CHRISTOPHER SMALL'S CONCEPT OF MUSICKING:

TOWARD A THEORY OF CHORAL SINGING PEDAGOGY

IN PRISON CONTEXTS

By

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M.M.E., University of Kansas 2000

Submitted to the graduate degree program in Music Education and Music Therapy
and the Faculty of the Graduate School of the University of Kansas
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

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Date defended   July 9, 2007

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Committee:

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Date approved: _____

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this investigation was to raise and examine questions relevant to building a theory of choral singing pedagogy for prison-based choirs with reference to Christopher Small's (1927-) concept of "musicking." Historical-biographical method was employed to construct an account of Small's life and work using published sources and personal interviews with Small. Philosophical inquiry was used to examine his published writing, the roots and logic of major propositions contributing to his mature concept of musicking, and published criticisms to date of Small's philosophy. Thereafter, Small's philosophy of musicking was investigated in terms of its explanatory power in building a theory of choral singing pedagogy in prison contexts.

In that regard, Small's concept of musicking was compared to major propositions articulated by traditional aesthetic philosophies of music, and contrasted with three contemporary North American philosophies of music education (Reimer, Jorgensen Elliott) with respect to the logical capacity of each philosophical framework to respond to two primary assumptions: (a) choral singing typically entails the articulation and communication of words ("the word factor") and (b) choral singing evidences a union between musical agent and musical instrument ("the somatic factor").

Major arguments advanced were that (a) Small's concept of musicking more ably accommodates the word factor and the somatic factor than either traditional aesthetic

philosophies or the three philosophies of music education examined; and (b) the contextual and relational components of Small's concept of musicking render it able to address many of the variables unique to choral pedagogy in prison contexts. Finally, a theory of interactional choral pedagogy in prison contexts, based on Small's concept of musicking, was advanced. The proposed theory was addressed in terms of defining its operational variables, specifying relationships among those variables, and stating the theory such that it could be falsified or confirmed through subsequent research and assessment. It was suggested that Small's concept of musicking may signal a paradigm shift in ways of thinking about choral singing pedagogy in prisons and other contexts.

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CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

"We all live alone inside our heads so every once and a while you want to feel like you are part of something bigger and stronger, especially in here." (Inmate chorister)

Prison is a rarely examined context for choral music education. To date, only one published, and four unpublished data-based research studies explore various matters associated with choral singing in prison contexts.[1]

Previous Studies

Silber (2005) examines participants' (N=7) experiences in a female prison choir in Israel. Her findings indicate that this choir tends to function as an alternative community within the prison, encouraging inmates to listen, form new bonds, respect authority, accept criticism, and grow.

Richmiller's (1992) unpublished master's thesis describes survey responses from male ex-offenders (N=17) and former prison staff members (N=10), obtained 29 years after a prison choir experience. Both groups look back upon their association with the choir as a positive experience. Moreover, out of the 17 inmates in Richmiller's study, only 2 were rearrested in the 29 years following incarceration. One had a misdemeanor conviction and the other reported, "I am back in prison now. Falsely accused of raping my 85 year old mother-in-law [*sic*]. I had been out, clean,

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[1] Thomas Geary Elliot (1981) studied the psychology of a non-verbal methodology in an instrumental music program for adult offenders. The following studies, although not specifically about adult prison choirs, examined related topics: choruses of marginalized persons outside of prison contexts (Bailey & Davidson, 2001; Bailey & Davidson, 2005) and choruses for adjucated or at-risk youth (Nelson, 1997; Wolfe, 2000). Waters (1997) published an interview with Elvera Voth, a prison choir conductor.

for 22 years" (Richmiller, 1992, p. 45). These low rearrest rates compare to current estimates of 60.00% or more for U.S. inmates as a whole (Warren, 2006).

Three other, as yet unpublished, studies focus on prison-based choirs jointly comprised of inmates and volunteer singers from the surrounding community. Cohen (2005) explores experiences of both inmates (N=20) and community volunteers (N=24) in a minimum security prison choir in the Midwestern United States. Findings suggest that experiences fostered by this particular choir may carry potential for positive, transformative change, as indicated by self-reported improvement in interpersonal skills and self-esteem among inmates, and a broadened, enriched perspective of inmates among community volunteer singers.

Cohen (2007) compares well-being measurements among inmate choristers (N=10) and inmate non-choristers (N=10). Results indicate significant differences between the two groups on four subscales of the Friedman Well-Being Scale: emotional stability, sociability, happiness, and joviality.

Cohen (in press) reports an historical investigation of a 1998 sing-a-long initiated and led by internationally prominent conductor Robert Shaw (1919-1999) to benefit the East Hill Singers, a joint inmate-volunteer choir founded by Elvera Voth (1923-). Shaw's commitment to this cause is clear: (a) he chose to travel to a small Mennonite college in rural Kansas at age 83 at the same time he was receiving numerous invitations to present at prestigious universities and in major cities, (b) it was his final out of town engagement ten weeks before he died, and (c) he both donated his services and paid his and his Atlanta guests' travel expenses. Cohen suggests that this event, which raised $25,540.39 and led to the establishment of a

non-profit organization, Arts in Prison, Inc., illustrates the intersection of deep, largely Mennonite, convictions about social justice with beliefs that choral singing itself can be a positive force for improved personal, interpersonal, and societal behaviors.

Vocal Music and Character Education

Indeed, some of the brief, anecdotal glimpses of prison choirs afforded by scattered accounts in historical documents suggest that character education or moral education, broadly conceived, may be one factor in the formation of such ensembles. W. E. Hickson (1838), for example, upon hearing a prison choir sing in the Dutch city of Rotterdam, observes that "music may be regarded as a great moral engine, which, when wisely directed, can produce the most beneficial results" (p. 3). "I wish," says Hickson, "to see Vocal Music introduced in the branch of national education, as a means of softening the manners, refining and raising the character of the great body of the people" (p. 3).

Vocal music instruction used as a means to enhance ethical behavior is evident in another document, formally approved and adopted in Boston in 1838, the same year as Hickson's recorded observation and request. The Report of the Special Committee of the Boston School Committee from August 24, 1837, argues that vocal music be added to the required curricula of Boston's public schools on three grounds: intellectual, moral, and physical (Mark, 2002, pp. 75-86).

With respect to the presumed moral education component of vocal music, the report asks rhetorically: "Are our schools mere houses of Corrections, in which animal nature is to be kept in subjection by the lay of brute force and the stated

drudgery of distasteful tasks?" (Mark, 2002, p. 82). "Not so," the report continues.

Schools "have a nobler office" (p. 82). That purpose, according to the report, is to

"raise up good citizens to the Commonwealth, by sending forth from our schools,

happy, useful, well instructed, contented members of society" (p. 83). To those ends,

the report argues, vocal music, not instrumental music, is properly equipped to render

education "more complete" (p. 85) by virtue of its power "properly to direct the

feelings" (p. 82) "and above all, because Music has its moral purposes" (p. 80).

The report acknowledges that its reasoning stands firmly with "Pythagoras

and Plato" among others (Mark, 2002, p. 85). The "end proposed . . . is not to form

the musician," but rather to "raise up good citizens" (p. 79). In such respect, the

report asserts that instruction in vocal music "will humanize, refine, and elevate a

whole community" (p. 83).

Similarly, Robert Shaw, in an Emory University commencement address, a

speech repeated at least nine times between 1967 and 1998, asserts that choral music

and other arts

> are not simply skills, their concern is the intellectual, ethical, and spiritual
>
> maturity of human life. . . . the Arts are custodians of those values which most
>
> worthily define humanity . . . and . . . may prove to be the only workable
>
> Program of Conservation for the human race on the planet. (Shaw, 1967, p. 6)

Shaw (1998) ascribes healing effects to choral singing: "I did work with choirs

immediately following World War II. . . . There were scores and scores who said this

music has saved my life and found their way back to sanity and for a while could

forget their killing" (p. 2). Because of its unique power, says Shaw, participating in a

choral music performance "is like a religious conversion only more lasting" (Alexander, 1968, p. 14). He refers to a Mennonite Festival Chorus rehearsal as "one of the most beautiful experiences of my life. . . . You can buy the sound but you can't buy the love" (Shaw, as cited in Berg, 1991, pp. 45-46). Moreover, Shaw says of Voth's efforts with the East Hill Singers, "You are engaged in the creation of something which is healthy and beautiful and wholesome. . . . I think it is enormously productive towards health and healing in a very difficult situation" (Shaw, as cited in Shull, 1998, p. 1B).

Education in Prison Contexts

The "very difficult situation" to which Shaw refers is imprisonment. On any given day, there are some 2.2 million prisoners in nearly 5,000 adult federal, state, and local jails in the United States (Gibbons & Katzenbach, 2006). Among U.S. males, that figure represents 1,348 inmates per every 100,000 U.S. male residents (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2005). According to the United States Department of Justice (2000), moreover, that figure may differ significantly for men of color. In 2000, for every 100,000 Black men, 4,848 were imprisoned, while a total incarceration for every 100,000 Hispanic males was 1,668 and, for White males, 705. In addition, over 102,000 U.S. young people under age 21, both male and female, are in custody at any given time in juvenile correctional facilities across the United States (Sickmund, 2006).

Over the course of a year, 13.5 million people spend some time in U.S. prisons and jails (Gibbons & Katzenbach, 2006). On the last day of 2004, almost 7 million people were either on parole, on probation, or in jail or prison. That figure

represents 3.2% of all U.S. residents, or 1 in every 31 adults (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2005).

The population of incarcerated persons in the United States grew at an average annual rate of 3.4% in the decade between 1995 and 2005 (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2005). This increasing prison population, moreover, is characterized by significantly higher rates of illiteracy, anti-social behaviors, prison suicide, increasingly higher rates of minority imprisonment, and lack of interpersonal skills when compared to the U.S. population as a whole (Liebling, 1999; Wacquant, 2001; Petersilia, 1997).

In his recent book *Inside: Life behind Bars in America* (2006), Michael G. Santos argues that American correctional facilities succeed as temporary human warehouses, but fail at correcting or rehabilitating inmates:

> If the end goal is to warehouse human beings, then the American prison system is a costly but effective design. On the other hand, if the goal is to prepare people to live as law-abiding, contributing citizens, then objective data suggest that our prison system is a stellar example of failure, ripe for reconsideration. (Santos, 2006, p. xxiii)

Santos, himself an inmate, goes on to suggest that prison-based education programs, when permitted and funded, can prepare prisoners to succeed in and contribute to society upon their release, although currently "the prisoner's preparation for release is of secondary, and in some cases, zero importance" (p. 19).

Much recent research indicates a high positive correlation between education and lower inmate recidivism. Wells (2000), for example, in a meta-analysis of 124

studies in the area of corrections education, explores relationships between educational variables and post-release behavior of criminal offenders. Among his findings, education emerges as a strong predictor of whether or not an inmate will successfully reintegrate into society.

In a study completed for the Federal Bureau of Prisons, Harer (1995) analyzes data obtained from a random sample (*N*=619) of all inmates nationwide released from a federal prison or halfway house in a six month period, who had served a prison term of more than one year. Results indicate that inmates who participate in education programs while incarcerated are significantly less likely to recidivate within three years of their release than inmates not participating in education programs while imprisoned.

Harer (1995), moreover, finds that this effect is independent of post-release employment. That is, this lessened likelihood of recidivism is possible whether or not former inmates attained specifically vocational or job skills as part of prison education programs and whether or not they were regularly employed within the first three years of their release from prison. Harer attributes this effect to prison education programs and operations that employ education as a means of reducing perceived effects of prison warehousing, which he describes as "normalizing" (p. 1).

According to Harer, participation in prison education programs "normalizes by offering relief from the pains of imprisonment and by helping inmates to appreciate and adopt prosocial norms." In this respect, Harer appeals to Aristotle (384-322 B.C.E.) and Emile Durkheim (1858-1917), among others, in arguing that education itself "creates the socially good (i.e. moral) person." He suggests that

"uneducated, unsocialized/contrasocialized persons, incapable of informed moral reflection, are the truly imprisoned" (p. 3).

The Wells and Harer findings contradict some recent operative political assumptions in the United States, as evidenced, for example, by federal lawmakers' complete elimination of Pell Grants for inmates during the 1993-1994 congressional term. As Ubah and Robinson (2003) point out, "Pell grants were the primary sources of funding for postsecondary, correctional-education projects in America" (p. 123). Limited funding sources for educational programs in prisons "enforce a policy that insures heightened reincarceration rates, unsafe communities and prolonged ignorance" (Fine, 2001, p. 35).[2]

Numerous scholars (e.g. Batiuk, 1997; Gehring, 1997; Tewksbury, et al, 2000; Welsh, 2002; Wells, 2000) situate the elimination of Pell grants within a larger mindset heralded by a much publicized study by Martinson (1974), in which he argued scathingly that "nothing works" with respect to prisoner education and rehabilitation. Prior to Martinson's study, a philosophy of correctional education and rehabilitation had been gaining ground in the United States during the late 1950s and throughout the 1960s (Wells, 2000).

