

have attempted to integrate and present them in a way that will be useful and accessible for anyone—hopefully with a beginner's mind. Armed now with ideas from Bateson, Csikszentmihalyi, and Peirce, let the arguments that I make symbolically in the following chapters be tested through each reader's own indexical experiences. I will be satisfied if something here triggers new ways to think about those experiences.

2 Participatory and Presentational Performance

Because we have the one word—*music*—it is a trick of the English language that we tend to think of music making as a single art form. Certainly we know that there are different kinds of music. We have a lot of words, ranging from rather broad ones—*folk*, *popular*, *classical*, *world music*—which are meant to encompass everything, to ever more specific labels—(*rock*) *roots*, *psychedelic*, *alternative*, *grunge*, *glam*, *punk*, (*metal*) *heavy metal*, *speed metal*, *death metal*. Musical categories are created by musicians, critics, fans, the music industry, and academics alike. These labels are used to distinguish styles and products, but they tell us little about how and why people make the particular music they do and the values that underpin the ways they make it.

Regardless of the category in question, when North Americans download a song or go out to buy a CD they believe that they are purchasing music. This belief points to a culturally specific conception of what music is. When people buy a photograph of a person, they understand that it is only a representation of that person, not the real thing. Older indigenous Aymara musicians with whom I worked in Peru during the 1980s treated the recordings that they made of their festival music as we might use photographs. After a festival was over, they often listened together to the recordings that they had made on their boom boxes, largely to remember and replay what had been happening in the festival at that point. That is, they used the recordings much as North Americans might use snapshots of a recent vacation—to show friends and remember the special times that were experienced. The recordings were a representation of a celebration and of social interactions realized in a special way through playing music

and dancing together. For them a recording is to 'music' what, for us, a photograph is to the person in the snapshot: a representation of something else, not the real thing. My Peruvian friends tended to think of music as being as much about the event and the people as about the sound itself. As often as not, when the next festival came they would record over the previous sonic snapshot, its use value—reminiscing with friends during the weeks following the fiesta—fulfilled.

In English the word *music* is a noun, and cosmopolitans more generally tend to think of music as a thing—an identifiable art object that can owned by its creators through copyrights and purchased by consumers. The strength and pervasiveness of the music industry and its mass-mediated products during the past century have helped to create this habit of thought. If we briefly consider the products of the music industry over time, we can glimpse cosmopolitans' gradual shift in thinking of *music making* as a social activity to *music* as an object. In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the major forms of popular-music-industry product were sheet music (the 'software') and musical instruments such as pianos, guitars, banjos, accordions, and mandolins (the 'hardware'), often sold through catalogs to be played in the home after dinner or during times of leisure. These products required and were the basis of active participation in music making among average people. Recordings and the radio began to change people's conceptions, but not entirely. Radio broadcasts began by airing live performances, largely to be replaced by recordings later. By the mid-twentieth century the phrase *high fidelity* was used by the industry to refer to recordings. At that time the understanding of music as an activity involving live people performing with or for other live people was still predominant, and recordings were marketed as a faithful (high fidelity) representation of such performances. Even in the late twentieth century there was a commercial to sell cassette tapes that used the slogan "Is it live or is it Memorex?" suggesting that the sound recording was not the whole ball of wax but rather was capturing, representing, something else (e.g., see Mowitt 1987).

North Americans still attend live performances in the early twenty-first century, but in the popular music realm at least, such performances are often closely linked to recordings and other merchandise. Either we attend a concert because we have heard an artist's recordings, or once we are there the band wants to sell us their CDs. Many clubs in North America no longer even bother with live acts that sing or play musical instruments and instead hire DJs who use recordings and playback devices as their instruments for performance. One of the most popular nightclubs

in my town would sometimes feature live bands before the DJ, but the musicians, regardless of their international stature, had to vacate the stage promptly at 10:00 so the main entertainment—playing and manipulating recordings—could begin on time! For the club manager in question, no disrespect to the bands was intended. It was simply an economic reality that in 2006 more young people came for the scene DJs created than for live bands. Yet this illustrates a strange reversal among these young people in their very conception of what music is as compared to an era when recordings were considered a *representation* of live music and would have been considered a poor substitute to a live band.

The cultural conception of music has shifted toward recordings—the form in which most cosmopolitans experience music—as the 'real thing,' not as a representation of something else. In capitalist societies, 'real' or at least successful musicians and music are largely conceptualized in relation to professional presentations, recordings (both video and audio), or (usually) some combination of the two. Even for local bar bands it has become requisite to make CDs for promo and sale at gigs if they are to be taken, and are to take themselves, seriously.

Yet in the United States, as throughout the rest of the world, there are a multitude of music-dance activities that do not involve formal presentations, the star system, or recording and concert ticket sales. These other activities are more about the *doing* and social interaction than about creating an artistic product or commodity. Singing in church and playing music at home with friends "just for fun" are common examples of the latter type in North America, but there are many other pockets of participatory music making and dance ranging from contra, salsa, hip hop, and swing dancing to drum circles, garage rock bands, bluegrass or old-time jams, and community singing that take place in bars, coffeehouses, community centers, and private homes on a weekly basis. Regardless of how important these activities are to the participants, I have frequently heard such people say, "But I am not really a musician," because of the broader system of value that holds professionalism as the standard. In what follows I want to argue that these situations of participatory music making are not just informal or amateur, that is, *lesser* versions of the 'real music' made by the pros but that, in fact, they are something else—a different form of art and activity entirely—and that they should be conceptualized and valued as such.

Thus, rather than thinking about music as a single art form subdivided into various style and status categories, I have found it useful to conceptualize music making in relation to different realms or *fields* of artistic practice. Pierre Bourdieu's idea of *social field* (e.g., 1984; 1985) refers to a

specific domain of activity defined by the purpose and goals of the activity as well as the values, power relations, and types of *capital* (e.g., money, academic degrees, a hit song, athletic prowess, the ability to play a guitar) determining the role relationships, social positioning, and status of actors and activities within the field. Over the next two chapters I describe four musical fields in turn. In this chapter I discuss fields involving real time musical performance—*participatory* and *presentational* music making. In the following chapter I introduce the *high fidelity* field and *studio audio art*, both of which involve the making of recorded music.¹

Briefly defined, *participatory performance* is a special type of artistic practice in which there are no artist-audience distinctions, only participants and potential participants performing different roles, and the primary goal is to involve the maximum number of people in some performance role. *Presentational performance*, in contrast, refers to situations where one group of people, the artists, prepare and provide music for another group, the audience, who do not participate in making the music or dancing. *High fidelity* refers to the making of recordings that are intended to index or be iconic of live performance. While high fidelity recordings are connected to live performance in a variety of ways, special recording techniques and practices are necessary to make this connection evident in the sound of the recording, and additional artistic roles—including the recordist, producers, and engineers—also help delineate high fidelity as

1. Although I believe I coined the term *studio audio art*, the symbols I have chosen for the other three fields are not new in scholarly literature. Most famously, ethnomusicologist Charles Keil developed a theory of “participatory discrepancies” in a body of work that was inspirational for the framework I am developing here (1987; 1995; also Proger 1995). Keil identified a series of textural, timbral, and timing features in music that enhance participation. His work was the point of departure for my thinking about participatory performance as a separate artistic field, which, in turn, led to conceptualizing the other three fields. James Bau Graves juxtaposed the concepts of participatory and presentational music in his discussion of ‘folk’ festivals and ‘folk arts’ organizations (2005). I took the term *high fidelity* from the music industry, but it is used much as I do here by Edward Kealy in his discussion of the changing practices of recording engineers (1990). I briefly outlined the four fields in my book on Zimbabwean popular music (2000:47–51), and by now some of my students have begun to use these concepts as set forth below (e.g., Scales 2004; Livingston and Caracas Garcia 2005). Sparked by Keil, the development of this framework is the result of various collaborative efforts in classes and seminars at the University of Illinois since the mid-1990s and from comparing my own musical experiences in Peru, Zimbabwe, and at home with the work of other scholars and students.

a separate field of practice. *Studio audio art* involves the creation and manipulation of sounds in a studio or on a computer to create a recorded art object (a “sound sculpture”) that is not intended to represent real-time performance. Whereas in high fidelity recordings studio techniques are masked or downplayed, in studio audio art processes of electronic sound generation and manipulation are often celebrated and are overtly represented in the ultimate recording or sound files.

Because this framework requires shifts in the very conception of what ‘music’ is, it is worth emphasizing that the four fields do not refer to musical genres or style categories such as jazz, rock, or classical, although issues of style will come into it. Rather, the four fields of practice and even conceptualization often crosscut our received genre categories and even the work of single artists and bands. In their live performances, one jazz ensemble might largely pertain to the participatory field by emphasizing its role as a dance band (e.g., Duke Ellington during the swing era, Big Voodoo Daddy), while other jazz artists might primarily be geared toward formal concerts and club presentations (e.g., Coltrane, Monk). The same band might switch fields from one performance situation to another or at different points in its career. Ellington’s orchestra played for dancing and gave concerts. The Beatles began as a participatory club dance band in their Hamburg days, changed to a presentational and high fidelity approach in their early days of fame, and created studio audio art in their later period—their musical style, modes of practice, and conceptualization of themselves as artists changing as they shifted fields.

The focus here is on the types of activity, artistic roles, values, goals, and people involved in specific instances of music making and dance. Yet the goals, values, practices, and styles of actors within a given field are shaped by their conceptions of the *ideologies and contexts of reception* and the purposes of music within that field. Thus, the manner of preparing for and playing music or dancing in participatory events will vary in a number of predictable ways from presentational preparation and performance. When the goal is a high fidelity recording, new artistic roles in making the music are added (recordist, or producer and engineers), as are new sound-shaping processes such as microphone placement, mixing, and editing. The basic manner of performing is often distinct for high fidelity recordings made in a studio, and new concerns about reception, for example how the recording will sound on different types of playback equipment and how it will work for repeated hearings, shape the music-making processes in fundamental ways.

