high school, Kirsten shone. She then worked hard during the four-month period application process. She completed the tests in original ways, and at twenty years old, she was admitted into the host talent program.

Before entering DR, Kirsten hoped to be able to contribute in other female host roles than those she had already experienced on DR's different platforms. She found it strange how the female hosts, in her eyes, always seemed to lean on either one of two stereotypes, the strict/restrictive female or the dumb female:

> Should I be the strict and sour one, like [X], or should I be the dumb one, like [Y]? You know, it is just like... as I have said before, I applied to DR to try to create some *other* female host roles. I sincerely found it *sooo* boring that it was always the same female types that were mediated! (Kirsten, interview)

Kirsten's ideas about creating her own original host role resembled the guidelines of the DR host talent school. When I interviewed the headmaster, Sofie, she expressed the importance of originality and of finding your own way as a new radio host:

They have been chosen based on something indefinable that we can see *something* in. And this indefinable has to be nourished so it can become really big, right? To find *your* way into that. And let them... you know, learn to believe that they are good enough, that this is the way to go. It is utterly important that they have *themselves* along on that journey. That *they* dare to stand by themselves and do not try to act like someone or something else. (Sofie, interview)

Kirsten had previously reflected about "the funny female character." She had already experienced difficult and awkward situations when she was being "funny" in public, and she connected her occasional trouble in realizing her talent of being "funny" with her being female. She found there was an unfair "filter" when women acted humorously:

Sometimes, I myself even like male comedians better than female! And I don't know what does that! It is just as if there is a mega-unfair filter when you are a girl! Once, before DR, I was partying with my new university class. Every time I said something, this guy from my class repeated it. And everyone clapped and laughed and whatnot—of him! And then... well, I was quite drunk as well... I biked home, mega pissed in third gear, and I swung and I cried, because I just wanted to be a boy! (Kirsten, interview)

Kirsten was a great admirer of DR, and she wanted to change the media landscape as a "funny" female. She began at DR with ambitions and intentions of delivering results through interaction and participation. She succeeded with this over time, but there were obstacles along her way, as we will see.

A Crash Start

Kirsten seemed to have had a somewhat rough start on her apprenticeship,[113] hence her leave at the time of our conversation. She had been "unlucky," she told me. Her first assignment as an apprentice at DR was assisting on a popular late-morning program on P3. She had to do research and come up with ideas for the program. The program had two hosts, a producer, and a journalist intern—all male. But the cooperation "went completely off track," as she put it:

There was a pretty tense atmosphere from the beginning. And at the same time I just think, when I arrived, then it really culminated in bad vibes [between the others], and then... then it was the worst time to get a girl into the group. And then a girl who was even supposed to be funny! There was absolutely no room and time for that! I really experienced quite a great deal of, you know, light sexual harassment and discrimination. Every time I came up with an idea, they said it was a little better if it was the journalist intern, Nils, who performed it on air, "because he was a boy." They said it straight out! Then it was just a little funnier, they argued—also because it "primarily was a male program," as they said, and it was primarily the

male listeners who were active. So, uh, maybe I "could give birth to a baby for the program (ha ha)"—or I "could go on a lot of dates (ha ha ha)" and things like that. (Kirsten, interview)

It proved harder than expected for Kirsten to participate as the only female in this particular group of more experienced male co-workers. She thought, retrospectively, that coming in as the only girl in an already established group that had severe problems with cooperation was the worst thing to happen. And then, moreover, she was "a girl who was even supposed to be funny!"

Not only did she have to put up with "light sexual harassment and discrimination," as she put it, there were also instances reminiscent of her previous experience at the university party. She had to see her hard work and ideas flow over to the journalist intern, who was given credit for them through his repeated on-air features:

> So it was like this. I came up with an idea. It was given to Nils, the journalist intern. He came on air maybe three or four times during a program and made all different stuff. And I felt a little like this: Every time I gave them an idea and it was given to him, then he took a step closer into the spotlight, and I took a... sort of... a step away from the spotlight. Because he became more and more, like... popular... on my ideas. Which I know is completely crazy, because I didn't come up with the ideas in order for me to perform them only. That was, of course, my hope, but still... it was so irritating. So I just came there, gave them ideas, got shouted at, and went home. (Kirsten, interview)

Kirsten continued trying, and she did experience single moments of success, but mostly it was highly stressful for her. After two or three months of trying, she hit a wall—a "flatline," as she called it:

> Then I started to, you know, to show some bad signs. You know, like, my home just had become... in the end, in the last couple of weeks, my home was just chaos, and I, you know... I couldn't do, um, the dishes, or water my plants, they just had to rot, because I simply couldn´t deal with it all. I just went home and slept every day. I was completely trashed by being yelled at all the time. [...] In the end it was just completely a flatline. I didn't come up with any ideas. I was completely indifferent about the program. But I also didn't care about... a little too many other things. I didn't care about anything. Luckily the program shut down—not because of me, but because of the internal conflict between the producer and the host, and then I was given a two-week break. I needed that. (Kirsten, interview)

Kirsten realized afterward that the bad atmosphere was mainly due to some internal problems between the others on the team, and that also led to that particular program's eventual shutdown. She learned that she had somehow become the scapegoat in all this. She used her leave

for recharging her batteries, but when I met her, she was also super anxious that this incident would have consequences for her career. She felt that more than anyone, she was right there, standing on the fringes of the P3 "dust bunny" (to quote Hasse), not knowing if she was being bought or sold.

Kirsten was unlucky to encounter such situations, which did seem (to me) to be extreme. She had a very unfortunate beginning as a newcomer. Luckily, she had good support from other parts of the corporation, e.g., the headmasters and her fellow host talents. Through support and reflection and through her two-week break, Kirsten learned a great deal from this crash start. I will get back to her learning process, but let's see how Jens experienced his first time as an apprentice.

Jens and Learning Through Participation

A week or so after my meeting with Kirsten, I met up with Jens. Jens was twenty-five years old. He came from the southern part of Jutland and had moved to Copenhagen in order to study communication and technology at the university. He finished his bachelor's degree just before he was admitted into the DR talent school. He told me that he was happy now to "communicate IRL" on DR, rather than studying how to communicate at university.

Before coming to DR, Jens had experimented with stand-up comedy. He liked to work with slight confusions, and he hoped to be a host that kept listeners tuned in by making them stop and think once in a while:

> I like to work with the word "confusion" and have it with me always, really in everything I
> do. Because I think it is extremely important to make people stop and think. It is important
> for me, anyway, to just slightly confuse people, because then I know they will listen better
> for the next thirty seconds. Of course it has to be comfortable to listen to [...] but I really
> think about *How long ago did I confuse... my listener?* That has to just be there once in a
> while. [...] This I have really thought about and would *really* like to work with as a host. (Jens,
> interview)

I met Jens in conversation at my office at seven o'clock in the morning. He had to be at work at DR at eight o'clock. Jens worked in the research section for *GMP3* in a position that somewhat resembled Kirsten's first position, working behind the scenes. Here, he came up with ideas and did daily research for speech blocks with two other (male) researchers. In cooperation with the (changing) producers, the three did research for the speech blocks on *GMP3*, presented their ideas in a Google Doc (see Section 4), and discussed their ideas at the editorial meeting every day at 9:15 after the program. Besides doing research, he was given the assignment to experiment with making "funny features" on air on *GMP3* alongside the journalist intern, Victor.

Participation

Jens told me that his host training was sometimes hard and challenging, but mostly fun and

challenging. It could be hard and challenging when he felt he delivered poor-quality content and when he felt insecure about the framing:

> We were allowed to do something every Friday that could be... be *our* features. We actually had developed an idea, but then it came up that it was this other, more specific thing they wanted us to do [a kind of recurring revue-fiction concept]. In the end we said yes to that... I have had some not-quite-good experiences with that. Because—umm, well, I don't know—I think we both, especially me, felt great pressure doing that concept. [...] It is just, like, we *knew* that it was not particularly high quality, and that irritated us like crazy. It's like... because we don't feel very secure in that framing, sort of. We did enter the thing really happy and ready [...] so it was not stupid from the beginning. But we have just found out that... that we are not so good at that. (Jens, interview)

Jens felt that the initial "revue-fiction concept" did not work well for him (or Victor). So now, instead of that concept, he and Victor were doing their *own* thing. Those on-air features had a shifting character: sometimes they were like stand-up, while other times they were very weird, embarrassing, or just strange. He liked to test himself and valued the trust that he felt DR gave him to find his own way and be allowed to make mistakes:

> As long as *I* know there has been some quality in it. And I think I have a feeling for that now. So once in a while we get to come onto the program, solo, with an idea that suits us, or where the hosts think it is funny, but they do not have time themselves to execute it. Then we come and do it. And I have been doing some things once in a while where I *know* that it is [good quality]—you know, I have also had [positive] response from listeners through text messages. (Jens, interview)

Through participation, Jens learned to develop a feeling for how and when he produced "some quality." He found quality by searching within himself; he learned to trust his own judgment concerning his host performances and not to act according to other people's expectations. He had developed this feeling through getting hands-on, on-air experience from the beginning. When enacting the revue concept, he didn't like the feeling of delivering "bad quality" on air in front of millions of listeners. Sometimes he even felt that it got a little out of hand and that he got to experiment too much on air:

> So, umm, yes. You can of course say that it is good to learn it and all that. But I just think: Maybe there is no reason to do that live on the radio for a whole bunch of people who expect to get some good radio, you know, on Friday, before going home for the weekend. (Jens, interview)

In addition to learning about what he found to be "good quality" for him when being a radio host

and about how to refine his "funny" on-air character doing stand-up features, Jens learned to participate in the different socialities he became involved with in P3. As we will see, he seemed to have found a place in the sociality that worked for him on an everyday basis.

Kirsten and Jens and Legitimate Presence

When I told Kirsten, at the beginning of our conversation, that I would like to follow both her and Jens in order to get both a male and a female perspective, she responded, "Well, I am sure those will be two quite different accounts!" (Kirsten, interview).

The difference between Kirsten's and Jens's initial experiences is obvious in the above accounts: Kirsten encountered some very direct barriers in the production space, whereas Jens met challenges that seemed to develop him as a radio host. Jens was given the possibility to learn through participation and felt legitimate presence through practice, whereas Kirsten had gained a feeling of "indifference," of being "trashed," and of meeting a "flatline" from not getting access to practice learning. In Hasse's words:

> When a newly arrived meets the practice community, position, knowledge and identity will gradually change in a relational "play" between the newly arrived and the more skilled members of the community. Hence participation is defined as the possibility to learn to be a part time or full time participant, which again is defined as a question of a legitimate presence. (Hasse 2000, 21)

But this difference could very well be due to several unlucky circumstances, as Kirsten herself suggested. Everyone in Kirsten's surroundings, including ourselves, could quickly agree on the fact that some elements of the friction in her first work group were due to "assholes who were luckily stopped by the managers," as Kirsten relayed using the headmaster's words (Kirsten, interview).

But what cultural structuring makes space for such behavior, and how was the continued experience of "legitimate presence" for the two newcomers? To give a more contextualized understanding of the two stories, let's jump, together with Jens and Kirsten, into the P3 research practice space approximately a month after Kirsten's unlucky experience.

The Social in the P3 Research Area

On my last day following Jens, I had lunch with both him and Kirsten in the DR canteen. We were chatting informally. Carrying our trays to the clean-up area, Jens came out with a request concerning my project: "If I could get just a little bit of influence, I wish that Fuckboiiis Inc would get to play a role in your dissertation." I told him, "OK, they will get a place," even though at that point I had no clue where all this was leading.

Kirsten asked, "Who is Fuckboiiis Inc?"

"That is the editorial research group on *GMP3*: me, Oliver, and Victor," Jens replied.

"Oh that man-group," Kirsten said.

Jens continued, "Yeah, it was Victor who came up with it."

Kirsten replied, "I have always thought that Victor adapted super quickly into P3's jargon. He came, and then he was a part of it."

Both Jens and Kirsten had earlier mentioned that they had been previously warned (by expert practitioners) that P3 had a "P3 sickness" in terms of jargon, with a lot of "ironic distancing". So while putting the trays in place in the canteen, I asked them both how they experienced the "P3 jargon." Jens said that he experienced it as ironic and fast. Kirsten said that she thought it was really hard to be at P3 if you were not on top. She told me that Lotta, one of the headmasters, told her that she had found it extremely hard to be at P3 when her mother was sick, for instance (Kirsten 2, field notes).

In the subsections that follow, I will thicken my experience of "how things worked" in this particular sociality that surrounded the *GMP3* research group. I will do some "thick description" (Geertz 1973) of some of my impressions while I was sitting in this particular little pocket of the grand institution and primarily following Jens (but also following Kirsten).

Here is a story about Fuckboiiis Inc© and the P3 jargon at the time when I encountered the atmosphere and cultures in the P3 research area.

The Birth of Fuckboiiis Inc©

It is Tuesday, a little before eight in the morning, when I arrive at DR. Jens fetches me at reception, and even though it is only my second day in the field (I wasn't here yesterday because of a sick child at home) it feels nice and safe to see him again. We hug. "Back in the saddle again," I say. "Yes, exactly," he laughs as we walk into the big open office.

In the *GMP3* area this morning, I meet and chat for the first time with Oliver, a freelance journalist and producer who is helping out in the research group. He studies journalism and had an internship on P3 a while ago. He is curious to hear about my project and me. He asks many questions in a kind and accommodating way. I am slightly flattered by his interest.

I take my seat by the large concrete pillar at the second-to-last row of tables in the large open-office environment. I sit just behind Victor, the person whom Jens and Kirsten were referring to in the canteen who "adapted super quickly into P3's jargon" who "came, and then he was a part of it.", as Kirsten said.

On my first day, he and I hadn't communicated. He had worked busily and after the obligatory handshake, he hadn't seemed very interested in me (fair enough). This morning, I ask him about his background. He tells me he is the current journalist intern on *GMP3*.

The journalist interns seemed to have a reputation in the organization. They were expected to work under the most challenging conditions. They only had a short time to prove themselves and get noticed in order to gain employment at a later stage. As Kirsten expressed it:

> I am *really* happy I am not a journalist intern. This is the best thing that has happened to me.

How should I say it? You know that I know all the time that even if something sucks, then I know, "But I have a long time left here." And I have two headmasters who take care of me and who tell me that now I should do this, and now I should do that, and then that. I was sort of warned by our headmasters about the interns. (Kirsten, interview)

The interns were occasionally blamed for some of the competitive atmosphere or the afore-mentioned P3 jargon, which often came down to quick "likes." According to Jytte, another host apprentice, the interns were insecure and worried about their position in the corporation. Their concern for being OK and for proving their worth resulted in behavior that was fast and snappy:

K: If you were to suggest anything to DR?

J: Permanent employment, so people did not have to participate in that competition. Yes, I do think there is some insecurity, and some... not exactly "smart-in-a-hurry," but you know... that it sort of comes down to "likes." I would wish for more contemplation [*fordybelse*] and that you just don't... yes, we *are* P3 and we *are* for the young people, but in a way I think we underestimate young people. They are made superficial. The listeners, that is. As if we think, "They just want something quick, and it has to be fun and it has to be sex and it has to be alcohol." Yes, of course that all takes up a lot of space in a young person's mind, but there are just *so* many other things too. And that I think we tend to forget. (Jytte, interview)

On this early summer Tuesday morning, as I did on the first day, I ask Victor if it is OK for me to sit there behind him, saying, "I don't want you to feel that I am looking over your shoulder." He tells me, "It is quite OK, it doesn't bother me at all." He is friendly and gives me the impression that he is certainly cool with it all, maybe even a little indifferent. And then I look over his shoulder and see the Google Doc of the day on his computer screen. The headline says "Today's Stories – By Fuckboiiiiis Inc©." I read the headline to the accompaniment of click-clacking silence from the computer keyboards at the tables surrounding us.

Only a couple of seconds later, Jens bursts out. "What! Did you do that, Victor?!" he says in an excited voice. "Fuckboiiiiis Inc... that is us, is it?! Ha ha, that is too much, goddamn... but cool font!"

"Yes," says Oliver, a little goofily. "We are now Fuckboiiiiis Inc. Ha ha ha."

Victor doesn't say much, but grows a few centimeters in his chair with a crooked smile. They continue to work at their screens.

Someone in the room in another research group says something about Carl Mar Møller.[114] Oliver, from our group, rises quickly from his chair and shouts loudly in a sarcastic tone across the row, "I think you should have spent another half-hour talking just about war and dick!" He stresses the words *war* and *dick* and laughs loudly (Jens 2, field notes).

About Groupings, Attention, and Internal Recruitment from the Workspace

Groupings in the research area seemed to partly structure sociality. Sofie, the host talent head-master, explained how the capability to network was in part a matter of "building an army around you that thinks you are cool":

> You know, the networking part is also important and something they [the host talents] have to learn fast, right? Because that is how you get work around here. Having the courage to talk to the bosses... or do networking with some people, or work on building an army around you that thinks you are cool, and to whom you show that you have some special skills and things like that, right? There are some strategy there and some cool calculation. You know, some can think it is devious, but it is like... that is the way it works. So I also have to teach them that. (Sofie, interview)

According to Sofie, to *get seen* in this huge machinery was a struggle that involved making yourself or your group noticed so your superior's eyes would fall on you. Fuckboiiis Inc© and Victor and Jens's socializing in the everyday work environment constituted a group that worked as a safe base ("an army") for the three members, as well as soliciting attention from the bosses and other important people in the network, as we will see later. It appeared to me to be an environment where it was good to have alliances, professional sharing, and partners in reflection. So it seemed that belonging to an "established" group, for instance Fuckboiiis Inc©, was a pretty smart thing to do in this work environment.

Being part of a particular group there was mainly connected with what job you had been assigned to do. In the same row as the *GMP3* research group (Fuckboiiis Inc) sat the editorial group for an early-afternoon program with two male hosts and a female producer. In the row just behind Fuckboiiis Inc, toward the entrance, sat a group of music enthusiasts. Here sat Arthur, who was hosting *Smag på P3* ("Taste on P3"), whom I had met earlier when he participated as one of the P3 music aficionados in the playlist committee meeting I had attended. He was hosting *Smag på P3* with a female host, but I did not see her in the research area at any point. It seemed he had a (male) assistant that helped him out with stuff. Beside Arthur sat the DJ for the late-morning music program, *P3 Formiddag med Jacob*. He sat with Kirsten, who assisted him with his program.

I noticed some other groups in the large workspace—for instance, the group of "news ladies" who sometimes entered the room together—but they were seated farther away. On my second day in the field, just after my own arrival at eight o'clock, I heard a loud and clear "Good morning!" coming from the entrance. I looked up and saw three women entering the room. "Good morning!" someone replied from the row behind us. He followed his greeting with an internal comment to his neighbor in a low voice: "Here come the news ladies."

"Good morning!" a female voice said from the "news row" (three rows in front of us, toward the studio entrance) and continued in a loud, jovial tone, "The ladies have arrived!" (Jens

2, field notes). The "news ladies" sat far from us, in the last row before the studio in the big area.

Not all employees seemed to belong to a group, I noticed as I looked around. There were some lone wolves walking around here (I had noticed a certain editor, for instance, and also Kirsten; even though she was assigned to be with Jacob, she seemed to be treading some rather lonesome paths in this huge room). It might be possible to be pretty lonely in this grand environment, I thought. But luckily Kirsten had the group of host apprentices, whom she met up with for lunch and at other times to chat with and get support.

In addition to the groupings in the practice space, which were related to the job one was assigned to do, the group formations also seemed important as part of a personal promotion strategy, and they could also form across the borders of the editorial sections. As Sofie remarked above, "networking with some people," "building an army around you," and "talking to the bosses" using "strategy" and "cool calculation" also sometimes meant stepping out of your work group, socializing across borders and safe zones, and "having the courage" to talk to others, including superiors.

Before we move on to look at what artefacts were used in order to transgress boundaries between work groups and contribute to socialization across the workspace, let's look a little more closely at the sociality that was played out in Jens's particular work group, which on my second day in the field went under the name Fuckboiiis Inc©.

A "Cocky Tone" when Working in Fuckboiiis Inc©

Fuckboiiis Inc©—the "man-group," as Kirsten called them—did the research for potential subjects for the speech blocks on *GMP3*. The *GMP3* research group occupied four workspaces in the row of tables second-to-farthest away from the studio, closest to the windows. The fourth workspace was most often left empty, but once in a while the producer on *GMP3* (Marie or Søren) came and used it. The members of the group met at around eight o'clock. They partook in the post-program editorial meeting of the whole *GMP3* team at 9:15 in Meeting Area 2, and there they presented the day's stories and ideas for upcoming programs. They had lunch together and worked at their computers until three or four o'clock.

Every day they worked in Google Docs in a collective process of gathering news, writing stories, and producing daily features for the program. In spoken dialogue over their computer screens, during lunch, or in their shared Google Docs, they kept themselves and one another updated on the latest news from news platforms and social media. They also contacted journalists and discussed which potential guests to invite to the studio. The producers came and went, asking about their work and supervising them. Victor and Jens also worked individually on personal funny features that came on air approximately once a week.

While they worked, they interacted in terms of talk about potential subjects, nods, and "uhmm"s. Furthermore, they came up with critical, sarcastic comments on the verge of teasing one another. At one point, for instance, breaking the silence of click-clacking work concentration, Victor said, "What?! Liberal Alliance [a political party] wants to take away the word 'cost-free'

from the vocabulary!"

Jens followed him with an idea. "All right. What if we ran with that and made something funny where we suggested removing the word 'free' completely from the vocabulary?"

Victor replied straight away, a little harshly and short-tempered, "What would the idea be with that?"

Jens, now a little hesitant: "Something like 'nothing is free'... something with our society that works..."

While Jens weaved a little in order to develop the idea, Victor interrupted him with teasing sarcasm: "What do you mean by 'nothing is free,' Jens?! So *Jeeens*, do you want this apple from me? *Jeeeens*, do you want some candy from me?"

Victor laughed and continued his teasing, and Jens did not get the chance to respond to his comments, as the jibes just kept coming his way. Jens said quietly underneath it all, "Well, I do think that apple is paid for by the license revenue," but Victor didn't hear him—he was still preoccupied with making a ridicule of Jens's idea by loudly mentioning everything he could think of that you could get for free. Jens ignored Victor and turned to his computer to work (Jens 2, field notes).

The clock showed 8:27, and there was silence as they concentrated on their work.

"Have you heard that Goldman Sachs has been charged for bribing prostitutes?" said Jens to the work community.

"Yeah, *hookers* and everything!" Oliver laughed loudly in the open office, somehow making it sound funny and maybe a little cool.