Various partisan interpretations of the Martinson study, however, fueled viewing offenders "as evildoers of society who are supposed to be punished and

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[2] Pell grants are currently only available for low-income undergraduate students. However, in an attempt to provide some funding for work-related training for offenders, in 1999 the Employment and Training Administration of the U.S. Department of Labor started a "Youth Offender Demonstration Project" to assist employment opportunities for 14 to 24 year-old offenders. Three rounds of grants, starting in 2002, have been implemented. As of June 30, 2006, 17,314 youth have participated in the project (see "Program Highlights: Youth Offender Grants" <http://www.doleta.gov/performance/results/Quarterly_report/Website_6-30-06_YO.pdf>). In 1993, moreover, the Pell grants that were awarded to inmates represented less than one percent of the total grant awards (Karpowitz & Kenner, 2003, p. 7).

deterred through determinate and harsh sentences" (Ubah & Robinson, 2003, p. 123). The Martinson (1974a) study, according to several commentaries, afforded some scientific respectability to an ideological stance that favored punishment over rehabilitation (Jancic, 1998; Steven & Ward, 1997; Ubah & Robinson, 2003; Wells, 2000). Moreover, as Wells (2000) points out, this shift toward favoring punishment with decreasing or eliminating educational opportunities "occurred at the same time prison populations were expanding, prisons were overcrowded, [and] budgetary cutbacks were rampant" (p. 3).

In a later study, Martinson (1979) reports some educational and rehabilitative efforts within certain prisons appear to have a favorable effect on recidivism. Welch (1996) notes, "it is ironic, but instructive, that whereas Martinson's 1974 nothing works article is among the most cited of criminological writings, his revisionist 1979 essay earned scant attention" (p. 100).

In more recent years prison education and rehabilitation appear to be attracting renewed interest and support. A statement by Warren Burger (1907-1995), former Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court, is perhaps illustrative of this renewed interest in rehabilitation over mere punishment: "We must accept the reality," says Burger, that simply confining "offenders behind walls without trying to change them is an expensive folly with short term benefits—a winning of battles while losing the war" (Burger, as cited in Taylor, 1993, p. 90).

Ninety-three percent of persons incarcerated in U.S. prisons and jails will, at some point be released (Petersilia, 2005). Simply housing inmates in U.S. prisons costs taxpayers around $22,650 annually per prisoner (Stephan, 2004) or an estimated

$43 billion dollars per year (Schiraldi & Greene, 2002). Expenses of prison education programs pale in comparison, particularly if one considers that, given an overall recidivism rate of approximately 60% among inmates in U.S. prisons, the cost per year per prisoner can continue indefinitely if the cycle of former inmates returning to prison is not interrupted.

Elvera Voth captures succinctly, but eloquently, the choice between punishment and the rehabilitative potential of prison education programs. Asked why she champions choral singing pedagogy in prison contexts, she says "because they'll be better members of the community when they leave. And I'd rather have them as a neighbor with hope in their hearts than with hate in their eyes" (Voth, cited in Walker, 2001, ¶ 6).

Statement of the Research Problem

Background

Conceptually, music education, and specifically choral music education, may be appropriate enterprises in a prison context. Two formal statements from The National Association for Music Education (MENC) affirm that music education experiences should be available to all. The first statement of the Vision 2020: Housewright Declaration on Music Education reads: "All persons, regardless of age, cultural heritage, ability, venue, or financial circumstance deserve to participate fully in the best music experiences possible" (Madsen, 2000, p. 219). Additionally, MENC's Mission Statement reads: "To advance music education by encouraging the study and making of music by all" (MENC, 2006, p. 71). Neither statement excludes

prisoners from music education opportunities. Rather, both statements declare that all people, regardless of circumstance, are worthy of music education experiences.

Choral and vocal pedagogy endeavors, moreover, have extensive historical roots as vehicles of ethos, that is, as intentional efforts to create or sustain citizens of good character. In the Western world, from at least the time of Plato to the decision of the Boston School Committee in 1838 to incorporate vocal/choral pedagogy as part of the required curricula of its schools, this factor figures prominently in advocacy of music education (Bowman, 2001; Flusser, 2000; Mark, 1982; Stone, 1957).

In certain general respects, then, there is nothing new about current efforts to establish choral singing pedagogy programs in prisons as one means of contributing to inmate education and, perhaps lower recidivism rates. At the same time, however, such efforts appear to lack a logical, theoretical framework (a) by which to guide development of choral singing pedagogy curricula in prison contexts, and (b) by which such curricula might eventually be assessed. Beyond beliefs and sentiments, albeit strenuously expressed ones with considerable historical roots, there appears to be little evidence to date that choral singing per se contributes to making good citizens, nor even any sustained logical effort to articulate how it might do so.

Indeed, one prominent thrust of music education philosophy in North America since at least the mid-twentieth century argues, in effect, that music education cannot and should not concern itself with character education, or any other utilitarian aims. This school of thought, sometimes referred to as "music education as aesthetic education" (cf. Elliott, 1995), grounds itself in a music for music's sake perspective, a

prominent thrust of North American music education philosophy since the mid twentieth century (Leonhard & House, 1972; Mark, 1982; Reimer, 1970, 1989, 2003).

According to this perspective, the meaning and value of music and other fine arts are rooted in the formal qualities embodied in a "work" of art. Moreover, any non-artistic referents "are always transformed and transcended by the internal artistic form" (Reimer, 1989, p. 27). Thus, "the artistic meaning and value is always essentially above and beyond whatever referents happen to exist in a work (if they happen to exist at all, as they do not in most instrumental music, abstract paintings and dances, and so on)" (p. 27). The primary purpose of music education, according to this perspective, is to foster aesthetic experience, that is, an experience of responding to qualities inherent in and intrinsic to a musical "work," such that the one who has this type of an experience gains "access to the experiences of feelings contained in the artistic qualities of things" (p. 53). In this context, the goal of music education, therefore, is simply to experience good music as an end in itself, as embodied in "sounds organized to be expressive" (p. 176). In other words, the "good" of music education is "the enhancement of musical experience itself" (p. 202).

This perspective views music education, much like it views music itself, as an essentially autonomous endeavor. Immanuel Kant (1790/1952) concisely expresses the issue when he states that the fine arts "engage actively the aesthetic judgment independently of any definite end" (section 51, p. 188) and that aesthetic judgment itself consists of "pure disinterested delight" (section 2, pp. 43-44).

Arguably, despite such claims of "art for art's sake," proponents of music education as aesthetic education nonetheless advocate music's inclusion as a part of

basic education on utilitarian grounds. Because of its unique and essential qualities, music, they suggest, educates human feeling and cognition in ways that no other curricular component can. In other words, music benefits human beings with its presumed potential, ultimately, to deepen or improve the cognition of feeling as embodied and transmitted through significant musical works.

Whether or not having an aesthetic experience via the study and singing of recognized choral masterpieces might have moral or character education implications could, conceivably, be one avenue of research. Historically, some thinkers have explored such possibilities.[3]

However, that line of investigation presents several conceptual difficulties, particularly when one begins to examine the logic of situating choral singing pedagogy in a "music education as aesthetic education" framework. Such difficulties can be summarized under two primary groups of concerns: (a) recent criticisms of aesthetic and "music for music's sake" philosophies in general, and (b) the specific characteristics of choral singing.

Criticisms of Aesthetic Philosophies of Music and Music Education

Use of the term "aesthetic" to describe a particular philosophical worldview apparently dates back to Alexander Baumgarten (1714-1762), who is said to have coined the term in 1735 for analyzing poetic imagery (Baumgarten, 1750/1961;

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[3] More recently, Jerrold Levinson (1998) has edited a series of essays entitled *Aesthetics and Ethics: Essays at the Intersection* (1998). That aesthetics and ethics constitute "the two traditional branches of value theory" (Levinson, 1998, p. 1), however, may be insufficient reason for supposing necessary intersections between aesthetics and ethics. Indeed, as John Zammito (1992) argues in his exploration of *The Genesis of Kant's Critique of Judgment,* a primary task informing the rise of aesthetic philosophy was "to liberate the realm of aesthetics from its submission to ethics" (p. 273).

Elliott, 1995, p. 22; Goble, 1999, p. 206). From such initial use, the term expanded during the eighteenth century to encompass a particular grouping of pursuits increasingly referred to as the "fine arts," among them painting, sculpture, architecture, music, and poetry (Elliott, 1995, p. 22). Particularly as formulated by Kant (1790/1952), these "fine" arts, as opposed to the merely "agreeable" arts that cater to sensation or amusement, "engage actively the aesthetic judgment independent of any definite end" (section 51, p. 188).[4]

Kant suggests, moreover, that these fine arts invigorate the mind by inviting contemplation of the inherent, formal qualities embodied in their artistic objects. Kant asserts that such contemplation reflects a universal correspondence between the basic structure of the human mind and the intrinsic form of a particular work of art. He thus posits a "noumenal" reality that transcends the "phenomenal" world of human experience. Judgments of taste, that is, aesthetic judgments, Kant argues, appeal to "necessity of the assent of all to a judgment regarded as exemplifying a universal rule incapable of formulation" (Kant, 1790/1952, section 18, p. 81).

Among recent commentators, Jonathan M. Hess (1999), in a study entitled *Reconstituting the Body Politic: Enlightenment, Public Culture, and the Invention of Aesthetic Autonomy*, argues that articulation of such a dualism, i.e. between a transcendent, "noumenal" realm and the empirical world of human experience, functions politically and culturally as an alternative to perceived ills brought about by the industrialization and modernization of Western society. Hess suggests that the

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[4] On the subsequent historical systemization of certain arts as "fine" arts, see Paul O. Kristeller (1965), "The modern system of the arts," in Kristeller, *Renaissance Thought and the Arts* (1965).

notion of aesthetic autonomy, by promoting both a means of escape and a mode of escape, paves a way for persons to experience beauty severed from the world of everyday concerns.

Other analyses take issue with some fundamental propositions largely shared by aesthetic philosophies. Lydia Goehr (1992), for instance, questions what she terms *The Imaginary Museum of Musical Works*. Prior to the late eighteenth century, she argues, the idea that the meaning and value of music resides in the composition and performance of an idealized product, the "musical work," would have been a strange notion indeed:

> Before 1800 the pivotal question in philosophical thought about music, 'what is music?', asked for specification of music's *extra-musical* function and significance. . . . Approximately 200 years ago the situation of music and musicians changed. . . . The transformation gave rise to a new view of music as an independent practice whose serious concerns were now claimed to be purely musical. The emerging practice became specifically geared towards, and evaluated in terms of, the production of enduring musical products. (pp. 122-123)

In order to become an object of aesthetic contemplation, according to Goehr, "music had to find a plastic or equivalent commodity, a valuable and permanently existing product, that could be treated in the same way as the objects of the already respectable fine arts" (p. 173).

This permanent product, argues Goehr, is the musical "work," marketed and valued as "permanently existing creations of composers/artists" (p. 174). Yet, as

Goehr demonstrates through examination of the historical record and exhaustive logical analyses, these "works" are, at heart, simply imagined or projected through a combination of "sophisticated thought and strategic action" (p. 175). With respect to music, perhaps the most temporal of the fine arts, musical "works," as autonomous objects presumed to be both permanent and transcendent, exist only to the extent one imagines them to exist. Goehr quotes Carl Dahlhaus (1928-1989) in introducing her study; and his words also aptly summarize her findings: "The idea that music is exemplified in works . . . is far from self-evident" (Dahlhaus, 1982, as cited in Goehr, 1992, p. 13).

This idea of musical "works" becomes further complicated as it encounters the rise of nineteenth century Romantic notions of "absolute" music. In his study of *Absolute Music and the Construction of Meaning*, for instance, Daniel K. L. Chua (1999) argues that "the Romantics removed music from historical reality altogether and enclosed it in its own 'separate world'" (p. 4). Isaiah Berlin (2001), in his classic study *The Roots of Romanticism*, characterizes the Romantic Age as alternating between one foot, planted firmly in knowledge gained by the scientific method, and another foot, placed stubbornly in a different world altogether, one created by artistic insight. Such dualism, contends Chua (1999), renders "absolute music," the contention that pure music, that is, music without words or other referents, exists autonomously or absolutely in a realm of its own, a "murky concept" (p. 3).

Goehr (1992) suggests, moreover, that as a result of the eighteenth century practice of categorizing individual compositions with opus numbers, the term "work . . . came generically to signify any original and completed and whole composition of

music, whether instrumental or vocal" (p. 203). In turn, the work or score "has become the spirit of the composer in the form of an absolute music, and is therefore more perfect than its performance" (Chua, 1999, p. 186).

John Butt (1994), in his study of *Music Education and the Art of Performance in the German Baroque,* argues that throughout the eighteenth century music was "elevated as an attribute of culture and taste . . . an object of bourgeois choice rather than necessity" (p. xiv). Thus, according to Butt, music is "potentially dispensable" (p. xiv). Furthermore, in the context of Lutheran schools, a major form of German public education at the time, Butt finds that "the internal developments of music as a specialist art" contributed to "the eventual demise" (p. 166) of music education as a universal requirement in Lutheran schools.

A major proposition advanced by notions of absolute music and aesthetic autonomy is that instrumental music, not vocal or choral music, serves as a basic yardstick by which ideas of musical meaning and worth are measured. Such is the case because many theories of music and music education grounded in an aesthetic framework, a framework that celebrates the "purity" of music conceived as "sound alone," have either ignored or attempted to explain away certain variables that pertain to choral singing, but not to instrumental music. As Karen Ahlquist (2006) observes, "Choruses can muddy the waters on the subject of art" (p. 8).