The recorded music produced by one artist on a computer in a studio

will also differ in predictable ways if it is intended to be used in a disco or club dance scene as opposed to being heard at an electro-acoustic composers' forum or conference. In the first instance, the sound is shaped for its intended use for participatory dancing and thus represents a mixing of fields: the second instance is a "textbook case" of studio audio art. If the sounds produced on the computer for participatory dancing are intended to iconically represent what performers do live, then it is a mix of high fidelity + participatory; if the recording is not intended to represent a 'live music sound,' then it is a mix of studio audio art + participatory; if the recording combines a presentational style of singing with electronic sounds for participatory dancing, then it may be intended as a combination of high fidelity + studio audio art + participatory. In all these instances, the requirements for participatory club dance music (e.g., long, consistent, compelling musical grooves) will be evident as sonic signs. As these examples suggest, there are a variety of traditions such as karaoke, raves, disco, and DJing that combine aspects of the different fields. But these combinations, as well as historical shifts in the social emphasis on different fields, can be more clearly understood after the fields are delineated as separate types.

Participatory Performance as a Separate Art

There are many forms of musical participation. Sitting in silent contemplation of sounds emanating from a concert stage is certainly a type of musical participation, as is walking in the woods or down a city street to the soundtrack of music coming through the headphones of an iPod. Here, however, I am using the idea of participation in the restricted sense of actively contributing to the sound and motion of a musical event through dancing, singing, clapping, and playing musical instruments when each of these activities is considered integral to the performance. In fully participatory occasions there are no artist-audience distinctions, only participants and potential participants. Attention is on the sonic and kinesthetic interaction among participants. Participatory performance is a particular field of activity in which stylized sound and motion are conceptualized most importantly as heightened social interaction. In participatory music making one's primary attention is on the activity, on the *doing*, and on the other participants, rather than on an end product that results from the activity.

Although the quality of sound and motion is very important for the

success of a participatory performance, it is important because it inspires greater participation among those present, and the quality of the performance is ultimately judged on the level of participation achieved. Quality is also gauged by how participants *feel* during the activity, with little thought to how the music and dance might sound or look apart from the act of doing and those involved. That is, the focus is primarily inward, among participants in the moment, in contrast to the presentational and recorded fields, where artists' attention involves varying degrees of concern with listeners not involved in the actual doing. The result is that participatory music making leads to a special kind of concentration on the other people one is interacting with through sound and motion and on the activity in itself and for itself. This heightened concentration on the other participants is one reason that participatory music-dance is such a strong force for social bonding. It also leads to diminished self-consciousness, because (ideally) everyone present is similarly engaged.

The Participatory Frame

A primary distinguishing feature of participatory performance is that there are no artist-audience distinctions. Deeply participatory events are founded on an ethos that holds that everyone present can, and in fact should, participate in the sound and motion of the performance. Such events are framed as interactive social occasions; people attending know in advance that music and dance will be central activities and that they will be expected to join in if they attend. Most people go to participatory events because they want to make music and/or dance. This is like attending a party in the United States where people know in advance that conversation will be the central social activity and that if they attend they will be expected to chat. Most people go to parties because they want to socialize. In some societies, and in certain cultural cohorts within North American society, music making and dancing are the central activities during social gatherings, and in such places people grow up making music and dancing as a normal part of social life. For people in the capitalist-cosmopolitan formation where music and dance have become more specialized activities, it might be hard to imagine that music making and dancing are as basic to being social as the ability to take part in friendly conversation, but such is the case in places I have visited such as Zimbabwe and Peru.

During participatory music and dance occasions there is a subtle and sometimes not so subtle pressure to participate. While not everyone has to be playing or dancing all the time, a general sense is created that people

who do not participate at all are somehow shirking their social responsibility by not being sociable. Imagine attending a small party among close friends where everyone is playing charades with the exception of one friend who refuses to play and sits alone in the corner. A similar range of reactions to such a person might be experienced in a participatory music setting—everything from direct invitations to join in, to teasing and cajoling, to ignoring him, to worrying that something might be wrong. Typically people do not want to stand out in this way and so might join in, even if with token gestures, even when they don't really feel like taking part. As with any party, people attend participatory music occasions for a variety of reasons, and in a variety of moods, and engage with what is going on as suits them.

Performance Roles in Participatory Performance

Typically, the members of ensembles specializing in presentational performance will be relatively similar in their level of musical competence. The responsibility of providing a good performance for an audience inspires presentational performers to seek out the best possible ensemble mates. Musical-dance skill is primary; other aspects such as personality, the ability to work together, and, depending on the tradition, features such as appearance and stage presence also become key criteria for selecting individuals for the ensemble. Participatory traditions differ fundamentally in that anyone and everyone is welcomed to perform. The inclusion of people with a wide range of musical investment and abilities within the same performance creates a unique dynamic as well as a series of constraints on what can or should be done musically.

There is a common idea in the United States that participatory music must be uniformly simple so that everyone can join in, as, for example, with the singing of campfire songs. In places where participatory music making is the mainstay this is not the case. If there were only simple roles, people who are deeply engaged with music and dance would likely become bored and not want to participate. If everyone is to be attracted, a participatory tradition will have a variety of roles that differ in difficulty and degrees of specialization required. This can be understood in relation to Csikszentmihalyi's flow theory, discussed in chapter 1. As was suggested, the most important condition for flow is that the activity must include the proper balance between inherent challenges and the skill level of the actor. If the challenges are too low, the activity becomes boring and the mind wanders elsewhere; if the challenges are too high, the activity leads to frustration

and the actor cannot engage fully. When the balance is just right, it enhances concentration and a sense of being "in the groove," at one with the activity and the other people involved. Participatory traditions usually include a variety of roles demanding different degrees of specialization, so that people can join in at a level that offers the right balance of challenge and acquired skills. Csikszentmihalyi has observed that because flow experiences are pleasurable, people return to the activities that provide them again and again. As they do so, their skills for the activity increase, requiring ever higher challenges. In places where participatory music and dance are at the center of social occasions, opportunities to improve one's skills are common.

The inclusion of people with a wide range of abilities within the same performance is important for inspiring participation. The presence of other people with similar abilities as oneself makes joining in comfortable. If only virtuosic performers were present, the gap between them and neophytes would be too great, and inexperienced performers would be discouraged. When rank beginners, people with some limited skill, intermediates, and experts all perform together, however, people at each level can realistically aspire to and practically follow the example of people at the next level above them. In participatory contexts, the full range of the learning curve is audibly and visually present and provides reachable goals for people at all skill levels.

To keep everyone engaged, participatory musical and dance roles must have an ever expanding ceiling of challenges, or a range of activities that can provide continuing challenges, while, at the same time, there must be an easy place for young people to begin and for others who, for whatever reason, do not become dedicated to performing but still want to participate at some level. Thus some roles are quite simple, such as clapping the basic beat or singing a chorus melody, while others may require a good deal of practice and specialization, such as playing core instrumental parts or improvising a lead vocal in relation to a chorus response. Some roles, such as dancing, singing, or playing elaboration percussion parts, may allow for a wide range of expertise where beginners and highly advanced performers alike can take part at their own level of ability.

I use the terms *core* and *elaboration* to refer to different musical roles in relation to their relative necessity to the overall event. In a rock 'n' roll dance, for instance, the rock band's rhythm section (drums, bass, rhythm guitar) provides core parts that allow the lead guitarist and singer to provide elaboration and that allow everyone else to dance. The rhythm section is *core* relative to the singer and lead guitarist, and the entire band

has a core role in relation to the dancers. Core and elaboration roles may or may not correspond with levels of expertise. While crucial core parts are typically taken or guided by experts, they may include less skilled performers (as in the singing of a basic chorus melody); elaboration parts typically encompass the full range of skill levels, e.g., from the most basic to the most advanced singers and dancers. There is more room in elaboration parts for the different skill levels because while skilful elaboration certainly enhances the spirit of a performance, the people who take these parts are not responsible for keeping the entire performance going, as is true for core players.

Some performance roles inherently offer an expanding ceiling of challenges (you can always become a better dancer, lead singer, or lead guitarist), whereas others are more restricted regarding what is appropriate to play in support of other roles and activities. For example, the core *hosho* (gourd shaker) part in Shona *mbira*² music (chapter 5; also figure 2.1) must be played in a straightforward and relatively simple manner if the rhythmic groove required for dancing and the other musical parts is to remain intact, and the same is true for a rhythm guitarist, bassist, or drummer in a rock, zydeco, or reggae band. Artistic freedom and experimentation in these core roles are restricted by the responsibility of providing the musical foundation that allows others to participate comfortably.

Within participatory traditions, however, there are a range of roles available to individuals in any given event. Sometimes people simply prefer one type of activity over others, such as playing a given instrument, singing, or dancing, much as individuals might prefer, and be better at, playing different positions on a softball team. But the range of roles also offers variety and the possibility for new challenges. The participatory contra- or square-dancing tradition in the United States is a case in point. Experts in this tradition might participate as musicians, dancers, and dance callers (a person who verbally teaches and directs each dance) within a given dance weekend (chapter 6). Often people enter this scene as beginning dancers, but those who master dancing might go on to take up an instrument used in contra dance bands or might learn dance calling so that they can participate in other ways and find new challenges that keep them engaged with the activity.

2. *Mbira* refers to an instrument with twenty-two metal keys attached to a sound board and usually played within a calabash resonator. The keys are played with the left thumb and right thumb and index finger. It is the type of instrument sometimes referred to as "thumb piano" in the United States.

Participatory Musical Values

One key feature that differentiates participatory and presentational traditions involves issues of *value*. Participatory values are distinctive in that the success of a performance is more importantly judged by the degree and intensity of participation than by some abstracted assessment of the musical sound quality. My Zimbabwean *mbira* teacher, Chris Mhlanga, once told me that the best *mbira* players could offer their best performance at a ceremony but if no one joined in singing, clapping, and dancing, the performance would be considered a failure. Shona ceremonies for the ancestors are deeply participatory, and the quality of the ceremony is judged by the intensity of participation that inspires spirit possession. Although the drummers or *mbira* players perform the most specialized core musical roles in ceremonies, they are not considered the stars of the event with other contributions being secondary. Rather, they, along with *hosho* (shaker) players, are more like workmen with the special responsibility to provide a firm musical foundation that allows and in fact inspires others to participate.

This issue of responsibility will come up again later in regard to shaping the sound of participatory performance. Here I would simply say that regardless of core players' ability and desire to play flashy improvisations or to play faster than people find comfortable for dancing, they have the responsibility of performing their parts in a way that will not exclude others. Participatory values place a priority on performing in ways that invite participation, even if this might limit a given performer's desire for personal expression or experimentation. Each field has its own positive potentials and constraints. In presentational music there is much more room for personal innovation, and in fact innovation is often highly valued for the interest it provides for the audience. The distinctive values and responsibilities that underpin participatory and presentational music making are fundamental to understanding major differences between them.