"No, come on," Jens objected, adding in a grown-up tone, "These are the ones who own the whole of Denmark's energy!" Silence again. (Jens 2, field notes)

Kirsten referred above to the "P3 jargon" and to Victor as somewhat emblematic of this P3 style. Several of my informants and conversation partners referred to the P3 jargon among the host talent, and Jytte described it as "the hunt for the quick laugh":

> The tone is cocky [kæk]. You know it is... yes, it *is* totally affirmative and soothing to get a laugh, if you say something funny, but, ehhm, I think people... hunt that laugh all the time. In conversations it is, you know, good just to deliver a punch line. Also at meetings with editors [...] it is good just to be able to say something funny. Whereas I think it could be nice if there were more focus on the content, rather than "Here I am and I am funny and I am a host and I am cocky," you know. I think that is unfortunate. Also because I don't think... I don't think most people find it nice! (Jytte, interview)

The host talent headmasters also referred to the P3 jargon, describing it as fast, funny, and snappy—as a "humor jargon." They had observed that it was jargon that seemed to suit some and exclude others:

> Chris has felt it is like "coming home," whereas Kirsten has found it really hard to be met

with. She has felt it was excluding. (Lotta and Lasse, interview)

Let me finish off this reflection about Fuckboiiiss Inc© and Jens's partaking in the sociality of the P3 research area with a final story about Fuckboiiis Inc© and how, the day after their creation, they received a kind of seal of approval in the corporation. This is a story that also connects Jens and Kirsten's different lifeworlds in this particular pocket of the corporation and somehow opens up space for a continued reflection on Kirsten's presence in this area.

It was the day after "the birth of Fuckboiiis Inc©." A little after the program had ended, we were back in the office area. The Director of Radio and Music, Anders, entered the room. Standing in the doorway, he asked Lars about something (probably who made today's story about this or that). Lars replied loudly, "Oh that is just Fuckboiiis Inc, who sit over there." He pointed in our direction.

Anders: "Fuckboiiis Inc?! What kind of name is that?"

Lars: "Well, that is our young research group sitting over there."

The three guys looked up with silly, guilty expressions on their faces. Fuckboiiis Inc© were now in the spotlight of the boss himself. There was a moment of silence; I guessed this could go either way, good or bad. Then Lars said, "Yes, they just need a sign to hang above their seats: 'Fuckboiiis Inc,'" while he drew the sign in the air with his hands. "Ha ha ha." The three guys (Fuckboiiis Inc©) caught the ball, laughed, and shouted in a chorus across the room, "We want a sign! We want a sign! We want a sign!"

Lars said, "If you make a sign, I will bloody pay."

Oliver shouted back, "That's a deal!" and pretended to go on the internet to order a sign.

There was a "LOL" atmosphere. Lars, Anders, and Fuckboiiis Inc© laughed together. Lars ran over to their space and drew with his hands exactly how the sign should be shaped, with a big curved arrow coming out from the wall and pointing toward the three workspaces. "With a lot of lights and lamps on, right?" he asked. Oliver continued and said, "Yes, it must be like a grand phallus hanging down onto our heads. HA HA HA." Now Anders took the lead and said loudly, "I'll bloody pay for the sign if you make it!" The laughter and the "LOL" atmosphere reached new heights as Anders, the director, overbid Lars's previous offer.

Exactly at that moment, Kirsten came out from her place on the other side of the dividing wall. She stepped right into the spot we were all looking at and stood for a moment underneath the imagined Fuckboiiis Inc© sign, underneath "the grand phallus." The picture froze for a moment, as if something didn´t fit in. But Kirsten walked straight on without paying any attention to the situation; she was probably just on her way to the coffee machine. Nevertheless, her appearance made the laughter stop instantly. Everyone continued with their tasks. (Jens 3, field notes)

The picture of Kirsten walking straight underneath the imagined phallus and into the cheering sociality, somehow unintentionally ruining the fun between Fuckboiiis Inc©, Lars, and Anders stands clear in my mind. For whatever reasons, she did not seem to belong in this pic-

ture, and her mere presence caused the fun to stop. In my imagination, time stopped for a moment around this picture as if we were all reminded of something. In this picture she appeared somehow uncanny, out of place, displaced, but our laughter appeared equally out of place. She appeared there—in this particular area of the corporation, in this particular moment in time—as the female fun-spoiler, but maybe also as a reminder of something important that we had forgotten while we were all carried away having fun and nesting our sociality in this little pocket of the organization.

Artefacts in Social Nesting of Persons and Groups

Body Matters: Marking and Unmarking in the Workspace
Despite the sometimes-harsh interaction internally, the little group Fuckboiiis Inc© seemed an attractive place to be, and Jens was somewhat of a lucky man to have a place in all this, even though he sometimes found the tone "ironic and fast." They had a fellowship or community that was heard and seen in the grand space. They had fun internally. They laughed and they talked. They went to lunch together. It looked, from the outside, from my position, like a secure place to be, and it appeared to be even harder to work alone.

As mentioned above, there were others who circulated in and around the area but did not, to some extent, seem to belong to any of the groups. Kirsten was one of them; the female producer Marie also seemed to stand somewhat outside the sociality in Fuckboiiis Inc©, even though they officially worked together.

Besides doing a really professional job, Marie appeared to be an especially targeted person in this work sociality—somehow targeted as a "fun matter" for the P3 jargon, and often a target of sarcastic comments by Victor or the editor Michael. When she came to our area with a serious message to the work group, she often received a funny or ironic comment that mostly concerned her sexuality or her body. She never spent a long time in our area and seemed instead to socialize with other people some rows up.

Marie was in her mid- to late 20s. She told me that she worked mainly freelance and was "called in" whenever she was needed. During my stay, Marie was needed a lot, as Søren, the other producer, was away on a football holiday. In the first week I was there, she steered the team through a campaign that later won the prize for the best campaign of the year. Marie told me that she was needed as a freelancer on P3 to the extent that she'd had full-time work for the last three years. It suited her all right, but of course, she said, "it would be nice at some point with a more steady work obligation." Now that the former producer was suffering from a lengthy illness—"She is not coming back," Marie told me later when we were more acquainted, almost whispering; "stress, you know"—she was here a lot. Being a producer on *Go' Morgen P3* was, according to Marie, a stressful job.

When Marie arrived on the scene for the second time on my first day of fieldwork with Jens, she came down to our area and delivered some messages to Jens and Victor in a profes-

sional, precise, and sensible tone. She was full of energy, as she had just handled twenty kids in the studio with the *GMP3* team. But now she seemed determined to check up on the outstanding tasks. "Have you looked at this block?" she asked Jens and Victor. "Have you spoken to that journalist?" She then rested for a while by a computer and said, "Shit, so many children!"

"So, are you getting broody?" Jens asked her loud and teasingly out in the open office. I was startled over his insensitivity in posing such a vulnerable question—in my experience—to a professional female in an open office environment. Marie answered immediately and in a rejecting tone, "No, I am not!" She swiftly turned away and looked at her computer, trying to shut off the conversation. Jens, I sensed, understood the gesture and did not pursue the conversation. He continued with his work.

Victor, the journalist intern, who had until now been silent, chose to pursue the line of inquiry from his side of the table. "Soooo, Marie…. are you not the children type?" he asked in a witty, teasing tone.

"No." She answered shortly and steadily and kept on looking at her computer, seemingly working.

To my growing surprise, Victor chose to continue to "joke" with her, even though she clearly did not want to pursue this conversation. "You are getting there, age-wise, aren't you?" he said in a light, teasing tone.

Marie took a deep breath and looked at him as she stood up, ready to be on her way. "I am not getting there at all; I am just about in the middle of my twenties," she responded, seemingly continuing the witty tone while she turned off the conversation, rose from her chair, and went away. She exited the area in order to socialize with some groups who were sitting in the rows closer to the studio.

Marie's potential maternity and family situation were not the only things delivering material to the ongoing humorous jargon in the *GMP3* section. Her body and sexuality were also often used as a little "fun spice" in brief remarks during small (and seemingly unimportant) work situations—for instance, in an editorial meeting when the *GMP3* group discussed a potential story about hitchhikers.

In Danish, a hitchhiker is called a *blaffer*, which is quite close to the Danish word *blotter* ("flasher"/"streaker"). Jens suggested the group take on the story, and Marie, leading the editorial meeting, wanted him to elaborate. "*Blaffer*?" she repeated, in order to get him to tell more. Michael, the P3 editor, saw his chance for a quick laugh from the opposite side of the table and replied quickly and in a cocky tone, "Yes, Marie, a *blaffer* and not a *blotter*!" Everyone laughed at the remark, Marie and myself included. Yet not only did it imply that she was a little dumb, but also somehow sexualized/ embodied her presence in this otherwise completely professional setting.

When I was about to finish my fieldwork, it occurred to me that, due to sitting in the informal workspace, I now knew a *lot* about the female employees' private lives—about their

sexual preferences, their partnership status, their future hopes concerning families, and their past experiences—while I knew absolutely *nothing* about the male employees' private lives and preferences (except Søren, who had secretly told me about his forthcoming child). There were no personal or affective remarks coming their way. There were no "public" remarks connected to their male bodies, their looks, or their perceived family intentions. The internal fun in the area very rarely entangled the male employees' private matters, their male bodies, their partnership statuses, or other personal matters. They were primarily marked in this sociality for their professionalism and their skills (or their lack thereof). While the male body remained pretty unmarked in this sociality, I perceived a significant marking of female bodies in this little pocket of the corporation. Female employees passing by momentarily often provided material for quick laughs or just comments related to their gender when the employees were joking and having "fun."

According to Haraway, the "power to see and not be seen, to represent while escaping representation" creates powerful positions:

> I would like to insist on the embodied nature of all vision, and so reclaim the sensory system that has been used to signify a leap out of the marked body and into a conquering gaze from nowhere. This is the gaze that mythically inscribes all the marked bodies, that makes the unmarked category claim the power to see and not be seen, to represent while escaping representation. (Haraway 1991, 188)

It was not to Marie's advantage to get affects of being potentially broody and sexualized repeatedly attached to her in the practice space while trying to work. This recurring positioning of Marie as a funny (and *other*) body matter (and potential sex object) in the workspace resulted—in my opinion—in a general blindness to her abilities. For instance, in the following situation, Jens was automatically (wrongly) credited for Marie's achievements.

One day Lars came into the producers' booth where Jens, Søren, and I were sitting. Lars said to Jens, "That second block worked really well. Well written!" Giving kudos to Jens, Lars clapped him on his shoulder.

Jens looked at him, a little startled. "Well, I didn't write that. Marie wrote that." Both Lars and Søren stopped in their tracks and looked up at Jens, seemingly surprised. Lars said, "Marie?!?" as if it was beyond their imagination that she could write such a good piece. (Søren, field notes)

Sexuality Matters as Partial and Positioned

In addition to the female "other" bodies that provided material for laughs, "other sexualities" also delivered content for the public socialization. Let's look at another situation, this one involving Anne, the DJ on *GMP3*— a situation that further illustrates how this particular sociality was highly situated in particular places, particular humans, and particular situations. It also highlights how the jargon shifted according to those varying ingredients.

One day I was sitting taking notes, as usual, in the research area after having participated in the daily editorial meeting after the show. This day was a little special, and maybe a little emotional, for me in particular because of my own historical specificity. Over the weekend, a man had brutally killed forty-nine people in a gay nightclub in Orlando. *GMP3* had invited Fahad Saeed, a spokesperson for Sabaah (a community of LGBT persons of color), to speak about how he experienced taboos in connection to homosexuality among people of color and also about his experiences of discrimination and violence toward homosexual people. So in addition to running the week's theme about hacking, today's show centered on homosexuality and hate crimes.

During the editorial meeting, I was utterly impressed and also personally pretty touched by the way the whole production team handled the Orlando shooting. I was moved by the way they discussed and took notes on the day's program and how they handled the subject of homosexuality on air. As the only openly homosexual member of the group, Anne, the DJ, got a lot of attention. Everyone around the table contributed with their views on things (and also their prejudices) while constantly looking at Anne and asking her directly about how she saw things. She had a somewhat emblematic role, and I sensed that it almost got to be a little heavy for her to carry (maybe I was projecting my own feelings to a degree, as in many contexts I too had been the "only" homosexual one). But then again, she took on the responsibility really maturely and handled the situation generously: she constantly gave her view while stressing that she was just one of many different homosexual people. Seen from the outside, she made important contributions to the group in this situation—despite her singularity, and maybe her feelings of having a hard time—as she had done on air in the *GMP3* program that had just finished. In the meeting, Marie saluted Anne's performance on air with the words, "I could feel that you came out of your chair there, Anne—that was great, and suddenly it all came very close." Her presence seemed to make the whole group reflect deeply around the subject matter.

Back in the research area at 10:30, there was a lively and talkative atmosphere. Michael, the editor of P3, was hanging out. Lars was hanging out. When Michael was in the research area, he tended to talk a little like Victor: very loud and with a very characteristic Jutland accent, distributing himself widely in the large area. He began talking with Lars about what to call homosexual people of color.

"How I hate that phrase, "'ethnic minority homosexuals,'" Lars said to Michael, rather frustrated over the day's challenge of using the right categories for different kinds of homosexual people. "I really felt like calling them 'brown gays.'"

"Yes," Michael replied, "brown gays or brown fillet-riders."

"Fillet-riders?!" Lars asked, surprised.

"Yes, fillet-riders—that is what we call lesbians where I come from. That is Ålborg slang for lesbians." They both laughed loudly.

On the other side of the room, Anne, who had just played an important role in the "proper" handling of the subject of homosexuality on air, appeared. "*Aaanneee*," Lars called out. "*An-*

neee, come over here." Anne came over, a little unwillingly, to our area, clearly on her way to something else.

Lars continued, "Michael here is just explaining what 'fillet-riders' means."

Michael took over: "Yes, you know, in Ålborg, we call people like you 'fillet-riders.'"

"Now, you don't say," Anne replied, and turned away.

Marie looked at me a little apologetically, but also with a look in her eyes: "Yes, and that is our editor of the channel."

I replied, laughing and directing my words to Michael, "Now I am taking notes."

As we saw above, Anne decided to leave DR. Marie also left DR shortly after I ended my research. While I cannot speculate too much about their reasons for leaving, I can say for sure that this particular pocket of the corporation did not seem to particularly attract the female co-workers in the everyday work sociality. Marie always seemed to leave quickly in order to socialize with people a couple of rows farther up. The female *GMP3* hosts, Sanne and Anne, never came down to socialize (even though they had a desk here), in contrast to the male host, Lars, who spent a lot of time in the area after the program ended each day. And where was the female host from *Smag på P3*, for instance? She didn't sit with her co-host, Arthur. Actually, I never saw her during my time there. Maybe she was home sick, I speculated.

Women in the Workplace

According to a 2018 McKinsey report[115] on women in the workplace, women like Marie and Anne, who are the "onlys" (e.g., female, lesbian) working in homogeneous work environments, are more likely to experience sexual harassment and sexist and racist "micro-aggressions" such as repeated body-marking and othering in their sociality. The report also states that "most commonly, women have to provide more evidence of their competence than men and have their judgement questioned in their area of expertise. They are also twice as likely as men to have been mistaken for someone in a junior position."

The "onlys" suffer from what in diversity theory is called "death by a thousand cuts." As pay equity consultant Katie Donovan writes on HuffPost, "[N]one of these cuts by themselves 'go the real distance' but put together the results are alarming" (2016). Hence, although the ironic comments made to Marie and Anne can be considered rather innocent, with no harm intended in any particular situation, they can not be isolated from the larger structures they are part of. They cannot be understood as isolated from the person in focus and her historical specificity—most likely a long history of meeting such obstacles very often, contributing to a continuously enacted historical and present structural problem of gender inequality.

According to the McKinsey report, women who are "onlys" underperform in work environments. The "onlys," like Marie and Anne, are likely to be seen and understood in work sociality as "tokens" of womankind or homosexuality—of "the other"—and this makes it difficult to be seen, heard, and recognized for their individual abilities. They are 1.5 times more likely to think about leaving their job (McKinsey 2018, 20), and when they leave, it is not because of a single

cause or incident, but because of the sum of many small incidents (McKinsey 2018).

Music Matters in the Informal Research Area

The P3 jargon was described as "cocky," "fast," and "hunting for a quick laugh." For some, the jargon felt like "coming home"; for others it felt "excluding." For Jens, it appeared as "ironic and fast," and for Kirsten it was "hard to be in." We saw above how the female colleagues' bodies and sexualities fed this sociality with material for laughs and processes of othering in the nesting of group dynamics in this area. But how did music play into this sociality?

Jens Flowing on Hip-Hop

Music, and talk about music, did become entangled in the sociality constructed in this particular place. In Fuckboiiis Inc, for instance, Jens and Victor got to cultivate their interest in hip-hop music. Even though Jens did not describe himself as a music enthusiast[116] in our earlier conversations, he did seem to have found a fellow music lover in Victor, as well as in some of the others in the area. In the workspace, they shared their fellow affinity for hip-hop, and they were not silent about it.

At 8.37, Jens asked Victor over the computers, "Have you heard about someone called A-F-R-O... a young guy?"

Victor responded, "No, that doesn´t ring a bell."

Jens said, "I'll just send you a link."

A few seconds later, Victor was watching a YouTube clip of an Afro-American rapper. He put his headphones on and said, laughing, across the table to Jens, "The name is right on the spot!" I could see over his shoulder that A-F-R-O had a big Afro haircut.

"There is a little Tyler, the Creator about him," Victor continued, too loudly (with his headphones on), across the table to Jens. "But fuck, he looks like a bau$$.[117]" He listened on. Suddenly he jumped up in his chair, shouting, "*Excuuuuuuse* me! What just happened there? Fuck, he is wild!"

He continued his ecstatic shouting, and everybody in our work area looked up from their computers. Victor was now being observed by many, but he didn't show any recognition of the attention. Instead, he instantly wrote something in one of his messenger-dialogue boxes, clearly exaggerated about this new music finding (Jens 1, field notes).

One of the hosts in the work group besides Fuckboiiis Inc©, Malte, often shared his likings and preferences in music with some of the people around him, including Victor (they talked about hip-hop) and Arthur, the music host for *Smag på P3* who sat behind us. At one point, Arthur said to his assistant, "There is no official on that Shaun Ryder track?"[118] Malte, the host from the "grown-up" production team sitting just beside me, jumped up from his chair, like jack-in-the-box and shouted across the room dividers, "When it is Shaun Ryder, it is not necessary with an official! He is insanely cool!" Arthur laughed back, "No, you're right!" (Jens 1, fieldnotes)

Music could be considered as an object that transgressed the internal grouping in this

particular area and made connections between them. Music was an artefact in the work environment that mediated sociality, both in the *GMP3* group and across the room dividers within the different production groups. At the time of my observations, soccer seemed to be another subject that could connect the groups around Fuckboiiis Inc© and create some common conversation in the shared space.

Sofie spoke about the importance of getting a "network", about building "an army around you" and about getting "the attention from people you did not know". Music was a merger in establishing sociality across the work space and speaking to people that you didn´t know, creating alliances across the work space.

Recall Frith's suggestion in Section 0 that music "describes the social in the individual and the individual in the social" (1996, 109). Ringsager argues, following Frith, that "music helps making identity social" and understands identity (and music) as part of a "processual and continued articulation work, happening in the relation between the individual and the surrounding society" (2015, 6). "Music in itself makes nothing happen" writes DeNora (2006, 21). Rather than being "something in itself," music was used in this area to transgress boundaries, to describe the individual in the social and vice versa. But not all music and not all individuals were flowing freely in this particular sociality.

Mainstream and Female Music

I asked Peter, the Head of Music, if he thought the employees in the research area talked about the playlisted mainstream music. Did they talk, for instance, about Laleh, the P3 Unavoidable?

> Ehmm, well, no, that is not exactly a track they would react strongly to... because it is not so... it is more cool and sexy to come and say that there is some American... Afro-American something [...] you know... they also sort of position themselves. So to come and say that... well, when *I* speak to them, they tell me they think it is a good pop track. (Peter 2, interview)

One day when I was sitting with Jens, Marie came down to our area. She sat beside Jens, as she wanted him to hear a certain speech block. They were listening to the day's program, each with an earphone in one ear. Marie said to Jens, "There is a spot now... and then it comes... uhh... right after this song."

Jens responded, "After this *outstanding* song?!"[119] He stressed the word "outstanding" and said it with a heavily sarcastic tone, then looked up and around the room. There was no one around us at that moment. I woke up from my observational slumber, suddenly alert, a little confused. Why did he raise his voice? Was he talking to me?

I was looking around, wondering who this remark was directed to, when Marie pulled him back into the conversation between the two. "Well, I actually kind of like it," she said, in an almost-whisper.

"OK!" said Jens, seemingly a little surprised.

Marie explained, "Well, at first I didn't, but then, after I'd heard it three or four times, it grew on me."

"Well," said Jens, now also in a whisper, "actually, I am like that too; I just *really* try not to go there."

"And that is maybe exactly what makes you more consistent than me," Marie laughed, while already on her way onto some other tasks (Jens 1, field notes).

Kirsten's music seemed to have a little harder time flowing around in this area.[120] One day I eavesdropped on a conversation between Jacob and Kirsten, who were sitting in the row behind me and Jens. I was curious about Kirsten's situation. She'd had a very rough start at DR, and I really hoped for the best for her. From what I could tell, she didn't exactly seem to be thriving in her new position with Jacob. There was a lot of silence between them, and when they spoke, it was short and with no fun, humor, or easy connection. Everything between them came out a little trying and uncertain. The quietness between them stood in contrast to the noise that Fuckboiiis Inc© made in the practice space nearby.

As I eavesdropped, Kirsten and Jacob began talking about fan culture, and Kirsten became a little more enthusiastic while talking about different things she and her friends had done as Mew[121] fans. Jacob was considering doing a block about "fanism" in his program. Kirsten – that had been a devoted fan – got warm when speaking on this subject, even though she still spoke quietly and usually only in response to his questions. He asked what they had done, and she told him that she had a fan blog and that she had stood in queues for hours, amongst other things. Every time she mentioned another "crazy, ridiculous fan activity," Jacob laughed loudly at her and answered her with phrases like, "No! You just didn't do that!" and rather patronizing comments such as, "Ha ha, oh, you are *so* cute." There was something remotely disgusted or alienated in his way of responding, as if he were distantly tolerating her input more than accommodating it. I sensed a clear "othering" going on here, as if he were saying, "You are so cute, and *so* different from me" (Jens 3, field notes).