Specific Characteristics of Choral Singing

Two fundamental characteristics of choral singing, as opposed to instrumental music, warrant attention in any examination of theoretical bases for choral music education. First, most choral music has text. Second, choral music directly employs

human bodies as musical instruments. That is, in choral singing the musical instrument is inseparable from the musical agent; they are one and the same.

Choral Music Has Words

What to make of the words in choral music is a continuing challenge for philosophers of music and music education. Some philosophers dismiss any consideration of potential values and meanings arising from text in musical performances. Romantic philosopher of music, Eduard Hanslick (1825-1904), for example, claims that "one will always have to grant the concept of 'music' does not apply strictly to a piece of music composed to a verbal text" (Hanslick, 1891/1986, pp. 9-10).

Peter Kivy (2002), a contemporary philosopher of music, follows suit in his explication of enhanced formalism: "What I have been trying to show, in these reflections, is that the emotive properties of music, which is to say absolute music . . . have a purely structural role to play in the musical works in which they occur" (p. 99). According to Kivy, however, "music with words and dramatic settings is quite another matter" (p. 99).

Similarly, Stan Godlovitch (1998), in a philosophical study of musical performance, acknowledges that for the sake of "simplicity," his study emphasizes "instrumental music-making throughout" (p. 12). According to Godlovitch, the "separateness of music agents and their instruments" is a unique factor in instrumental music, while "the presence of language and meaning in song would needlessly complicate the picture of what music-makers must accomplish at a very primary level of agency" (p. 12).

Among prominent contemporary philosophers of music education, Bennett

Reimer (1989) views words as extra-musical or non-artistic "referents." While worthy

of consideration and exploration, he maintains that such referents, nonetheless, "are

always transformed and transcended by the internal artistic form" (p. 27).

Furthermore, Reimer (2003) explicitly distinguishes between language and music: "In

language, meanings are created and shared through the process of communication. In

music, meanings are created and shared through the processes of artistic musical

creation and aesthetic musical responsiveness" (p. 136).

Against that stance, Aaron Ridley (2004) argues that "'the music' of a song

cannot be fully specified without reference to its text, and so cannot be understood or

assessed in isolation from it" (p. 86). Words, contends Ridley, must be viewed as part

of what the "music" is (p. 89).

David J. Elliott, another prominent, contemporary philosopher of music

education, does attempt to account for text in his analysis of the meanings of choral

music. Says Elliott (1993), "the complex relationships between texts and

compositional designs [italics added] in choral works mean that choral performances

frequently involve musical expressions of emotion and musical representations" (p.

14). Elliott, however, limits his analysis to presumed relationships between texts and

purely musical structures perceived as separate entities.

By contrast, Ridley (2004) finds both practical and conceptual difficulties

with a stance such as Elliott's. Choral singing conceived merely as a consociation of

music, on the one hand, and text, on the other hand, inevitably relies upon conceptual,

evaluative standards separately established by these constituent art forms outside the

context of choral singing (pp. 85-86). Thus, regardless of the complexity that Elliott properly acknowledges, his "separate but equal" perspective with respect to choral singing may present more problems than it solves. Primarily, it neglects to consider the possibility that words, as Ridley suggests, can be viewed as necessary to, and inseparable from what the phenomenon of choral singing is.

Theories of choral singing pedagogy that rely, either directly or indirectly, upon concepts established largely with reference to instrumental music, or "music alone," may not be equipped to offer a viable framework for choral singing pedagogy, because they tend to ignore or gloss over the simple fact that most choral singing involves words. A theory of choral singing pedagogy that recognizes text, referred to in this investigation as "the word factor," as being an integral component of choral singing may be better able to offer guidance for choral singing pedagogy.

People Sing Choral Music

As Godlovitch (1998) and others point out, ensembles comprised of people playing invented and mechanical instruments, involves the "separateness of music agents and their instruments" (p. 12). Choral music ensembles, by contrast, consist of *human* instruments making music together. This immediacy, or complete union of music agents with their instruments, suggests at least the possibility that such variables as emotions, attitudes, aspirations, thoughts, intentions, physical health, and body movement of individuals and groups whose whole selves and social units become musical instruments may play a role in theorizing about choral singing in various contexts.

Thurman and Welch (2000) explain that human voices are context dependent in regard to (a) the aging process across one's lifetime; (b) environmental factors such as air quality, hydration level, and weather; (c) an individual's physical condition, including the health of endocrine, auditory, central nervous and musculoskeletal systems, and any bodily injuries; (d) overuse of or underdevelopment of particular vocal practices; (e) emotional sensations that can change from one moment to another; (f) neuropsychobiological interferences, and (g) nutrition, body movement, and medications (pp. 538-645). In this regard, they employ the term "bodymind" to suggest that human voices not only are context dependent, but also that the way human voices work, demonstrating complex interactions between neurological, psychological, and biological variables, resists description by any logic predicated upon some separation of body from mind. That is, human voices are embodied. "When we help people with their voices," therefore, "we are influencing their neuroanatomy, biochemistry, and physiology" because "vocal self-expression really cannot be separated out from everything that we human beings, are and may become" (p. xxiii).

Indeed, in his 1844 Report on Vocal Music in Schools, Horace Mann (1796-1859) notes that "the voice and the ear are universal endowments of nature" (Mark, 2002, p. 88) and, further, that "the organs of the human voice . . . [are] the unconscious companion of all" (p. 89). Singing, asserts Mann, is a readily available means of nurturing character, citizenship, intellect, and bodily health.

Because human voices are context dependent in ways that are qualitatively different from those musical instruments that can be packed away in storage cases

and retain nearly similar primary qualities when taken out of these storage units, various researchers suggest that singing has particular roles to play in identity formation and the fulfillment of basic human needs. In their study of the social and vocal behaviors of a men's choir, Faulkner and Davidson (2006) suggest that "men's perception of singing in harmony implies that this vocal behaviour is not only a metaphor for human relationships, but an essential and enriching way of relating to others, fulfilling basic needs for vocal and social connectedness" (p. 219).

Ahlquist (2006), in a compilation of ethnographic studies of choral groups as particular communities, proposes that "the human relationships at the center of choral life can flesh out the composer-work-reception model common in today's historical studies" (p. 8). Rather than this works model, Ahlquist suggests choruses may best illustrate "an adaptable idea of community that places serious attention to matters artistic at the center of its world" (p. 10). A theory of choral singing pedagogy that recognizes as potential variables both (a) the embodied character of choral singing and (b) its potential roles in the formation of individual and its social identities may be better poised to suggest a framework for choral pedagogy in prison contexts than those theories that disregard such variables. In this investigation, these variables are termed "the somatic factor," and are directly attributable to the fact that people sing chorally using their bodyminds in direct and immediate ways, such that the musical agent and the musical instrument become one and the same.

Christopher Small's Theory of Musicking: A Contextual Approach

One theorist who accommodates both the word and the somatic factor as necessary components in a conceptual understanding of music is Christopher Small

(1927-). Small (1998b), a native New Zealander who spent his teaching career in London, clarifies two types of relationships he deems vital in understanding the meanings of musical experiences: "first, those [relationships] among the sounds that the musicians are making . . . and second, those [relationships] among the people who are taking part" (p. 184).

Comparisons to Choral Methods Textbooks and the National Standards

The uniqueness of Small's perspective becomes clear when it is viewed in the context of many choral methods textbooks in use today, as well as the National Standards for Music Education (MENC Task Force for National Standards in the Arts, 1994). As a proposition for choral singing pedagogy, in particular, Small's perspective contrasts sharply with the contention, according to one choral methods textbook, that a choral experience is defined as "an interaction between a singer and a piece of music within a group setting under the guidance of a conductor" (Robinson & Winold, 1976, p. 3).

Other widely used choral methods books also tend to define and emphasize choral music experiences as relating primarily to a musical work. Kenneth E. Miller (1988), for example, states that "musical performance may be characterized as a restructuring, or recreation of those ideas and images originally conceived by the composer" (p. 20). Barbara A. Brinson (1996) follows suit by suggesting that choral music curricula, defined primarily as the selection, teaching, and learning of choral literature, should be geared to facilitating "peak" experiences, as grounded in a music education as aesthetic education framework. "These peak experiences," says Brinson, "are always significant, and may be the reason many students continue to participate

in choir" (p. 55). Don L. Collins (1993) states, "it is because of the aesthetic value of music that we justify its inclusion in the music curriculum" (p. 60). Furthermore, he proposes, "to have an aesthetic experience one must be involved with an art *object* [italics added]" (p. 60).

Although one choral music text, Kenneth H. Phillips's *Directing the Choral Music Program* (2003), seeks to articulate a balance between the external, or utilitarian, and internal, or aesthetic elements, of choral music experiences, it appears to give little consideration to the relationships among the people involved in singing chorally. Phillips (2003) does suggest a few practices that may enhance relationships among choir members, such as a rehearsal room bulletin board and social events (pp. 104-105). Yet he does not explore in any systematic or fundamental way how variables of choral singing itself may build relationships and foster identity formation among choir members.

The National Standards for Music Education (MENC Task Force for National Standards in the Arts, 1994), widely promulgated as guidelines for the contemporary practice of music education, also embrace certain concepts either rooted in or indebted to a music education as aesthetic education framework. Content Standard Six, for example, "Listening to music," specifies that students "analyze aural examples of a varied repertoire of music . . . demonstrate extensive knowledge of the technical vocabulary of music, identify and explain compositional devices and techniques" (p. 61). It would appear that Content Standard Nine, "Understanding music in relation to history and culture" (p. 63) might address human relationships in musical experiences. But its achievement standards are concerned primarily with

classifying or identifying specific musical genres or styles. Catherine Schmidt (1996)

argues it is evident in these standards that "high art" music is held in higher regard

than other Western and non-Western traditions (p. 79).

Musicking

According to Small, "music" is a verb, not a noun. Small understands music

as action, not as an object or a thing. Hence he employs the term "musicking" to

propose a paradigm of musical meanings rooted in contextual elements of

relationships and ritual. "To music," according to Small (1998b), means "to take part,

in any capacity, in a musical performance, whether by performing, by listening, by

rehearsing or practicing, by providing material for performance (what is called

composing), or by dancing" (p. 9). Musicking, according to Small, is a communal and

functional human activity. As such, it affords people a means to explore, affirm, and

celebrate their identities.

Because Christopher Small's theory of musicking places emphasis on context,

in terms of those relationships occurring both among musical sounds and among

human beings, it merits investigation as a possible framework for developing a theory

of choral singing pedagogy in prison contexts. Small (1998b) suggests that "the big

challenge to music educators today seems to me to be not how to produce more

skilled professional musicians." Rather, says Small, the challenge for music educators

is "how to provide that kind of social context for informal as well as formal musical

interaction that leads to real development and to the musicalizing of the society as a

whole" (p. 208).

Purpose of the Study and Research Questions

The purpose of this conceptual investigation is to raise and examine questions relevant to building a theory of choral singing pedagogy for prison-based choirs with specific reference to Christopher Small's concept of "musicking." Such a theory can potentially inform and guide choral singing endeavors in prison-based choirs and, ultimately, be assessed in such contexts. The following research questions guide this study: (a) Who is Christopher Small? (b) How does his life, work, and writing relate to his theory of musicking? (c) What are the primary assumptions, meanings, and implications of Small's theory of musicking for choral singing pedagogy in general, and specifically, for choral singing pedagogy in the context of prison-based choirs? and (d) How might Small's philosophy contribute to building a viable theory of choral singing pedagogy with prison-based choirs?

Methodology and Outline of the Study

Two primary methodologies, historical and philosophical, are used to address these research questions. Both approaches share the aim of making a logically sound, evidence-based argument.

Historical research concerns itself with telling "true stories about the past" (Arnold, 2000, p. 14). It relies upon the acquisition and systematic examination of relevant primary source materials to construct a narrative about previous events in the lives of persons, cultures, and institutions, including particular worldviews, or habits of thought and action, that may inform those events. The "truth" of historical investigation is gauged primarily by the authenticity, relevance, and range of its primary sources, along with the uses to which those sources are put. In this sense,

historical research is concerned with "truth in context" (Lynch, 1998). The "story"

constructed by historical methods is evaluated by the degree to which such narrative

considers and accords with all available evidence.

Historical research in music education "must be concerned . . . with trends in

education generally and with events and conditions in the culture" (Heller, 1985, p.

5). Succinctly, its goals are: "Illuminating the passage of time and comforting the

souls of its readers" by inquiring about people, their motives, and their actions (p. 6).

Chapters Two and Three of this investigation applies such concerns to Christopher

Small's life and writing. According to Roberts (2002), biographical research, as one

mode of historical investigation, "seeks to understand the changing experiences and

outlooks of individuals in their daily lives," along with "interpretations of the

accounts they give of their past, present, and future" (p. 1).

To date, published articles about Christopher Small provide only brief

glimpses of his life and career (Christgau, 2000a, 2000b, 2000c, 2001; Lawal, 2006;

Shaw, 1974; Small, 1989a; Thornley, 1992, 2001). The present investigation differs

from Robert Christgau's (2000a, 2000b, 2000c, 2001) interview data and Thornley's

(1992, 2001) articles in that this investigation encompasses more wide-ranging and

complete data than these and other previously published articles. There is, as yet, no

published, comprehensive biography of Small or compilation of his writing. Chapters

Two and Three contribute to such an account through the use of (a) recent interviews

Small has granted this researcher; (b) subsequent written correspondence that clarifies

and extends his interview responses; and (c) data from the full context of Small's

corpus of published writings, including books, articles, reviews, and lectures.