In participatory events everyone's contribution to the performance is valued and in fact is considered essential for a performance to be deemed successful. But this doesn't mean that everyone in the event is necessarily happy about some people's inept or clumsy contributions to the music and dance. In a typical contra dance, newcomers and experienced dancers alike are encouraged to join in dancing. Newcomers are encouraged, partly because people in a local scene want it to grow and remain vibrant; they need "new blood." More generally, contra dance scenes operate with a participatory ethos, and it is simply considered a Good—in the spirit of

the scene—to be welcoming and helpful to newcomers. Nonetheless, new dancers interrupt the flow of the dance when they become confused about what they should be doing, and it is the feeling of 'flow' (a word contra dancers use themselves) that draws many experienced dancers. If there are too many new dancers in a given event or scene, some experienced dancers may become inwardly exasperated, comment about this among themselves, or even, sometimes, show their impatience on the dance floor. Shows of impatience, however, are generally considered bad manners, because they conflict with the welcoming, communal ethos that contra dancers usually value about the scene and themselves.

Among indigenous Aymara people of Conima, Peru, music making is highly participatory.³ Any male community member is welcome to perform panpipes or flutes with his community's ensemble, and any man or woman is welcome to dance. The values guiding musical performance are part of a more fundamental social style in which egalitarian relations and conflict avoidance are typical (Turino 1993). At one *fiesta* I participated in, two men showed up to perform with our ensemble with flutes tuned at a different pitch level from the instruments we were using. Nonetheless, they joined in and performed with us throughout the two-day *fiesta*. The result was that the overall sound was extremely out of tune. This drove me crazy, and I tried to stand as far away from these individuals as I could in my attempt to ignore the sounds they were making. I was surprised by the fact that none of the other players gave any indication that anything was wrong or suggested to these men that they might try to find flutes that were better in tune with the ensemble. No sign of any kind that might have discouraged their participation was given during the public performance. I returned home with Felberto, a deeply dedicated musician and the friend I was staying with. Once we were alone, he began to complain bitterly about how terrible the sound was. He had felt the same way I had about these musicians' contributions to the performance. But even he, an older and well-respected musician in the community, felt that he couldn't say anything to these men during the *fiesta*.

These stories point to a subtle but crucial point about the participatory ethos. It is not that people do not make qualitative judgments about

3. The term *Aymara* refers to a major native American language spoken in parts of southern Peru and Bolivia in the Andes Mountains. Conima is a rural Aymara-speaking district in the state of Puno in southern Peru. I conducted research with Aymara musicians from 1984 to 1986.

other participants' performance inwardly or that everyone is happy about problematic contributions to a performance—overall, people have a better time when the music and dance are going well. It is simply that in participatory traditions a priority is placed on encouraging people to join in regardless of the quality of their contributions. In highly participatory traditions, the etiquette and quality of *sociality* is granted priority over the quality of the sound *per se*. Put another way, participatory music and dance is more about the social relations being realized through the performance than about producing art that can somehow be abstracted from those social relations.

For those of us who hail from a society where presentational and recorded musics are the most valued forms and where music is conceptualized as Art, participatory values may be hard to grasp and accept in relation to music making. It might be helpful to think of participatory performance as being similar a pick-up softball game. When a group of good friends come together to play, even the guy or gal known to be a lousy player will be included. Like the core musicians in participatory performance, the better softball players keep the game going and make it fun for everyone. If no one can hit, catch, or pitch, the game goes nowhere and becomes boring, just as if no one can create a compelling rhythmic groove, no one will want to dance. Competitive or deeply invested softball players may groan inwardly when an inept teammate flubs an easy fly ball, but if they have any class, they will shout encouragement, make a joke of it, or say nothing. After all, it is only a game, for fun and to bring friends together. Participatory performance is like this—it is about the opportunity of connecting in special ways with others and experiencing flow.

What is important to understand is that for certain social groups throughout the world, participatory music, dance, games, sports, and festivals are not merely the informal sidelines to the "real" event—professional athletics, music, and entertainment—but rather they are at the center of social life. The values and practices that underpin participatory arts, sports, festivals, and other activities are important because they inspire more people to be involved with, and to develop skills in, these life-enriching activities. As compared with the other musical fields, participatory music making/dancing is the most democratic, the least formally competitive, and the least hierarchical. As such, participatory performance does not fit well with the broader cultural values of the capitalist-cosmopolitan formation, where competition and hierarchy are prominent and profit making is often a primary goal (who would buy tickets to watch a pick-up softball

game or a square dance?). For this reason, in places like the United States participatory traditions tend to be relegated to special cultural cohorts that stand in opposition to the broader cultural formation. Participatory activities exist beneath the radar of mainstream official and popular attention in staunchly capitalist societies, and yet they still exist—some people seek them out or create them because they offer special resources for individual and social integration and experience, flow, and fun.

Sounds and Practices of Participatory Performance

It is not surprising that on the surface, indigenous Shona music of Zimbabwe, Peruvian Aymara music, and Midwestern contra dance music sound nothing alike. These three traditions are geographically distant and have not been directly influenced by common diffusion. What is surprising is that below the surface, these three types of music making share a variety of sound features, basic principles of organization, and performance practices. When I first started studying village music in Zimbabwe after having worked in Peru for many years, I was struck by the number of similarities and was at a loss to explain them. Moreover, I found that the list of sound features Charles Kiel discussed as participatory discrepancies correlated with the parallel features I found in the cases I knew. This inspired my students and me to undertake comparative research of the sounds and performance practices of traditions meant to inspire participation in different parts of the world.

As the result of this work, we compiled a list of sound features and performance practices that turned up more often than not in participatory traditions—the features summarized and discussed below. Our main conclusions were that these sound features (1) functioned to inspire or support participation; (2) functioned to enhance social bonding, a goal that often underlies participatory traditions; and/or (3) dialectically grew out of or were the result of participatory values and practices. I am not asserting that all of these sound features will always be present in traditions guided by participatory goals, but rather that many likely will be present in some form or other because they work to inspire and enhance participation. In his 1964 landmark study *The Anthropology of Music*, Alan P. Merriam suggested one of the most widely accepted ideas in ethnomusicology, that music is best understood in relation to its systemic components of *sound*, *behavior*, and *concept*. Given this premise, it should not be surprising that different musical traditions that are founded on similar values

and social goals (concepts) should exhibit similar practices (behavior) and style features (sound). This conclusion seems warranted for participatory music making.

FORM AND REPETITION. The forms of European classical music and most contemporary popular songs are fixed so that they typically begin, progress, and end in the same way every time the piece is played and are balanced in terms of repeated and contrasting sections.⁴ For classical music, most aspects of the composition are notated in the score; dynamics, shifting emphasis on different instruments, key modulations, tempo, and meter changes among many other features are built into the piece to provide contrast between different sections and to provide interest for listeners. The details of a popular song may be fixed similarly in a score or by a recording. The majority of presentational music is in this type of *closed form* with predetermined formal contrasts and a set beginning, middle, and end. Since high fidelity music and pieces of studio audio art are, by definition, defined by the recording, they are the most markedly set musical items.

Participatory music differs fundamentally from the other three fields in that it tends to be in *open form*; further, since what happens musically depends on individual contributions and interactions in the moment, many of the sonic details of a performance are not, and cannot be, preplanned. *Open form* refers to music that is open ended and can be repeated for as long as the participants and situation requires. The forms used in participatory music are typically short (i.e., a single rendition of the entire piece may last a minute or less), but the entire form is repeated over and over. Cyclical (**ostinato*) forms, in which the same short repeated melodic-harmonic-rhythmic unit constitutes the basic piece, are common in participatory music, as are short sectional forms (e.g., AAB, AAB-

4. In music jargon, *form* refers to the overall 'architecture' or design of a piece of music as it unfolds through time. The three aspects that help us recognize musical form are *repetition*, *variation*, and *contrast*. The repetition of small melodic or rhythmic units (*motives*), a *musical phrase*, or a whole *section* (a larger, relatively complete unit) unifies a piece and makes it coherent through iconic relations; we recognize motives, phrases, or sections as units because we have heard them before in the piece. The opening four notes of Beethoven's Fifth Symphony is a famous example of a motive that is repeated and structurally important elsewhere in the work. Units must also be distinguished from each other by some type of contrast or difference. *Variations* represent a midpoint between stark contrasts and exact repetition.

BC), and strophic form.⁵ One of the most common stylistic features of participatory music is the emphasis on the heightened repetition of musical material—at the levels of motives, phrases, sections, and the entire form—which is then repeated over and over again for a relatively long time.

In participatory performance, pieces often have what I call “feathered” beginnings and endings. That is, the start and conclusion of the piece are not sharply delineated. One or two people may begin pieces and others join in gradually as they recognize it and find their place. Likewise, endings may be cued, but frequently people do not strictly conclude together but rather “fall out” at the end; this creates a “feathered” quality even when, as in old-time string band or Aymara wind music, there are habitual opening and concluding formulas (e.g., “four-potatoes” and “shave-and-a-haircut” as opening and concluding formulas in old-time music; CD track 1).

Although the creators of presentational, high fidelity, and studio audio art frequently utilize dramatic contrasts to create interest in the music (there are, of course, exceptions such as “minimalism” and “New Age” music), preplanned dramatic contrasts are largely absent from participatory music. Constant repetition of the core musical parts is important so that newcomers and people who have not carefully prepared or rehearsed the music won’t be caught off guard and be made to feel awkward. Variation is used in participatory music, but it tends to be *intensive variation*—that is, subtle variations added within, or on top of, the basic musical material. In the other three fields *extensive variation*—variations or extensions of the overall form—are more possible (Chester 1990).

There is often a heightened degree of repetition of melodic material in participatory traditions. The use of genre-specific *formulas*⁶ and motivic repetition in predictable places within a given piece make it easier to learn and join in a performance quickly. These characteristics are particularly

5. *Strophic* refers to a song form in which the music stays the same, verse after verse, while the lyrics change with each stanza. The verse-chorus and verse-chorus-bridge structures so common in popular songs are variations of strophic form; the choruses (or *refrains*) usually have music that contrasts with the music of the verses, and the same music and text are repeated for each chorus, which is alternated with the verses. *Bridges* are a third contrasting music-text section, which often occurs only once in the song.

6. By melodic *formula* I mean a set melodic motive or phrase that turns up in different pieces, usually in the same places or with the same function, as in *cadence formula* or *introductory formula*.