When I spoke to Kirsten a couple of days later, she referred several times to a recent rough experience she'd had while making a program with Jacob:

> "You know, it is hard with all the boxes that they put you in all the time. Not so much my fellow hosts, but also the listeners. I had a creepy experience the other day in Jacob's program. He asked me about something in relation to a Metallica track, 'Nothing Else Matters,' that was about to begin. I answered... shortly... and he said, as a final remark, just to close down on air, 'Kirsten, don't you know that one *never* talks during the intro to "Nothing Else Matters?"' I was a little shocked by his comment, as it was *him* who had asked me in that particular moment. But what was more, I have never gotten so many hateful text messages from the listeners: 'Well done, Jacob! Keep that bitch gagged!' and 'Good how you showed that bitch her right place.' And stuff like that. It was really shocking to me. Normally I get texts [that say], 'Nice voice,' or 'She sounds sweet,' or something like that. But this—this was just

scary! And those are our core listeners. That is the voice from the work shed, I tell you. And then maybe our [P3] ways take color from that sometimes. **We have to speak the language of the listeners**. Jacob apologized afterward. 'I guess a kind of backlash came on,' he said. He was right, his comment didn't quite make the situation better." (Kirsten 1, field notes).

Jens used music to tell people who he was and transgress borders in the social. With music, Kirsten (and Marie) was told by *others*—the "core listeners" and the colleagues in her new work culture—who she was. She was "put in place" in the situations described above: ridiculed in the workspace for her Mew "fanism," shown her "right" place by Jacob, and "gagged" by listeners in the public sphere who shamed her for handling "serious" music such as the Metallica track "wrongly".

In DR, Kirsten experienced being told by colleagues and listeners about right and wrong, concerning music. Hence, she left her personal attachment to music behind:

It is funny because my use of music has really changed, on a personal level, in the last two years [...] Music was [earlier] purely personal to me. I can neither sing nor play any instruments, and I don't know what is technically advanced, et cetera. But I listened to a lot of music. For me it was about what music could give in terms of feelings. Then I meet someone like my boyfriend, who was at the music conservatory, and I meet people working at P6 Beat. They can just say, "*That* is good because..." and, "Notice what the guitar does right there!" That has *really* intimidated me. My God, do you have to... do you also have to know these things when it comes to music? That I had never considered. The technical part of anything, and what is right and what is wrong! [...] So music plays a surprisingly small part for me now. Especially after having started at DR [...] Yes, it [music] did take up an insane amount of space when I was younger. Often when I listen to music now, I think, *God, I should do this more often*. Because... umm... it somehow purifies. But I think that... umm... the fear of liking something that all the others think you don't know enough about, or don't think is "you," has influenced me a great deal, because I would like to be the best at most things—especially if it is something I work with. Then it is easier to say, "That sounds good" and "That is not so good" [she enacts the last sentences in an indifferent way, as if she couldn't care less]. (Kirsten, interview)

Kirsten chose to take on an "indifferent" attitude toward music when she engaged in those new environments and new relations, where music signaled "rights" and "wrongs." She wanted to be "the best" at things, and music opened up space for fear or danger of failing to be "good enough" in the new social and professional arenas.

Music did something in this sociality – it worked somehow as an affector. Additionally both the headmaster, Sofie, and the editor of music content, Trine, distanced themselves from the "cool" and "serious" music talk in the corporation, a kind of talk they associated with the "P6

guys." When I asked Sofie, the headmaster, what her workplace sounded like, she talked about the idea that P6 Music is "historically known to be, you know, 'a little better' than other types of music [...]" (Sofie, Interview).

Music did make Kirsten's identity social, as Frith proposes, but not in ways that she herself wanted it to. Music seemed to disentangle Kirsten from the social rather than assembling her in it. In this particular organization, I would argue that music—like the humorous references to bodies in the stories above about Marie and Anne—was used as a means to take the individual out of the social, out of this particular social professional network. For Kirsten, music was connected with the social anxiety [122] of not being accepted into the community in front of her. Music was an actor that had an effect that created an affect in the humans in the social setting, as Pedersen proposed in beginning of Section 0. Music was an affector for Kirsten and her colleagues as individuals in the social organization.

Competition as Excuse for Structural Violence in Relation to "Things"

Kirsten seemed to be navigating in a highly competitive environment in which, for her, music was putting up boundaries in the social landscape rather than transgressing borders. Music was entangled in processes of "rising" and earning a position in the work collective. Kirsten spoke of "the fear of liking something that all the others think you don't know enough about, or don't think is 'you.'" Hence, after beginning her apprenticeship in DR, her relationship to music had been altered: she had gone from being very enthusiastic about it to enacting indifference and silence about it.

When I asked more about Kirsten's cooperation with Jacob, she explained that this competition was indeed what she found to be the most influential factor in, and excuse for, his sometimes dismissive behavior (for instance, when they entangled with music). Out of curiosity, I had followed the livestream of their show. Here, in my eyes, they seemed to have a rather cramped interaction. Jacob didn't look at her whenever she tried to connect. When she spoke to him, he looked down, uninterested, or at his computer, especially when they were off air while the music tracks were on. Usually this was the time for the hosts to chat, dance, and laugh. If she tried to say or do something funny to him during the break, he didn't go along with it; he kept looking at his computer. But then when a guy called Jorgen entered the studio, something happened to Jacob. Through the webcam, I observed how he suddenly raised his head and looked at him, communicated with eye contact, smiled, and laughed. It was like a transformation. I was curious to learn how she experienced this, so I asked her again how her cooperation with Jacob had been.

She looked away and began a long reflection about Jacob's motives. "Well, Jacob had just gotten the program as a substitute, and this gives him the opportunity to become one of the big ones."

"One of the big ones?" I asked.

Kirsten replied, "That is, someone who can get the kind of assignments that he wants. Anyway, because he has really fought for his position, I felt there wasn't really room for my ideas.

He didn't want to jeopardize his carrier. Jorgen is also 'rising' and he wants to be a producer, so they are both very determined. This has something to do with how it works here in DR. You have to deserve your position."

The use of including/excluding body language as part of the competition game was also noted by Jytte, who had reflected on this behavior pattern upon her arrival to the institution:

> K: Is there something that you found strange or difficult when beginning the apprenticeship?

> J: I remember in the beginning we had conversations with different editors, where we got introduced to different things. I got *so* irritated that some of them didn't look me in the eyes. Umm, and I don't know why. Especially with one in particular. It became my goal during that meeting to get him to look me in the eyes. I could barely concentrate about what was said, because it *irritated* me so much. Well, in the end he did. But it just startled me in the beginning. I thought, "How weird is it that you don't look me in the eyes right now?" It happened with several of the male editors. That I found strange. (Jytte, interview)

In addition to relating to bodies and music, gender also mattered in the social space through situations involving shaming tactics and exclusion mechanisms, such as the avoidance of eye contact with female employees.

Even in my very short stay in the corporation, I myself experienced this peculiar behavior pattern when relating to new contacts. This was not in relation to music, but rather in relation to "the new" and to new technological perspectives on radio. I felt this in my very first meeting at the institution, with Anders, the Director of Radio and Music. He had invited the digital editor across DR's radio channels, Brian, to join in on this meeting. We were to "align our expectations and talk about how we could mutually benefit from this project" (email, October 22, 2014).

Anders began the meeting; he seemed to initiate a mutual dialogue about my project, continuing the atmosphere of mutual interest and co-production from our email correspondence. I followed by talking about my project's overall guidelines and ideas and laying it open for their input and ideas. Brian was quiet to begin with; then he took the reins. He held forth in a long speech about different behaviors in *new* media and *new* media formats. He spoke for what felt like ages about the complexity of the *new* media picture that DR faced. Interesting and relevant enough, I guess, but somehow it was not about my project anymore and more about his knowledge on the "new media" area. I suddenly felt very old with my ordinary, old-fashioned anthropology. Furthermore, Brian looked only at Anders while speaking, and that startled me a bit. Anders sometimes looked at me, maybe in order to mediate between Brian and me. *What happened to the co-developing dialogue?* I thought.

Brian ended his speech by suddenly (finally!) looking at me while asking, "So, do you work with *new* formats and with the possibilities in *new* media technology?"[123] In addition to my surprise at suddenly being included in the conversation again, I felt a little confronted, as if I were unwillingly caught in a cockfight for Anders' approval in an "I know more than you about all the

new stuff" sort of competition. Deciding to be as honest as possible—but also feeling risky, as it seemed like I was putting everything at stake—I replied, "No, I do not work with *new* media formats in particular. I do anthropological ground research in music and radio, which I personally find is important, especially in a time of rapid technological change. But if you are not—" now I looked deliberately stern and only at Anders, playing Brian's odd including/excluding eye-contact game, whatever that was "—interested in such 'old-fashioned' projects, then I would of course go elsewhere" (Anders & Brian, field notes). Anders assured me that they were indeed interested in cooperating, and I went home happy, but still with somewhat mixed feelings about the meeting. I was curious to reflect more about the tensions and tempo that the concept of the "new" media reality seems to entangle in the social. And somehow feeling both "old" and "female," I was utterly glad, in terms of being granted access to do fieldwork, that it was Anders, not Brian, who was the superior, hence my ticket to further inquiries in this connection (Anders & Brian, field notes).

"The New" Matters in the Mesh

As the above example implies, the entanglement of ideas of technology and of "the new" was another artefact (besides music and humored bodies) that seemed to be acting in the social as affectors and additionally often as a strengthener of the gender segregation in this sociality.

When it came to mastering the technique in the studios, Kirsten told me how there seemed to be a female pact throughout the DR radio section about being able to do the technique at least as good as the men, and preferably better:

> In the beginning, we [Kirsten and Jytte] quickly said, like, "Okay then, let the boys, let the boys." Then the headmasters gave us a pep talk and said *because* we were girls, it was *so* important that we can do the technique. Because it is... it is very much a girl-to-girl thing in DR. It is some kind of... sisterhood thing to some extent. In order to fight the male chauvinist men, right? So girls *have to* be able to do the technique, and boys don't have to. A girl has to show that she can control things herself. So I have learned that now. I made, for instance, a three-hour Easter program where *I* was running the technique. It went well. No mistakes! I could even also think along the way! (Kirsten, interview)

In Section 1, David Beer describes how new technology should be understood as used both "to promote certain visions of calculative objectivity and *also* in relation to the wider governmentalities that this concept might be used to open up" (Beer 2017, 1; my italics). When Kirsten told me about a female pact where "girls *have to* be able to do the technique and boys don't have to," it pointed toward a picture of the social where technology in this learning environment was entangled in "wider governmentalities" concerning continuous constructions of gender divides.

But in my experience, technology and "the new" were also used in the social as a mediating artefact to open up space for ways of governmental structuring other than the gender

divide. In my perception, this subject mattered in the social as both a way to conduct selections in terms of gender *and* of age.

According to Trine, despite the many cuts that DR has had to make over the last ten to twenty years, there has been a remarkable rise in the amount of young employees working with social media. As she said:

> The digital editor across DR's radio channels [Brian] is pretty open about it: he would almost rather, when employing new staff, take one that is completely newly graduated. Without any kind of experience. Because the younger you are today, the more you are born into this. And even if you don't have any routine or experience, then it is just a way that you breathe. We, thirty or forty years old, cannot relate to this... or we can maybe learn it, but it will never be the same. It is really crazy. [...] This is a fast development. Approximately a year and a half ago we hired our first full-time social media person. Now we have five full-time employees in this area. It goes *really* fast. (Trine, interview)

The gender (and age) divide was negotiated and spread in the organization as part of cultural models connected to artefacts enacted in particular situations. Cultural models around artefacts, such as humans, behavior, music, technology, and age, were entangled in the mesh of the production. In some situations, they were used as a means to have control, with flows and stops in social interaction and recruitment.

But how did all this matter for Kirsten and her possibilities for being nested into this apprenticeship? Let's dwell a little on Kirsten's perspective on her continuous entangling as a new host apprentice in this sociality.

Kirsten's Continued (Dis)Entanglement

Kirsten was admitted to the Host Talent Program with independent ideas; she wanted to do things differently as a "funny" female host. She experienced how these self-evident expectations of her own abilities, as well as the reasons for which she thought she was selected by DR, were "cut" differently by the work teams she was joining. For instance, in contrast to Sofie's guidelines for "being yourself" as a host, Kirsten witnessed (as did I) the following conversation in the open office between Michael and one of the producers. Michael stated:

> X [a "problematic" female host] should not have it too heavily loaded with information. She should be more like Y [another popular female host]. She is just so fucking good! She can somehow ask about everything. She uses her ignorance in a positive way. X should do it that way too. We need to make her comfortable with that role. It is great when it is driven by that kind of curiosity. It works well with the listeners—she [Y] takes the angle of the listeners. (Jens 2, field notes)

Kirsten came with a set of expectations not to be "either dumb or strict." She was admitted into the corporation expressing those expectations, but her immediate experiences "on the floor" did not support her hopes and ideas. The connections that she (and the talent headmasters) had found to be self-evident seemed to be "cut differently" through her "agential knowing" learned in everyday practice on the floor. There seemed to be some internal discrepancy in the corporate thinking. Hasse describes how newcomers are sensitive to organizational discrepancies:

> Put differently, materials manifest themselves in intra-actions that align collectively over time and thus become cultural resources. We learn to learn that there might be discrepancies between the official discourse and the agential knowing of everyday life. (Hasse 2015, 240)

Kirsten was met with both direct and indirect regulations of her behavior. There was obvious discrimination as well as direct comments on her gender and her appearance, as we saw in the beginning. And then there was the small, indirect, and maybe unintended gestures: lack of eye contact, no friendly bonding, no one to go to lunch with, disgusted comments on her "unsexy" funny appearance, skeptical looks, the constant feminization in the social space etc.

According to Judith Butler it is the sum of different small acts that contributes to "what will and will not count as a viable speaking subject". Those small but structurally consistent regulations and marking of certain bodies are all a path to practicing censorship, and of producing "what will and will not count as a viable speaking subject and a reasonable opinion within the public domain":

> "This strategy for quelling dissent and limiting the reach of critical debate happens not only through a series of shaming tactics which have a certain psychological terrorization as their effect, but they work as well by producing what will and will not count as a viable speaking subject and a reasonable opinion within the public domain. It is precisely because one does not want to lose one´s status as a viable speaking being that one does not say what one thinks. Under social conditions that regulate identification and the sense of viability to this degree, censorship operates implicitly and forcefully. The line that circumscribes what is speakable and what is livable also functions as an instrument of censorship." (Butler 2006: xix-xx)

This continued indirect "psychological terrorization," as Butler calls it, was almost harder for Kirsten to grasp than direct exclusion:

> Sometimes people react like, "No, you just didn't say that!" or something. You often get the feeling that... men turn... they sort of get their coffee down the wrong throat, and some girls, they are a little like, "Now you just watch it!" or, "That is not a very sexy thing to say," or something. When they say it directly—like on [my first show], you know, "It is just a little

funnier if Nils does it, because he is a man"—then I actually find it easier to swallow, right? (Kirsten, interview)

Kirsten went on to describe the female host roles that seemed to be available platforms for her:

But I really think it is hard not to just take on one of the roles that are expected [...] It is like you have to be a little strict when you are a woman, because that is the path for becoming... sweet or funny. This very, you know, ironic but not self-ironic strictness, where you embarrass the man or something. You cannot be... or *if* you are unsexy, then you are *very* conscious about it. And it should be done with thick irony. Ehmm. [...] I have to really dig deep into myself [she makes digging movements toward her stomach] in order not to jump in and just take on one of either female host stereotypes. It would be a whole lot easier. (Kirsten, interview)

At times Kirsten had the desire to "follow the direction of the [cultural] models" (Hasse 2015, 240). She felt a strong force pulling her toward shaping herself in the expected image, for following some of the laid-out paths. Kirsten had an ongoing internal conflict, and as it seemed the ticket to air time (and participation in the practice space) was fitting the expectations and enacting a stereotypical host role, she was struggling. Even though she resisted, to her own great annoyance, she had experienced that sense of "falling in":

And sometimes on my first show, when I eventually came on air, I caught myself doing that! I enacted the strict radio host. And that I really, *really* regret! Because it... you know, the reason for me to apply was to become a *host.* Not a girl host. And not a boy host. You know, not sour or strict—ehmm, or manly or something—but just... human. I know, it sounds completely utopia-like [she laughs]. But I just find it *sooo* strange! (Kirsten 2, field notes)

She struggled with finding her place as "human" in a culture that she felt was pushing her into unwanted stereotyping, or cultural modeling of the "female host role." She rejected the directional forces of the cultural models that she experienced through "agential knowing" in everyday participation. But she slowly developed an impression that there was very little or no room for inventing her own "funny" character as a woman in the corporation. Soon Kirsten began to envy Jens, who in her mind inhabited a different place than her for being funny:

I envy a guy like Jens so much. Because I just feel that when he says something that is funny, then it is just, like, with no filter. But I feel very often that when I say something, then it is, like, I *did* say something funny, *but* I am also a girl. I feel like this bites me in the ass all the time. (Kirsten, interview)

Kirsten didn't feel comfortable with how she was seen and with who she became in this new

environment, which seemed to interpellate a whole spectrum of quite nuanced—and for her, limiting—expectations. As an "inexperienced cultural reader" (Hasse 2015, 240), she became uncertain and insecure. Only a few months after Kirsten stepped into DR and was celebrated with champagne and recognition[124] as one of the new DR talents, she had forgotten her privileged position:

> We just went to New York, where we visited NN [a former talent]. He said, "You have two years to make a fool of yourself. Use it!" I had totally forgotten that! All the others—you know, the interns, et cetera—they have to prove themselves and do really well. We [talents] cannot be fired. We just have to go crazy and experiment. That is a good thought. (Kirsten 2, interview and fieldnotes)

Officially she possessed full "legitimate presence" (Hasse 2015), but she experienced something else in the practice space. She needed reminding of her legitimacy from a former host talent in New York, and she felt she had lost her ability to judge this by herself. This lack of confidence made Kirsten direct her attention upward. Instead of trusting her colleagues at the tables beside her in the office, she put some blind trust in the headmasters of the talent program:

> Furthermore, I really try to put my trust in Lotta and Lasse and Sofie, who chose me, because *they* think I can! Because I myself really do not know... if I can. So I try to put some of the responsibility on them. Like, "Then I do my things, and then it is *you* that pay the price if it doesn't work." (Kirsten, interview)

Kirsten and Jens's Learning Processes

Kirsten and Jens were thrown into a learning environment that was entangled around artefacts such as music, humor, bodies, and technology. Those artefacts seemed to entangle cultural models that had directional forces tied up with gender, stories about the female, about humor, and about technology, and mostly transgressed the female as "the other" in enactments intra-acted in situations, while leaving the male position pretty untouched. Kirsten was very often told "who she was" in this entanglement and put in one of "all the boxes," as she described it. Her position, her creative platform, was governed by others who permitted the conditions for her agency. Nobody seemed to question the legitimacy, size, or shape of Jens's presence, or seem to want to form him as a "proper male host."

Jens was entangled (with his original and maybe sometimes slightly odd ideas) in the immediate social surroundings of the production environment. This environment could contain him as a part of a differentiated (Hasse 2015, 54) culture, and he got access to participation. Kirsten (with her "odd" ideas of being "just... human") stood on the fringes of the differentiated culture in the social environment, in danger of being excluded, as she didn't seem to fit into

the cultural expectations of her professional behavior as female. In an environment where "the female" appeared as what could be called stiffened ontology (continuously stiffened through repeated everyday actions), she was participating in processes of being (dis)entangled from the immediate social in the production environment. Kirsten spent a lot of time and energy trying to find a platform to stand on in the learning environment, while actual hands-on air time and learning in practice had to wait. It seemed that Kirsten's process of entangling as a radio host, and of learning to get to know radio host equipment and work tools, was slowed down because of all this gender friction.

At the conclusion of our interview, Kirsten described the most important lesson she had learned from her start at DR. It was not about how to make quality radio, but rather about the importance of continuing to struggle to try and be herself:

> I learned something [...] about what one should *not* do. One should not take the easy way. And the easy way is just to let the men be the funny person and then you can be the sour person. Ehm. But [I learned] also that it is hard to fight about space when men just have much broader shoulders. [...] But the wisest you can do [...] it sounds so stupid, but it *is*... to be yourself. Because you simply cannot lose anything by doing that. Because. Either you are yourself and they like it, and then you can just continue on that, or they don't like it, but then at least you are yourself, right? [...] They could see *right* through me when I took on a role that wasn't me. People just don't want to listen to that. You do not buy anything from a person who does not buy herself. (Kirsten, interview)

Kirsten was incredibly strong. She would not give up, despite her everyday struggles and constant balancing act on the fringes of the dust bunny, which resulted in a lot of immediate everyday friction that looked uncomfortable from where I was seated. Additionally, she agreed to participate in this research (unlike other vulnerable newcomers whom I asked, and who, completely understandably, declined).

I would like to be able to write here that it was actually Kirsten, and her persistence and courage to be herself and "just... human," who changed the culture of P3, who made it more "open." My tablemate at that birthday party actually mentioned her name and the radio program she is currently running as an example of this "new P3." But I wouldn't know anything about what made the change in P3, since I was long gone by that time. Probably—certainly—it was a combination of many, many factors. But I would like to believe that Kirsten was one of the "differences that made a difference" (Bateson 1972, 459) in this direction. I will let Butler (2004, 3–4) sum up on behalf of Kirsten:

> If I am someone who cannot *be* without *doing*, then the conditions of my doing are, in part, the conditions of my existence. If my doing is dependent on what is done to me or, rather, the ways in which I am done by norms, then the possibility of my persistence as an "I" de-

pends upon my being able to do something with what is done with me.

This does not mean that I can remake the world so that I become its maker. That fantasy of godlike power only refuses the ways we are constituted, invariably and from the start, by what is before us and outside of us. My agency does not consist in denying this condition of my constitution.

If I have any agency, it is opened up by the fact that I am constituted by a social world I never chose. That my agency is riven with paradox does not mean it is impossible. It means only that paradox is the condition of its possibility.

  [...]

I may feel that without some recognizability I cannot live. But I may also feel that the terms by which I am recognized make life unlivable. This is the juncture from which critique emerges, where critique is understood as an interrogation of the terms by which life is constrained in order to open up the possibility of different modes of living; in other words, not to celebrate difference as such but to establish more inclusive conditions for sheltering and maintaining life that resists models of assimilation.

7. Concluding Reflections and Further Discussions

Complexifying Great Divides ("Facing Mirrors") through Thick Descriptions

The objective of this study was not to arrive at a list of results or conclusions, but rather to inter- rogate the slow processes of knowing, as suggested by Law and Singleton (2013, 485). My aim was to do a sort of "de-black-boxing" of the practices surrounding music selection and program- ming on P3 in the corporation of DR, and also to delve into some of the myths mentioned in the first part of this dissertation—myths about DR's opacity, the lack of transparency in DR's music selection and programming procedures, and allegations (for instance, those concerning Peter's power and misconduct of his position). Still, I would like to briefly reflect on some of my initial assumptions.