Philosophic inquiry, succinctly put, concerns itself with "thinking about thinking" (Blackburn, 1999). Its methodology includes developing an argument, defining terms, gathering evidence relevant to the argument, developing a conclusion in light of evidence, and identifying new questions that result through this process (Rainbow & Froelich, 1987, pp. 149-150).

In the context of music education, doing philosophy "challenges us to revise our thinking about music education and rework our methods when change is called for" (Jorgensen, 1990, p. 22). Philosophical research "offers us another complementary approach that enables us to clarify and refine our ideas critically and carefully and to make informed judgments about all the aspects of music education that touch us as musicians, teachers, and students" (p. 22). Specifically, Charles Leonhard (1955) describes the process and goals of philosophical inquiry:

> Through philosophical inquiry one seeks to know the meaning of a complex of variables. In so seeking, after he has gathered these variables together, he endeavors to arrange them according to some general overall consistency or unity, tries to organize them into some synthesis or integration and, finally, seeks to arrive at some broad generalizations or principles by means of exacting logic and precise definition. (p. 23)

This study employs philosophic method in three primary ways. Chapters Four and Five examine the major assumptions and propositions of Small's theory of musicking. Chapter Six explores the meanings and implications of concepts embedded in the philosophies of David Elliott, Estelle Jorgensen, Bennett Reimer, and Christopher Small as they relate to choral singing. Chapter Seven raises and

examines questions with respect to building a theory of choral singing pedagogy for prison-based choirs.

Assumptions and Limitations of the Study

This investigation proceeds under two primary assumptions. First, choral singing, by virtue of its use of words and its employment of the somatic factor, is, by definition, context dependent in ways that instrumental music, or "music alone," need not be. Second, choral singing pedagogy in prison-based ensembles affords both problems and opportunities arising uniquely from particular contexts of incarceration. To a large degree, the merits of this investigation rest upon the logic of these particular assumptions.

Definitions

Definitions for terms employed for this study were formulated prior to this investigation from a review of literature, including major writings in the disciplines of music and education, and the findings of some previous studies of prison-based education. Primary terms used in this study include:

Choral singing. For purposes of this investigation, choral singing is group singing, with sufficient individual voices in a particular group to produce a psycho-acoustical "chorusing effect" (Daugherty, 1999; Ternström, 1994). Typically, a chorusing effect occurs when there are three or more singers phonating the same frequencies. Therefore, choral singing occurs when there are three or more singers for each voice part employed (soprano, alto, tenor, bass, etc.) in singing either scored or improvised choral literature.

Education. This study employs Lawrence Cremin's (1988) definition of education as "the deliberate, systematic, and sustained effort to transmit, evoke, or acquire knowledge, values, attitudes, skills, or sensibilities as well as any learning that results from the effort, direct or indirect, intended or unintended" (p. ix-x).

Pedagogy. As used in this study, the term pedagogy is synonymous with education.

Prison-based education. This study employs Werner's (1990) definition of prison education: A learner-empowering program that "is moral, critical, and social in its context and operation" and occurs primarily in a prison setting (p. 161).

Theory. This study employs Kerlinger's definition of theory as "a set of interrelated constructs (concepts), definitions, and propositions that presents a systematic view of a phenomenon by specifying relationships among variables with the purpose of explaining or predicting the phenomenon" (Kerlinger & Lee, 2000, p. 11).

CHAPTER TWO

Christopher Small: "A Musician Who Thinks about His Art"[5]

The beginnings of Christopher Small's (1927-) theory of musicking to some degree reflect his life experiences. In order to gain a thorough understanding of the development of his theory, this chapter provides a biographical profile of Small's life and work with direct commentaries from the somewhat reclusive Small. Section two discusses how Small began his writing career and examines themes in his thinking, paying special attention to the development of his theory of musicking.

Christopher Small: A Biographical Profile of His Life

Various published sources partially detail aspects of Small's life, including some scattered anecdotal accounts written by Small himself.[6] However, there is no published comprehensive overview of his life and work. The purpose of this section is to offer such an account, drawing on both published and unpublished materials, interviews, and personal correspondence.

Table 1 presents a chronology of Christopher Small's education and career. It is organized according to Small's residencies in New Zealand, London, and Sitges, Spain.

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[5] The phrase, "a musician who thinks about his art," is from J. Thornley (2001b), p. 11.

[6] Brief summaries of Small's life include two short autobiographical accounts: (a) "Growing Up in New Zealand" *Echology* (1989) and (b) a nine-page unpublished life summary written for Hildegard Froelich (Small, 2004). John Thornley has published partial accounts of Small's life in "Christopher Small: Master of Musicking," *Music in New Zealand* (1992) and "Christopher Small: 'A Musician Who Thinks About His Art,'" *Music in the Air* (2001). Robert Christgau has published three articles about Small's theory of musicking: (a) "Christopher Small on Musicking," *Chamber Music* (2001), (b) a three-part online interview (2000a, 2000b, 2000c), and (c) "Thinking about Musicking" (2000d).

Table 1

Timeline of Christopher Small's Education and Career: New Zealand (1927-1960)

Date	*Activity*
1927 March 17	Born, Palmerston North, New Zealand
1940-1941	Student, Palmerston North Boys' High School
1942-1944	Student, Wanganui Collegiate School
1945-1948	Science student, University of Otago
1947	Attended first performance of a symphony orchestra concert: New Zealand National Orchestra at Wellington Town Hall
1949	Bachelor of Science, Otago University
1949-1955	Music student, Victoria University, Wellington
1952	Licentiate of the Royal Schools of Music
1952	Composed music for the film *Trees* through Morrow Productions
1952	Composed music for the film *High Country Stockman,* New Zealand National Film Unit
1952	Composed *Look, Stranger,* for chorus and orchestra, text by Auden
1953-1958	Music Director, Morrow Productions
1953-1958	Taught music and other subjects at Horowhenua College, Levin

Table 1 (continued).

<u>*Timeline of Christopher Small's Education and Career: New Zealand (1927-1960)*</u>

Date	*Activity*
1954	Composed music for the film *The Story of Soil*
1955	Bachelor of Music, Victoria University, Wellington
1955	Composed music for the film *Tb*
1958	Received invitation to compose a score for New Zealand ballet
1958	Composed music for the film *What on Earth is Happening*
1959-1960	Taught music and other subjects at Waihi College
1960 February	Premier of Ballet, "Children of the Mist"
1960	Awarded two-year, 500 pound annual New Zealand Government Scholarship to study composition

<u>*London (1961-1986)*</u>

Date	*Activity*
1961	Arrived in London for composition scholarship
1962-1964	Studied in London with Priaulx Rainier
1962-1970	Mentored by Bernard Rands
1963	Composed "Concert Piece for Orchestra"
1967	Composed incidental music for *Antigone* of Sophocles
1968	Composed incidental music for *The Government Inspector*
1968	Composed "Black Cat" for percussion and voices
1960s-1980s	Member of Music Panel of the Greater London Arts Association

Table 1 (continued).

<u>*Timeline of Christopher Small's Education and Career: London (1961-1986)*</u>

<u>*Date*</u>	<u>*Activity*</u>
1969	Composed "Mirror Images" for percussion
1970	New Zealand Symphony Orchestra performed Small's "Concert Piece for Orchestra"
1971-1986	Senior Lecturer in Music, Ealing College of Higher Education
1973 July	Tutor-conductor, "New Music in Action," Summer School of the University of York, England
1974	Composed "Actions for Chorus: Some Maori Place Names" for City of London Choir's Commonwealth Day Concert, Commonwealth Institute, London
1974-84	External examinership: Trent Park College, London
1975	Four half-hour talks broadcast on the Music Network, New Zealand Broadcasting Corporation, January-February
1977 June	Lecture "Music Object and Music Act," Institute of Education, University of London
1977 July	Three open lectures "An Aesthetic Approach to Education" at the Department of Education, University of Sussex
1977 July	Interview with Sir Lennox Berkeley, recorded in London for New Zealand Broadcasting Corporation
1978	Tutor, "The Composer in the Classroom," Britten-Pears Centre for Advanced Musical Studies, Aldeburgh, Suffolk

Table 1 (continued).

<u>*Timeline of Christopher Small's Education and Career: Spain (1986-present)*</u>

<u>*Date*</u>	<u>*Activity*</u>
1979-80	Visiting Lecturer in Music, Dartington College of Arts, Totnes, Devon
1980-1982	Tutor in Music for summer school of the Bachelor of Education course, University of Sussex, each July
1983 February	Courses of lectures to students and faculty, Teachers' College and Musikkonservatorium, Bergen, Norway
1984 April	Address "Treasuring the Creative Act" to Annual General Meeting of the Composers' Guild of Great Britain, London
1985 April	Keynote address to Music Educators National Conference, Eastern Division, Hartford, Connecticut
1990 April	Featured speaker at Centennial Celebrations of University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma
1990-1996	Composed arrangements of African-American folksongs and spirituals, Spanish and Catalan folksongs and carols
1995 June	Keynote speaker, Centennial Conference of Faculty of Music, University of Melbourne, Australia
1996 September	Composed "Hymne" for the 25th anniversary concert of Coral de Sitges, Catalan text by David Jou i Mirabent

Table 1 (continued).

<u>*Timeline of Christopher Small's Education and Career: Spain (1986-present)*</u>

<u>*Date*</u>   <u>*Activity*</u>

Date	Activity
1996	*Music, Society, Education* reissued by Wesleyan University Press
1997 June	Three-hour presentation on musicking at the Third Annual Congress of the Iberian Society for Ethnomusicology, Benicásim, Spain (in Castellano)
1997 July	Address to the inaugural session of the Congress on Music in Schools and in Schools of Music, University of Barcelona, Spain (in English with simultaneous translation)
1998	*Music of the Common Tongue* revised edition by Wesleyan University Press
1998	*Musicking* published by Wesleyan University Press
1998 June	Address to National Association of Music Educators, Bretton Hall, Yorkshire
1999	Member of Advisory Board, *Echo: A Music Centered Journal,* published by the Musicology Department, University of California at Los Angeles
1999 July	Four-hour presentation to postgraduate summer course of University of Valencia, Ermita de Sant Cristofol, Toladella, Castellón, Spain

Table 1 (continued).

<u>*Timeline of Christopher Small's Education and Career: Spain (1986-present)*</u>

<u>*Date*</u>　　　　　　　　　<u>*Activity*</u>

Date	Activity
1980-1999	Lecture tours in the United States including State University of New York, Buffalo, New York; Missouri Western State College, St. Joseph, Missouri; Wesleyan University, Middletown, Connecticut; Tufts University, Boston, Massachusetts; Eastman School of Music, Rochester, New York; University of Indiana, Bloomington, Indiana; University of Maryland, Collegeville, Maryland; Hartt School of Music, Hartford, Connecticut; University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa; Haverford College, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; Prairie View College, Houston, Texas
2001 January 12	Keynote speaker at Annual Conference of Chamber Music, Crowne Plaza Manhattan, New York
2001 March-June	Visiting Professor, Department of Musicology, Faculty of Music, University of California in Los Angeles
2001 May	Address to annual conference of Meet the Composer, New Orleans, Louisiana
2001 July	Keynote address to *Taonga*, regional conference of the International Society for Music Education, Auckland, New Zealand

Table 1 (continued).

<u>*Timeline of Christopher Small's Education and Career: Spain (1986-present)*</u>

<u>Date</u>	<u>Activity</u>
2001 September	Professor for Course "Música, Sociedad, Educación: El Reto del Siglo XXI," University of Granada, Guadix, Granada, (in English with simultaneous translation)
2002 September	Inaugural address to Forum "Escuelas Municipales de Música: Educación y Cultura para Todos Diputación" de Barcelona, (in English with simultaneous translation)
2002 September	Opening address to IV Jornades de Música: *Músiques del món*, University of Barcelona, (in castellano)
2004 July	Closing address to summer course "La Dimensión Humanística de la Enseñanza Secondaria," Universidad Complutense de Madrid, San Lorenzo de El Escorial (in English with simultaneous translation)
2004 September	Address to project "The Black Atlantic," House of World Cultures, Berlin (in English with simultaneous translation)
2005 March	Keynote address to Royal Musical Association conference of graduate students, University of Newcastle upon Tyne
2006 February	Lecture, "Musicking, Socializing, Educating," College of Cyprus, Nicosia, Cyprus

As helpful as such a timeline can be, however, fleshing out the context and stories informing its list of dates and activities is necessary to understand the rich textures of Small's life and thought. The following discussion contributes to that pursuit.

Unconventionalities

There was a discrepancy as to what day Small was born. According to his parents, Neville Charles Christopher Small was born on March 17, 1927 in Palmerston North, New Zealand. [7] Official records, however, document his birthday eight days later, on March 25, 1927. Small first realized this inconsistency when he sought to acquire a birth certificate for university entrance requirements (C. Small, personal communication, May 29, 2006). Small's parents remained adamant that he was born on March 17.