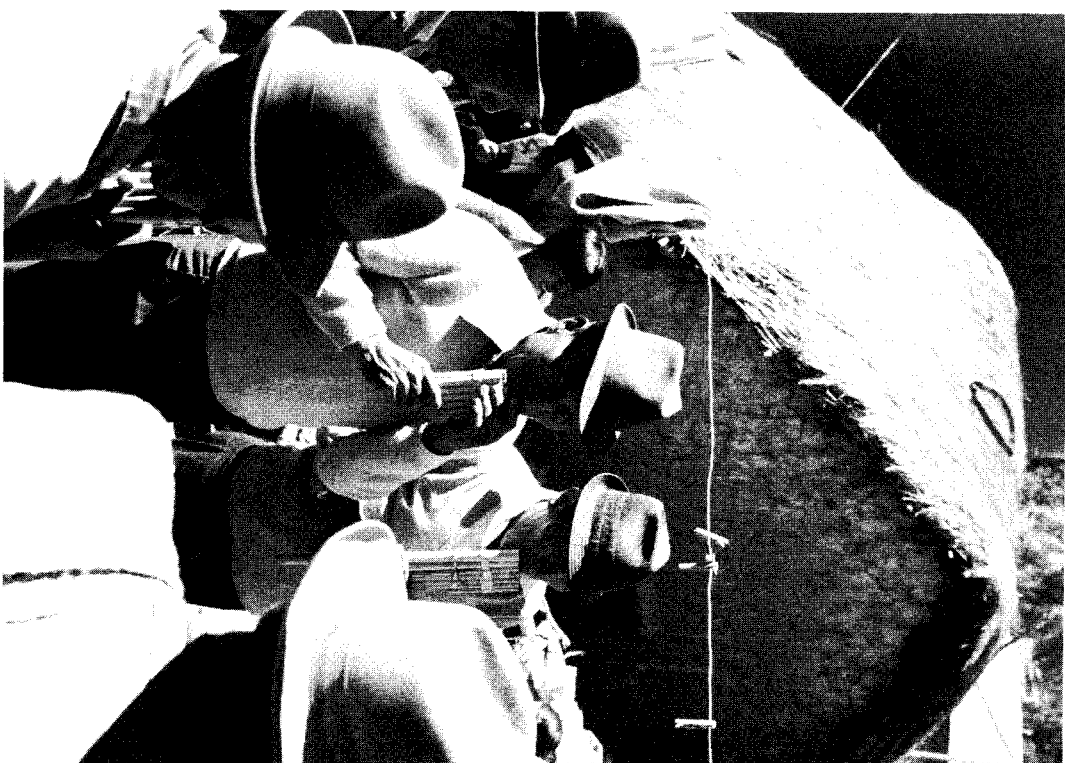


FIGURE 2.1 Aymara sikuri (panpipe) musicians in Conima, southern Peru.

pronounced in the Aymara panpipe and flute music played in the Conima region of southern Peru (figure 2.1). Although there are many different Aymara musical genres, the form is extremely predictable; pieces in all genres are almost always in AABCC form (CD track 3). Among the great majority of genres, each has its own stock introductory and concluding formulas and formulas that come at section cadences (endings; see/hear

Turino 2008).⁷ For each festa, a group of core musicians will compose new pieces for their ensemble to be premiered on the opening festival day. Many community members who come to participate in the festa, however, do not attend the rehearsal where the new pieces are composed and practiced. When trying to pick up the tune quickly during a performance, these newcomers first join in on the formulaic parts they have played in other pieces before, and since there is so much motivic repetition across the sections of a given piece, they are able to quickly learn and participate. In short, there is relatively little new melodic material to learn from one piece to another within a given Aymara genre; this, in combination with the fact that the same short piece will be played for a long time, allows most people to master a new tune on the spot during performance. The use of a stock form, formulas, and a good deal of motivic repetition across sections also allows the core musicians to compose two or three new pieces relatively rapidly in a single night.

Like most Shona music, the mbira (figure 2.2) music of Zimbabwe also has a predictable form and a good deal of internal melodic repetition. The vast majority of pieces played on this instrument have four phrases of twelve quick beats (12/8 meter) within an overall forty-eight-beat cyclical form that is repeated for extended periods. Commonly, half of a prior phrase is carried over into the next phrase (CD track 5). Similar observations can be made about the stock form, formulas, and motivic repetition of old-time stringband music (CD track 1; chapter 5).

The heightened repetition of forms and melodic material in participatory music provides *security in constancy*. Participants in Shona villages grow up with mbira music and know its form; they know that it will continue to cycle for a long period and that once a piece is going they can join in at any point without fear of radical shifts or contrasts that would trick them up. Likewise, the underlying rhythmic groove of the hosho (gourd rattles) part never varies, is repeated for as long as a piece lasts, and is the same for the great majority of mbira pieces. Thus at a ceremony using mbira music, the same rhythmic pattern will be played all night, providing another kind of constancy that makes dancing comfortable and easy. This constancy of

7. This feature of Conimbeño music is clearly demonstrated through discussion, charts, and the accompanying sound recording in the first chapter of the book *Music in the Andes: Experiencing Music, Expressing Culture* (Turino 2008). The issue of heightened motivic and melodic repetition in Andean music more generally is explored in the second and third chapters of that book and demonstrated with the accompanying CD.



FIGURE 2.2 Shona mbira, Chris Mhlanga and Bernard Matafá.

rhythmic motion is also true for Aymara music in Conima, where one or two genres and rhythmic grooves will be played repeatedly throughout festivals that can last up to seven days. Rather than leading to boredom, as it might for a seated audience, highly repetitive forms and rhythms actually add to the intensity of participatory performance because more people can join in and interact—through synchronized, interlocked sound and motion—and it is this stylized social interaction that is the basis of artistic and spiritual pleasure and experience. The redundant underlying rhythmic feels of mbira music, Aymara wind music, contra dance tunes, and the vast majority of dance musics allow participants to get into the groove and stay there—both individually and with each other—creating what anthropologist Edward Hall would call *social synchrony*.

RHYTHMIC REPETITION AND SOCIAL SYNCHRONY. In his book *Beyond Culture*, Hall emphasizes that in everyday life all harmonious social interaction is grounded on synchrony of movement and body language. He has observed that when locked in conversation, people will often imitate each other's stance and hand positions (in pockets, folded across the chest, etc.), or gesture in an interlocking fashion that mirrors

the alternated interlocking of their words. Such 'choreography' of similar body positioning and motion leads to comfort in congenial social interactions. Through studying films, Hall has also documented the fact that when walking down a crowded street or airport hallway, people will move together in a culturally appropriate pace and rhythm—in *sync*. This idea becomes apparent in the awkwardness one feels when moving with others in an unfamiliar city or country, an experience I have had countless times. In daily interaction, the synchrony of body language and movement remain fairly low in focal awareness. In addition to what is said or done overtly, people often feel comfortable or uncomfortable with others without really pinpointing why. I, for one, never noticed the signs of social synchrony until I read Hall, but afterward I began to observe how often my own physical stance and movement mirrored those of the people I was with, and I began to pay attention to the whole range of body signs that color social interactions.

The fact that the signs of social synchrony are typically low in focal awareness doesn't mean that they are not registering. The subtle feelings of comfort or discomfort we experience in given social interactions are typically based in these signs, which we often only vaguely feel rather than directly attend to. When people are in *sync*, the signs of social synchrony function as icons insofar as similarities of gesture and motion lead to a tacit identification and thus comfort; a lack of iconicity conversely leads to discomfort. More important, 'body language' and movement styles are often interpreted as **dicent indices* in that they are perceived, however vaguely, as being directly affected by the inner moods and the nature of the person in question. It is precisely because such signs are icons and *dicent indices* that they can operate directly and do not require symbolic assessment; thus they can remain lower in focal awareness and function as "natural" or authentic signs of the people and situation in question. Being in or out of *sync* with others results more in what we *feel* than in what we can verbalize about a given situation—what we *know* about it with a different part of ourselves because of the types of signs involved.

Now if issues of synchrony and body language are a constant in and important to daily interactions, they have an even more crucial importance in music and dance events, where issues of rhythm and synchrony are the very basis of the activity and focal attention. Our responses to pre-sentational musicians are influenced by the *dicent indices* of their facial and physical expressions and movements during performances. One of the special burdens of recorded forms in many genres is that they must affectively project the persona of the performer without a physical pres-

ence, that is, through the sound alone. This is one reason that the human voice—an index, *the sonic body*—is heavily emphasized in popular music recordings. Yet our responses to presentational and recorded musical sounds still involve shared codes about movement and rhythm, such that listening to certain recordings may make us want to dance, alone, while cooking in the kitchen.

It is in participatory settings, however, that focal attention to synchrony becomes the most pronounced and important. Because the music and dance of participatory performances are not scripted in advance, participants have to pay special attention to the sounds and motions of others on a moment-to-moment basis. In contra dancing, for example, people change partners rapidly and continually throughout the dance. Each new (momentary) partner moves differently, swings differently, and dancers have to continually adjust. In a Shona ceremony, singers and dancers try to interlock their parts with the parts of those around them. As people introduce new formulaic or improvised melodies or dance movements, which are then repeated for some time, others may change their sung, hand-clapped, or dance parts to fit with these new contributions on an ongoing basis. Thus special attention to what is going on in the moment is required. This enhances the potential for *flow* and a special awareness of other participants as realized through their sounds and motions. This need to pay attention results in a kind of heightened, immediate social intercourse; when the performance is going well, differences among participants melt away as attention is focused on the seamlessness of sound and motion. At such moments, moving together and sounding together in a group creates a direct sense of *being together* and of deeply felt similarity, and hence identity, among participants.

Knowing and hence being able to perform appropriately in the style is itself a *dicent index* of belonging and social identity, because performance competence is both a *sign* and *simultaneously a product* of shared musical knowledge and experience—shared habits. In music and dance performance a higher level of attention is placed on rhythm and synchrony; participants are acutely aware of the groove and their relation to it and through it their relation to the other participants. In participatory performances, feelings of social synchrony are at a higher level of focal awareness but still involve iconic and indexical signs which typically create effects of feeling and direct experience rather than symbolic assessment. When a performance is going great I doubt many people stop to symbolically reflect, "Gee, we are really moving as one," although this is what is *felt* during the performance and remembered afterward.