First, I gained access to DR, to P3, and to Peter. It took some time and demanded patience on my part, but I was never met with anything but openness and curiosity. Moreover, I was met with seriousness, professionalism, and a sincere interest in radio research in a time of rapid tech- nological development. Along the way, I had to abandon my initial assumption of DR as closed off and afraid of being researched.

I walked along multiple paths in P3; all the while, on my journey, I methodologically ex- plored ANT's notions of sensibility, Hasse's methods of "surprising practices," and her theory of the "learning participant observer" (2011; 2015).[125] As described in Section 2, I have sought to adopt an empirically sensitive style of writing (Law and Singleton 2013, 490), as I value Hastrup's notion of trying to have "reality [...] *in* the text and [...] not just seen through the text" (Hastrup 1988, 17; original emphasis). I have strived to bring a sense of reality into the text by working with notions of sensibility and situatedness in my own perception and mediation of the field. In short, this means that I have attempted to use a descriptive style that hopefully, from time to time, has communicated a sense of the place, relations, atmosphere, light, air, feelings, sounds, tensions, smells, and so on as the situations played out.

By looking at some of the internal practices of music selection in Sections 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7, I wanted to **thicken** the story about P3's music production, a story that sometimes seemed to be "caught up in the geometrical optics of reflection where, much like the infinite play of images between two facing mirrors, the epistemological gets bounced back and forth, but nothing more is seen" (Barad 2003, 803). By describing different actors and technologies in the daily practice of handling and maintaining P3's music profile in corporate networks around DR, I wished to understand and *complexify* the discussions and questions concerning music, technology, gender, and agency in daily work practices in complex organizations, in this particular case music han- dling on DR's P3.

In Section 1, I described three analytical "cuts" or points of interest when walking around P3's production space. First, I wanted to explore the field of radio production as a cultural prac- tice and explore how it might be possible to grasp this field analytically. Within this framework of

ANT and culture analysis, I then wanted specifically to investigate how music enacted in relation to matters of new media and digitalization; furthermore, I was curious to explore how music in the radio production network related to questions of gender and the gender imbalance in Danish music production networks. In this final section, I will sum up—point by point—what I learned regarding those matters. But first, at the end of my journey, I will suggest a more precise name for the cultural phenomenon in focus.

Establishing a More Precise Acronym: PSPMMFR

In my story about how contemporary (i.e., 20xx) P3 radio came to matter from a mesh of differently entangled humans and things, here among sounds and music, I have responded to Heikkunen and Fölmer's call for doing and developing ethnographic studies in this particular field of music radio production. I have experimented with an ANT approach pursuing "what elements are in the action" or what Barad, as quoted below, calls "'things'-in-phenomena."

Pursuing "what elements are in the action" has provided me with a more precise name and acronym for the phenomenon in focus. I set out on this journey wanting to investigate the production of the radio phenomenon that I initially called PSPMR (Public Service Popular Music Radio). In order to gain more precision in future dialogue around the subject, I have learned that the phenomenon I have studied would more adequately go by the name Public Service Popular Mainstream Music Flow Radio, or PSPMMFR. Public Service *Mainstream* Music refers to the particular music format that relates to other similar networks of popular music circulation, and the *Flow* relates to a production form, to certain aesthetics, and to methods of media production across many platforms in a media landscape characterized as a "media manifold." Those two components have shown themselves to be significant actors in the daily production of this particular kind of radio in 20xx.

The name PSPMMFR does not capture this particular P3 phenomenon completely (one could argue, for instance, for adding the letter Y for "Youth"), but it makes a framework that is more or less stable and apt for further discussion; this will have to do for now, until new research differentiates this field of radio production even further. Let's turn to Barad's definition of phenomena as constitutive of reality and made up from the entanglement of "things":

> With this background we can now return to the question of the nature of phenomena. Phenomena are produced through agential intra-actions of multiple apparatuses of bodily production. Agential intra-actions are specific causal material enactments that may or may not involve "humans." Indeed, it is through such practices that the differential boundaries between "humans" and "nonhumans," "culture" and "nature," the "social" and the "scientific" are constituted. Phenomena are constitutive of reality. Reality is not composed of things-in-themselves or things-behind-phenomena but "things"-in-phenomena) (Barad 2003, 818)

I have studied *things* in the phenomenon of PSPMMFR on P3 and how "agential intra-actions of multiple apparatuses of bodily production" and specific "causal material enactments" made this field of production—this phenomenon—come to life at the time of my participant observation. In this entanglement of "things," the field of production opened up in all its complexity, multiplicity, and not least in its infinity of fractions that made up the whole of the phenomenon as it was intra-acted at the time of my participation.

How Culture Matters: Actors—Effect—Effectors—Affectors

> Cultural learning is scalar. Through our daily actions, we (with Barad's term) intra-act artefacts into existence (2007). Because we learn continuously, artefacts change accordingly. And because our cultural learnings differ from newcomer to experienced, as well as distributed among experienced researchers, we cannot assume a completely shared understanding of material phenomena. (Hasse 2015, 244)

It is through our daily actions that "we intra-act artefacts into existence," as Hasse writes above with reference to Barad. I have looked at the 20xx PSPMMFR programming in a very particular period and enacted through very particular situations. I experienced how the program *GMP3* was intra-acted into existence through a complex meshworks of daily actions. As such, I have intended to draw a picture of *GMP3* as an "object that coheres" from multiple objects that cohere.

I have placed special focus on three matters (or artefacts, or actors, or affectors, as Pedersen calls them): music, technology, and gender. I have studied how they (co-)related and were (re-)intra-acted into existence in the daily entanglement of things in the daily production of P3. Let me reflect on what I learned about those "things," or affectors, in P3's PSPMMFR.

Technology as Affector in the Social

Matters of Technology
Let us begin where we ended in Section 6, namely with the question of the assumed "death of the DJ" or, as Have writes, "the lost verbal link between music and host." When Tom Petty sings, "Here goes the last DJ... here goes the freedom of choice, here goes the last human voice," he is referring, among other things, to the dualism that is often discursively constructed between human and technology—one of "the great divides," as Latour calls it.

In 1996, when automated music scheduling was introduced in DR, the new format radio was criticized for its top-down management and at the time described as "linear radio" by DR employee Monica Krogh-Meyer (referred to in Krogh´s 2018 article, p. 67). One of my aims throughout this study has been to examine the nature of the public claim of top-down control of the P3 music playlist, the accusations of confusing power circuits as mentioned in Section 1, or, in Krogh-Meyer's (1996) (and Krogh's, 2018) words, the "linearity" in radio using automated music scheduling:

> [R]ationalisation entails a lingering irrationality, or, to phrase it differently, "linear radio" always implies some measure of non-linearity. (Krogh 2018, 68)

The discourse about the non-human effects of digital tools in DR's music selection and planning was strengthened in debates that followed the implementation in 1996. But this debate did not necessarily include the people who were actually involved. This tendency to draw pictures of technology as "taking over" control, without doing actual research in the production environment, was noted by journalist Torsten Raagaard in *Journalisten*, a critical magazine published by the journalists' union, Dansk Journalistforbund:

> Without researching the case, Berlingske Tidende, among others, wrote a story about how a computer is going to control the music selection on DR's P3. None of the people who have been working with *MusicMaster* were asked. (Raagard 1996)

I suspect that such un-researched conditions and myths about loss of agency and human terrain, along with the introduction of digital work tools (for instance, digital music scheduling), have led to Plesner's statement, in Section 1, that we know very little about how a "thing" such as "new technology" transforms agendas in public institutions. So how did new technology transform agendas in P3?

The new situation with multiple digital work tools transformed the infrastructure of interaction in the P3 production space. Whereas DJs in earlier times had personal handwritten manuscripts for how to present (their self-selected) music and news, the preparations were now made collectively in work platforms such as Google Docs, *Dalet*, and to some extent *Selector* (this was mainly used on P3 by Peter and Henrik, his right-hand man). The use of those digital work platforms made the workflow highly transparent for all. This allowed for fast workflows with a lot of flexibility, co-production, and mutual interaction, but it also allowed, of course, for a higher level of surveillance and corporate governance.

The digital tools did not - in themselves - matter a great deal. What mattered more was how they were used and put into play in the daily infrastructuring. What mattered for instance were the stories and myths that accompanied them in the social. When Kirsten told me that there was a sort of consensus among the female radio employees that they "just had to master the technique much better than the male employees," it testified to a work environment where "mastering the techniques" could be used in situations of internal competition, with apparent gender biases implied. This was maybe reminiscent of when, in my very first meeting with Anders and Brian, I felt that I (and my ignorance of "new formats" in the situation that had been constructed) was used in the situation to promote Brian in his personal endeavor to gain success in the organization.

Let me sum up. New technology and the idea of the "new media reality" affected work "reality" in multiple ways while it entangled in PSPMMFR:

1. The new technological tools created transparency and quick access (everything is in Google Docs and on the server; all levels in the production have access to *Dalet*) and a very quick workflow, and they enabled a high degree of cooperation across work units, floors, and offices, as well as possibilities for sudden improvisation in the production.

2. The work tools enabled a high degree of corporate governance and implementation of corporate strategies across platforms.

3. The technical aspects of "the new" and learning to use technological work tools did not create a lot of friction in the work practice. The digital work tools sometimes caused annoyance among employees, but most people said it was "just a matter of learning" and when you mastered them you didn't think much about them anymore.

4. The notion of "the new" worked as an artefact in the social or cultural organization to strengthen old "differential boundaries," as Barad describes above, or to strengthen "old" technologies such as dualisms between "old" and "new", "young" and "aged", "female" and "male", "human" and "non-human", "high" and "low" music, etc.

Here, the notion of "the new" could create some friction in the workspace, for instance from a gender and age perspective. It was used in gendering processes, both to strengthen and to go against the "male chauvinism" (Kirsten) in the organization, or when they experienced how the multiple media channels allowed for too much hate speech and regulatory behavior from male listeners. "The new" could also create friction in gender *and* age structuration processes of the social (as in my meeting with Anders and Brian), or in socialization processes around music, when the discourse of "the death of the DJ" (i.e., digital music scheduling) seemed to remove some possibilities for gaining actual recognition as a contemporary mainstream flow DJ (like Anne).

"The new" (and "the old") seemed to be part of intra-actions in which agency was taken away from some and given to others, and stories about "the death of the DJ" (killed by technology) could be understood as an (re)interpellating act of "dehumanizing" certain human beings in their everyday jobs, as well as an act of dehumanizing the whole system of PSPMMFR production. It could be argued that this kind of positioning and storytelling was actually strengthening technocratic positions and positioning, rather than helping to make technology adjust to human needs and a humanizing technology.

Instead of a production practice where a "computer is [in] control" (Raagard above), I learned through my entanglement about a system of PSPMMFR production full of humans who, on an everyday basis, touched upon their own responsive repertoires while touching on the artefacts in their surroundings. They did this with great skill and expertise and out of corporate ideas and visions of how to make the best contemporary PSPMMFR. In my opinion, recognizing and appreciating the humanness and skilled practice as a vital part in this ongoing process of production is

the first (and very important) step when discussing both the contemporary and future existence of PSPMMFR.

To answer Plesners question (in danger of repeating myself), here, the *notion* or *concept* of the algorithm (or new technology), and how this notion was used to structure sociality, was what transformed agendas in the public institution, rather than the new technology's "technical and material presence" (Beer 2017, 1, my italics) in themselves, as Beer wrote in Section 1. It was not the technology in itself, but rather the cultural models, that were enacted in practice in relation around the notion. These cultural models (of for instance technology/music as a male domain) were circulated and applied by humans when relating, entangling and creating infrastructure in collective sociality. As Jens said in Section 4 in relation to the hate-smses that Kirsten received when she spoke out during a Metallica intro, stressing that it is the humans and not the technology that acts in practice:

> It is—by all means—an *active act* to write a text message. Texts don't write themselves. […]
> You make a couple of spelling mistakes, you work with the auto-correction, et cetera. There
> is actually time to think along that act. […](Kirsten, Jens & Lotta, field notes)

In Section 1 Crang & Graham spoke about a "politics of visibility" through research that seek to make the informational and facilitative character of (digital) infrastructures more visible. Concluding on their article they suggest that, through

> "these openings founded on the fluidity and transience of practices, the opacities of mo-
> bility and the hidden geographies of memory are now being rendered visible. (Crang and
> Graham 2007, 791)".

I hope that some of the "opacities of mobility and the hidden geographies of memory" concerning use of technology in the practice of producing PSPMMFR on P3 have become more visible through this study. It would be adjacent for instance – following above insights – to suggest to have discussions that concern the governing policies *behind* digital music programming and how those technological means can, in practice, help to bring forth the desired licence-financed radio and music output, rather than being trapped in eternal discussions about "robots taking over" entstrengtening a "technology vs. human" dualism. This "representational trap" (Barad) or "established disorder" (Haraway) of a (hu)man-technology dualism can be seen to empower the technology-position when enacted in culture as a threat to man(kind) and maybe even enacted as a threat to mankind that has to be opposed by the "strong" and authoritative *"Man"*.

The Body as Affector

Body Matters
How did *the body* matter?

The body mattered, or stood out, in the workspace for the P3 media manifold, for instance in text messages and call-ins from listeners reacting to a program's broadcast, Facebook videos, or studio livestreaming. The body mattered in the open office workspace, where it was sometimes sexualized and commented on. It mattered somehow in the *segmented* flow of sounds containing Peter's "good girls and bad boys." It mattered in Fuckboiiis Inc© and in the surrounding work sociality, with its shared musical worship of A-F-R-O, the "bau$$" bad-ass rapper (who owned bitches). It mattered in the ridicule of the mainstream "low" music that often seemed to have some sticky gender associations. It mattered if you wanted to appear on air, but were told that it would be better with another gender representation. The body mattered in meetings where some male editors avoided eye contact with female apprentices. The body mattered if you wanted to shape your own host role, but it was shaped into pre-fixed, stereotypical roles by your colleagues and immediate superiors according to your gender.

However, it was not *the* body that mattered in this practice space. It was mainly (actually, only) the *female* body that stood out and created friction in this daily entanglement of humans and things in the production. The competitive environment in this particular area, and the "hunt for quick laughs," sometimes resulted in a somewhat harsh tone and light teasing, especially in terms of the feminization of workers and around "otherness" from the norm (in this particular area). The norm, or the "unmarked" body, as Butler calls it (Butler 2004, 56)—here, the white male—was unspoken of (and un-joked of) in the area throughout the informal socializing around the production.

To be female in this system had to be conducted in very specific ways. Via constant othering and quelling strategies in the social, Kirsten, a female, was granted access, but put in a very governed position in the organization. The female (repeatedly marked) subject did not flow as freely as the male (unmarked) into the corporation, she did not circulate as freely here, where only a few cultural versions of the professional female subject seemed to be recognized in (some pockets of) the everyday P3 culture.

There were many roads to gaining territory and achieving recognition as an employee in the organization. But, to me, gender-related mattering around artefacts especially seemed to create space for some while taking it away from others (like we saw it above with "technology"). Gender seemed to be an actor in situations, used for drawing borders in the practice space as a means to "win" and gain territory in competitive work situations. The general acceptance of a high level of competition, in a sort of Wild West atmosphere with no rules of conduct, allowed little "cuts" of structural violence (Galtung 1969), or maybe indeed what Galtung in a later article calls "cultural violence" (Galtung 1990, 291).

This corporate non-governance concerning gender on the agential plane seemed to be the case in both music planning, where Peter said, "With gender, we are more loose," and in the social, where there were no common corporate instructions to newcomers about social conduct concerning high competition and gendering processes—other than the headmasters advising

the apprentices to "keep away from the journalist interns," for instance. There were indeed visions and rules in the corporation, some of which concerned gender equality, but on the agential plane there seemed to be an unwillingness to enact corporate control or simply guidance around the particular matter.

The particular and consistent feminization or gendering of the female body in the areas where Jens and Kirsten were placed made the two apprentices learning processes differ. They simply learned to navigate differently in the organization. The gendering in the social particularly affected Kirsten, who directed her trust toward her superiors rather than her colleagues. Her learning process was slowed down in the apprentice program because of her lack of access to full participation and social certainty. She preferred when this gendering was presented straight up ("It is just funnier if it is a man"), but mostly it was implied in relation to artefacts in the social (body language, comments, looks, humour, music, technology, etc).

Organizational Friction and Gender Matters

Immediate interaction, or "doing," as a radio host turned out to be harder for Kirsten than she had expected. Even though, as a member of the talent team, she had immediate legitimacy in DR (given from "above"), when she actually got to participate in the particular environments, Kirsten felt that the legitimacy of her presence and hence her possibility to participate were highly contested. As such, there were what Hasse calls "discrepancies" to be detected within the P3 organization—for example, between the more "governing layers and strategies" and the enacted corporate values on "the floor"—concerning the conduct of gender.

Hence, following Krogh's arguments of non-linearities, it could also be argued there were degrees of non-linearity in the circulation of gender stereotypes in the more informal parts of the P3 department that did not correspond with the corporate visions. These discrepancies between the rational intentions of the corporation (to be a gender-diverse environment) and the everyday enacted gender-biased behavior might be seen as a crack in the corporate vision and unified intentions across the corporation, yet another sign of what Krogh calls the "lingering irrationalities" that lie within an organization otherwise perceived as "rational" (Krogh 2018, 68).

Bloksgaard argues that the gendering of "work tasks, professions and jobs" is indeed what provides the "essential explanation" for a continued gender-segregated Danish workforce:

> The article demonstrates that the gendering of work tasks, professions, and jobs—i.e., the construction of these as "masculine" and "feminine," respectively—is an essential explanation as to why the Danish labor market is still, and to such a great extent, divided into "men's work" and "women's work." (Bloksgaard 2011, 17)

The circulations of gendering behavior, what I would call *circulations of culturally stiffened ontologies* around the female, seemed to have a strong centrifugal force on the female employees

in "my" area that seeked to other areas as well as to other companies. Likewise we saw how the inflexible female gender category mattered as a hindrance for Kirsten's linear learning process when she entered the place as an apprentice with intentions of creating her own and original funny female host character.

Music as Affector

Music Matters
How did music matter in the workspaces?

Music mattered in relation to people and things in their everyday work practice of producing *GMP3*. Music tracks, as well as other sound elements, mattered for the DJs as crucial ingredients in the work of creating flow, a highly important overall parameter in the production of PSPMMFR on P3. Music mattered as "melodies and beat" for Peter, with his tools and helpers, when he molded the right mainstream music format that could attract listeners. The background music mattered for the hosts, who sometimes found it to be highly stressful and disruptive to their ability to think straight. The music tracks mattered in relation to the hosts and the atmosphere in the studio (did they dance a little in front of the webcams?), and they mattered for the producer's mood when he or she was sitting in the booth. Furthermore, music mattered in the social as a means to network and to create small pockets of communities in the corporate landscape. Music appeared to matter differently on at least two planes in the organization: as part of a corporate endeavour and as an affector in the social.

Mainstream Music in Corporate Thinking
How did mainstream music matter?

The mainstream mattered, in the offices of Peter and Trine, as part of a corporate branding strategy. Mainstream music and music presentation mattered here as a supporter of the P3 brand, providing an appropriate collection of "good girls and bad boys" that helped ensure an easy flow of segmented content across the channel's many platforms.

Within a system of different actors and according to many finely adjusted parameters, in close dialogue with the corporation and with selected music-aficionado radio hosts, it was Peter who assembled the playlist on a daily basis and was responsible for the channel's mainstream music output. Here, he created a "brown sauce" of popular music in a process within which he was also relating with other networks in the Danish music industry.

It was Trine who guided the presentation or talk around music matters on the channel; she worked with making talk around music less serious and more "in the eyesight of the listener."

The DJs, the hosts, and other affectors in the system spiced up the mainstream output and made it something other than an ordinary "brown sauce." Gaining momentary agency with music in their daily caretaking of this system of production was considered a once-in-a-while perk for employees, no matter if it was the producer, the Head of Music, or the DJ. While enacting corporate strategies, even Peter sometimes was an affector (although I think this was rare) and gave

the playlist some spice by adding something new according to his likings. A "purple unicorn"—a special music track such as "Only Human," working as "the right track at the right time by the right artist"—came into the flow and contributed to the brown sauce with newness, spice, and gradual change ("Who would have known, for instance, that 'drop' was the new chorus?"). But this small amount of friction was known and accepted among trusted employees.[129]

For the people on the top floor and trusted employees close to the actual production, music mattered as part of a system of production where agency in relation to music was understood as strongly related to corporate thinking, to its strategies about formats and flow, and to the networks of humans and things that upheld the corporation, rather than to the single employee's taste or personal preferences. Still a good flow DJ could keep the flow while fingering slightly with the format (such as Anne, Uffe and Sofie that played some of their "own" music once in a while). Despite the small intra-actions on all levels of the production, there seemed to be a rather high level of corporate governance of musical agency in the system.

Music content in the contemporary P3 PSPMMFR was handled with care in recognition of how music plays an important role in gathering an audience (to attract a large public) and in a media manifold (to strengthen the brand). This corresponds well with radio scholars Shingler and Wierenga's description of how music content is handled in contemporary radio:

> Very often the key factor in attracting audiences is music. When stations are faced with low audience ratings, the first thing they usually do is rethink their music policy [...] The choice of music is often considered too important to be left wholly to the idiosyncratic tastes of DJs, requiring a more objective and systematic approach to guarantee the station's popularity and profitability. The use of playlists on both public service and commercial radio stations throughout the world signals how important music is in attracting audiences and determining the overall identity of a station. (Shingler and Wierenga, 62)

According to Peter and Trine, the "sonic infrastructures of citizenship" (Western 2018) expressed in the P3 mainstream was a mainstream that was composed from an idea of giving people *what* (DR presumed) people wanted *when* they wanted it. It was also a matter of promoting and communicating music in "a more democratic way"—in the "eyesight of the listener," as Trine proposed. Furthermore, in contrast to the more commercial part of the Danish music industry, this was a mainstream enacted according to some political implications, such as a demand for a certain amount of "Danish" music and an underlying (and sometimes followed) intention to create equality, for instance regarding gender (as Peter said concerning Laleh's "different perspective," "Who else in Denmark would take in such a track?"). In Peter's circles on the top floor, the mainstream was used, valued, and calculated on one side as an effective means to gain listeners and create a perfect flow for the channel, and on the other as a more democratic music public service format that worked in "the eyesight of the listener" and therefore selected a broad range

of artists, such as Laleh, to go on the playlist.