Thus, although his birth certificate, current passport, Spanish residencia, and other official documents dated his birth as March 25, Small nevertheless believed his parents; he continued to celebrate his birthday each St. Patrick's Day, March 17 (C. Small, personal communication, June 26, 2006). Said Small, "Until then [when he sought the birth certificate] it had been March 17, St. Patrick's Day, which was when my mother swore was the date I arrived, and she ought to know. . . . I still celebrate

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[7] Palmerston North is a small town located in the central portion of the North Island of New Zealand, a country with two islands located north and south of each other. Small's first publisher, John Calder (2001), described Small's home town "as dull a little place as one could imagine and I easily understood why he had left it" (p. 538). Small, himself, described his home town with disdain: "It was a dump. We all hated it. . . . Palmerston North was a boring town. It had no real sort of socio-cultural life. And it was very snobby. Sort of nouveau rich snobbish" (Small, as cited in Christgau, 2000a).

the 17th. Gives the astrologists fits because they don't know whether I'm a Pisces or an Aries" (C. Small, personal communication, June 26, 2006).

An ongoing theme in both Small's life story and his philosophical discourse was a pronounced tendency to be selective about what sources of authority he accepted, and occasionally he was at odds with prevailing custom. Though he would devote a good portion of his life to making, teaching, and writing about music, for example, Small (2004) earned a degree in science and originally intended to earn a medical degree, but not to be "any old common-or-garden GP or even surgeon" (p. 1). He wanted to study for the Diploma of Public Health and work as a public health doctor.

Small passed his entrance exams for New Zealand's only medical school the same year that soldiers returned from World War II. Many returning soldiers held medical entrance certificates and hence were given preference over younger civilians. The authorities informed those wishing to enter medical school that science graduates would receive preference for admission. Small (2004) recalled that "a dozen or so of us gritted our teeth and set out on science degrees" (p. 4).

Small (2004) remarked that to his astonishment, he found his science studies "fascinating" (p. 4). Coursework included "zoology, botany, chemistry organic and inorganic, geology (geomorphology opened my eyes to the New Zealand landscape while paleontology and stratigraphy vanished convincingly and for ever any literal interpretation of the Old Testament and with that most of its authority)" (p. 4).

During his zoology studies, Small (2004) carried out dissections examining, "unfortunate creatures with a zest and a perpetual astonishment at the unity in variety

that they displayed" (p. 4). These learning experiences, particularly in studying relationships between various living organisms, would later figure into Small's reflections on the meanings of musical performances.

While earning his science degree, Small's interest in musical activities was growing. Small recalled that through the course of his science studies he was "losing interest in matters medical and becoming more concerned with music" (C. Small, personal communication, May 11, 2006).[8] After completing his bachelor in science degree, he talked to his parents explaining that what he really wanted to do was "to practice music" (Small, 2004, p. 4).

After his parents finally consented to support him through a music degree, Small began formal music study at the newly established Department of Music at Victoria University of Wellington. His eventual focus, however, was somewhat different than many academic musicians and philosophers of his day. Most school and university curricula were content then to focus primarily upon a classical, Eurocentric musical tradition, and where "music" was largely concerned as a noun, that is, as embodied in a musical work. But Small began to explore and revel in those sensibilities promulgated by ethnic African and Asian musical traditions and Small would consider music a verb.

Small's accomplishments as a composer included a symphonic work. Yet, he did not attend a live symphony orchestra concert until the age of twenty, when he heard the New Zealand Symphony Orchestra, founded the previous year, perform at

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[8] Small recalled that if he would not have gone ahead with music at the end of his science degree, he would have probably continued with a "zoology-geology combination" (C. Small, personal communication, May 11, 2006).

Wellington Town Hall. Prior to that time he listened to orchestras only through the medium of recordings. Small (2004) recalled the sonic space of his first live orchestra performance being qualitatively different than recorded sounds. The live experience "was thinner, finer . . . left the music room to breathe. I was, and remain, enchanted by it" (p. 3).

Fifty-one years after that experience, Small would reference such a live orchestra concert to assert in his treatise, *Musicking: The Meanings of Performing and Listening* (1998), that sounds, or sonic relationships, though vital, are but one part of musical experience. Indeed, in perhaps one of the most complete explanations of his theory of musicking, Small (1999c) would write:

> Musicking is part of that iconic, gestural process of giving and receiving
> information about relationships which unites the living world, and it is in fact
> a ritual by means of which the participants not only learn about, but directly
> experience, their concepts of how they relate, and how they ought to relate, to
> other human beings and to the rest of the world. (p. 9)

By so doing, he sought to turn conventional wisdom on its head, arguing that the symphony orchestra concert, one of the most iconic representations of the Western fine arts tradition, could itself illustrate that the "musical" could not exist without those phenomena typically referred to as "extra musical."

Because of Small's apparent penchant for challenging traditional musical studies and practices (e.g., exploring ethnic African and Asian musical traditions at a time when dominant university curricula were grounded in Euro-centric musical traditions), he might be viewed as an iconoclast or outsider. To such a viewpoint,

Small has responded simply: "You don't have to agree with my answers, as long as you see there's a question to be asked" (Thornley, 1992, p. 36). Nonetheless, the kinds of questions Small has raised sometimes have been ignored or incompletely understood by those accustomed to more conventional lenses for viewing music and education. As will be seen in Chapter Three, some critics of Small appear uncertain about what to make of a thinker who frequently employed sociological and ethnographical lenses to assert "music is too important to be left to the musicians" (Small, 1977, p. 214).

Relationships

Small's matriarchal grandfather, William Daniel Haggett (1856-?),[9] a printer by trade, conducted the Kilburnie Choral Society in a suburb of Wellington (Small, 2004, p. 2; Small, 1989a, p. 39). This choral society presented a baton made of polished oak with a base enclosed in silver to Haggett engraved "To W. D. Haggett from K. C. S." and dated 1896 (C. Small, personal communication, April 26, 2007). Small brought this implement with him when he moved to England and to Spain. Small has never used a baton to conduct choirs or orchestras (C. Small, personal communication, April 26, 2007), and he would likely agree that "the baton has no musical properties, it has long been a symbol of power" (Bowen, 2003, pp. 94-95). Nevertheless, he cherished this particular baton, because for him it was symbolic of family relationships. In 2006 his niece suggested that he donate it to the Wellington

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[9] According to a Registration Officer at the Births, Marriages, and Deaths Department with the Department of Internal Affairs Te Tari Taiwhenua in New Zealand, there is no record of Mr. Haggett's death between the years 1930 to 1960. Small recalls that there was a big family celebration for Mr. Haggett's 80th birthday at his house, which would have occurred in 1936.

College of Music, so he willingly agreed (C. Small, personal communication, April 26, 2007).

Interpersonal relationships offer another ongoing theme in both Small's life and his discourse. One of the three people to whom Small dedicated *Music of the Common Tongue: Survival and Celebration in African American Music* (1987) was his life partner, Neville Braithwaite (1927-2006). Braithwaite and Small became friends because of their similar upbringing, passion for music, and mutual respect. Braithwaite, a native of Kingston, Jamaica, ran a youth center located in a racially mixed suburb of London. Small recalls how Braithwaite, his West Indian friends, and his family shaped Small's thinking about African American influences on popular music, particularly as he became immersed in Black music and dance through Braithwaite's youth center. He stated, "*Music of the Common Tongue* came very naturally out of all that, though writing the book took more than six years and I thought it was going to kill me" (C. Small, personal communication, July 8, 2006). Small was teaching full-time with 21 hours of weekly student contact when he wrote this text. Despite the challenges of writing this book, Small called it "my favorite of my three children" (Small, as cited in Christgau, 2000d).

Although Small had few opportunities to attend live musical performances as he was growing up in Palmerston North, he recalled vividly the social relationships that contributed to those experiences. For example, his parents occasionally took him to hear his brother's violin teacher perform with a piano trio. This trio played over the sounds of a lunchtime crowd in "the elegant wood-panelled restaurant of the town's

posh department store" (Small, 2004, p. 3), the C. M. Ross Company department store tearoom in Palmerston North (see Figure 1).[10]
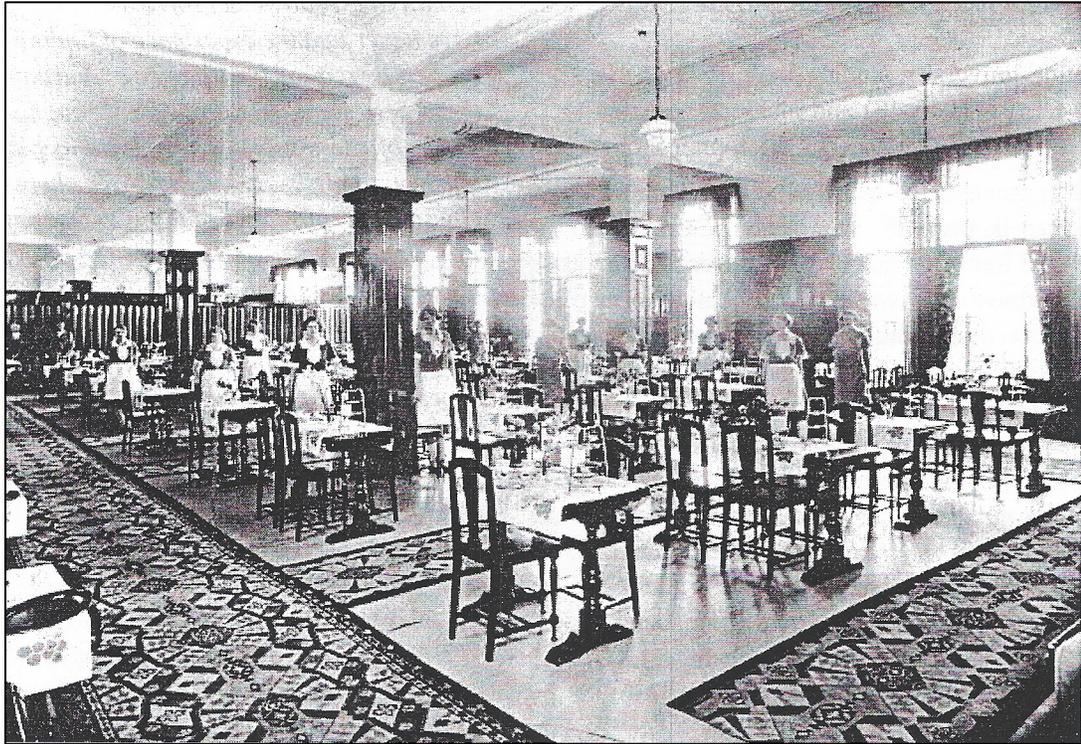
Figure 1. The tearoom, situated on the second floor of the C. M. Ross Department Store, Palmerston North, and now site of a new library.

Note. From "Christopher Small: 'A Musician Who Thinks About His Art,'" by J. Thornley, 2001, *Music in the Air, 11*, p. 17. Copyright 2001 by John Thornley. Reprinted with permission.

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[10] Editha Doretta Woodhouse described this upscale tearoom: "The flower-decked dais made a charming setting for the grand piano, the harp, and the trio of players. The wall-panelling [*sic*] of highly polished dark wood was a feature of this beautiful room and the adjoining foyer. Brightly coloured carpeting throughout, massed floral decorations, fine china and embroidered table linen, prettily dressed and attentive waitresses completed a colourful scene within, while from the extensive windows running the length of the room could be seen an impressive view of the Square gardens with the pastel line of grey-blue hills in distance, " from *Airs and Graces,* an historical sketch of the Palmerston North Music Club, published by Palmerston North Music Club, 1970 (Woodhouse, as cited in Thornley, 2001, p. 17).

Small noted that the string trio's performance was difficult to hear over the noise of serving, eating, and talking. Yet Small (2004) described how the sound of café music "retains a special magic, especially when heard through the noise of cutlery and plates" (p. 3). Small (1989a) fondly reminisced about these memories during his first trip to Venice when "the café bands in St. Mark's Square brought it all back to me in a wave of intense, nostalgic joy" (p. 39).

Infrequently, the British Music Society would bring musicians from Wellington, located on the southern tip of New Zealand's North Island, 89 miles south of Palmerston North, to this same café for evening performances. Small (1989a) described these performance experiences as his initiation "at that early age into an adult society . . . defined by attendance at classical concerts" (pp. 39-40).

Although Small (2004) termed this initiation into an adult society a "delicious feeling," he also recalled that some of the adult musical activities were boring: "I learned the skills of sitting still and concealing boredom, during long evenings at the home of a record-collecting lecturer in the local agricultural college." Small remembered listening to particular compositions, such as J. S. Bach's *St. Matthew Passion,* and felt that it gave him "a distinct feeling of being on the outside looking— or listening—in" (p. 3).

Musical Influences from Cradle to Career

Life in the Small household offered multiple opportunities for Christopher's musical growth. Moreover, later educational experiences and professional activities helped shape Small's thoughts about music-making. Among these were Small's (a)

familial relationships, (b) educational experiences, (c) professional appointments, (d) interpersonal influences, and (e) retirement activities.

Doris Evelyn Haggett Small and Charles Arthur Small. Small recalled his parents with fondness, and still treasures stories of how they met. Small's father, Charles Arthur Small (1894-1969), was born on the farm in Wairarapa, New Zealand.[11] One of Small's five aunts, who was teaching in Eketahuna, the town nearest the Small family farm, introduced Small's mother, Doris Evelyn Haggett (1893-1977), to her future husband's family. Because Small's paternal grandfather, Arthur Small (1858-1919), participated in community activities, this initial meeting between Small's parents possibly occurred as a result of Arthur's community activities. At one point, Charles's parents invited Doris to spend school holidays at their farm, and as Small described, "Bingo! Teenaged lovers!" (C. Small, personal communication, May 29, 2006).