Repetition of the rhythmic groove and predictable musical forms are essential to getting and staying in sync with others. Social synchrony is a crucial underpinning of feelings of social comfort, belonging, and identity. In participatory performance, these aspects of being human come to the fore. When things are going well they are experienced directly in a heightened way, and the performance as a whole becomes a *dicent index*—a direct effect of social unity and belonging. This is one reason that group music making and dance so often form the center of rituals, ceremonies, and activities intended to strengthen and articulate social bonds—ranging from the chanting of military cadences by recruits while jogging, to singing in churches, to Shona ceremonies and Aymara festivals, to the Nazis' use of collective singing. It is *in the doing* that the feelings and direct experience of being in sync with others is most pronounced, and this is one reason that participatory music is so valuable in societies throughout the world. It is also why politicians, fascists, and nationalists use this same potential (chapters 5 and 7).

The very musical features of repetition and formal predictability that help create social bonding in participatory music lead to boredom in presentational contexts. It is not that one type of music making is better or more valuable than the other; it is simply that they are different, with different social functions, responsibilities, and thus sound features that make them work. It is for these reasons that participatory musical styles do not transfer well to presentational stage situations, in spite of nationalists' folklorists' and academics' attempts to bring them into presentational settings. It is also for these reasons that it is a mistake to judge music making in one field on the terms of the other.

MUSICAL TEXTURE, TIMBRE, TUNING, AND DENSITY. Dense **textures* and *timbres* are among the most common traits of participatory music, and they have an important role in inspiring participation.⁸ Mu-

8. In music jargon, *texture* refers to the relationships among, or the arrangement of, voices and instruments as they are sounding simultaneously. There are a variety of standard musical terms that refer to different types of texture. A single melody, even if a number of people are singing it together, is referred to as **monophonic texture*. A solo melody accompanied by chords played on a guitar or piano or sung by other voices is called **homophonic texture*. When two or more melodic lines compete for attention, this is *contrapuntal texture*. When a number of people play or sing slight variations on a single melody simultaneously so that their pitches and rhythmic articulation do not match up precisely, this is called **heterophonic texture*. Within a single performance,

sical textures and timbres can be described in relation to their relative density or transparency. *Transparent texture* refers to music in which each instrumental or vocal part that is sounding simultaneously can be heard clearly and distinctly; *dense texture* refers to music in which the different parts overlap and merge so they cannot be distinguished clearly (compare CD tracks 1 and 2; 3 and 4; 6 and 8).

The density of participatory music is produced in a variety of ways. Often a constantly shifting heterophonic approach to the performance of specific melodies—which may be arranged overall in homophonic or contrapuntal texture—leads to overlapping and a lack of clarity. This is a sound ethnomusicologist Steven Feld calls *in-sync-out-of-phase* since, collectively, the different variations will be in sync with the underlying groove but as they are not in strict unison, the different voices or instruments playing a given part are slightly out of phase with each other (Feld 1988). In addition, the entrance and arrangement of different parts may be staggered to create overlapping. For example, in central African Pygmy singing, groups of men and women may each sing their own heterophonically rendered ostinatos that begin in different places and seem to cycle on top of each other, one beginning somewhere in the middle of the other cycle.

In addition to issues of texture, the characteristic density of participatory music is created through timbre and related issues of tuning. A typical feature of participatory traditions is that the tuning of instruments and voices on any given pitch tend to be purposely 'wider' than in standard cosmopolitan music. For example, Shona instrument makers tune unison and octave pitches on an mbira slightly apart, and the overtones that each key produces will also be slightly different, creating a tremolo effect known as beats when the two keys are sounded together. The tuning of accordions, Indonesian gamelan orchestras, and Peruvian panpipes and flutes, among many other examples, follows this same procedure. The wide tuning of fundamental pitches and the resulting richly staggered overtones help produce dense timbres. I speculate that a preference for wide tunings actually comes from being socialized in a community where participatory traditions are the mainstay. Because of the range of musical skill included, people's tuning precision will vary somewhat, and wide tuning will become the norm. Musical values and senses of intonation are the result of the sounds people grow up with. Thus there is probably a dialectical relationship between participatory traditions and a preference for wide tuning (CD track 3).

different textures can come into play. The term *timbre* refers to the tone quality of voices and instruments.

Dense timbres are created in participatory music in a variety of other ways. Mbiras, for example, are constructed with bottle caps attached to the soundboard; these function as rattles, creating a buzzy aura around the instrument's basic sound. Such devices are found on instruments throughout the sub-Saharan region of Africa. The gourd shakers or rattles that accompany much African and African-derived music and Amazonian music create a buzzy aura around the entire ensemble. Snare drums and certain kinds of cymbals in a standard drum set create the same type of effect. The heavy-handed bow technique of old-time American fiddlers helps create the fat or buzzy violin timbre that is characteristic and preferred in this tradition.

Densely overlapping textures, wide tunings, consistently loud volume, and buzzy timbres are extremely common sound features of participatory music throughout the world. Taken together, these aspects provide a crucial *cloaking function* that helps inspire musical participation. Imagine this: You are a neophyte flute player and are asked to go out onstage and join in with another solo flautist performing before a large, silent, attentive audience. Now imagine that you are a neophyte flute player and you have the option of joining in with thirty other Aymara flute players performing in a dense, loud heterophony, accompanied by loud buzzy snare drums, in a situation in which almost everyone else is dancing, drinking, or standing around talking. Given the volume and density of the Aymara ensemble's sound, any mistakes you might make would not stand out much, and no one would really be paying attention to the musical sound in *that way* in the first place.

In light of these two scenarios, it is understandable why some people would habitually experience stage fright and stress in relation to musical performance if they grow up in societies where highly specialized presentational music is the most prominent and valued field. Some individuals, however, relish the challenges inherent in presentational performance and the opportunity to have their accomplishments stand out to please an attentive audience. The pressures of presentational performance, however, limit the number of people who go on to become musical specialists in societies where presentational music is the norm. Conversely, people growing up in societies where participatory music is the mainstay rarely feel stress in relation to musical/dance performance. Rather in such places musical making and dance, like conversation, are simply enjoyed as a normal part of social life. Participatory music making constrains individual creative freedom to a greater extent than the other fields do, while it provides more individuals the opportunity to develop their musical/dance

skills over a lifetime. Something is lost and something is gained with each field.

VIRTUOSITY AND SOLOING. The overall effect of participatory music is a fairly undifferentiated wall of sound—different instruments and voices merging together. Certain voices or instruments may move in and out of relative prominence within the sonic mesh, but such dynamic shifts are not preplanned or arranged as much as they are the result of particular individuals' waxing and waning enthusiasm and dynamism in particular moments of performance. In keeping with the overall dense, communal, unplanned quality of participatory music, arranged sections for virtuosic solos are not common. Virtuosity, while present, tends to be intensive, like variation itself, and is usually subtly merged with the overall collective sound. Too much emphasis on virtuosic soloing would be counterproductive within participatory traditions, because it would overvalue experts at the expense of others' contributions and thus prove detrimental to inspiring general participation. Call-and-response singing is one common format in participatory traditions where there are spaces for highlighted solos, but the solo spaces tend to be relatively brief and 'song-leader' roles usually rotate among core participants, for example, people who remember and begin particular songs. Moving to the center of a dance circle to "show your stuff" is also common in participatory situations like Brazilian samba de roda and Zimbabwean jesusarema (chapter 5). In these examples, *simultaneous* and *sequential* participation are combined, as discussed below.

In Aymara panpipe performance in Conima, Peru, musicians play in pairs; each musician's panpipe has only every other pitch of the series, and so he has to fit his notes into those of his partner's part to render a complete melody—a technique called **interlocking* or *hocketing* (Turino 1993: 2008). Each musician typically lays out when his partner is blowing his melody notes. To keep themselves interested and challenged when playing the highly repetitive formulaic melodies, however, advanced panpipe players have developed a technique called *requintando*; they play formulaic or improvised harmonic pitch sequences to accompany their partners' melody pitches. An important musical value among Aymara musicians in Conima is that one's contributions should merge with, and not stand out from, the overall sound of the flute or panpipe ensemble. Thus, when performing *requintando*, musicians play the accompanying harmonic pitch formulas so that they add to the overall rich density of sound without standing out. Here is a case where "soloing" appears to have the sole function of provid-

ing a space for play and for challenge so that advanced musicians can stay interested in the activity and experience flow, rather than as an overt display of individual virtuosity. While this may be a particularly pronounced example, the blending of intensive variation and improvisation within a dense mesh of sound is common for participatory traditions.

The style characteristics of participatory music create security in constancy and a cloaking of individual contributions which, in turn, create comfort for participants. These sound features have evolved dialectically in relation to the particular goals and value of inclusion. Participatory sound style actually functions to inspire people to join in, and this type of music making serves a deeper function of creating a special sense of social synchrony, bonding, and identity. Finally, in societies where participatory music is the most valued form, almost everyone will grow up taking part in music and dance and develop some competence; music and dance will be available to everyone as normal human activities.

Simultaneous and Sequential Participation

The type of participatory music that I have been discussing thus far involves situations in which everyone potentially performs together simultaneously. There is, however, a second major subtype that we might call *sequential participatory music* in which everyone takes a turn alone or smaller groups perform for the other people in the event; in a sense, then, sequential participatory traditions begin to include features of presentational music making. In her wonderful book *Engendering Song*, Jane Sugarman describes the singing at Prespa Albanian weddings. The participatory frame is very much in place, and she suggests that social pressure to participate is strong. "As an important means of asserting one family's respect for another, singing is regarded as a moral act. What this means, practically speaking, is that each guest at a wedding who attends an evening gathering, or who participates in any ritual activity, is expected to lead, or 'sing,' at least one song on each occasion" (1997:59).

Men and women sing separately. The song leader is accompanied by a second singer of the same gender who performs a supporting polyphonic part adjusted to the lead singer's. In addition, Sugarman notes, "at any social occasion, every person in the room of the same gender is expected to join in on the drone [part]" (1997:73). Although any number of women might join in droning with someone's song, giving the appearance of simultaneous participation, there is the idea that each song leader is taking a turn and performing for others present. At an intimate, somewhat in-

formal in-family gathering that was part of one wedding, the men did not feel obligated to sing; rather the women kept the music going. Sugarman writes, "As each song ended, the older women conferred among themselves as to who should sing next and gently encouraged each woman in turn. Slowly the order of singers progressed, roughly from oldest to youngest, so that it followed the seating order fairly closely" (49). This turn taking, in which group attention is trained on a given individual, represents a different, sequential, type of participatory tradition where a component of presentation starts to be mixed in.