Mainstream music as artefact could here be discussed and understood as working along a spectrum where, on one end, music worked as a tool for rational market and brand thinking, and on the other it worked in recognition of music's ability to create sonic citizenship. On the former end, music was used as a means to be able to compete with other media providers and adjust its number of listeners through music profiles, but this also depended on what kind of listening P3 sought: either long listening time but fewer listeners, or short listening time and many listeners (see Section 4). On the latter end, music was used in more political ways of thinking about community-making as a server (and creator) of the Danish "public."

The important questions that could be (and probably were) asked along the multiple points on this spectrum include: Who is P3's community? Does DR want to reflect them in order to gain listeners no matter what? What kind of listening does DR want? How does DR transform listening? What is success for DR—a deep impact, or a shallow but broad reach? How does DR measure success? Who is the public? How do we know what the public really wants? How does DR talk about the balance between shaping a public and serving a public? What public does DR want to shape, and what public *can* it shape?

Peter's initial utterance about music as nothing else than "beat and rhythm" placed itself on the end of the spectrum where music was used in a calculative way according to ideas of music's presumed "familiarity" and being able to "know what people want," adjusting the numbers of listeners by turning on different parameters in everyday programming to affect this "familiarity."[130] I received another account of music by what would later prove to be the new Head of Music on P3. He talked about music in quite another way that placed itself on the other end of this spectrum, where music was understood and recognized for its ability to create community.[131] When I asked him, "What is music to you?" he answered:

> Music is a feeling thing more than anything. Music is joy and sorrow and everything you can stuff down in between. Music is social glue. Music is creating communities. Yes! The more I think about it, that is exactly what it can be and what it is! That is what I am doing with music professionally [as a host], and that is what I am doing with music in private. Music is a part of gathering people! Why? Because in music lies a shared love for the music. In there lies some shared memories, some shared references—ehmm, it is a place where we can agree and disagree about a lot of things, and it is just a starting point for, ehmm, it is a starting point for numerous funny and interesting discussions, opinions, and standings about all different things! From public service to the concrete given chord progressions, music can really be a starting point for many things. Music *is* community. (Uffe, interview)

At this end of the spectrum, music was recognized for its gathering effects and a responsibility to simultaneously represent and create sustainable communities, to "gather" Denmark in a broad

music format and audio the state in a visionary and responsible way. Here, music set the frame for a democratic dialogue.

It would be misguiding to set these two accounts of the mainstream in opposition to each other. Rather, both perceptions entangled in the enactment on the top floor and among the expert practitioners responsible for P3's output.

Music as Affector in the Social

But music also mattered on other levels in the P3 organization as an affector in the social.

When I first arrived to do participant observation and saw Laleh on that whiteboard, I felt so included. In this particular situation, the P3 mainstream appeared to me as an actor or, as "an affector"—an actor that has an effect that creates an affect in the anthropologist. The mainstream made me feel included and welcomed in this environment, this particular picture of P3 as an imagined community. In this situation, the mainstream gathered me into a community that was new to me.

But after spending time in the area, I soon learned that the mainstream was *also* used in this part of the corporation to create boundaries and include and exclude certain actors from particular circles in this part of the production environment. It seemed that music was an actor or affector, where musical "hots" and "nots" made an overall connection between the groupings in the research area as the loud music talk transgressed the borders of the work groups. This kind of socializing, as we learned from Sofie, was a very important step of personal promotion. Why did Jens think he needed to whisper to Marie about his secret affinity for the mainstream, while he could talk loudly out in the large area about his liking of hip-hop?

By sitting in the research area, Jens, Kirsten, and I learned that "something and someone is better than something else and someone else":

> In the meeting of cultures, in the meeting between social individuals, the experienced ones
> are pointing out new differences to the newly arrived ones in the physical space. This pro-
> cess determines the physical space. The single individual learns about new moral dimen-
> sions through this pointing out of differences—that something and someone is better than
> something else and someone else in this specific world. (Hasse 2000, 10–11;)

Through small enactments around music such as whispering, body language, and laughter, Jens, Kirsten, and I learned that "serious" music, such as hip-hop and adult rock, was better than the mainstream music that the P3 playlist contained. The mainstream seemed to be disliked in the (male) bonding that happened around more "serious" genres such as hip-hop and male adult rock through conversations in the production environment. Maybe mainstream music was considered worse "quality," to use the word of Bertel Haarder, former Minister of Culture (see Section 1). Music, and ideas of music quality, seemed to be enacted in the social; music was used,

among other actors, as a way to position and entangle (or disentangle) yourself in this particular environment where "it was not particularly sexy" to like a track like Laleh's, as Peter said. Perceptions about music and quality were something we learned through relation and entanglement; music mattered in the social as a means of creating network and of creating a path in the organization.

So it seems that close to the actual production, close to the structured work practices in the P3 studio, music (and difference) was officially treated according to corporate strategies about representing as many people as possible. This vision was mirrored in diverse competencies among staff and in intra-acting around work routines. In this part of the production, gender representation among the employees was pretty equal, and music was not something discussed or questioned.

But in the more informal part of the research area where I was sitting, music (among other markers) was used quite differently, by some of the same people. Here it was used within groupings as a demarcation of borders. Music (and difference) could be treated quite different in different areas of the organization. This more informal workspace was governed by a rather unequal gender representation. A gendering culture was present in the area, and some were (more or less) implicitly included, while others were excluded. Music seemed to play a role in this.

On the ground floor, music quality was enacted as something that resided in the music (with "rights and wrongs," as Kirsten described it). This enactment of music as something that contained certain qualities, and therefore belonged to certain groups of people, stood in stark opposition to what might be called the more straight up instrumental handlings of music on the top floor, where music output was handled and constantly adjusted as a means in different corporate endeavors and as a concern to gather rather than to divide.

This discrepancy between corporate thinking about music and agential enactment of music in this little organizational pocket "on the floor" might also be considered as one of the non-linearities in the rationally perceived organization (Krogh 2018)—as one of the "lingering irrationalities" that lie within the self-perceived "rational" organization. On one level of the organization, the mainstream was used with intention to gather all the Danish people; on another level it was used as a means to divide and win the competition of personal "rising" and achievement.

Once again, as DeNora says, "music in itself makes nothing happen" (2006, 21). Like technology and gender, I learned that music was nothing in itself, but it came to matter (differently) along the lines of the webs in the mesh of practice. Music and different ideas of music quality were intra-acted in particular situations as a means to structure the social, both on a strategic level (creating sonic citizenship) and in the everyday sociality (creating subcultures in the workspace) and as a means of exclusion (creating agency for some and taking agency away from others).

I learned that the same music phenomenon, like mainstream music, could be intra-acted

in multiple ways on multiple layers in an organization. The same people could enact music differently as they moved around in different places and partook in different socialities. As with Mol's "Body Multiple," it was indeed a question of a "Music Multiple." And it seemed that how music's quality was deemed was highly dependent on the actors' positioning in their particular social surroundings.

Notes on Diffracted Culture Analysis

In this dissertation, I aimed to give a qualitative account of how it can feel to enter a field of culture production such as DR's P3.

From doing culture analysis I have learned about culture around "things" in practice. In my analysis I have sought to capture different perspectives, various discrepancies, and the paradoxical nature of culture, through what, strongly influenced by Hasse and Law, might be called a *diffracted culture analysis* of the particular situated enactment of the phenomenon of PSPMMFR on P3 in 20xx.

This analysis has contained at least three perspectives on culture and production: an integration perspective, a differentiation perspective, and a fragmentation perspective (see Section 0), which are understood here as:

1. What elements are in the action in order to make up the corporation as a "har   monious whole" (Hasse 2015, 53)?

2. How does the corporation internally produce progress through tolerated friction and the creation of subcultures?

3. What kind of friction, through continuous cultural enactments around things, appears to be beyond "the tolerated" in certain cultures in the corporation? Or asked differently, what frictions seem to constitute the borders of some of the cultural "dust bunnies" in DR's P3?

In the following subsections, I will explain how these three perspectives—or shifting cultural lenses—through which I viewed my material taught me about different matters in the production of music on P3.

Integration Perspective

Throughout my participant observation, I learned about frictions in relation to "things" in the P3 practice from both "the experienced ones" and "the newly arrived," as Hasse put it (Hasse 2000, 10—11).

In the first sections, "the experienced ones" (Hasse 2000) or "the expert practitioners" (as Hasse calls them in 2015) in the central parts of the production of *GMP3* were pointing out important differences concerning the enactments of music strategies in parts of this specific world. I, the newly arrived anthropologist, learned that "something and someone is better than something else and someone else in this specific world." Learning from the "expert practitioners"— i.e., long-time employees in the corporation, who had their minds set on the important end goal

of how to produce the kind of public service music radio that DR wanted P3 to reflect—supplied my analysis with an "integration perspective" on the production and presentation of music on P3 as a "whole."

As a "whole," P3's PSPMMFR was made up from a living field of human and non-human actors. I learned about producers, DJs, organizational structures and infrastructures, workflows and work routines, flow aesthetics, digital and non-digital work tools, music, playlists, radio format aesthetics, different editor roles, music host aesthetics, music host history, and everyday sociality and competition.

For instance, I learned about a practice space of production, where questions about what mainstream music the playlist should contain were not an open issue of discussion in everyday practices of producing the *GMP3* program. This was taken care of by corporate strategies and corporate policies. I learned that, among the expert practitioners, a corporate strategy or "leading motive" (Hasse 2015) in terms of music was to handle music by fitting it into the frames of the different channel formats and ideas of flow decided by the corporation.

Differentiation Perspective

Underneath the idea of a controlled system of things in action making up a "harmonious whole" (Hasse 2015, 53) while enacting a corporate mainstream music strategy on all platforms, I also learned about a system that depended on difference and non-linearity (Krogh 2018, 68) in its everyday entanglement in practice.

I found that there were cracks in this "rational" system of corporately managing the music on P3 with digital tools. Sometimes, employees—primarily the trusted and experienced ones—exercised some freedom in their practice and made individual judgments while working, judgments and choices that they might have had to account for to directors afterward. Those "irrationalities" were continuously allowed and enacted, and I believe they were considered valuable for the overall outcome as long as they happened once in a while with a sense of corporate responsibility and did not come to dominate the picture.

Such irrationalities contributed to the programs by providing liveliness, originality, and maybe even authenticity for the hosts and the atmosphere in the studio. Spices were added not only through Peter's ideas of "purple unicorns," but also through improvisations by skilled DJs, producers, and other skilled actors participating in the production network—the point being, as indicated in a quote by Mol, that "[a]n actor acts [...] but nobody acts alone'" (Mol 2010, 256). Nobody acts in isolation; everyone is part of wider webs of people and things and meanings. Peter, for instance, did have a central position, but he was certainly not acting alone in creating what was considered a dynamic mainstream music radio format.

It could be argued that I learned about a contemporary media ecology on P3 that had moved away from having cultural intermediaries and toward having "intermediation" of specially selected values and ideas in a circular, networked manner. The intermediation occurred with the use of digital work tools leaning on a corporate strategy, but was made lively (and strength-

ened, I argue) by the contributions of loyal employees and trusted work tools to this system of cultural circulation.

I learned about a system of PSPMMFR production as a "whole," but also from a differentiation perspective: in this sense, it could be characterized as a system with incorporated differences and wider distribution of musical agency to many different "knots" in the network, instead of to the DJs as had previously been the case.

Hence, in a differentiation perspective, the stories of corporate governance and rational linearity in the organization were supplemented with internal differences, group formations, and small conflicts that made the "whole" cohere in slightly new and original ways as time went by.

Fragmentation Perspective

Finally, I supplied my analysis with what Hasse and Martin call a "fragmentation perspective" on culture. Here, I moved the topographical centre slightly further away from the core on-air radio production activities played out in and around the *GMP3* studio (and the technological infrastructure those practices implied) in order to consider situations and issues including people/things like me, Jens, and Kirsten, who at this point in 20xx were standing on the borders of the institution, at "the fringes of a dust bunny."

Encompassing the two newly arrived host talent apprentices and myself (who spent most of this time sitting on a chair in the large P3 office area), my focus changed direction in order to consider the newcomers as SPIDERS (Ingold) and reflect on their "single individual's consecutively, but different, cultural learning processes" (Hasse 2000, 10) when arriving at the more *informal* parts of the P3 production space. I moved 25 meters away from the studio and the meeting areas to consider some of the learning that mattered when we, the new apprentices, arrived at the P3 research area, the grand P3 production space.

Here, I learned about cultural processes of inclusion and exclusion that happened outside the actual on-air production of a *GMP3* program. I learned about (some of!) the cultures at play in the everyday work environments in the big open office—how those cultures, in subtle and perhaps unconscious ways, were enacted at the time of my intervention[127] and how they created frictions for some in everyday practice. Thus, this section reflected on cultural processes of inclusion and exclusion, as well as what could be seen as some of the more invisible mechanisms of "which voices get into the nation and which do not" (Bohlman 2011, 6; Western 2018, 259).

Along all the paths I trod in my ANT-inspired culture analysis, I learned about a system upheld by SPIDERs who enacted Skilled Practice that Involves Embodied Responsiveness on several levels. These SPIDERS could be perceived as fractions—or artefacts or affecters or actors—in the social, as both humans and things that entangled in everyday production and made up *GMP3* as an "object that coheres." But rather than being depicted as dots in a system of entanglement in the production, they should be understood as lines of entanglement that stretched in both time and place far beyond the borders of the institution and of the experienced situations, as living organisms nested in history (a horizontal cut) and in different contemporary environments

(a vertical cut) (Hasse 2015, 22).

During my journey, I learned that SPIDERS do not have their webs cut when they entangle in institutions like a new workplace, as when Jens and Kirsten (and Victor and Oliver and I, etc.) entangled in DR. They (we, SPIDERS) came with a history, with bodily experiences, and with intentions and visions, and these were not always easy to adapt or align with the already enacted cultural "dust bunnies" in production practices that could be highly competitive. The borders of the institution were not a permanent fix sorted by physical outer walls that divided the institution and its actors from other strands in society. Both the institution and the people in it enacted according to their historical specificity and contingent mutability. They/we were embedded in multiple other systems, and this embedment opened up space for certain sensibilities or sensitivities.[128]

In the actual production, the SPIDERs were handling music in a corporate frame, but they were also adding some personality, skill, and certain routines to everyday actions. Even though rational thinking could appear as a linear way of thinking and producing (Krogh 2018), there were cracks in the solid barriers between music selection and music presentation—cracks where the employees exercised some freedom concerning the music played on air, making the SPIDERs appear in the network with their slightly distinct qualities and personalities.

Additionally, the SPIDERs were producing friction when they didn't seem to fit into the established cultural models or the expected role as *affectors* in this community. Whereas some irrationalities in everyday production seemed to be worked more easily into the system despite small amounts of friction, other cracks, non-linearities (Krogh), or discrepancies (Hasse) appeared to cause much more friction in everyday practice and seemed to have a much harder time becoming integrated into the system.

From entangling in DR's P3 I learned about an organization of culture production that had many layers. How music, culture, difference, genres, styles, bodies and gender were done here, how they were enacted ontologically, seemed to be a topographical or site-specific matter, a matter that was sensitive to the place of action, but was also a topological matter, a matter that was sensitive to what people and things the particular situation contained. In the many layers of the organization, culture mattered through the intra-actment of "things." The enactment of cultural models with directional forces that intersected on various planes—or, posed differently, the entanglement of the social around things—made in particular situations some actors flow more freely than others. Through different degrees of friction around "things" in practice, some actors met flows (and centripetal force), while others met stops (and centrifugal force) in this particular field of culture production.

In an organizational-culture analytical light, it has been interesting to learn about a system of production from several perspectives. It has been interesting to learn about the "lingering irrationalities" that lie within an organization otherwise perceived as "rational" and to witness how

the system of production depends, I would argue, on the everyday "humanness" and independence of the actors implied (i.e., an integration and differentiation perspective). And it has been really interesting to learn about some of the boundary work that happens in the social—and sometimes in a blind spot—that worked as a constant demarcation of which artefacts, humans, and things got to cross which borders in different areas of the production.

Revealing Some of the Blind Angles

The story hopefully sheds light on some sensitivities and "lingering irrationalities" that are part of the structures that we often consider to be stable in our surroundings. I hope, for instance, to have shed light on the notion of "music quality" and how it acts as a means of positioning in the social of an organization, rather than a quality that resides within an object or in a relationship. I would argue that more than anything else, the quality of "quality"—the matter of music quality—is the way that the notion works in the social, how it is intra-acted, and how it creates or takes away agency in social entanglement.

I hope also to have revealed some of the blind spots that are unavoidable when we move around in the world as SPIDERS. I hope to have delivered an account of some of the uncertainties and sensibilities that are at stake when someone arrives as a newcomer in practices of culture production such as P3. Those kind of individual sensibilities, activated in the historical specificity and contingent mutability of situations, mattered for individuals in terms of feeling (in)secure, (un)seen, (dis)trusted, and (un)welcomed in the agential practice of everyday work situations. These sensibilities matter in terms of creating a fruitful learning process when arriving as an apprentice in an organization.

Gender Matter as Laughing Matter *and* Women in the Danish Music Industry

I will end all this with a more personal reflection about segregated work spaces and culture production.

> The slipperiness of bodies is not always a laughing matter for those purporting to be their masters. (Holmes 2010, 159)

In "Marked Bodies," a 2010 article by classics professor Brooke A. Holmes, the author describes a comic sketch from Hellenistic Greece. In the sketch, a mistress discovers that her slave has slept with another woman. Instead of the usual beating or physical abuse, she gives him a much worse punishment: she gives him a tattoo on his forehead while saying to an amused and laughing public, "Since although he is human, he doesn't *know himself*, he'll know as soon as he has this inscription on his forehead" (Holmes 2010, 159). Marking of bodies is a well known ruling technique for mastering other people through hegemonic tales about "who is human and who is not" as Butler express it (2004: 4).

In this little pocket of P3 I have described in above stories, I learned about a work sociality where "things" such as music, technology, and the body were used as a means to entangle

structural differences concerning gender. Like the Greek story, the female body in this particular sociality (Kirsten, Marie, Anne) was repeatedly marked through humorous comments, music talk, or other entanglement around "things"—fun for some, but not a laughing matter for them. On my last day following Kirsten, we chatted after lunch. Just before leaving, we returned to some of her troubles of being part of this particular sociality:

> K: Well, now I might sound a little over-feminist and everything, but people just get so mad when you point to the fact that something is wrong. That, I almost think, is the worst part... that they do not want to see, and that they cannot see, that something is wrong, and that they get angry if you try to make them aware of it. [...] I am met with a kind of, "Why can't you just relax and laugh a little about it all?" That is super provoking.
>
> Me: Yes, it is super provoking and sad... All right, see you tomorrow, bye-bye. (Kirsten 2, field notes)

Like Kirsten, who found it hard to "laugh a little about it all," I found it hard to laugh at those jokes about the veils when I sat on that bus in Afghanistan. It wasn't the veils in themselves (they were just cloth on our heads), but the moment they were intra-acted in relation with humor and discursively dividing the social, the fun stopped for me. The laughter was somehow unintentionally depriving us, wearing the veils, of some of our agency in the collective sphere, as we were made to appear as "different" and "other" as a group within the group. In that particular situation, this deprivation of agency felt like part of a long and sad history of gender inequality that seemed to be continuously constructed in the social. The contingent mutability of the situations played into a historical specificity that I did not wish to be re-interpellated in "my" social.

The situation on the bus, where we discussed music (some of us veiled, some not), and participation in institutional life in both Afghanistan and Denmark suddenly pointed toward music as an artefact—like the veils—that worked as a gender divider in the social. That particular situation pointed toward our own blind spots about our own music conservatory, which had almost the same ratio of male/female disparity as the Kabul University of Fine Arts.

"It is a Democratic Problem that there are only few Women in Rhythmic Music" was a headline in the Danish newspaper *Politiken* on 20th February 2019. The words came from the Danish saxophone player, Maria Dybbroe who was cited in an article written by the Danish music- and culture journalist Dorte Hygum Sørensen.

Sitting in that bus in Afghanistan it was pretty obvious for all of us, that the severe lack of females in the Faculty of Fine Arts (Theatre & Music Department) was a democratic problem. But why did the same gender segregated condition not appear to us as an obvious democratic problem, when it came to our own country?

At a recent feminist debate, a very young woman posed a question to the panel of gender researchers and cultural workers. She had recently been admitted into one of our royal music conservatories. Here is her account of her own situation that in my mind somehow resembled

that of Kirsten's when she arrived to P3 wishing to develop her own funny host character:

> Ever since I decided to be a professional musician, I have felt so alone. There is one female
> teacher at my school. She was the reason why I choose to apply to that particular school. In
> the other schools, there are none. I look around and I am met by... no one. No support and
> encouragement whatsoever. No one picks *me* up or pushes *me* forward. I meet only odd
> looks and very empty rooms. There is no one to guide me and no one to mirror me. I have
> the feeling that I am constantly at a party where I am not actually invited. I am just so on
> my own in this—why should I feel so alone in this? (Young female musician, Talk Town 2019)

The harsh and repellent work conditions for women in a male-dominated and competitive culture (and in particular music) industry are a blind spot to the majority who inhabit the field. The 2017 McKinsey report on women in the workplace presents another apt insight on how the statistically well-documented gender gap is invisible to many men and some women:

> Women and men see the state of women—and the success of gender-diversity efforts—dif-
> ferently. Men are more likely to think the workplace is equitable; women see a workplace
> that is less fair and offers less support. […] Men think their companies are doing a pretty
> good job supporting diversity; women see more room for improvement. Indeed, nearly 50
> percent of men think women are well represented in leadership in companies where only
> one in ten senior leaders are women. And perhaps unsurprisingly, men are less committed
> to gender-diversity efforts, and some even feel that such efforts disadvantage them: 15 per-
> cent of men think their gender will make it harder for them to advance, and white men are
> almost twice as likely as men of color to think this. (McKinsey 2017)

When people (male AND some female) look at the Danish music industry from the outside, most see open doors and gender-equality laws and no immediate barriers when entering. There are no rules and laws that prohibit women from entering. But they do not see the only-male teaching staff, or the only-male editors, or the only-male acceptance boards at the passing exams at our conservatories. They do not consider this picture from a female perspective. They do not see the cultural "locked" positions that these environment offers to women. They do not consider the once-in-a-while little cuts toward women, as well as toward other "things" on their personal professional journeys, as something genuinely bad, as we all know and understand that their overall intentions are good. From their own (and our) perspectives, these little fun comments and remarks are nothing. But when experienced from the female subject position that enters the field, even the smallest cuts matter as part of larger structures. They all add up.