Charles's parents sent him to an English-style secondary school, Wellington College, and then to Otago University in Dunedin on the South Island, to study dentistry. At the time of Charles and Doris's marriage, Palmerston North was a prosperous farming town with a need for dentists, so they decided to settle there. Doris loved to entertain and persuaded Charles to build a large and pretentious Georgian-styled house where the family lived from 1934-1948 (C. Small, personal communication, May 29, 2006).

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[11] Wairapa, New Zealand is located in the southeast corner of the North Island at the foot of the Tararua Mountains.

Small described his father as "a lovely man, extremely handsome with a muscular physique that he kept to his death" (C. Small, personal communication, May 29, 2006). Small recalled his father's white hair, his kindness and generosity, and his fine skills as a pianist. Charles loved to sing old popular songs and sea songs to his own piano accompaniment. One of his favorite party songs was "The Cobbler's Song" from London's longest running show at the time, Fredric Norton and Oscar Asche's musical "Chu Chin Chow." Charles saw this musical while serving as an army dentist in London in 1919. The show, according to Small, provided moments of escape for people fighting in World War I. A heavy smoker, he died of lung cancer at age 76 (C. Small, personal communication, May 29, 2006).

According to Small, Doris was a highly intelligent woman who studied to be a teacher in Wellington, and taught primary school for several years. She was, Small said, what they called a "bluestocking"[12] (C. Small, personal communication, May 29, 2006). By supplying a wide variety of musical recordings, occasionally taking him to hear live musical performances, and by regularly singing her young Christopher to sleep, Doris provided opportunities for Christopher to develop a

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[12] The term "bluestocking" is an old-fashioned pejorative term for an intellectual woman. During the 1750s a group of independently minded women gathered to hold literary discussions instead of participating in idle chatter during card games. One of these women, Mrs. Vesey, invited Mr. Benjamin Stillingfleet, a publisher, translator, learned botanist, and minor poet, to attend one of the gatherings. At that time, formal evening dress required black silk stockings. Mr. Stillingfleet could not afford the silk stockings. Mrs. Vesey encouraged Mr. Stillingfleet to come in his informal day clothes, so he came wearing blue stockings and started a trend. One of the participant's husbands rudely called the gatherings meetings of the Blue Stocking Society, and the term "bluestocking" eventually came to describe intellectual women. For more information see Sylvia Harcstark Meyers's *The Bluestocking Circle: Women, Friendship, and the Life of the Mind in Eighteenth Century England* (1990).

passion for music. Small specifically recalled her singing lovely Edwardian music-hall songs to him when he was a child (Small, 2004).[13]

On Sunday evenings, Doris read to her children after supper. Small remembered among his favorite books: Herman Melville's *Moby Dick,* Francis Hodgson Burnett's *The Secret Garden,* and *Old Saint Paul's* by William Harrison Ainsworth.

Small particularly liked how Ainsworth left it to his readers' imaginations to consider what happened next:

> I remember the delicious thrill when the two villains got their comeuppance when taking shelter with their ill-gotten loot from the Fire of London in the crypt of St. Paul's, and the melting led from the roof starting coming in under the door. Ainsworth left his readers to imagine what happened next, but my pre-adolescent fantasy world was well equal to the task. (C. Small, personal communication, May 29, 2006)

Shortly after listening to these books, Christopher began to pen brief novels in writing exercise books. Small recalled that his stories had a high level of gratuitous violence, perhaps influenced by the violent robberies and murders in New Zealand that he read about voraciously (C. Small, personal communication, May 29, 2006).

Small's parents, each of whom experienced a Victorian-style upbringing,[14] were kind and liberal-minded. They encouraged their three children, Lawrence (1919-

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[13] The songs that Small's mother sang were popular English ballads from the Edwardian era, a period from the mid 1890s through 1914. King Edward II, who followed Queen Victoria's reign, ruled England from 1901-1910. Citizens of this era indulged in fashion, cuisine, entertainment, and travel. The era was known as the "Gilded Age", and the glitz and fashion of the Titanic were emblematic of this era.

1990), Rosemary (1922-), and Christopher (1927-), to exercise a great deal of freedom both in thought and action (C. Small, personal communication, May 11, 2006).

Both of Small's siblings enjoyed making music. Small (2004) recalled that he and Rosemary would sing songs from the Gilbert and Sullivan opera, "The Gondoliers," "over the washing up" (p. 1). Both Small and Rosemary played piano, but because of the five year difference in age, they did not play piano together in their younger years, although they did play duets when they were older (C. Small, personal communication, June 20, 2006). According to Small, she played "with a sparkling light touch and a strong technique" (C. Small, personal communication, July 7, 2006).

Christopher and his older brother, Larry, used to fight during their younger years, but by the time Larry reached his teenage years they had learned to get along. At age 12 Larry sold his Hornby train set to purchase radio equipment. He provided Christopher with a small, portable, one-valve radio powered by a battery. Christopher's interactions with music now lasted even to bedtime, as he used the radio to listen to the local station while under his bedcovers (C. Small, personal communication, May 11, 2006).

Small's educational experiences. A combination of experiences fed Small's musical passion, which he (1989a) described as a "slow acquisition of an addiction"

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[14] The Victorian era ranged from 1837 to 1901. The British overpowered New Zealand in 1840, but in 1907 New Zealand became self-governed. Queen Victoria (1819-1901) was the daughter of Edward, the Duke of Kent, and Princess Victoria of Saxe-Coburg. At age 18, she became Queen in England, and three years later she married her cousin, Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha. The term Victorian England stemmed from Victoria's ethical manners and personal tastes, which generally reflected the middle class. For more information on the Victorian Age, see Josephine M. Guy's *The Victorian Age: An Anthology of Sources and Documents* (1998).

(p. 38). These experiences included a variety of musical listening opportunities. In addition to listening to the radio under the bed sheets, he listened to records on the family gramophone, a large wind-up acoustic HMV[15] model that played 78 revolutions per minute records. Small (2004) reported he still has "a kinesthetic memory in the seat of my pants of where I had to get up to turn the record over" (p. 1).[16] During his frequent bouts with bronchitis and sinus problems, this record player sat next to Christopher's bed, which was covered with records (p. 38).

Before attending boarding school at age 15, the schools that Small attended offered no music classes. In a 1989 publication he reflected, "From what I have seen latterly, that [no primary school music classes] might have been a blessing" (Small, 1989a, p. 38). During boarding school Small (1975a) did not participate in group music lessons, a circumstance he later described as "probably lucky for me" (p. 110).

Such retrospective comments perhaps stemmed from Small's later perception of music education in schooling contexts, perceptions that evolved through subsequent college teaching and professional observations. Small (1977) came to believe that schools led children to be consumers of knowledge about music, rather than creators of music: "The concern for product, as usual, means that little attention

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[15] HMV stands for "His Master's Voice." The dog on the RCA trademark picture was called "Nipper."

[16] Other record selections that Small listened to as a youth included Schubert's "B-flat Trio," excerpts from Wagner's "Tristan und Isolde," Tchaikovsky's "Swan Lake," English jazz musicians such as Nat Gonella and His Georgians, Harry Roy and His Tiger Ragamuffins, Paul Whiteman, Clare Butt singing "Land of Hope and Glory," Gounod's "Serenade," selections by Beethoven, Schubert, Gilbert and Sullivan, popular music, spirituals, London vocalists Turner Layton and Clarence Johnston, the song "It Was a Lover and His Lass," some comic musical monologues, and one record of a four-record set of Schumann's "Piano Concerto," Frank Crumit singing "The Song of the Prune," Jim Davidson and the ABC Dance Orchestra, "Three O' Clock in the Morning" waltz played on Regal Zonophone by the Hilo Hawaiian Orchestra, and Beethoven's "Fifteenth String Quartet, Opus 132."

is given to the process, and we find that the training of these young lions becomes ever more arduous; scales, exercises, *solfége* dominate the life of the young virtuoso to the point that it is a miracle that any love of music survives at all" (p. 193). He (1973) also described the routine of music teachers' jobs as "boring many of our children out of their minds and, inevitably before long, music teachers out of the schools" (p. 79).

Possibly as a result of their Victorian upbringing, Small's parents did not allow jazz recordings in their home until they saw the Gershwin biopic, *Rhapsody in Blue: The Story of George and Ira Gershwin* (1945). But Small and his brother listened to jazz recordings, nonetheless, upstairs in their bedrooms. Larry had a small portable record player in his room. Small (1989a) distinctly remembered listening to Duke Ellington's "The Blue Room" and one of his favorites, "Herd Girl's Dream" (p. 38).

Small (1989a) enjoyed listening to a variety of musical styles. At age 12, he prided himself on being able to whistle the entire Dvorak *New World Symphony* from start to finish. Although his parents distinguished between classical and jazz, Small did not deem one musical style higher or more important than another style. He described himself as "blissfully unaware at that age that there was one thing called 'classical music' and another called 'popular music' and that one was 'better' than the other" (p. 38).

Small's relationships with musical sounds and music making as a young person were, in general, more playful than his peers. For example, Small (2004) recalled that "never in my whole life have I practiced scales" (p. 2). His piano teacher

from 1934-1942, Hamilton Dickson, did not require him to participate in the Royal

Schools of Music examinations,[17] for which Small was grateful (Small, 1989a, p. 39).

While his peers prepared selections for these examinations, Small played an eclectic

mixture of Finnish composer Selim Palmgren (1878-1951), Norwegian composer

Edvard Grieg (1843-1907), Spanish composer Enrique Granados (1867-1916), French

composer Claude Debussy (1862-1918), Hungarian composer Béla Bartok (1881-

1945), and popular selections.

Dickson was a well-known piano instructor who traveled from Wellington

twice weekly to teach. Small (1989a) recalled "triumphantly bringing him [his

teacher] an ancient volume of Mozart sonatas, as if I'd rediscovered them all by

myself—which in a way I had" (p. 39). Small acquired his piano skills easily and,

during his adolescent years, preferred showing off for his peers rather than practicing.

Once his father, whom Small (1989a) described as a "gentle man whom I loved, as

did everyone" (p. 39), showed his irritation with Small's lack of piano practicing and

general prudish adolescent attitude after Small ridiculed a ukulele-playing British film

comedian, George Formby (1904-1961). Charles retorted to his son, "At any rate I bet

he practices his uke at least as hard as you practice your bloody piano" (Small, 1989a,

p. 39).

Small attended Palmerston North Boys' High School from 1940 to 1941

where he tended to socialize with other academically-focused students. Some of his

peers despised a certain classmate who played popular songs by ear. Small (1989a),

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[17] The Royal Academy of Music and the Royal College of Music has a series of examinations in eight grades that are divided into Practical and Theory. Annually, they issue a syllabus listing three groups of pieces: Bach selections, classical pieces, and compositions by modern composers. Each student must prepare one selection from each group.

on the other hand, secretly envied this skill, yet he never tried to play piano by ear until approximately twenty years later when he worked at a school that could not afford to purchase musical scores (p. 40).

From 1942 to 1944, Small attended Wanganui College School, a boys' boarding school in Wanganui, on the North Island of New Zealand. Small preferred listening to recorded music rather than playing rugby, so the music master, Lance Craig, allowed him independence to explore musical genres of his choice by giving him a key to the music room. With this key, Small could listen to a diverse and extensive record collection that included recordings by American composers Charles Ives (1874-1954) and Henry Cowell (1897-1965). He could also play piano compositions of his choice using Craig's private collection of piano scores.

The music room at Wanganui housed a Bechstein grand piano and a big Capeheart record player (C. Small, personal communication, June 4, 2006). Craig would show him a record, book, or a piano score, and let Small decide whether it interested him or not (Small, 1975a, p. 110).

As a University of New Zealand National Scholar in 1944, Small possessed the academic skills to fulfill his parents' expectations to become a doctor. Small recalled that his decision to study medicine "was kind of a default decision, for lack of anything that at the age of 18 I wanted to do more" (C. Small, personal communication, May 11, 2006). As mentioned previously, because soldiers returning from World War II received preferential treatment on their medical school applications, Small majored in zoology and earned a bachelor of science degree from Otago University in 1949.

Through his zoology studies, Small learned about comparative anatomy, primarily by doing dissections. He recalled his "zest and a perpetual astonishment at the unity in variety that they [the dissections] displayed" (Small, 2004, p. 4). At the time, Small recalled, he did not realize that he was learning about relationships. But those learning experiences, he said, later served as a basis for his consideration of the complexity of such, which became a central concept in his future theory of musicking. Small reported that he learned about the relationships within an individual creature's similar parts, between those parts and another creature's related parts, and in a broader sense, between one group of creatures and another group (Small, 2004, p. 4; 1998b, pp. 208-209).

During his zoology studies he engaged in musical activities on his own, including efforts at composition. "While I was at university doing the science degree I took part in a deal of musical activity one way and another and tried my hand at composition, all untutored. God knows what the stuff was like" (C. Small, personal communication, May 11, 2006). As he was about to enter medical school, however, Small discovered that he had lost interest in studying medicine. Instead, his passion for musical activities became dominant in his life, and he decided to pursue musical studies formally.