Because everyone is expected to perform in Prespa weddings and people have different levels of musical expertise, there are customary ways that more experienced singers help the less experienced, thus making successful participation possible. The main singer of a song certainly renders the core part, but if she is not an experienced singer, women with more expertise will serve as accompanists and help her through her performance. This practice, along with the fact that everyone in the room of the same gender will have to sing at least one song, encourages participation. If only the most skilled people sang, it might be embarrassing for a neophyte to offer a song, but since a range of singing skill will be heard over the course of the evening and each person is encouraged regardless of skill level, the prospect is less daunting.

As noted, Prespa wedding singing blends aspects of simultaneous and sequential participation. Karaoke provides a well-known example of a participatory tradition that is more strictly sequential. Karaoke is also interesting in relation to the four-fields framework because it blends aspects from other fields. Most obviously, high fidelity recordings are used as accompaniment. In bars where karaoke is performed, aspects that cue a presentational frame are present, such as a stage, a microphone, an MC (the KJ or karaoke jockey), and applause (or at least audience reaction) after a performance. The style of performance is presentational; one or several singers use a microphone to sing for everyone else in the bar. Yet the key feature that makes karaoke participatory is the underlying ethos that others present will eventually do a song. Describing karaoke in Japan, Rebecca Hale notes that "the nightclub is still the main location for Japanese karaoke. Whether advertised or not, most possess equipment, and attendance requires that you will sing at some point during the night" (1997:21). This fact makes everyone's participation more comfortable, and in a sense possible. The fact that everyone should perform eventually during the evening creates a camaraderie and an empathy for people with different levels of skill.

In the United States things are somewhat different, because karaoke is a less established tradition and because public music making is so strongly associated with professional presentational performance—that is, North Americans will typically gauge themselves against the stars. Karaoke actually encourages such comparison, since the songs people sing have been made popular by professional performers and the accompanying back-up tracks index the original hit recordings. So in the United States extra effort is sometimes required to get people to participate, and the karaoke jockey (KJ), serving as master of ceremonies, often plays a key role. Hale writes:

Unlike in Japan, the choice for Americans whether or not to sing is left to the individual. Many don't hesitate to participate, and still others remain dedicated to the audience. But for some, a trip to the stage represents a long dilemma and conquering of stage fright. Before, during, and after the song, the KJ offers encouraging remarks, and demands a corresponding response from the audience. As performers leave the stage, they are rewarded with either canned or real applause, and sometimes both. Alcohol is served throughout the night, and often bars offer drink specials aimed at tables of singers (e.g. pitchers of margaritas), or lowered appetizer prices. In American marketing and advertising, karaoke is portrayed as play—something to be done for fun. The Japanese are also aware of karaoke's playful attributes, but within the realm of fun, there is still a decorum (native to Japanese culture) to be adhered to. (Hale 1997:25–26)

In Champaign-Urbana, Illinois, if a person frequently attends the same karaoke sessions (e.g., ones held weekly at the same bar), after a few sessions the regulars will begin to recognize the individual and, via encouragement and cajoling, may put pressure on her to do a song. The power of the participatory frame is important here. Describing the late 1990s, Hale notes that “in Champaign-Urbana, six different bars offer a ‘karaoke night’ each week. These nights are widely advertised at campus locations and in the papers, and thus few people arrive at the club merely by chance: most have come specifically for the opportunity to sing, to be seen, hear others, and participate” (1997:31). Some participants who judge themselves to be good singers, and who have received audience approval in the past, take karaoke performance quite seriously and might even practice at home. Others use comedy and parody to make their performances entertaining. While a few might hope that karaoke performance could serve as a stepping stone to

performing professionally, most simply do it for fun and to experience the Possible—what it would feel like to be a singing star. As in all participatory traditions, the fact that people with different levels of musical skill perform for each other helps bolster confidence among the less secure.

In the United States, where the presentational and recorded fields are most highly valued and where commercial popular music is the type most widely known, karaoke provides a rather telling participatory space. It allows people to imagine and project themselves as presentational performers, against the backdrop of prerecorded music, but for most, this is possible only because of the participatory frame and the frame of karaoke itself, which indicates ‘this is only play.’ In a society where participatory traditions are not particularly developed, people need extra encouragement and direct guidance, and thus the importance of the KJ for karaoke, whose role parallels the role of the caller for square and contra dancing (chapter 6). Karaoke is particularly interesting because it is a sequential participatory tradition stripped down to the barest essential—the participatory frame itself—which paradoxically allows participants to play at being presentational performers with high fidelity backup.

In chapter 1 I suggested that the different sign types (icons, indices, and symbols) have different human functions and pertain to different parts of the self (feeling, physical reaction, symbolic thought). I also suggested that it is important for individuals to include activities in their lives in which the different sign types are emphasized in order to develop, exercise, and integrate the different parts of the self. People need the arts because of the limits of symbolic thought, just as they need the symbolic because of the limits of iconic and indexical experiences. While participatory traditions tend to constrain individual creative freedom, the fact that they allow more people to take part in the artistic realm over a lifetime has important benefits for individual and social health. Since each musical field offers its own benefits for different types of individuals, it would be optimal if all fields were equally valued in every society so that any individual could engage in music making as best fit her personal dispositions and habits. Issues of social conception and value are crucial here, and we will return to this topic in the final chapter.

Presentational Music

Presentational music is a field involving one group of people (the artists) providing music for another (the audience) in which there is pronounced

artist-audience separation within face-to-face situations. Obviously the musicians in any type of ensemble participate with each other making music, and so they will experience many of the social and musical aspects such as syncing described for participatory music. But the goals of presentational musicians go beyond this to fashioning music for nonparticipating audiences, and this goal generates a variety of different values, practices, and style features that distinguish the participatory and presentational fields. Participatory music is *not for listening apart from doing*; presentational music is prepared by musicians for others to listen to, and this simple distinction has many ramifications.

European classical music concerts are perhaps the most pronounced form of presentational performance, where the audience sits still in silent contemplation while the music is being played, only to comment on it through applause after a piece has been completed. Bebop or country music concerts are also typical presentational events, although the conventions of audience reaction (e.g., applauding after each bebop solo) may differ. Indian classical music concerts are likewise presentational events. Knowledgeable Indian audience members often quietly clap the metric cycle (*tala*) in stylized ways during a performance, but clapping *tala* and the clapping in a participatory Shona mbira performance differ; in the Zimbabwean case the clapping is considered an essential part of the musical sound, whereas keeping *tala* is not—it is mainly a guide for skillful listening. The *frame* for presentational performance is typically cued by devices like a stage, microphones, and stage lights that clearly distinguish artists and audience. A swing, zydeco, contra, or rock dance band may also play on a stage and so use some of the trappings of presentational performance, but if the main goal and effect of the music are to get everyone dancing, it is a participatory performance that simply involves different functional roles—instrumentalists, singers, and dancers.

The values and goals of presentational performance lead to different criteria for creating and judging good music. Moreover, in this field, performers' social responsibility is of a different kind from that of performers in participatory events; musicians must provide a performance that sustains the interest of an audience that is not participating in making the sound or dancing, and the audience has its own responsibility of granting more or less attention to the performance *depending on the genre frame*. Contemporary classical concerts and singer-songwriter performances typically cue interpretive frames in which the audience is expected to pay

close attention to the musicians and music; the frame for a presentational rock band playing in a bar is often more relaxed. Although varying somewhat with the genre frame of reception, the requirements of presentational music lead to different practices in preparing and presenting the music as well as to a different set of style features that contrast with participatory performance.

Preparation for Presentations

The core musicians involved in participatory performance may get together to prepare for an upcoming festival or ceremony, but the dynamics of preparation typically mirror participatory performance itself. Aymara musicians of Conima just play through a number of pieces from past years as a warm-up and then spend most of the 'rehearsal' time composing new tunes (Turino 1993; 2008). To my knowledge, most Shona village musicians do not rehearse at all before a ceremony, although they play together over time both informally and in community events. Participatory performances usually do not have fixed programs or set lists; any number of pieces might be introduced in any order during the performance as participants desire or the event requires. Moreover, the dynamics and shape any piece takes will depend on the individual contributions of participants during performance, and these cannot be planned or predicted in advance. Since this is generally understood, it would not occur to participatory musicians to attempt preplanned detailed arrangements of who should do what when or where a particular rhythmic or dynamic shift should occur; indeed this would be counterproductive, since it would confound participants who did not attend the rehearsal. The process of getting ready for a participatory performance, then, is of a looser, more general nature, without all the care and angst of preparing for audience scrutiny.

In rehearsing for a presentational performance, musicians expect that the audience will be attentive to the details of what they play. They also know that if their performance is to be successful they have to make the music interesting and varied for the audience. In the presentational field, then, rehearsals tend to be much more goal directed and detail oriented. Often the complete program to be presented will be planned and rehearsed in advance so that there are smooth, quick transitions from one piece to the next and so that the program as a whole offers both coherence and internal contrasts to keep the audience interested and attentive.

For symphonic music, the conductor rehearses the details and his or her interpretation of the score and will stop the orchestra, as they are playing, to work out problem areas by repeating or talking through them. Even for music that is not scored, pieces will be arranged as *closed forms*. The determination of the form, the order and length of people's solos, and set beginnings and endings will be planned, among other details, with the expectation that the piece will be performed in the manner planned and rehearsed. This mode of preparation indicates the conception of a musical piece as a set item, an art object, whereas in participatory music a piece is more like a set of resources, like the rules and stock moves of a game, refashioned anew during each performance.

At a more specific level, the processes of rehearsal will vary widely according to the personalities of particular conductors or the leadership structures and social relations within particular ensembles, as well as the nature of the tradition itself, and these cannot be generalized. For example, preplanning and attention to detail will be more pronounced in symphony and big-band jazz rehearsals than in those of smaller jazz or rock groups, where more dynamism and spontaneity on stage are possible. Nonetheless, amidst all this variation, there is a major difference between the processes and feel of rehearsals for a participatory event and those for a presentational concert. In rehearsals for presentational performance, a greater amount of attention to detail and arrangements is possible because personnel is typically fixed and it is known in advance that the members of the ensemble will control the performance. Unlike musicians and dancers in participatory contexts, the members of presentational ensembles tend to be approximately at the same level of expertise, and members are often selected to a large degree on their musical/performance abilities. This parity of skill enhances the potential for predictability and control during presentations, whereas unpredictability is a basic feature of participatory performance.