If you are a young female and you aspire to become a musician or a funny female radio host, you stand at the fringes of a dust bunny and look into an unwelcoming environment. In this competitive environment, as one of the "onlys," you will risk being othered, being shamed for your difference, and perhaps most frustratingly, not being evaluated for your capabilities to act

as a professional (in your own way) but rather for your abilities to enact the ideas of stereotypes that already exist for "your kind." You are in danger of not being understood properly, as all those who evaluate your efforts have a slightly other developmentally embodied responsiveness. You are in high danger of feeling lonely and different, and you are statistically at high risk of "leaving" the field.

The question of gender inequalities and gender segregation in the Danish labor sector can be described, from the female perspective, as a bodily experienced discrepancy between having a fully officially legitimate presence, on one side (constantly repeated in sentences such as, "We have a gender-equality law, so what is the problem?" or "Why don't the women just give it a good go?") and on the other side being prohibited from participation through the everyday "agential knowing" (Hasse 2000, 21)—just like Kirsten, who was accepted from "the top" but rejected "on the floor" in everyday agential intra-action when meeting highly locked and stiffened expectations to her enactments as "women".

I have sought to understand the continued gender segregation of culture production by looking towards organization of culture as networks of production. To look at the everyday sociality that constitutes this sector as a workplace where notions, values, concepts, (such as music quality) and categorizations are intra-acted on a daily basis and created in an ongoing dialectic between historical specificity and contingent mutability. Music is nothing in itself. It is not either male or female. Music and ideas of what music "might be" or "might mean" are intra-acted in relations, in social and professional settings, in continuous processes of production.

I hope stories and *culture analyses* like this one, which, in my opinion, are too rarely told, give us a slightly more nuanced understanding of the "continuing reproduction of this segregation," as Bloksgaard says. It highlights some patterns in socializing (around music and gender, among other artefacts such as technology) in the corporate production space. I hope the story I have told can bring forth a sense of how it *can* feel to enter particular homogeneous cultures (such as P3's research area at the time of my participant observation), cultures that continually reproduce and re-interpellate the segregation of male and female workers. I hope that gaining a greater awareness of the ongoing gendering, of the structural consequences of the occasional masculinization or feminization (for instance, remarks and jokes in the everyday work environment), could be one way to begin change toward a less segregated Danish workforce. Let me finish of with words (again) by the Danish saxophone player Marie Dybbroe:

"It is also a matter of, when you stand on stage [as musician], you tell stories. You create room for mirroring and reflection. People use music to learn about being human. In that way it is important with more women on the stage in order to inspire young women in our society, in general to believe, that they have something to offer, that they have a worthy voice in our society" (Maria Dybbroe, quoted in Sørensen 2019)

Flow & Stop. Sonic Infrastructures of Citizenship in Digitized Democracies

According to Goffman "every institution captures something of the time and interest of its members and provides something of a world for them; in brief, every institution has encompassing tendencies." (Goffman 1961, 15). Institutional anthropologist Mary Douglas refers to Goffman, when she in her book Purity and Danger talks about social consciousness affected by systems of structure, and states that

> "people carry round with them a consciousness of social structure. They curb their actions in accordance with the symmetries and hierarchies they see herein [...] there are no items of clothing or of food or of other practical use which we do not seize upon as theatrical props to dramatize the way we want to present our roles and the scene we are playing in. Everything we do is significant, nothing is without its conscious symbolic load. (Douglas 1966, 100)

I have studied the music production on one of the biggest radio channels in the Danish Public Service Institution DR. I have studied how "sonic infrastructures of citizenship" (Western 2018, 259) are created on a daily basis in our contemporary "digitized democracy" (Born 2005).

It has turned out to be a multi-layered affair that are best studied from shifting perspectives. This multi layered approach has given me insights into an institution that are steered as a corporation with strong rational govering of the music strategies. But this approach has also shown that the institution indeed has "encompassing tendencies" between the institutional worlds and the larger and more ungoverned "cultural worlds in which they are imbedded" (Peterson 2003, 162).

My research has (hopefully) pointed towards the constant flows and stops across borders in the daily entanglement in the production, multiple flows and stops that were more or less controlled by corporate governing. It seemed that gender was, at my time of entanglement, among the less controlled issues in the corporation. Hence the institution could be seen - in the P3 production environment - to largely reproduce already existing unfortunate and unequal gender structuring in society (in highly competitive environments).

I perceive this work as a process of attempted "diffraction" of how music in *done* on P3. Diffraction is according to Haraway an optical metaphor used in technoscience describing "the noninnocent, complexly erotic practice of making difference in the world, rather than displacing the same elsewhere" (Haraway 1994: 63). Barad uses the term, as we saw in chapter 2, when she suggested a shift in focus from "the representational trap of geometrical optics" to a focus on "physical optics, to questions of diffraction rather than reflection" (Barad 2003: 802-803). Law uses the term when he in Aircraft Stories reflects over the reflexive research subject position in science and over how this positioning can contribute to what he calls "narrative interferences" rather than performing research as a "policy narrator" (Law 2002: 59-61).

I hope my story have shed some light on - among other things - how the ongoing gender

structuring in music production environments creates different conditions for male and female apprentices when they are to learn and to adapt in the work culture. There is indeed, in my opinion, a need for a larger focus on gender related issues in our national institutionally embedded culture production environments, so, like Dybbroe expresses above, "young women in our society [continues to] believe, that they have something to offer, that they have a worthy voice in our society".

ABSTRACT (ENGLISH)

FLOW OR STOP? HOW CULTURE MATTERS IN P3´s MUSIC RADIO PRODUCTION

The role of popular music in public service radio has been given a great deal of attention through-out the last 30 years. In national newspaper debates and on social media, the attention has often been drawn towards the representation of popular music on Danmarks Radio´s (DR, The Danish Broadcast Corporation) radio channel P3 as important actor in Danish popular music life and in connection to DR´s obligations as a public service media provider. Specifically a great deal of attention has been given towards the Head of Music (2003-2016) on P3. His role as a powerful figure in Danish musical life has been the subject for many speculations, although very little anthropological research has been made in this particular field of practice.

My dissertation investigates the everyday practices of selecting, encoding and presenting music on P3. In 1996 Danish Broadcast Corporation introduced music controlling software in order to index, plan and program music for their public service popular music radio channel P3. The dissertation is an anthropological investigation of the work practices around this software asking questions about agency and networks, technologies, music and gender in the daily prac-tices making up the music for P3.

I have worked empirically with interview and participant observation, following the head of music in his daily practice selecting and encoding music for the channel. I have interviewed trained radio hosts and I have followed two newly recruited host-talents and radio presenters in their positions as radio hosts (and newcomers) on P3.

The dissertation provides detailed descriptions of some of the actual hourly, daily and weekly procedures, processes and reasoning surrounding the daily practices of music program-ming and presenting. By describing different actors and technologies in the daily practice of handling and maintaining P3´s music profile in corporate networks around DR, the work wish to complexify the discussions and questions concerning agency in daily work practices in complex organization: "[a]n actor acts [...] but nobody acts alone'" writes anthropologist, Annemarie Mol (2010, 256).[132]

Hence mirroring an ANT(Actor Network Theory) heterogeneous world view the disserta-tion suggest that the practice of programming music for contemporary public service youth radio is to be seen as complex processes involving meshworks of humans, things, politics, corporations and technologies of all kinds. Inspired by David Beer´s (2013) theories of algorithms and politics of circulation of culture, the dissertation discuss questions about the use of digital technology in work practices of contemporary public service music radio production.

The dissertation furthermore investigates questions of agency around music in the ev-eryday work practices of making up P3. It investigates the relation between music and the role of the individual actor in the social, of the subject, of acting and of agency in the everyday work practices on P3 in times of glocal connections, of new digital technologies and of heterogeneity

in cultural circulation.

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IKK/Katrine Wallevik

RESUMÉ (DANSK)

Populæmusikkens rolle i Dansk Public Service radio har været et debatteret emne gennem de sidste 30 år. I avisdebatter og på de sociale medier er opmærksomheden hovedsageligt blevet rettet mod DR's P3 som en vigtig aktør i dansk musikliv og som en del af DR's Public Service-forpligtelse i musiksammenhæng. En stor del af opmærksomheden har desuden været rettet mod den tidligere musikchef på P3 (2003-2016) og på hans rolle som magtfuld aktør.

Denne afhandling er en antropologisk undersøgelse af de hverdagslige praksisser omkring musikudvælgelse på P3. I 1996 begyndte DR at benytte musikstyringssoftware med det formål at indeksere, planlægge og programmere musik til kanalen. Denne afhandling undersøger de daglige praksisser omkring dette software og stiller spørgsmål om agens i produktionsnetværk, "ny" teknologi i arbejdspraksisser, samt om musik og køn i dansk musikliv.

Jeg har arbejdet empirisk med interview og deltagerobservation. Jeg har interviewet og fulgt musikchefen i hans daglige praksis med at udvælge og metadatere musik. Jeg har interviewet erfarne radioværter og jeg har fulgt to unge værtstalenter på deres vej ind i institutionen.

Jeg beskriver i afhandlingen nogle af de daglige og ugentlige procedurer, processer og rationaler der omgiver det daglige arbejde med musikhåndtering på P3. Ved at beskrive forskellige aktører og teknologier der indgår i de daglige praksisser på P3 ønsker jeg med afhandlingen at kompleksificere nogle af de ofte fremkomne diskussioner og spøgsmål omkring agens og musik i complekse organiseringer som DR: "[a]n actor acts [...] but nobody acts alone'" skriver anthropolog, Annemarie Mol (2010, 256)[132].

Afhandlingen tager udgangspunkt i et heterogent ANT(Actor Network Theory) verdenssyn, og foreslår at praksisser omkring musikplanlægning i produktionsmiljøer som DR's P3 må anskues som komplekse processer der involverer rodede ansamlinger ("meshworks") af mennesker, ting, politikker, institutionelle anordninger og teknologier af megen forskellig karakter.

Desuden undersøger afhandlingen spørgsmål om agens I relation til musik i hverdagslige produktionspraksisser. Den undersøger relationer mellem musik og individuelle aktører i sociale (arbejds)rum, relationer mellem subjekter og forhandling af agens i arbejdspraksisser i en tid præget af globalisering, af "nye" teknologier og af et stigende blik for heterogenitet i kulturelle cirkulationer.

Ph.d.-afhandlingen er en del af forskningsprojektet RAMUND (A Century of Radio and Music in Denmark. Music Genres, Radio Genres, and Mediatisation), 2013-2018. Den er udført på Institut for Kunst og Kultur på Københavns Universitet.

IKK/Katrine Wallevik

APPENDIX: Notes on Field Process, Work Infrastructures and Organization

This dissertation is based on field work and interviews. Sometimes in the late half of the 2010s, I encountered DR in various ways: I had conversations and interviews with a number of employees, and over a period of time I engaged in participant observation in the everyday practices of production of music radio on DR's P3.

This Appendix is a brief description of this process of relating. Furthermore, it is intended to give an overview of the space of P3 where all this took place —a space that, through my gradual involvement, took the form of specific places with different functions as I came to learn about the humans, the things, the procedures, and the infrastructures that governed those places.

Anonymization and Referencing

I have anonymized my field material. Hence I do not in the text date my references to either field notes or interviews. I refer in the text to "Name-Number-Nature of Material", and have here (in the Appendix) made a field work register where it is possible to look up the references. In my field work register I have disclosed the dates.

Besides a number of interviews with different expert practitioners in DR, I did the main part of my participant observations when following the two host apprentices, Jens and Kirsten, in the P3 production space. I mostly followed Jens, but also Kirsten and I followed both of them when they were teamed up to co-create and produce a program series of their own during the summer of 20xx. I also had, as mentioned above, conversations with two former host talents, Lise and Tenna, and the host talent coordinators—or "headmasters," as they were sometimes called—Sofie, Lotta and Lasse.

The Setting and the Process

Through Jens, I got entangled in the production team behind the *GMP3* program in June 20xx. The *GMP3* production team that I met consisted of three hosts (Sanne, Anne, and Lars); one news host in particular (Claus); several news workers (e.g., Mads and two female journalists, Michelle and Nana); two producers (Søren and Marie); three researchers (Jens, Victor and Oliver); and the editor of speech on the channel (Michael).

This particular combination of hosts—Sanne, Anne, Lars and Claus—had been teamed up more or less continuously for approximately two years, and together with the rest of the production team, they had consolidated *GMP3* as a highly valued and popular morning radio program. On the award show held on RadioDays this particular year,[133] the *GMP3* team won in two categories: Best Morning Show of the Year and Best Campaign of the Year.[134] The hosts were popular and widely recognized among listeners; they were well-known personas in the Danish media landscape.

The *GMP3* production team—except Michael, who came back and forth between areas—worked in the downstairs facilities of the DR Department of Music and Radio, the P3 production

space.

The Daily Routine

Research and preparations took place in the large research area (look at drawing below). Here, some of the *GMP3* team worked continuously side by side with other program teams while also socializing with each other in their daily work routines.

Around 5:15 in the morning before the program started, the hosts, the news workers, and the producer from *GMP3* met in what I on below drawing have called Meeting Area 1 in order to plan the upcoming three hours of radio.

After the program ended at around 9:15 a.m., the hosts, the news workers, the producer(s), the researchers, and the editor of the channel gathered in Meeting Area 2 in order to sum up and take notes on the day's program and talk about future productions.

And then, of course, the *GMP3* team produced the actual program in the P3 live studio between 6:00 and 9:00 a.m. every weekday. In between all these events and work routines, people went to and from the kitchen, fetching coffee and chatting with each other in the large common space. Around twelve or one o'clock in the afternoon, they went off to lunch, either by themselves or in groups. My participant observations took place in the time before (and sometimes during) lunch.

Overview of the Place

P3's production premises (both administration and production) is placed in Segment Two the "new" DR Byen ("The DR City") in Copenhagen. Segment Two is one of four segments[135] that make up the main buildings the whole newly gathered[136] public service institution:

- See Picture 38

The buildings are connected via a glass bridge crossing the channel that runs through the different segments. This inner connecting "road", bridging the channel, is called "Inner Street" (*Indre Gade*). Inner Street works as a kind of free space, a pedestrian street connecting all parts of DR, with cafés and small lounges to sit in.

The administrative part of the production, the Department of Music and Radio is[137] physically located on the first floor in Segment Two.
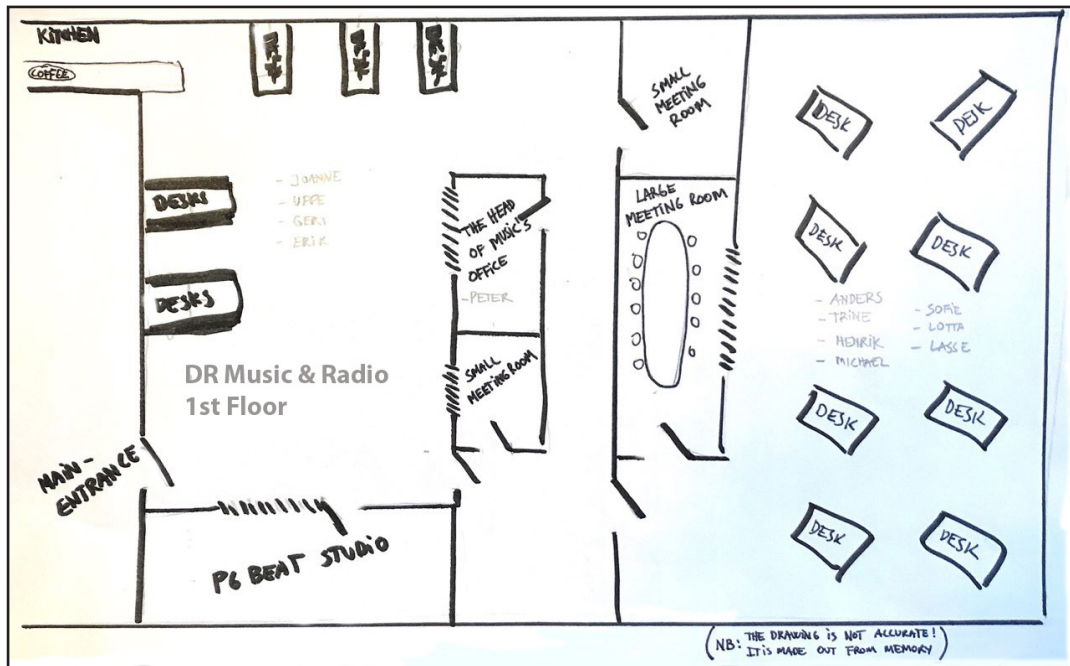
- See Picture 39

The *P3* production space and the big P3 Studio was placed on the ground floor, just underneath DR Music and Radio:
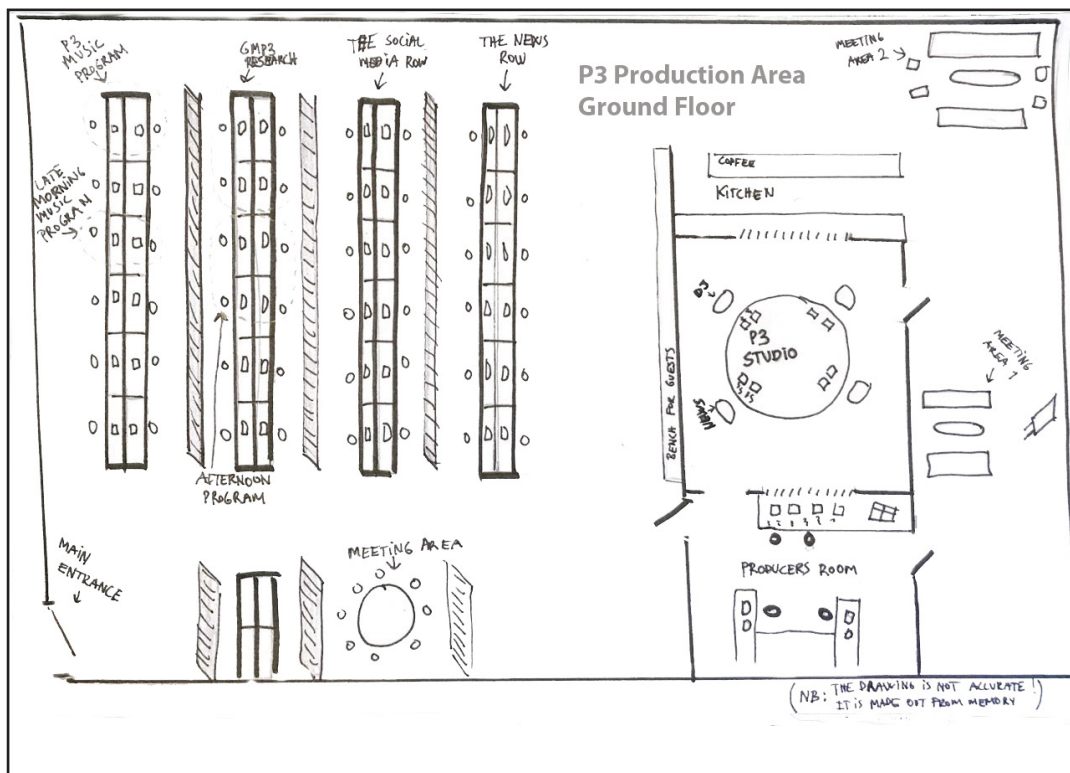
- See Picture 40

231

Picture 38: Segments One, Two, and Three contain the direction and production departments for both TV and radio. Segment Four contains the various concert halls and music studios. Segments One and Two lie on one side of a small channel, Emil Holms Channel, while Segments Three and Four lie on the other side. The buildings are connected via a glass bridge crossing the channel that runs through the different segments. This inner connecting "road" is called "Inner Street" (Indre Gade).

Picture 39: A drawing of DR's music and radio production department on the first floor in Segment Two. This place is inhabited by the more administrative parts of P3. This contains an open office with the editorial staff for P6 Beat and P7 Mix, KarriereKanonen, and P3 Guld; the P6 Beat Studio; the Head of Music's office; an open office for the administrative staff of the DR Department of Music and Radio; and several meeting rooms.

Picture 40: A drawing of the big P3 production space on the ground floor in Section Two. This space contains a large open-office research area, several meeting areas within the open space, and a kitchen. These facilities surround the big P3 live studio that sits in the middle of it all.

P3 as Part of a The Large DR Organization

A short note on some of the larger organizational structures in DR: In DR there is an overall division between production and money/strategy. Employees of DR Media (money/strategy) sit in Segment One, closer to the direction area and to the Media Research Department. They are concerned with the budget, strategy, and development of different media content in DR's different specific departments. DR Media give directions about what kind of media content DR wants. DR Media (the money) act as the "buyers" of for instance P3's radio content. Then the production department (for P3, DR Music and Radio), delivers the content according to DR Media's requests. This happens in continuous dialogue between the partners. Hence DR's two organizational units, DR Media (money) and DR Music and Radio (production), are placed physically apart from each other. (Fieldnotes, Trine 2015)

Names & Sections (in Alphabetic Order)

Anders, director of the Department of DR Music and Radio (**Upstairs**)

Anne, DJ and host on GMP3 P3 (**Downstairs and around**)

Arthur, host on a P3 mid day music program

Brian, digital editor across DR´s radio channels (**Upstairs and downstairs**)

Chris, host talent together with Jens, Kirsten and Jytte

Claus, GMP3 News host and the fourth unofficial member of the GMP3 host team (**Downstairs**)

Department of Music & Radio, administrating the production of the radio channels P3, P6 Beat and P7 Mix and the popular-music–related events, P3 Guld, and KarriereKanonen. The department also administrates the Host Talent School

Erik, prominent ´old´ and newly pensioned radiohost

Gert, Young DJ/host on P6 Beat

Henrik, Selector responsible, Peters's right-hand man (**Upstairs**)

Host Talent School, a school within DR. Every other year, the program accepted four new candidates and took them through a two-year-long, fully paid educational apprenticeship process in different departments. The Host Talent School had ´headmasters´ and ´apprentices´. The Host Talent School had fostered the careers of many popular radio and TV personalities.[138]

Jacob, DJ on late morning P3 program (together with Kirsten) **(Downstairs)**

Jens, host talent 1, researcher on GMP3 (**Downstairs**)

Joanne, producer of KarriereKanonen (**Upstairs**)

Jytte, host talent together with Jens, Kirsten & Chris

Kirsten, host talent 2, researcher and assistant on Jacob's program (**Downstairs**)

Lars, GMP3 P3 Host (**Downstairs**)

Lasse, headmaster of the Host Talent School (**Upstairs**)

Lise, former hosttalent

Lotta, headmaster (maternity) substitute of Host Talent School (**Upstairs**)

Mads, news journalist (**Downstairs**)

Malte, host on the afternoon programme sitting in the office space besides Fuckbois Inc.