Once that decision was made, Small went to Wellington in 1949. There he studied piano with Hungarian Kato Kurzweil, one of Béla Bartók's pupils who had completed her Ph.D. in Vienna. Kurzweil, a German Jewish refugee, told Small he needed to earn a diploma or Licentiate of the Royal Schools of Music (LRSM) if he wanted to be a professional musician. Kurzweil enrolled Small in the top Grade Eight

level of the LRSM Exam. Small had not taken these exams in the past because his previous teacher did not deem it necessary for Small's musical growth. Kurzweil died of cancer prior to Small passing the LRSM exam. She was Small's final piano instructor (C. Small, personal communication, June 4, 2006).

The following year, Small tested for the Diploma in Musicianship, which assessed sight reading, keyboard harmony, and performing on the piano. Small recalled that one of the examiners was a descendent of the English composer Sir William Sterndale Bennett (1816-1875), whom German composer Robert Schumann (1810-1856) admired. This examiner asked what Small considered an idiotic question: "Mr. Small, what is your attitude to music?" According to Small, it had never occurred to him prior to that moment to ponder his outlook on music (C. Small, personal communication, May 11, 2006).

With support from his parents, Small went on to complete a bachelor of music degree in 1955 from Victoria University in Wellington, New Zealand. He described it as "an old-fashioned English degree" (Christgau, 2000a). The newly formed Department of Music at Victoria University had one classroom situated over the chemistry labs that was used both for lectures and recitals. The odor in the air contained faint smells of hydrogen sulfide coming from the chemistry rooms below (Small, 2004, p. 4). In addition to having only one classroom, the music department had limited personnel and resources: two faculty members, one office, a record player, and a piano. One of the lecturers was the New Zealand composer, Douglas Lilburn (1915-2001). Lilburn had studied at the Royal College of Music with British composer Ralph Vaughan Williams (1872-1958). Although the university required

students to compose a large work for chorus and orchestra, it held no individual

instrumental or vocal performance requirements. In retrospect, Small believed that he

"was taught pretty well." Small recalled that he was "thoroughly grounded in the

history of western music, harmony, canon, fugue, orchestration and so on" (p. 5).

Small's only regret related to his formal musical studies was following the

advice of Professor Lilburn regarding a job offer. In 1950 Small was offered a

position as assistant conductor of the Wellington Amateur Operatic Society. Contrary

to the group's title, it performed musicals, not operas. Lilburn told him at the time, "If

I were you, I'd keep my ears clean," suggesting that he not accept the offer. Later,

Small deeply regretted this decision because it was "an opportunity lost to learn

essential skills on the job" (Small, 2004, p. 5). As a result of this missed opportunity,

Small (1989a) shared the following advice to young musicians: "Never, NEVER,

pass up an opportunity to make music, however remote it may seem from what you

see as your proper field" (p. 40).

Small did pursue other professional activities while completing his bachelor's

degree in music. In 1952 he taught at Wellington Teachers' College, and then left at

the end of 1952 to work as music director for Morrow Productions, Ltd., an

educational animated film studio. In order to make ends meet, Small taught music,

English, French, chemistry, and other subjects at Horowhenua College, a small

country secondary school in Levin, New Zealand during the day, while composing

scores for short films at night. According to Small, in mid 1954 Morrow Productions

ran out of money. So Small returned to teaching full-time at Horowhenua College and

sent his school check to the firm's account, all while continuing with his film work in

the evenings. He recalled, "I must have been crazy, but I believed in what we were doing in making educational animated films, so I kept at it" (C. Small, personal communication, April 21, 2007). Despite his extra work load, Small received good evaluations from the school inspectorate.

According to Small (2004) "the pugnacious little Scot [Bob Morrow] who had started the thing [film company] . . . finally destroyed it with his quarrelsomeness and touchiness" (p. 5). Small believed that Morrow antagonized most potential customers, resulting in a loss of income for the company (C. Small, personal communication, April 21, 2007). Small left Morrow Productions on Christmas Day in 1958. At the time, the firm had paid all its debts, so he felt he had no more obligation to support it. He moved to Waihi, another small town, where his sister Rosemary and her husband lived. Small recalled that "it was a very happy two years—a good school, nice friends, and I was working on the ballet that got me the scholarship that took me to London in 1961" (C. Small, personal communication, April 21, 2007).

After his experience composing scores for films, when Small (2004) received an invitation from a dance teacher in Wellington to compose a score for an all-New Zealand ballet, he "jumped at it." In February 1960, a mainly amateur cast performed this ballet, titled "Children of the Mist," in Wellington. The ballet was based on "a sentimentalized version of a Maori legend and featured Maori maidens in brown body-stockings dancing on points." Small reflected that today he finds the ballet's "treatment of the Maori culture cringe-making" (p. 5).

At the time, however, Small (2004) regarded this two act production lasting forty-five minutes as "the biggest thing I had ever attempted." Small described the

exhilarating feeling of hearing his composition performed: "I've never had such a high in all my life as the night of the orchestra rehearsal, hearing my music played by 25 good musicians from the New Zealand National Orchestra."[18] A friend of Small's described the composition as "Sibelius-and-water" (p. 5), which Small received as a compliment.

Using this composition as part of his application materials, Small competed for and was awarded a New Zealand Government scholarship in 1960. The two-year scholarship paid 500 pounds annually to study composition abroad. At that time, New Zealanders considered England their "mother home." Thus, Small decided to study in London. Small's initial plan was to live there for two years. His London residency, however, lasted twenty-five years and included a variety of teaching and work engagements.

Life in London. When Small arrived in London, in April 1961, he had no advisor and he was uncertain where and with whom he was going to study. Thirteen years later, he reflected, "When I arrived here I was as green as hell. I felt utterly lost and acutely conscious of the cultural gaps" (Shaw, 1974). In retrospect, he realized that, likely, he could have completed a doctorate in two years, perhaps at Cambridge or York University (Small, 2004, p. 5) rather than pursue the course he did.

Small initially attempted, unsuccessfully, to get into the Royal College of Music. He also wrote to one of the foremost English composers of the day, Sir Michael Tippett (1905-1998), and asked if he could study with him. Tippett suggested he work with South African composer Priaulx Rainier (1903-1986). Small (2004)

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[18] This ballet was revived in 1970 by the Royal New Zealand Ballet for its New Zealand tour.

described Rainier as a composer of "gritty and dissonant though not serial music" (p. 5). After looking through Small's ballet score and a few of his other compositions, Rainier remarked "now let's see what you can really do" (p. 6). She mentored Small as he composed a number of instrumental pieces, songs, and a large orchestral piece similar to Schoenberg's *Five Orchestral Pieces* (pp. 5-6). Small recalled particular challenges during his first year in London: he had no musical colleagues, no piano, and no opportunities for musical performance (p. 6).

In August of 1962 and 1963, Rainier sent Small to a summer music program on the Dartington Estate near Totnes, Devon, in southern England. Small enjoyed these summer learning experiences, developed confidence, and made important professional connections (C. Small, personal communication, July 7, 2006). His Dartington studies focused on aleatorism and total serialism, as exemplified by Pierre Boulez (1925-), Karlheinz Stockhausen (1928-), Luciano Berio (1925-2003), and John Cage (1912-1992), all of whom were unknown to Small at the time. His professors there included Luigi Nono (1924-1990) in 1962 and Witold Lutoslawski (1913-1994) in 1963. Lutoslawski, specifically, instilled a strong sense of self-confidence in Small.

Small described two other bright sides of his time at Dartington. Once an eminent clarinetist decided to use one of Small's compositions for a clarinet duet and assigned two of his clarinet students to perform it at an informal afternoon concert. Another positive experience at Dartington was meeting composer Bernard Rands (1934-).

Rands was then a student of musical composition and English. He had previously studied in Florence with Berio. Small (1967) described his first encounter with Rands as resulting from a "chance remark to this stranger" (p. 906). Rands asked to look at Small's compositions. After this initial encounter, Rands spent a couple hours in the common room at Dartington privately tutoring Small by using Small's composition as a starting-point for discussion. He indicated possibilities and relationships within Small's composition and explained principles of serial composition (Small, 2004, p. 6). Rands continued to work with Small from 1962 to 1970. Small admired Rands's articulate communication skills, his patience, tolerance, and integrity (Small, 1967, p. 905). Through his relationship with Rands, Small met Berio and his spouse, American mezzo-soprano Cathy Berberian (1925-1983). Despite Rand's tutelage, however, Small (2004) did not embrace serial composition: "I just couldn't make myself believe that what I had written sounded like music" (p. 6).

It was Rands who introduced Small to the idea of music as gesture, although Small (2004) recalled, "I really didn't understand it at the time" (p. 6). Theorists have argued that music itself could be conceived as gesture. For example, Robert S. Hatten (2006) broadly defined gesture as "*any energetic shaping through time that may be interpreted as significant*." Hatten suggested that his definition directly included any motor action, sensory perception, or their combination, and indirectly included representation of "sonic gesture in notation" (p. 1). Rands conceived of musical gesture in this sense. He also considered gesture a tool for a composer to explore. For example, in Rands's composition, "Expression IV," composed in 1964 for two

pianos, he introduced contrasting gestures. At the beginning of the piece, each piano played something entirely different: one legato fortissimo and the other staccato pianissimo. Throughout the piece, the instruments gradually play similar sounds until the moment of fusion, when the pianists close the lids and gently tap on the top of the piano lids (Small, 1967, p. 907).

Rather than rely on Rands's concept of gesture as a tool for composing, Small would eventually perceive gesture in a broader conceptual framework, relating it primarily to musical performance. Nonetheless, Rands's introducing Small to musical gesture, pointed Small in a direction of thinking about music in a different way.

After Small's scholarship expired, he "drifted for a couple years, doing supply [substitute] teaching and working for a year for a cheapjack publisher that made pirated versions of Soviet publications on science and technology" (Small, 2004, p. 6). Realizing he did not want to live this type of life, Small decided to return to full-time teaching.

Small's teaching positions in England. Small (2004) "had to go right back to a rookie's job, but that was good for me" (p. 6). In April 1967 Small joined the faculty of Alpteron High School, a modern girls' school in north London where he was astounded by the students' high abilities through an observation of a rehearsal of Sophocles' *Antigone*. During his work at this school from 1967 to 1968, Small's students composed a twenty-minute Christmas Cantata based on New Testament texts, with each class contributing a section of the piece. Small also taught students to play recorders, but he quickly realized that children should not be required to play recorders due to beginning players' dreadful timbre and difficulty in maintaining

good intonation. According to Small (2004), he switched to penny whistles and achieved instant improvement: "a much pleasanter sound, and more enthusiastic participation from the class" (p. 7).

Rather than subjecting his students to lectures about composers or facts about music theory, Small typically encouraged students to make music. Composer Jenny McLeod (1941-), for instance, described her experiences as a student in Small's music classes as "vastly enjoyable, never a dull moment, always something new happening, and us always *doing* something, always *making* music" (McLeod, as cited in Thornley, 2001).

Small taught music at Anstey College of Education in Sutton Coldfield, a suburb of Birmingham from 1968 to 1971. Although Small (2004) "had hoped to do a lot of music for dance," to his surprise "he received no encouragement from the dance staff" (p. 7). Small found he had time to offer himself on Friday afternoons as a teacher at a local primary school. His superiors at the college, however, frowned upon such activity (Small, 2004, p. 7).

Small, nonetheless, found a way to circumvent officials at Anstey. He simply began to participate in community music activities on Saturdays. In 1969 and 1970, Small worked with the Schools Outreach section of the Belgrade Theater in Coventry, a few miles east of Birmingham. Small arrived with a vanload of instruments and helped create music for an upcoming theatrical production (C. Small, personal communication, June 4, 2006). He recalled working with actors at this community center for 14 "exhilarating" hours one Saturday, creating and recording music for their play, which toured in the schools and later won a prize (Small, 2004, p. 7).

Small (2004) simultaneously ran an adults' Saturday afternoon music

workshop for the Birmingham and Midland Institute, a large establishment for

community-based activities, located in the center of Birmingham, England. He

facilitated participants' use of simple classroom instruments, reporting that they all

enjoyed such music making experiences (C. Small, personal communication, June 4,

2006). Small's skills at facilitating student composition resulted in invitations for him

to demonstrate ideas for student composition "around the English Midlands and

beyond" (p. 7).

Another experience that contributed to Small's perceptions of music as action

and communal activity was his participation at the 1970 Isle of Wight Rock

Festival.[19] Small purchased a backpack, sleeping bag, and ventured off to the festival

on his own, because he could not find anyone his age (43 years) to accompany him.

He caroused with a group of young United States Air Force conscripts and their

wives, who "found me amusing and were nice to me and kept me happily stoned the

entire weekend" (p. 7). Small recalled being immersed in live music nearly 24 hours

daily. Among the performing groups were The Who, Joni Mitchell, Chicago, Joan

Baez, Donavan, Jimi Hendrix, Miles Davis, and Tiny Tim. Small (1977) explained

that in this particular context, "music became the centre of a common ritual which

subsumed all the other experiences and showed how partial and incomplete they in

fact are" (p. 171).

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[19] The third annual Isle of Wight Rock Festival was held August 26-30, 1970 and has been called "Britain's Woodstock." There were approximately 600,000 people in attendance. Jimi Hendrix performed his final concert at this festival because he died the following month. For a video home system recording of the festival see *Message to Love: The Isle of Wight Music Festival 1970* by Murray Lerner, New York: Sony Music Entertainment, 1997.