Presentational versus Participatory Values:

Issues of Responsibility and Constraint

There are fundamental differences in the goals and types of responsibility, and hence in the preparation and sound, of participatory and presentational performance. More to the point, there is a different "head" or mind-set among musicians who habitually operate in one or the other of these two fields. It would not occur to Aymara musicians in Conima or Shona

people in Zimbabwean ceremonies to arrange anything within individual pieces in advance or to adhere to a preplanned script for the performance instead of going with the flow of participants' contributions in the moment. The members of presentational rock bands think about and prepare what they are doing in a different way. Their songs are conceptualized and rehearsed as scripted pieces with set beginnings, contrasts, development, and endings, and the musicians tend to perform according to the script regardless of what else is happening in the performance space. If they are a cover band, the script is often predetermined by the model of the recording. Moreover, whole performances are scripted—the order of songs is arranged in advance to produce variety and dramatic progression—in the form of set lists (e.g., see Bennett 1990).

Rock musicians who conceptualize themselves as presentational performers may arrange pieces with dramatic shifts in rhythm and tempo to make the music artful and interesting for listening audiences. I have had the experience of trying to dance to such bands due to my own indexical associations of rock with dance music. On one occasion I invited a partner out onto the floor because a song began with a rhythm that was attractive for dancing, only to be left standing there feeling awkward when the song shifted in the middle to something that wasn't danceable. This was my mistake; I misjudged the nature of the band. But an ensemble that unpredictably changes its rhythms and tempos will not be trusted by dancers; I certainly did not ask anyone else to dance that evening. Again, more to the point, musicians with a participatory mindset would not have altered the rhythm and tempo of the piece, even if the changes had been preplanned, once they saw dancers move onto the dance floor; they would have shifted their performance for the sake of the dancers. Highly scripted presentational performers simply think about what they are doing in a different way. Depending on the musical tradition, there are probably many ensembles that combine presentational and participatory attitudes, although my guess is that one or the other orientation will ultimately emerge as more fundamental for decision making and practice. Let me offer a personal example to explain what I mean.

I lead a zydeco band that exemplifies a kind of compromise between the requirements of a presentational ensemble and a participatory one, and our mode of preparation and performance reflects this. We play in clubs where some people just sit and listen, but our primary goal is to get and keep people dancing. For listeners we include certain types of contrasts, such as sections led by the fiddle, accordion, or guitar alternated

with vocals, but for dancers we try not to alter tempo or groove. We rehearse set beginnings and endings so that we appear tight onstage, but the length of time we play a particular song and the number and placement of sung verses and instrumental solos cannot be scripted and rehearsed because such decisions depend on what is going on in the room. If we have a room full of enthusiastic dancers, we keep playing long and hard, cueing additional fiddle, guitar, or accordion choruses as we need them. If dancers start to look tired, we conclude. If a third couple has just gotten up to waltz on a sparsely populated dance floor after I have cued the ending, I rescue the group and we go a little longer so that they will not be embarrassed. If no one is dancing, I try to string together some of the hottest tunes that usually get people up. If this fails (and we consider it a failure), I start choosing songs that are better for just listening—and so on.

In rehearsals we select and learn pieces, organize the beginnings and endings, and just play through tunes as Aymara musicians would do. We preplan some basic things that *could* happen in performance—e.g., the guitarist accepts or declines a solo spot for a particular song—without pre-determining in what order or how many of these preplanned features will actually happen when we play; I just cue things as we go. We do not plan set lists, because I cannot predict what we will need or what will feel right at particular points in the evening. Thus while we include some aspects of presentational performance, we operate most fundamentally from a participatory orientation. We have had some turnover of personnel and have found that this style of operating is not for everyone. But those who are or become accustomed to the flexible open form approach seem to find it challenging and fun; when it is working, it leads to a special type of trust and communication among us.

Since presentational performers do not feel the responsibility to make music that will provide a comfortable basis for others to join in, they have greater artistic freedom to use creative contrasts of many types. All sorts of repetition and predictability are extremely helpful for inviting and inspiring the participation of people at a variety of skill levels, but this tends to constrain advanced musicians' freedom to play with dramatic contrasts, new innovations, and *extensive variation*. For example, since people often show up to participate in Aymara festivals in Conima without prior rehearsal, preplanning and scripting performances is impossible, and this also constrains musical innovation more generally.

One year the core musicians of a Conimeño Aymara community ensemble created a particularly novel flute (*tarka*) piece for carnival that did not use the standard formulas and melodic shape. They were quite excited



FIGURE 2.3 Carnival in Conima, Peru: participatory music and dance.

about the piece and thought that its novelty would draw attention and acclaim to their community for their originality. As they waited to make their entrance into the town plaza on the opening day of carnival, a number of men who had not attended the previous night's rehearsal showed up at the last minute and joined the ensemble. The core musicians ran through the novel composition, hoping that those who had just arrived would pick it up so that they could play it for their entrance. But the newcomers were not able to learn the tune fast enough, and so the composition was dropped and not played again. This event was mildly frustrating for some of the core musicians, but they did not express their disappointment publicly and soon got over it as they fell into the swing of carnival. After all, participatory performance is really about something else. Figure 2.3 provides a glimpse of musicians in one Conima carnival.

Presentational Style Features

The primary style features common to presentational music are in direct contrast to those of participatory music. The textures and timbres of presentational music tend to be more transparent so that audiences can attend to the details of what is being performed. The cloaking function that is so important to participatory music making is counterproductive in pre-

sentational music, where musicians want their individual contributions to stand out clearly for both their own and the audience's edification. Presentational music tends to be in closed prearranged forms, pointing to a conception of musical pieces and even entire programs as set artistic items. Because the preparation process is more detailed, and especially if scores are involved, the forms themselves can be longer and more varied—thus creative possibilities for the composer and/or arranger are more abundant. In the presentational field, the variation of musical material can be *extensive* (extending the form itself) because of preplanning and rehearsal. The use of longer, more varied forms is important for sustaining the interest of an attentive listening audience.

Planned contrasts of all types—rhythmic, metric, melodic, harmonic, dynamic, a shifting emphasis on different instrumental timbres—are built into performances to sustain audience interest. Whereas dramatic contrasts and shifts in the basic musical elements are counterproductive in participatory settings, they are crucial to the goals of presentational music. In presentational performance, dramatic contrasts and interesting shifts in the basic musical elements of a piece function as *indexical nouns* that draw listeners' attention back to the moment of performance.⁹ Moreover, once they are first introduced, dramatic sonic events promise future events and so help to keep listeners tuned in and attentive; *security in constancy* is counterproductive in this regard. Depending on how they are arranged, contrasting sonic events are necessary to create a sense of progression or musical development, which also helps keep listeners tuned in. The indexical moments are set against a basic backdrop of sonic iconicity—the overall ensemble/instrumental sound, the metric, rhythmic, melodic, harmonic framework established as the piece. Presentational musicians have the primary responsibility of creating interest for others through sound as well as through other performative aspects such as gesture and choreography. Thus, the iconic-indexical balance must be different from that of participatory performance, where iconicity reigns.

The style features that characterize presentational music can be charted as they contrast with participatory music in the following way:

9. Cornelia Fales explains the idea of *indexical nouns* in terms of "the cognitive economy of the nervous system [which] often functions by attending to events only when they offer new information" (2005:165). That is, we tend to tune out redundant sensory input, e.g., white noise, although I think the effect is different when actors are involved in doing redundant activities.

Participatory music	Presentational music
Short, open, redundantly repeated forms	Closed, scripted forms, longer forms and shorter performances of the form available
"Feathered" beginnings and endings	Organized beginnings and endings
Intensive variation	Extensive variation available
Individual virtuosity downplayed	Individual virtuosity emphasized
Highly repetitive	Repetition balanced with contrast
Few dramatic contrasts	Contrasts of many types as design
Constancy of rhythm/meter/groove	Variability of rhythms/meter possible
Dense textures	Transparent textures/clarity emphasized; varied textures and density for contrast
Piece as a collection of resources refashioned anew in each performance like the form, rules, and practiced moves of a game	Piece as set item (although exceptions such as small ensemble jazz and Indian classical music exist)

The differences between participatory and presentational styles can be understood by considering the transformation of a participatory tradition into a presentational one. The usefulness of these fields is suggested by the fact that very similar transformations occur regardless of the society in question. In the United States, for example, as old-time string bands (a participatory dance and player's music) evolved into bluegrass (a presentational stage and high fidelity tradition), dense group unison or heterophonic textures gave way to transparent, more fully homophonic textures. Repetitive open forms with little contrast gave way to shorter, closed, arranged forms with solo/ensemble and vocal/instrumental contrasts planned into arrangements for variety. There is virtually no soloing in old-time string band performance; everyone just plays the tune over and over again with heterophonic variations. The main interest in bluegrass per-

formance is in the virtuosic solos. In between sung verses and choruses, the various instrumentalists—banjo, fiddle, mandolin, guitar—take turns playing hot solos. While the solos appear improvised, they are typically prepared in advance or are at least formulaic—comprised of motives and passages, 'licks,' the musician has played before. The different necessities of participatory and presentational performance also help us understand the shift from the denser, more rhythmically driving claw-hammer banjo style in old-time to the clearer, more virtuosic three-finger, or Scrugg's, banjo style of bluegrass. Likewise bluegrass fiddlers typically use a clearer violin timbre whereas old-time fiddlers tend to bear down harder on the strings with the bow to create a denser timbre and louder volume (chapter 5; compare CD tracks 1 and 2).

These same stylistic transformations have occurred in various parts of the world when participatory traditions are adapted for presentational performance. The highly participatory indigenous Andean panpipe and flute music was the roots style for an urban-folkloric tradition of music performed in nightclubs and 'folk' clubs in Paris, Buenos Aires, and La Paz, Bolivia, among other places (see Turino 2008, chap. 5). In the presentational Andean style, textures became homophonic, the texture and timbres became more transparent, solo/ensemble contrasts were added, timbral contrasts within the ensemble and timbral clarity of each instrument were emphasized, virtuosic solos were highlighted, and forms became tightly arranged and closed. Paralleling the old-time to bluegrass shift, indigenous Andean music is used for community dancing in festivals whereas the folkloric nightclub style is typically not a dance music but is played in presentations for seated audiences (CD tracks 3 and 4).