Marie, producer on GMP3, freelance (**Downstairs**)

Michael, the GMP3 editor (**Upstairs and downstairs**)

Michelle, news journalist on P3 (**Downstairs**)

Nana, news journalist on P3 (**Downstairs**)

Nils, journalist intern on Kirsten's first show

Oliver, freelance researcher on GMP3, former journalist intern) (**Downstairs**)

Peter, the P3 Head of Music (**Upstairs**)

Playlist Commitee: Anne, Henrik, Tulle, Arthur: (**Upstairs in big meeting room**)

Sanne, GMP3 P3 host (**Downstairs and around**)

Sofie, headmaster of The Host Talent School, former experienced host (**Upstairs**)

Søren, producer on GMP3 (**Downstairs**)

Tenna, former hosttalent

Trine, the editor of music-related speech content on P6 Beat, P7 Mix and P3's music pro grams (**Upstairs**)

Uffe, experienced host/DJ on P3 and P7

Victor, journalist intern, researcher on GMP3(**Downstairs**)

Field Work Register

What people?	What kind?	Where?	When?
Anders & Brian	Fieldnotes	Big meeting room on first floor, Department of Music and Radio	*Disclosed*
Chris	Interview	In Inner Street	
Erik	Interview	In the author's offce at the University of Copenhagen. Room 16.3.52	
Jens	Interview	In the author's offce at the University of Copenhagen. Room 16.3.52	
Jens 1	Fieldnotes	With the GMP3 team in the large research area, in meeting area 1 & 2 and in the studio	*Disclosed*
Jens 2	Fieldnotes	With the GMP3 team in the large research area, in meeting area 1 & 2 and in the studio	
Jens 3	Fieldnotes	With the GMP3 team in the large research area, in meeting area 1 & 2 and in the studio	

Jens 4	Fieldnotes	With the GMP3 team in the large research area, in meeting area 1 & 2 and in the studio	
Jens 5	Fieldnotes	With the GMP3 team in the large research area, in meeting area 1 & 2 and in the studio	Disclosed
Jens 6	Fieldnotes	With the GMP3 team in the large research area, in meeting area 1 & 2 and in the studio	
Jens 7	Fieldnotes	With the GMP3 team in the large research area, in meeting area 1 & 2 and in the studio	Disclosed
Joanne	Interview	Small meeting room 2, 1st floor	
Jytte	Interview	At a table outside, behind DR's section 4	
Kirsten	Interview	In the author's offce at the University of Copenhagen. Room 16.3.52	
Kirsten	Fieldnotes		
Kirsten	Fieldnotes and Interviews	The DR Canteen	
Kirsten & Jacob	Fieldnotes	Web-cam at home	
Kirsten & Jens	Fieldnotes	The P3 Studio	

Kirsten, Jens, Lotta	Fieldnotes	The DR Canteen
Lotta & Lasse	Fieldnotes and Interviews	In Inner Street
Peter 1	Interview & Fieldnotes	In sofa section outside the P3 offices and in Peter's offce on 1st floor
Peter 2	Interview & Fieldnotes	In Peter's offce, on 1st Floor
Playlist Committee,	Fieldnotes	Big meeting room on first floor, Department of Music and Radio
Preliminary informal enquiries (with friends and aqiuanted)	Fieldnotes and Interviews	in 'succesful pop singer's' kitchen, on the telephone with 'independent music producer' and lunch with DR employee in DR staff canteen.
Sofie	Interview	Small meeting room 1, 1st floor
Søren	Fieldnotes	In the producers booth by the big P3 studio
Tenna, Lise & Gert	Interview	Small meeting room 1, 1st floor
The GMP3 hosts	Fieldnotes	Web-cam at home
The Talent Team	Fieldnotes	At Lotta's house
Trine	Interview	In sofa section on 'Inner Street' in the public area of DR

Disclosed

Disclosed

Uffe	Interview	In the author's offce at the University of Copenhagen. Room 16.4.50	Disclosed

Notes For The Black Track

1. DCCD (1998–2016) was a state institution under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. It promoted so-called "cultural relations and exchange" between Denmark and so-called "cultural sectors" in countries all around the world where Denmark/Danida had engagements. It was closed by the right-wing V-I-C government in 2016.

2. This dissertation is highly inspired of theories of learning culture in relation to *artefacts* in work practices as they are presented in parts of Cultural Psychology, Cultural-Historical Activity Theory (CHAT) and Culture Analysis by Lev S. Vygotsky, Michael Cole, Yrjö Engeström and Cathrine Hasse. I will explain further in Section 0.

3. I refer here to Karen Barad's notion of *"things"* (2003, 818). Besides showing my inspiration of Barad's feminist science theories about agency and intra-action in relation to "things" (her "performative metaphysics,"(2003, 818), I hereby place this dissertation in a part of anthropology that have called itself "Anthropology of Commodities" or "Anthropology of Things," by, e.g., Daniel Miller (1987; 1995); Grant D. McCracken (1990); Mary Douglas and Baron Isherwood (1996); Don Slater (1997); and Richard Wilk (2007). Arjun Appadurai's *Towards an Anthropology of Things* (1986) and Henara et al.'s *Thinking Through Things* (2007) can also be seen to contribute to the study of culture around "things" or artefacts (Patico 2015). I develop further on this in Section 0 and Section 3.

4. In 2018 (Q4), 140,000 people worked in the sector that Statistics Denmark calls "Culture, leisure time and other service" (*Kultur, fritid og anden service*). At this time, the total number of those in the Danish workforce was 2,799,000. Source: Statistics Denmark. Table: "*Beskæftigede efter Branche (DB07 10-grp) og tid*" ("Employment According to Sector and Time"). Retrieved from Statistics Denmark, January 2019.

5. Note 5 is not existing, it is deleted by author

6. To name a few: I'm thinking about the Academy of Fine Arts in Copenhagen, where a highly valued professor was fired after many years of misconduct of power in relation to his students. I'm thinking about the Royal Academy of Writing in Copenhagen, where a male professor misused his position. I am thinking about the revelaton in 2017-18 of year-long extensive sexual herassement going on in the Swedish Academy (responsible for chosing the Nobel Laureates in Literature). I am thinking about the MeeToo-revelations about (initially) the american film industry. I'm also thinking about the fact that only ten years ago, it was revealed that only one out of 100 instrumentalists enrolled at our Rhythmic Music Conservatory in Copenhagen was female. This acknowledgement caused evaluation and a renewed focus on the Rhythmic Music Conservatory; since then, the school has been rethinking and restructuring infrastructure in the environment of educating musicians.

7. All quotes from Danish texts in this dissertation have been translated by me.

8. There have been no "scandals" in this particular area of study, and I am not seeking to detect possible injustices here. I am interested in the production of radio, and I am interested in the general focus on studying cultures at work in culture production environments.

9. Even though none of my informants have wished to be anonymous, I have out of ethical considerations anonymized the participants and events throughout this dissertation. To anonymize in media anthropology poses some severe challenges since the people and events in focus are highly public and hence very hard to ´hide´. I have been mostly concerned with anonymizing the "newcomers", who I considered to be most vulnerable in this system.

10. The arena has changed rapidly for DR over the last couple of years. The production of many radio and TV programs has been outsourced to external production companies, and as of today (2019), I am not sure whether P3 produces all its content in-house. A 2018 DR article entitled "The Radio Environment Is Flourishing: DR Has Quadrupled the External Radio Productions" explains how, over the past few years, the corporation has chosen to outsource a considerably large amount of programs and podcasts and hereby contribute to strengthening the Danish independent radio production environment (Knudsen 2018).

11. DR is short for Danmarks Radio (Denmark's Radio). From 1925 to 1959, it was called Statsradiofonien (the Danish State Radio Corporation), from 1959 to 1996 it was called Danmarks Radio, and from 1996 onward it has been called DR.

12. According to organizational anthropologists Christina Garsten and Anette Nyqvist (2013), the concepts of *institution* and *organization* are often confused. Whereas they describe *institution* as "a set of cultural rules that regulate social activities in patterned ways," they describe *organization* as the specific structures and infrastructures that help direct the "cultural rules"—what they call "the institutional orders." *Organization* encompasses the particular structures "where systems of meaning are cultivated, shaped, diffused and contested"; the authors continue that within an organization are "…circuits of power, in which normative frameworks are produced and globally diffused, where knowledge is crafted and circulated and from where packages of ideas are diffused" (Garsten and Nyqvist 2013, 4–5).

13. From DR's 2016 yearly report, retrieved from 2017_dr_aarsrapport_2016_rt_web_maif_ f8c9d5c3.pdf (accessed February 18th 2018).

14. P6 Beat is a Digital Audio Broadcasting (DAB) channel that plays rock, grunge, and experimental popular music.

15. P7 Mix is a DAB channel that plays MOR (middle-of-the-road) popular music.

16. The Discoteque is the place where all the music is stored. Before the digitization of music, this was where all music artefacts were physically stored, as in a library. Now there is primarily one man who keeps the digital database in order.

17. Every other year, DR accepts four host talents to be enrolled in DR's Talent School (Talentud-vikling) in a salaried apprentice learning program. The talents typically start in the DR radio section. Since 20xx, the program has been managed by ´Sofie´ and embedded in the DR Music and Radio department (Hartvig-Nielsen 2015).

18. P3 Guld (P3 Gold) is a yearly concert event where the most popular artists perform and some receive awards, e.g., "Band of the Year," "New Name of the Year," and so on.

19. KarriereKanonen (The Career Canon) is a yearly event/competition where upcoming artists compete for airplay and to be coached in their careers as musicians or bands.

20. The Head of Music on P3 is responsible for selecting and programming the playlist on P3. I will provide a thorough elaboration of this position later.

21. See record of interviews (and other fieldwork activities) in the Appendix.

22. Peter Lang was a scholar and practician in systemic organization theory and AI (appreciative inquiry) (Lang in Dahl and Juhl 2009, 263).

23. Musicians are paid for their music's radio appearance according to the Koda and Gramex payment system. In the mid-2000s, after pressure from DR and commercial radio stations, the system was changed so that payment was given to the musicians not according to a track's number of airplays, but to the station's estimated amount of listeners, i.e., the station's popularity (Strube 2003; http://online.musikeren.dk/musikeren/8/, accessed March 15th 2014). This meant that it suddenly made an economic difference for musicians' music to be played on the biggest stations (P3 or P4) instead of the smaller channels like P6 Beat.

24. The Department for Music and Radio is further described in the Appendix.

25. Email correspondence with Anders, October 20xx.

26. Hasse 2015; further explanation will come in Section 0.

27. Note 27 is deleted by author

28. Bessire & Fischer propose following five conceptual axes in studying radio: 1. The voice; 2. Radio and nation; 3. Community radio; 4. Transnational circuits; 5. Language and perception (Bessire & Fischer, 2012, 20–32).

29. *Musikstyring* translates directly to "music management." I have chosen to translate this to "music scheduling" in English throughout the dissertation instead of "music management" or "music controlling," which is also widely used. Music scheduling is a way of choosing and programming music for radio that was primarily developed in the USA and has been used in com-

mercial radio since the 1950s. For more information about music scheduling and its background and history, see Michelsen et al. 2018, 30.

30. Technology is here first and foremost understood in the sense of digital tools, but it also plays on a double meaning, following Hasse (2011; 2015) and Foucault (Foucault 1988, 18), in which technology is understood in a broad sense: as different things, humans, and categories that help direct the spaces in which we act and enact.

31. Ministry of Culture 2011, https://kum.dk/uploads/tx_templavoila/Musikhandlingsplan%20 2012-2015.pdf. Accessed Jan 2019.

32. Ministry of Culture 2015, https://kum.dk/fileadmin/KUM/Documents/Publikationer/2015/ Mere_musik_fra_en_stærk_fødekæde_16_05.pdf. Accessed Jan 2019.

33. Ministry of Culture 2015. https://kum.dk/uploads/tx_templavoila/Talent_forpligter_final__2015.pdf. Accesed Jan 2019.

34. When I declared myself an electric guitarist at the age of 16, it took me five minutes to experience that as someone who identifies as female, it is almost impossible to be valued for your performance in terms of "talent" or "quality" without first being valued for your performance as a gendered person—as female. Likewise, there are many personal accounts from female musicians about this experience of being valued as female rather than as musicians, for instance when the highly recognized and prize-winning Danish jazz saxophonist Pernille Bevort discussed how she still receives concert reviews in magazines that focus on "how she is shaking her legs in a sexy way" rather than how she plays her instrument (told at the "Musik i Ubalance" conference at the Rhythmic Music Conservatory, September 24, 2010). A seminal research project by Claudia Goldin and Cecilia Rouse, discussed in the 2000 article "Orchestrating Impartiality: The Impact of 'Blind' Auditions on Female Musicians," shows a giant gender bias in valuing talent and quality when it comes to musicians auditioning for classical orchestras. When the auditioning musicians stood behind a curtain, there was a dramatic increase in the acceptance of female musicians into the orchestras.

35. Note 35 is deleted by author

36. P3 is not distinct when it comes to gender imbalance. On the contrary, I think they are more aware than most. But if—as scholars like Latour argue—agency is distributed in a network, it makes sense to study one particular link in the food chain in order to get a sense of how ideas of gender are sometimes entangled in daily production.

37. Note 37 is deleted by author

38. I will be discussing Selector and Dalet in more detail later.

39. Since this is a PhD dissertation and not a book, I consider theory development an important part of my learning process in becoming a researcher. Thus in this section I work with theory development and with my process of becoming a researcher together with different (material-discursive and performativity theory) methods when investigating music in work practices.

40. I understand method as the enactment of theory; hence, this section illustrates how I see myself, throughout this dissertation, enacting the theory I have developed in Section 0.

41. See Section 0.

42. Mol refers here to both the practice of doing ethnographic studies and the practice of doing disease.

43. Mol describes "perspectivalism" as semantic approaches, applying different "perspectives" in terms of ideas of different contexts to a certain object of study (2002, 10). I find this to parallel Barad's idea of "the representationalist trap" referred to in Section 0.

44. *Merriam-Webster* defines "topological space" as **"**a set with a collection of subsets satisfying the conditions that both the empty set and the set itself belong to the collection, the union of any number of the subsets is also an element of the collection, and the intersection of any finite number of the subsets is an element of the collection" (https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/topological%20space, accessed March 1st, 2019).

45. *Miss Smilla's Feeling for Snow* is a 1992 novel by Danish author Peter Hoeg. It became an international bestseller in the 1990s and was an early contributor to the worldwide success of Nordic noir crime stories.

46. https://drkoncerthuset.dk/akustik-og-arkitektur/, accessed March 1st 2019.

47. Here, my intention is not to pin down a specific metaphor for how to look at structuring processes in life. Rather, as stated earlier, I am generally interested in what different ideas of metaphors and structuring processes do for the context, in how meaning-making practices—in terms of ideas, figures, strategies, and ideologies—work in everyday actions and practices of production, such as the production of music radio or of this text.

48. The transformative text is one that holds the perspective of the experienced "reality." In its ethnographic writing, it does not try to distance itself from the situation and the environment it describes. The transformative text makes unfamiliar stories and environments familiar and plausible/probable: "To the extent that ethnography must be more than entertainment, and maybe even become a real challenge for ourselves and our society, I find it crucial that reality is *in* the text and is not just seen through the text. That is how we keep life from becoming genre" (Hastrup 1988, 17).

49. I will elaborate on the issue of flow and music throughout this dissertation.

50. Volbeat and De Eneste To are two popular Danish rock bands.

51. During the Winter Olympics in Russia in 2014, *GMP3* made a morning show campaign called "Come Out to Putin." Here, they invited P3 listeners to call in and come out as homosexual on live radio.

52. Wu-Tang Clan, the New York–based hip-hop group.

53. According to techterms.com, the term "information and communication technologies" (ICTs) refers to "technologies that provide access to information through telecommunications. It is similar to Information Technology (IT), but focuses primarily on communication technologies. This includes the Internet, wireless networks, cell phones, and other communication mediums." https://techterms.com/definition/ict (accessed December 10, 2018).

54. Google Docs is an open and shareable research/writing software. It promotes itself on its homepage as a software that "brings your documents to life with smart editing and styling tools to help you format text and paragraphs easily" and enables you to "get to your documents anywhere, at any time." Under the headline "Do more, together," it touts itself as a software where "everybody can work together in the same document at the same time." https://www.google.com/intl/en-GB/docs/about/ (accessed October 1, 2018).

55. To experience the P3 Studio live in action, go to https://www.dr.dk/radio/p3 and click on the link "SE WEBCAM."

56. This is a reference to Deleuze's use of the notion of "manifold" to "emphasize the open-ended complexity of the world" (Couldry and Hepp 2017, 55).

57. I will recommend to listen while reading.

58. A second screen shows all the different angles recorded by the multiple cameras, and a third screen shows the programming of the livestream.

59. This reflects a common picture in Danish media landscape where female politicians and media personalities are receiving heavy amounts of hate response when they utter their opinion in public. Men who stand out in public debate do receive critique, but rarely any comments related to their ("disgusting") bodies, threats about rape and other kind of sexual violence. This skewed and odd structural pattern in social media behaviour has been described in for instance the TV-documentary made by DR, "Shut up, Woman" (Ti Stille Kvinde), aired first time 6. November 2014, kl. 21.30 on DR2.

60. Here, I keep Foucault's very broad idea of technologies in mind: "As a context, we must understand that there are four major types of these 'technologies,' each a matrix of practical reason: (I) technologies of production, which permit us to produce, transform, or manipulate things; (2) technologies of sign systems, which permit us to use signs, meanings, symbols, or signification; (3) technologies of power, which determine the conduct of individuals and submit them to certain ends or domination, an objectivizing of the subject; (4) technologies of the self, which permit individuals to effect by their own means or with the help of others a certain number of operations on their own bodies and souls, thoughts, conduct, and way of being, so as to transform themselves in order to attain a certain state of happiness, purity, wisdom, perfection, or immortality" (Foucault 1988, 18). Technology is understood here as artefacts that mediate meaning.

61. Trine, the editor of music related content, was not attached to *GMP3* as editor. Instead, her colleague Michael had the responsibility for that particular program. Trine was only attached to a few programs on P3. This might reflect the fact that, despite the large amount of music played on P3, the channel was not considered by DR to be a *music* channel.

62. This section is built up around the article "To Go With the Flow and to Produce It" (Wallevik 2018). The article came out as a part of the 2018 anthology *Tunes for All? Music on Danish Radio*.

63. The following text about Peter's daily practice of selecting and encoding music for P3 is mainly based on two qualitative interviews with Peter: a conversation in October 20xx and one to follow in June 20xx.

64. https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/agency (accessed June 30, 2017).

65. Thanks to anthropologist Kristine Ringsager for directing my attention toward Desjarlais.

66. Any talk of "identity" or other kinds of "realities" in this section adheres to a constructionist understanding of the world as constantly produced and reproduced through discursive categories and performative perceptions of worldly phenomena. Hence the use of quotation marks here.

67. To be a "researcher" can be perceived as a structural identity belonging to a powerful social category of "scientists," which I consider important to keep in mind. I later experienced, for instance, a weekly playlist meeting where I was ironically positioned (by Peter) as the "clever person in the room," while the employees were positioned as "monkeys in the jungle" who should just "behave as usual while David Attenborough observed them." He finished this speech off by enacting a monkey caricature, saying, "Ooh-oog-ahh-ahh," and everyone, including me, laughed (fieldnotes, playlist meeting).

68. As explained by Garsten and Nyqvist, in practice this means that the law considers the corpo-

ration as one person, as a separate legal entity (2013, 5).

69. As mentioned in Section 1, P6 Beat is a digital/DAB channel that plays rock, grunge, and experimental popular music, while P7 Mix is a digital/DAB channel that plays MOR (middle-of-the road) popular music.

70. Peter had a colleague, Henrik, who helped him with scheduling and setting up the scheduling software *Selector*. Here, I call him Peter's right-hand man; in the conversation with Peter, I called him by name. Peter brought the *Selector* software with him when he came to DR in 2003 from a position at one of the largest local Danish radio stations, ANR.

71. As mentioned in Section 1, the Discotheque is the place where all the music is stored. Before the digitization of music, this was the place where all music artifacts were physically stored, as in a library. Now there is primarily one man who keeps the digital database in order.

71b. *MusicMaster* was the first music scheduling computer software used in DR.

72. Noma is a two-Michelin-star Danish restaurant famous for its New Nordic cuisine.

73. As mentioned in Section 1, KarriereKanonen ("The Career Canon") is a yearly event/competition where up-and-coming artists compete for airplay and to be coached in their careers as musicians/bands.

74. Also mentioned in Section 1, P3 Guld ("P3 Gold") is a yearly concert event in which the most popular artists perform and some receive awards, e.g., "Band of the Year," "New Name of the Year," and so on.

75. "The log" will be explained in detail in Section 5.

76. The following pictures illustrate the categories and infrastructure of the software; they do not show the actual action happening in the field experiences as described.

77. Flow was created in numerous different ways in DR's radio production, not just in music scheduling. As I learned from my encounter with DR's Media Research Department, the introduction of news every hour was also handled in order to create flow. There is even a Director of Flow at DR. In this case, and in this dissertation, I work specifically with the creation of flow in relation to music programming and presenting.

78. P3 is not a station, but a channel. Still, with its unique profile among several DR channels, P3 could be understood as a "station" in the terminology of RCS Sound Software.

79. Note 79 is deleted by author

80. When doing the final coding, Peter actually ended up giving "All We Know" a two in texture, not a one like he said he would. He had decided that the texture was thin, rather than barely there (see Picture 6).

81. For more details about how format radio was developed with inspiration from, e.g., U.S. radio producers, see Krogh 2018.

82. He used the slang expression *pøllerock* to denote "soft rock." Directly translated, *pøllerock* is "poo rock."

83. Trap is a particular style of music that combines Electronic Dance Music (EDM) and hip-hop. It contains elements of hip-hop, dubstep, and dub.

84. You can listen to "Roses" and watch its music video at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=G5Mv2iV0wkU.

85. Lorde is a songwriter, record producer, and singer from New Zealand. She has had several international pop hits, for instance 2012's "Royals."

86. Laleh is a self-made, explicitly feminist, Swedish-Iranian artist. She is very popular in Sweden, where she performs to sold-out stadiums, but has never had a real breakthrough in Denmark. She now lives in Los Angeles. The lyrics in the track "Bara få va mig själv" are about independence (from a male-dominated music industry). You can listen/watch at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tzln6GO4yHY.