Some of the same style changes occurred in ceremonial Shona mbira music when it was adapted for guitar-band performance in Zimbabwean nightclubs and for high fidelity recording. Guitar band renditions of mbira music involve more planned, set arrangements, and pieces are conceptualized as set musical items. Thus Thomas Mapfumo's band, the Blacks Unlimited, performed pieces in the 1990s identically to the way they had been recorded in the early 1980s (see discography). As with the other examples just described, the ensemble textures become clearer, as do the vocal and instrumental timbres. Set contrasts—between vocal sections and instrumental breaks, and between solo and backup vocalists—are also preplanned to create sonic interest. Unlike the bluegrass and Andean nightclub styles, however, Zimbabwean guitar bands play for dancing and thus have a participatory function; performances of the same piece remain long and, because of the structure of the indigenous models, cyclical. As

an artist, Mapfumo has been oriented toward high fidelity recording as well as live performance since the 1970s, and as mentioned, his recordings and live renditions of a particular piece tend to be very similar, the recordings serving as a set model or script for live performance. In this case, attention to detail in the recording process itself may help explain the stylistic transformations of participatory mbira music in his live shows. In Zimbabwean music, the contrasts between participatory and presentational styles are most clearly heard when one compares the singing that accompanies indigenous dance drumming (CD tracks 6 and 10) with the presentational traditions favored by the African middle class (CD tracks 8 and 9; see chapter 5).

Contextual Features of Presentational Performance

In addition to, and sometimes even more important than, the music, there are other aspects of musical events that add to audience interest and excitement and constitute reasons for going to live presentational performances as opposed to simply staying home and listening to recordings. Perhaps the most common element for all musical genres is the social aspect. People go out to concerts and clubs because they like to be with other like-minded people, to see and be seen, to socialize, and to meet new people. This is even more obvious for scenes based around recordings, like DJ club performance, where fashion display and meeting new partners seems to be uppermost in many people's minds. The presentation of a given musical style creates a fulcrum around which given identity groups can form or be maintained. Musicologist Christopher Small argues that contemporary classical music concerts in the United States are ritual occasions celebrating upper-middle-class and elite values and heritage and, for some concertgoers, are as much about the ritual occasion as about the music being performed (1987). Cultural cohorts often form around particular presentational music styles such as jazz or bluegrass. People who frequent jazz clubs can at least assume an aesthetic like-mindedness among the patrons, but, depending on the club, often other nodes of identity such as upper-middle- or elite class standing, urban residence, and social sophistication can also be assumed.

Like participatory music occasions, presentational events can thus connect individuals and identity groups, although the two fields differ in the type of engagement and the level of intimacy and scale. I would suggest that participatory music making connects people more intimately and powerfully because of shared interactive engagement among all par-

participants in the *actual doing* of the activities with each other. This tends to be most effective on a relatively small scale—mass rallies involving collective singing and chanting perhaps represent the outside boundary (see chapters 5 and 7). Presentational performers and styles can provide fulcrums for identity cohort formation hinging on a shared fan dedication to, and the modeling of oneself on, the style presented, and this can work on a broader geographical scale through wide-ranging artist tours and mass media exposure. Here, however, group bonds are partially channeled through the presentational performers rather than each member of the group's focusing on each other directly through dancing and making musical sound together. Fans do interact directly in other ways such as listening together, sharing information and ideas about the music and performers, and attending events together.

People also go to live shows to see the artists they have heard on the radio and recordings for a whole host of reasons ranging from wanting to be in the presence of greatness or fame to wanting to make personal contact with someone who has moved them through recorded music. Even now when many people's main experience with music is via recordings—the sound alone—I think many still harbor the old idea that music has something to do with people, communication, and direct connection and there is a desire for a human aura, the physical, visual *décent* signs of an authentic being. When my son Matt was little, the first thing he would do when I put on a new album was to pick up the jacket cover to look at the picture of the performers, as if seeking a fuller sense of the people who had made the sounds. Presentational performance is attractive because it fulfills, to different degrees, this desire of connecting with the artists—whether or not we get a real sense of the people we admire or only the groomed public personas they wish to present. John Corbett has suggested that the popular music industry actually trades on this desire for an authentic aura and human connection by producing music products (including live shows) that suggest but do not consummate the connection, always leaving consumers wanting more (1990). Mark Rubel, who has worked in the music business for some time, suggests that people want heroes. In the contemporary United States, the sports, movie, and music industries are in the business of supplying heroes—celebrities—who can be shared by, and hence unite through common reference points, masses of people. People in New York and L.A. can gossip on their coffee breaks about Brad Pitt's recent love interest, as if gossiping about someone in their community. Young guitar players of a certain generation across America could emulate Eddie Van Halen as Shona youth might look up to the best

mbira players in their village. Part of the lure of live concerts, especially by well-known performers, is to make contact with, or at least be in the presence of, heroes whom we may hold in esteem because of what their music has meant to us or because of their industry-produced image and fame, or some combination of the two.

Some concertgoers want to hear their favorite pieces performed live very much as they were recorded. Others are curious to see what new songs or variations on familiar pieces might be presented in concert. These alternative desires will of course depend on the dispositions of given fans, but they also correlate with particular *genre frames* and sets of shared values among the fans of a given genre. Jazz fans expect creativity and innovation onstage and might judge a performance harshly if it mainly involved pieces and solos that they had heard before; Britney Spears fans might hope to hear a performance that closely mirrors the recordings they have come to love.

A few years back I attended a Bob Dylan concert. I went partially because I have listened to his recordings for most of my life and wanted to see him, to be in the presence of a legend, but also to get a sense of what he could and would do outside a recording studio—formerly my only window to his work. He performed many of his well-known pieces, but each one was done in a way that contrasted with the recorded version in terms of phrasing, vocal style, and instrumentation, thus balancing familiarity and innovation. I would have been disappointed if he had done only familiar tunes “just like the record,” but I was also pleased to hear songs that I knew.

Dylan stood relatively still while performing his songs, there was minimal talking between numbers, and only he and his back-up musicians, with their guitars, fiddle, and electric bass, were onstage. The message was that this concert was *about* the songs and the musical performance. In the stage presentations of other artists, and in other genres, many different types of performance elements are combined. In contrast to Dylan, singer-songwriters often talk a good deal about their songs and their own experiences between numbers. This genre is typically framed by ideologies of personal authenticity; it is expected that the songs are the result of the writer's own experiences (are *décent*), and fans expect to get a sense of the genuine person in performance. Although earlier in his career Dylan was involved with ideologies of ‘folk’ authenticity, by the time I heard him perform he seemed to ignore this aspect of the singer-songwriter frame.

In other genres, such as contemporary R&B, soul music of the 1960s, and African popular music, dance and choreographed movement onstage

play a key role in generating excitement during concerts. James Brown's acrobatic movements and dance prowess are legendary. Dance was perhaps as important as the musical sound in Michael Jackson's performances, and this remains true for a host of young contemporary R&B and pop performers who follow in this tradition. Performance artist Laurie Anderson combines music, dance, spoken dialogue, costume, and electronically projected visuals to form unified pieces in her live presentations. Mexican wrestling masks, witty, understated choreography, and the dry humor of their stage patter make the surf rock band Los Straitjackets a delight to witness. While they are technically excellent musicians, it might be difficult to sustain audience interest for a two-hour show with only their string of instrumental surf rock tunes, as they perhaps realized.

Sexual/romantic appeal and fantasy are one of the great draws for music audiences. While it is often considered impolite to stare at attractive members of the opposite sex, there is special license to do so when they are on stage. Performers of many types—from Elvis to classical music divas—have benefited from their sexual appeal, some purposefully accentuating it onstage through movement and dress. In a related phenomenon, some performers attract audiences through special personal qualities often referred to as *charisma*. Charismatic individuals have the ability to make the people they interact with feel special about themselves and feel an intimate connection—through body language, tone of voice, and other physical signs as much as by what is overtly said and done. Some people can project charisma when interacting with groups and even crowds of people; the careers of politicians, salespeople, and performers are greatly enhanced by this ability.

The list of elements that are variably combined to make presentational performances attractive could go on indefinitely. For the purposes of general description and analysis, however, it is important to identify the frame for a given type of music—the ideology, imagery, and expectations that guide interpretation. For example, I suggested that the singer-songwriter genre is framed by an ideology that the songs are *dicent* signs of the composer's own experiences, and consequently performers in this genre tend to cultivate an image of personal sincerity, directness, and simplicity onstage. The ideology and imagery underpinning country music involve working-class attitudes about masculinity and femininity, rural residence and work, Christian religion and 'family values,' and patriotism which are projected through the lyrics of songs, the stoic body language of male performers on stage, and the dress 'work clothes'—cowboy hats, boots, and denim—worn onstage and for album cover photos. The frame

for interpreting country involves issues of *dicent* authenticity of rural working-class experience. Likewise, the frame for rap involves *dicents* of African American inner-city experience, signaled through the lyrics, clothing and movement styles, and tough stage personas that index black urban youth. In contrast, the frame for interpreting glam rock eschews, and in fact often parodies, ideologies of authenticity; this genre is framed in such a way that artifice is celebrated. Antoine Hennion has suggested that the making of a successful popular song involves the fitting of the image of a performer to the style and content of the music he or she performs (1990). This matrix, however, varies with the specifics of the frame of expectations for particular types of music, and these are open to analysis and understanding on a case-by-case basis.

Because of recent technology, the fit between the sound of live performances and studio recordings has become more intertwined. Musician, record producer, and sound engineer Mark Rubel explains that now there are computer programs commonly used in recording studios that 'correct' or standardize the pitches recorded by vocalists so that they will be 'perfectly in tune' on the finished recording. As use of such programs became more common, CD-buying and radio audiences came to expect this type of intonation. Now there is also an electronic device that standardizes the tuning of vocalists onstage. Presentational performers' microphones are plugged into this device so that the pitches that emanate from the PA speakers are corrected electronically en route and will match the 'perfect' vocal tuning heard on recordings. It has also become common in popular and academic music to use prerecorded tracks as part of the mix in combination with the playing of instruments during stage performances. Lip-syncing, karaoke, and DJ performances simply represent further extensions of this type of practice, which blurs the lines between the recorded fields and presentational performance. In any event, presentational performance and high fidelity recordings are integrally connected and, taken together, provide the greatest contrasts with participatory music, on the one hand, and studio audio art, on the other. This suggestion will become clearer in the following chapter after we explore the two fields pertaining to the making of recordings: high fidelity and studio audio art.