87. Hasse introduces the notion of "'cultural models'" as the invisible models through which we think and which point out directions for our actions in practices (2011, 96).

88. Peter actually seemed concerned about gender questions, and he took the recurring criticism of the channel in terms of gender aspects very personally. Hence, this is not a critique of P3's handling of gender questions as such, but rather a wish to point out how "developmentally embodied responsiveness" can also be seen with the advantage of including more aspects of life than solely those related to professional music and radio.

89-92. Note 89 to note 92 is deleted by author

93. http://ultimateclassicrock.com/tom-petty-the-last-dj/, accessed 19. February 2019.

94. I choose to call this person a "DJ" even though Have poses a fair argument about using the term "host," in her 2018 article. In the P3 environment in 20xx, the question often revolved around who was "in charge of the technique." I will argue in this context for the continued use of the term "DJ," since this person (who was in control of the technique) was handling the music tracks, albeit in ways that had changed. As this section will show, I will also argue that this posi-

tion demanded some special skills, expertise, and know-how related to the particular function of being in control of the music and the flow, of being the one "jockeying the discs."

95. When I asked, "For instance, could Lars be 'in control of the technique?'" they all laughed as if this were quite unthinkable.

96. Alt for Damerne, https://www.alt.dk/artikler/da-jeg-sprang-ud-pa-direkte-radio (accessed August 10, 2018).

97. At this point in time, Anne's new job was still a secret.

98. https://www.dalet.com/platforms/dalet-galaxy-five (accessed September 25, 2018).

99. I will again recommend that you to listen to a program for a greater understanding of the different sounds used.

100. Gilli is a Danish rapper.

101. The pre-programming of the clock is done beforehand by Peter or one of his co-workers.

102. I must stress that I am not here in order to establish any truths about how exactly *GMP3* is made or whether some certain radio theories are applicable or not. Rather, I seek to describe the sound elements in the program and how they are maneuvered in this particular situation by human and non-human actors.

103. Maybe Anne considered this a better way to get the time right and hit the news at exactly 6:30; maybe she found Ulige Numre or Meghan Trainor more suitable to gain the right flow and feeling in either of the places; or maybe the reason is not very important.

104. The notion of the flow DJ deserves a study in itself. From speaking to several DJs (mostly with backgrounds in commercial radio), I learned that being a music radio DJ and creating the flow was indeed a skilled practice. Unfortunately it is beyond the scope of this dissertation to go into this practice in detail, but it certainly is a subject that invites further inquiry.

105. She had accepted a new job as a sports commentator on the Discovery Channel.

106. All the information here was gathered from the DR-funded website P3 Trends and retrieved in September/October 2018. On P3 Trends, you can follow all the tracks played on P3. You can see their history on P3, how they are categorized (artist, author, etc.), and how many times they have been played on P3. Furthermore, you can see where and when they have been played and see infographics and categorizations of a certain track's popularity throughout its life.

107. The extraordinary difference in gender/color representation is something to wonder a little

about, but the issue of representation on P3 in general is not the focus right here. The particular issue of representation does, in my opinion, require for far more thorough engagement.

108. This count was made from looking at the artist's appearance in videos (on YouTube), as well as at those who contributed to the production of the track's lyrics and music.

109. Instead of this "representational trap," Barad suggests a shift in focus to "physical optics, to questions of diffraction   rather than reflection" (2003: 802–03)

110. According to the Cambridge Dictionary, "topology" refers to "the way the parts of something are organized or connected" (https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/topology, accessed March 5, 2019).

111 . Lyrics: "She was so happy as I gave her some money and a beating. I beat bitches, especially the ones with a dick [...] She was so happy. She is turned on by being beaten. I am turned on by being rode on. She is turned on by being pushed around in bed while I am angry. She gets a little injured, but she was just so happy." ("She Was So Happy" has been played on P3 235 times since January 2017).

112. https://www.berlingske.dk/samfund/dr-faar-kritik-for-ulaekker-pernille-blume-video, accessed January 15 2019.

113. I will mention here, at the outset, that she is doing really well at DR today.

114. Carl Mar Møller is a Danish psychotherapist known for his specific male angles on psychotherapy.

115. 279 companies employing more than 13 million people shared their pipeline data and completed a survey of their HR practices. In addition, more than 64,000 employees were surveyed on their workplace experiences (https://womenintheworkplace.com/#about, accessed May 5, 2019).

116. In conversation before my participant observations, Jens described himself as having a kind of diverse taste in music. He had never been very nerdy around music, but he did listen to hip-hop before he began at DR. He described hip-hop as the kind of music that had been with him for the longest time. Otherwise, he let himself be inspired by some of his friends, who were good at recommending something for him (Jens, interview).

117. Baus/bau$$, according to Urban Dictionary, is slang for a "person who own bitches."

118. Shaun Ryder is an English singer, songwriter, and musician who is the lead singer in Happy Mondays and Black Grape.

119. The song was "Kærlighed" by Wild Smith.

120. In contrast to Jens, Kirsten had previously had intense periods of being a music fan and had been part of different branches of youth culture. She had been an emo and had been an intense fan of the band Mew.

121. MEW is a Danish pop/rock band that gained great popularity in the 00s.

122 Kirsten was not alone in stepping neatly and quietly away from entangling in the socialization around music despite entangling in DR. As mentioned, both Sofie and Trine distanced themselves from the "cool" and "serious" music talk within the corporation. Sofie welcomed the music-controlling system (in opposition to "the guys on P6 Beat") and had found music DJing in the old days "really hard," as she had to find out "what the cool music was right now" (Sofie, interview). Trine told me about how, as the editor of spoken content around music, she had personally worked on how to create a "lighter" approach to music, less patriarchal and with a little less name-dropping. (Trine, interview)

123. It is not my intention to expose Brian. I have included the experience because it adds to the larger picture of how discourses of technology, talk of progress, behavior in meetings, eye contact or not (i.e., ruling techniques), feelings of competition, and gender issues sometimes seem to get entangled in certain conversation situations in fieldwork, creating certain socialities.

124. Jens and Kirsten's immediate acceptance as apprentices into the corporation was reflected in the overwhelming welcome that the talents experienced on their first day. Here they were met by several "known" media personalities who pulled "pranks" with them, and they drank champagne with the General Director, Kirsten Rørbye Rønn.

125. I will expound on these notions as the section progresses.

127 .It is important for me to stress – again – that after I left, things changed immensely in this particular section of the corporation, as I learned from the conversation with my tablemate at the birthday party mentioned in Section 7. Therefore, this section must be taken as a token or a micro-study of how things *can* be—under some specific conditions and in a certain time—in certain highly competitive and homogenious (male-dominated) workspaces that nourish sociality through repeated interpellation of gender dualisms, for instance through othering and other "quelling strategies" (Butler). The actual change of "culture" on P3 can be seen as an example of how dynamic an institution DR is. Throughout its almost 100 years of existence, the grand corporation has indeed had to change fast and suddenly according to "public" demands and changing state policies.

128. For instance, when I experienced the avoidance of eye contact in my first meeting with the corporation, it was most probably not intended as a gender-discrimination act, but since I

had experienced it many times before in contact with males in competitive environments and recruitment situations, it instantly was added to a larger structural problem (in me) concerning gender issues and personal work conditions. When Kirsten envied Jens his platform for being funny in DR, it was a prolonging of a long-standing reflection on why it was harder to be funny as a girl than as a boy, a reflection that had begun for her long before entering DR.

129. It is beyond the scope of this dissertation to discuss questions of power related to different positions in this work collective. Obviously it mattered on a different scale when Peter selected a certain track for the playlist versus when Søren chose to put on "his song" in a particular program. I sensed that Peter was very cautious not to highlight his own taste and preferences; he seemed to act with great care for being fair and impartial.

130. On this end, it was a question of gaining the most listeners for the lowest costs by adjusting the "familiarity" of the mainstream music output (one could argue, however, that this was a question of knowing what people already know, rather than what they want).

131. I do not want to play them up against each other; rather, I wish to illustrate two very different positions that seemed to be a part of the music spectrum in those layers of the corporation.

132. Annemarie Mol, 'Actor-Network Theory: sensitive terms and enduring tensions', *Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie*, 50/1 (2010), 253-269, 256.

133. RadioDays is a yearly event arranged by the Danish media providers DR, Bauer Media, Danske Medier, and Radio24syv. The conference, called MediaDays, contains an award show called Prix Radio..

134. As it happens, they won for the campaign that was on during my time of entanglement.

135. Danish architecture group Vilhelm Lauritzen Architects (VLA) is responsible for the architectural master plan of the new DR Byen and for the overall architectural idea concerning the new media institution. According to VLA, the master plan for the new and united DR was inspired by a Middle Eastern *kasbah*—a kind of city within the city with a mixture of squares, streets, businesses, and workshops. The architectural intention behind the new DR Byen was to create a large media house from different independent units. The buildings belonging to DR came into use between 2005 and 2010 (see http://www.vla.dk/projekter_flash/kultur_2000_dr_byen/index.htm). Accessed March 2015.

136. Before they moved to their new location, DR's TV and radio departments were located far from each other. TV Byen ("The TV City ") was located in Emdrup, a suburb of Copenhagen, and Radiohuset ("The Radiohouse") was located in Frederiksberg, one of Copenhagen's most prominent and central areas. The new buildings on Amager Island were built in order to unite the Department of Radio with the Department of Television under the common name DR Byen and to gather departments of the national media institution, which was nearly 100 years old, under

the same roof. DR's concert hall was built in 2009 (see http://www.vla.dk/projekter_flash/kultur_2000_dr_byen/index.htm). Accessed March 2015

137. The organization and structure of this area are constantly changing. With the latest Public Service Agreement and Media Agreement (2019–2023), there have been particularly severe cutbacks at DR, which have led to changes in its internal structuring—it might look completely different today.

138. Examples of previous hosts include Mikael Bertelsen, Simon Jul, Adam Duvå Hall, Andrea Elisabeth Rudolph, Signe Muusmann, Kristian Leth, Iben Maria Zeuthen, Rune Hedeman, Jacob Hinchely, Frederik Cilius, Maria Fantino, Jacob Weil, Andreas Kousholt, Stine Rosenfeldt, Søren Hviid, Satie Espersen, Kasper Stensgaard, and Sara Bovin. https://www.dr.dk/om-dr/talentholdet/nyheder/hvad-er-talentholdet (accessed January 11, 2019).

Notes For The Green Track

1. Theory and method are tightly connected, and I do not intend to construct a distinction between the two. I view "theory" as my foundational worldviews, while "method" expresses how I intend to work in the field following my theoretical lines of thought. In Section 2, I work with my enactments of theory—that is, my methods.

2. To those who read for the sake of getting insight into the daily production of music radio on P3, here comes a warning: This particular section contains very little text about the particular *doings* of music radio on P3. It is, as mentioned, about *theory in the making* and about how to possibly *do* theory about doing culture in work practices around music. If you are reading with a particular interest in the doings of music radio on P3, I suggest that you jump to Section 2.

3. In her 1999 book Reflexive Ethnography, Charlotte Aull Davies has described this process, in which one's own identity and role in a situation are considered critically, as an "infinitude of self-reflexive iterations" (Davies 1999, 7).

4. Foucault in "Nietzsche, Genealogy, History" (2011, 341): "Genealogy, consequently, requires patience and a knowledge of details, and it depends on a vast accumulation of source material. Its 'cyclopean monuments' are constructed from 'discreet and apparently rigorous truths and according to a rigorous method'; they cannot be the product of 'large and well-meaning errors' (Nietzsche, 1882). In short, genealogy demands relentless erudition. Genealogy does not oppose itself to history as the lofty and profound gaze of the philosopher might compare to the molelike perspective of the scholar; on the contrary, it rejects the metahistorical deployment of ideal significations and indefinite teleologies. It opposes itself to the search for 'origins.'"

5. Althusser continues, "...(a tautological proposition), i.e. that the author and the reader of these lines both live 'spontaneously' or 'naturally' in ideology in the sense in which I have said that 'man is an ideological animal by nature'" (Althusser 2011, 217).

6. As Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie describes in *We Should All Be Feminists* (2012), if a woman expresses equal-rights viewpoints, she's often considered to be angry. Adichie felt it necessary to keep calling herself "a happy African feminist that doesn't hate men." I think and hope that I write into a reality where this is not necessary.

7. Thanks to Kristine Ringsager and her dissertation "Rap, Rettigheder og Respect" (2015) for pointing me toward Balibar.

8. Signed by Danish Minister of Culture Brian Mikkelsen (Conservative Party), December 2006.

9. Elsewhere, this is called called "slow scholarship," as in the 2015 article "For Slow Scholarship: A Feminist Politics of Resistance through Collective Action in the Neoliberal University" by Great Lakes Feminist Geography Collective.

10. Original Danish text: Hvor "en medieorganisation og dets medarbejdere åbner sig i mere udstrakt grad for forskeren og begynder at informere mere righoldigt om processerne."

11. ANT is a field of research that often engages in how the specific study is both embedded in and developing on theory/method through engagement with the field. For example, in their 2013 article "ANT and Politics: Working In and On the World," Law and Singleton are engaged in the processes of theorizing and developing the particular field of ANT research while looking at a field study of Norwegian salmon farming.

12. To be explained later.

13. According to Haraway, diffraction is all about making "a difference in the world" by paying attention to "the interference patterns on the recording films of our lives and bodies" (Haraway 1997, 16). According to Haraway, this gives us the opportunity to become more attuned to how differences are being created in the world, and what particular effects they have on subjects and their bodies (ibid., 273). Seeing and thinking diffractively therefore implies a self-accountable, critical, and responsible engagement with the world (Geerts and Van der Tuin 2016). I will come back to this point later.

14. I spoke via phone and email with the Director of Culture and proposed a co-developing process in my project. Due to the scope of this project, I have decided to save my many reflections on obtaining access to fieldwork in DR for a later occasion.

15. Through an inspiring PhD environment at the Center for Learning, Technology and Culture, Aarhus University, Emdrup, I was introduced to some of the newer materials-oriented or post-human scholars such as Karen Barad, Donna Haraway, and Cathrine Hasse. Hence, I began to reflect about the meaning of matter in practices.

16. Just to be clear, I am not differentiating between different kinds of practices. "Practice" is here understood as an overall category for work in its epistemological sense.

17. "[Instead of choosing between pessimism or optimism,] staying with the trouble is both more serious and more lively. Staying with the trouble requires making odd kin; that is, we require each other in unexpected collaborations and combinations, in hot compost piles. We become-with each other or not at all. That kind of material semiotics is always situated, someplace and not no place, entangled and worldly" (Haraway 2016, 4).

18. Post-ANT scholars include Annemarie Mol (2002, 2010, 2014); John Law (2002, 2013); Vicky Singleton (2013); and Tim Ingold (2011).

19. Ingold's meshwork is produced by "SPIDERS"—that is, actors with agency, backward-pointing histories, and forward-pointing responsibilities (SPIDER stands for "Skilled Practice Involves Developmentally Embodied Responsiveness").

20. According to technoscience scholar Tara Mehrabi (2016), SSK/STS displaced "scientific knowledge" from its ivory tower and transformed it into an impartial "object of the study," approaching science as a

social construct rather than the positivist universal facts of nature (Pinch and Bijker 1984; Sismondo 2010). STS is also used in short for "science, technology and society." For further information about the development and naming of STS, see Mehrabi 2016, 29.

21. According to ides of generalized symmetry, all actors should be treated symmetrically: "[T]he anthropologist has to position himself at the median point where he can follow the attribution of both nonhuman and human properties (Callon, 1986). He is not allowed to use external reality to explain society, or to use power games to account for what shapes external reality" (Latour 1993, 94).

22. (Dis)entangling and (re)assembling are one and the same thing. They are not to be understood as two separate movements, but rather as a cyclical movement of cognition that can be split in two for the sake of understanding. Something similar can be seen within practice-led research/research-led practice (Smith and Dean 2009), which speaks of these processes of cognition/creation as "the iterative cyclic web."

23. This argument was inspired by George W.F. Hegel's dialectics considering things as moving and changing, interrelating and interacting, in continual processes of becoming.

24. This was done in parallel with other thinking, such as speech-act theory developed by John Searle, which I will detail later in this section when I discuss performativity theory.

25. Whereas culture as ontology in early anthropological studies was often viewed as connected to physical locations (e.g., places, villages, nations), culture (like other artefacts) is seen in culture analysis (and much recent anthropology) as both ontology and epistemology, as unavoidably connected, constantly constituted, and dialectically constituting each other in practice (Hasse 2000, 25). See, for instance, Hasse 2000; Hastrup, Rubow, and Tjørnhøj-Thomsen 2011; Scott-Sørensen, Høystad, Bjurström and Vike 2010.

26. Within the field of activity theory, ethnographies in work practices have been produced by, e.g., Lucy Suchman (1995; 1996), Marjorie Harness Goodwin and Charles Goodwin (1996), and Christian Heath and Paul Luff (1996). All of these ethnographers have, in Engeström's words, "opened *the socio-spatial dimension of work,* manifested in discourse, in gaze, in gesture, in embodied situated action with material artifacts" (Engeström 1999, 64).

27. According to anthropologist Jennifer Patico (2015), doing anthropology around things, commodities, and consumerism has been practiced since the 1980s, sometimes under the name "Anthropology of Commodities" or "Anthropology of Things," by, e.g., Daniel Miller (1987; 1995); Grant D. McCracken (1990); Mary Douglas and Baron Isherwood (1996); Don Slater (1997); and Richard Wilk (2007). Arjun Appadurai's *Towards an Anthropology of Things* (1986) and Henara et al.'s *Thinking Through Things* (2007) can also be seen to contribute to the study of culture around artefacts.

28. This quote continues with well-known phrases about sex norms as determining factors in structuring categories that feed what Geertz has called "the reach of our minds": "[...] the regulatory norms of 'sex' work in a performative fashion to constitute the materiality of bodies and, more specifically, to materialize the body's sex, to materialize sexual difference in the service of the consolidation of the heterosexual imperative. [...] 'Sex' is, thus, not simply what one has, or a static description of what one is: it will be one of

the norms by which the 'one' becomes viable at all, that which qualifies a body for life within the domain of cultural intelligibility." (Butler 1999, xii)

29. In Denmark, the field of culture analysis has largely been developed from within the field of anthropology by Danish anthropologists such as Hasse (2011) and Kirsten Hastrup, Cecilie Rubow, and Tine Tjørnhøj-Thomsen (2011). Culture analysis seeks to go beyond the surface of ordinary everyday events in an attempt to "denaturalize" "the ordinary of the social, actions, conversations, co-living" (Hastrup, Rubow and Tjørnhøj-Thomsen 2011, 22). According to these three anthropologists, to work with "the ordinary" in everyday practices is to work with crucial parts of the coincidental and becoming "nature" of culture. Therefore, culture analysis can make a greater contribution by showing the potential and the vast possibilities that lie within the complexity and reflexiveness of culture (ibid., 22). Hastrup, Rubow, and Tjørnhøj-Thomsen address this condition of flux when studying contemporary everyday culture. In their book *Culture Analysis* (2011), they describe the discipline as a study in a "force field between the setting of frames made by social community and drive for action, on one side, and the coincidentality, mutability/contingency, and creative thinking, on the other" (2011, 22).

30. Hasse refers to Claudia Strauss and Naomi Quinn's reference to "Bakhtin's concepts of 'centripetal' (fixation) and 'centrifugal' (change) powers (Strauss and Quinn 1994: 289–291)".

31. Hasse refers to Strauss and Quinn's theories about cultural models.

32. "'Participant observation' is an oxymoron, a word combined of two juxtaposing notions: 'participation' (involvement) and 'observation' (distance); two apparently contradictory ways of being present and acknowledging the presence. It can be understood as two ways of being present but also as a ground condition or principle of learning and developing and continuously creating human minds and cultures" (Hastrup, Rubow, and Tjørnhøj-Thomsen 2011, 61).

33. https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/diffraction, accessed January 15 2019.

34. According to Barad, "Agential intra-actions are specific causal material enactments that may or may not involve 'humans.' Indeed, it is through such practices that the differential boundaries between 'humans' and 'nonhumans,' 'culture' and 'nature,' the 'social' and the 'scientific' are constituted" (2003: 818). She finds "agential intra-actions" to be "the primary ontological unit"; a "phenomena" could be, for example, music radio on P3).

35. See, e.g., Phillip Bohlman 1997; Tia DeNora 2000, 2006; Steven Feld 1994; Simon Frith 1996; Murray Forman 2000; Johan Förnas 1994; Annemette Kirkegaard 2004; Peter Manuel 1995; Jason Midleton and Roger Bebe 2002; Allan Moore 2002; Kristine Ringsager 2009, 2015; Tricia Rose 1994; Martin Stokes 1994; Tim Taylor 1997; Thomas Turino 2008.

36. I don't like the metaphor of progressive linearity here and its implication that we have moved away *from* one thing and *to* another. Still, I like the quote because it stresses the importance of investigating music "as a dynamic, emergent cultural process."

37. This is also akin to ethnographic work in, e.g., music studios, such as work by Louise Meintjes, Ingrid Tolstadt, Eliot Bates, Paul Thompson, and Brett Lashua, and more generally the contents of the JARP (Journal on the Art of Record Production) and the work of its founders Simon Zagorsky-Thomas, Richard Burgess, and Alan Williams.

38. Originally in Danish: "Musik opfører ofte et eller andet kendt, og genopførelsen, som både er repetition of forandring, viser musikkens dobbelte karakter" (Kirkegaard 2004, 8).

39. DeNora sees "the self" as a "reflexive project" made up by "social, material and discourse practices" (DeNora 2000, 46) and "the listeners" as "actors" that "engage in musical practices that regulate, elaborate and substantiate themselves as social agents" (DeNora 2000, 47). What DeNora calls "music's conventional signifying materials" have for instance a history of containing very sticky gender norms and sex conventions. Sex and gender discussions are hence relevant to music, as there are some important intersections between music genre, style, identity, and gender/sex. For more on music genre, style, identity, and authenticity, see Maus (2012), McClary (2002) or Wallevik (2005).

40. This is not an attack on my department that probably worked as a fine work place for some. It is more a reflection on how indeed very little, seemingly indifferent enactments of "things" can affect sociality in work environment and about being sensitive to certain social mechanisms. For me *learning* happens best in a common space where there are room to share doubt and insecurity. Where life is a question of "opening" rather than "closure" to use Ingolds words from the introductory quote. To have an explorative and curious approach in relating rather than a "right-wrong"-approach in relating, feels, for me, crucial for learning in collectives.

Litterature

Adichie, Chimamanda Ngozi. 2012. *We Should All Be Feminist*. Great Britain: Fourth Estate.

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