After completing the 1971 term at Anstey College of Education, Small (2004) began a 15 year tenure (1971-1986) as senior lecturer at Ealing College of Higher Education in London. The school's name later changed to Ealing Polytechnic and now is Thames Valley University. Small described it as "the same grotty dump that we loved," although he indicated that the standard of teaching and adventurousness at Thames Valley University has diminished in proportion as its status has increased (p. 8).

Small held Donald Cashmore, head of the Music Division at Ealing, in high regard. Cashmore was the choir conductor for the City of London Choir and regularly performed pieces such as Orff's "Carmina Burana," Handel's "Messiah," and Constant Lambert's "The Rio Grande." He was "a fine organist and choral conductor of the most traditional kind" (p. 8).

One of the reasons Cashmore hired Small was because of Small's experience with avant-garde music. Because Cashmore admitted he knew nothing about this style of music, Small recollected him saying, "'I don't know what the hell you're doing, Chris, but if you think its music, go ahead and do it'" (p. 8).

During his tenure at Ealing, Small, along with twenty colleagues, constructed a new bachelors of arts in humanities degree under the Council for National Academic Awards (C. Small, personal communication, July 7, 2006). His responsibility was to design the first year music course, which he insisted must be accessible to anyone interested, no matter what amount of musical background the student possessed. The course included a weekly three-hour composition workshop that proved useful and popular. This program attracted a variety of students (Small,

2004, p. 8). One of these students introduced Small to John Stevens (1940-1994), a jazz drummer considered by Small as one of the finest teachers and musicians he had ever met.

Stevens organized a group called the Spontaneous Music Ensemble, whose membership included some of the best British jazz musicians, such as pianist Stan Tracey (1926-), as well as "tyros like me [Small]" (Small, 2004, p. 8). Small explained that "it was in fact in attempting to analyse my experiences in jazz that I was first led to the idea of relationships as the key to musical meaning" (Small, as cited in Thornley, 2001, p. 18).

In 1974, Small composed "Actions for Chorus: Some Maori Place Names" for the City of London Choir's Commonwealth Day Concert at the Commonwealth Institute in London. The City of London Choir, under the direction of Donald Cashmore, commissioned Small to compose this uncommon piece.[20] According to an article in the *Guardian,* Small used nontraditional notation, providing a picturesque graph: "There are no notes, there is no beat" (Shaw, 1974). Small indicated that because attention was focused mainly on timbre and pitch textures rather than precise pitch, many school children would find this style familiar.

Small took a one year leave from Ealing (1979-1980) to act as Visiting Lecturer in Music at Dartington College of Arts in Totnes, Devon. There he invited Stevens to lead a workshop for the Dartington students. Although more drama

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[20] Small was in charge of the composition workshop that Donald Cashmore ran at Ealing College. Cashmore was enthusiastic about Small's teaching: "Chris was appointed to teach contemporary music. He has this wonderful missionary attitude which says that everyone should be involved and not just listening or performing. He endears himself to kids and old-age pensioners alike" (Cashmore, as cited in "New Sign with Kiwi Polish—Hazel Shaw Meets Radical Music Teacher, *The Guardian,* 11 June 1974).

students than music students attended, Stevens was an enormous success with everyone, as a theater director attested: "Here comes this dude looking like everyone's idea of a used-car salesman and just manages to blow everyone's mind" (Small, 2004, p. 8).

Small loved working with a music group led by the sound poet, Bob Cobbing (1920-2002). Cobbing used language sounds to create vocal performances in a style somewhere between recited poetry and song. In addition to Small at the piano, the group included four other musicians: a woman singer who "wove marvelous lines of sound around Bob's voice" (Small, 2004, p. 8), a flutist who performed on beautifully constructed Andean flutes he made, a percussionist "who had the biggest collection of hubcaps" (pp. 8-9) Small had ever seen, and a trombonist.

Small's years as a teacher in England also included work as Adjunct Professor of Music at Syracuse University's London Center (1977-1986), a position held simultaneously with his Senior Lectureship at Ealing. Moreover, he made several lecture tours to colleges and universities throughout the United States (1980-1999) (See Table 1).

Neville Braithwaite. On March 31, 1973, Small met Neville Braithwaite (1927-2006) at a party in west London. According to Small, Braithwaite was born into a loving, open family in Kingston, Jamaica. Like Small's parents did for their own children, Neville's parents taught him and his four brothers and one sister to embrace values such as civic virtues, sociability, hospitality, and ambition. Braithwaite was the first Black youth leader in England and Wales, and directed a number of Youth Centers in England. When he met Small, he was running a youth

center in Southall, England, a racially mixed London suburb comprised primarily of West Indians, Pakistanis, and Indian immigrants. Braithwaite provided a space for these teenagers to meet and feel safe, and they respected him. He produced arts festivals two or three times each year, highlighting various artistic talents of the youth such as drawing, painting, photography, singing, dancing, fashion, and even body building.
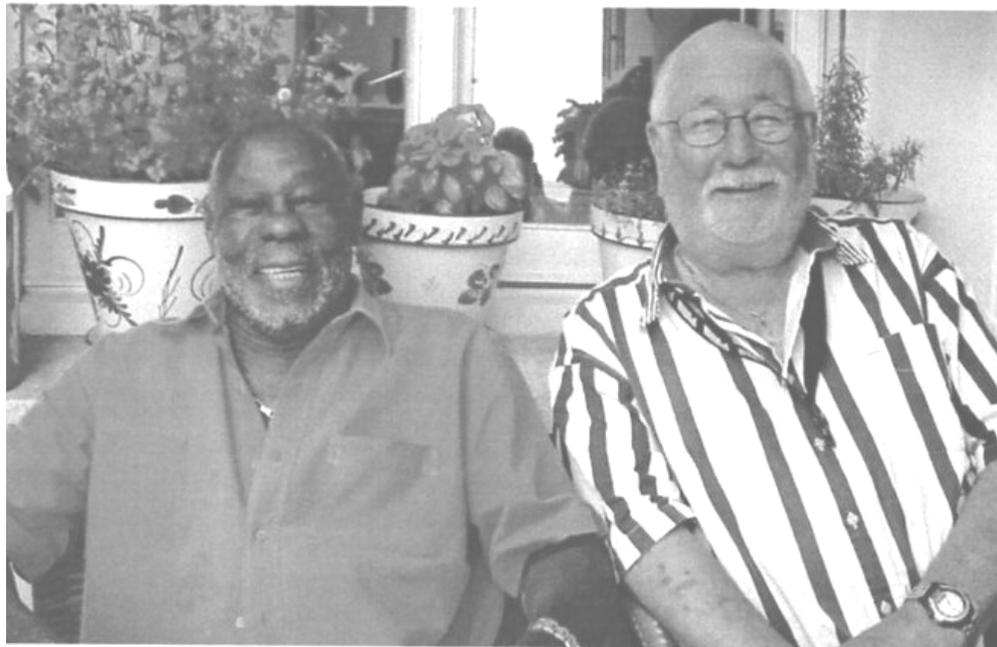
Figure 2. Neville Braithwaite and Christopher Small.

Note. Photograph by Ros McMillan. Reprinted with permission.

As noted previously, Small dedicated *Music of the Common Tongue* (1987) to Braithwaite.[21] Small remarked that Braithwaite, his West Indian friends, and his

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[21] Small also dedicated *Music of the Common Tongue* to two other people. The dedication reads, "*To Neville Braithwaite, who taught me what it was all about; and in grateful memory of Edwin Mason,*

family influenced Small's thinking. When prompted by the question of how Braithwaite influenced him, Small responded, "He made me understand what it is like to be a Black man in a White man's world" (C. Small, personal communication, September 4, 2006). Small also shared that Braithwaite's influences may have been more indirect than direct because Small listened to reggae, a variety of African American musical styles, and other world music at Braithwaite's youth center.

Braithwaite had a variety of talents, including being a fine dancer, singer, and a gymnast. Paul Steinitz (1909-1988), conductor of the London Bach Society Choir, invited Braithwaite to sing with his choir. Small and Braithwaite (see Figure 2) developed a close relationship and both men were able to take early retirement in 1986.

Small's "Retirement." In 1986 at age 59 Small took early retirement from Ealing and purchased a home with Braithwaite in Sitges, Spain, about 22 miles south of Barcelona.[22] There he still spends time writing, reading, participating in amateur dramatics, lecturing, and socializing.

Taking advantage of a change in Spanish law, Braithwaite and Small were married on March 10, 2006. Braithwaite began to suffer from Parkinson's disease in 2002, a challenge for both of them. In addition to Parkinson's, a large tumor developed in Braithwaite's brain in August 2006. Small spent a great deal of energy trying to make Neville's last days as comfortable as possible. Braithwaite died in his

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who alone knew what I owed him; and of John Stevens, for his courage and honesty, no less than for his musicking."

[22] Sitges, Spain has an average of 300 sunny days per year. It has 17 beaches including a gay beach and a nude beach, as well as an active gay nightlife.

sleep on the morning of October 12, 2006 (C. Small, personal communication,

October 18, 2006).[23]

Small's retirement, to date, has been an active one. In addition to serving on

the advisory board for the non-profit group Musicians United for Superior

Education,[24] Small has been a conductor for a local 16-voice international choir in

Barcelona. The membership included people with diverse cultural backgrounds:

Catalan, Dutch, German, English, Irish, Jamaican, Spanish, and Swiss (Thornley,

2001, p. 20). According to Small, their musicking is "a vehicle for their feelings of

identity and mutual respect" (Small, as cited in Thornley, 1992, p. 36). The choir has

sung diverse selections including Bach chorales, popular songs, spirituals, and

Gregorian chant. Some academics, according to Small, have frowned upon the choir's

inclusion of popular selections, but the choir members sing with their best efforts,

care, and love, which Small considers necessary ingredients for a good performance

(Thornley, 1992, p. 36).

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[23] On Sunday, May 20, 2007, the English Theatre Club in Sitges organized a tribute to Neville Braithwaite's life titled, "Remembering Neville." Originally the event was going to be a party at Small and Braithwaite's apartment to celebrate Neville's life. Because of the long guest list, a new venue was necessary. It was held at a local music café bar with capacity for approximately 80 people seated at tables. The café bar, "Meet Inn," had a stage, lighting, and a good sound system. The program selections that were most directly related to Braithwaite's life were: (a) a reading from *The Wide Sargasso Sea*, a novel set in Jamaica in the 1830s by Jean Rhys, (b) other Caribbean readings, (c) and two video clips of Braithwaite performing English pantomime—Braithwaite cast as the Genie of the Lamp in the Barcelona International Theatre Club's production of *Aladdin* singing "When You Wish Upon a Star" (performance from 1987), and Braithwaite performing his signature tune, "Liza," a Jamaican folk song made famous by Harry Belafonte (recorded in 2003 in the beautiful gardens of a Sitges hotel). Many of the performances had little to do with Braithwaite's life (dance selections and musical performances) but were dedicated to him. Small recalled, "People did what they did best in his honour, which was what made the event so moving." Four of Braithwaite's family members (his sister, niece, nephew, and his nephew's wife) traveled from the United States to attend the event.

[24] Musicians United for Superior Education started in 1990 in the Buffalo, New York area. Dr. Charles Keil began this organization in an effort to bring more active music making opportunities to children of all socioeconomic levels in the Buffalo area. Its primary objective is to build children's academic, artistic, leadership, personal, and social skills. See <http://www.musekids.org/> for more information on this organization.

For several years, Small also accompanied a local 60-voice Catalan choir for which he arranged "The Holy City" for tenor and chorus. Braithwaite sang the tenor solo. He also composed "Hymne" for the 25th anniversary of the choir (C. Small, personal communication, May 2, 2007).

Some critics were offended by three thirty-minute radio shows in March 1998 that featured African American music, which Small, in his retirement, had prepared for a broadcast on the British Broadcasting Corporation Radio Three. Three European publications, *The Scotsman, Time Out,* and *City Limits*, praised Small's series titled *This Is Who We Are.* On the other hand, two British newspapers, *The Observer* and *The Times,* devoted over half of their weekly radio review columns to describing how unworthy Small's programs were of the high intellectual standards of Radio Three. Small recalled receiving racist hate mail. Despite the negative attention, he noted, "I have to admit that I really enjoyed the chance of getting up the Establishment's nose, for once—right in the inner sanctum of BBC Radio Three!" (Small, as cited in Thornley, 1992, p. 35). In describing that program, Small suggested the Afro-American music tradition has had "far more profound human significance than those remnants of the once-great European traditions that we hear today in the concert halls and opera houses, not to mention the classical radio channels of wealthy industrial societies" (Small, as cited in Thornley, 1992, pp. 34-35).[25]

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[25] Selections from part one of *This Is Who We Are* included Count Basie's 1941 "One O'Clock Jump," Aretha Franklin's 1972 "Amazing Grace," and Muddy Waters's 1948 "I Feel Like going Home." Part two of the program included the London Community Gospel Choir's performance of "Swing Low Sweet Chariot," the second movement of Louis Mareau Gottschalk's "Nuit des Tropiques," Bob Marley singing "No Woman No Cry," and the United Kingdom-based reggae band Steel Pulse's 1979 "Handsworth Revolution." Part three of the program included the soul/funk band Maze's 1979 "Joy

Throughout Small's life he refused to accept restrictions on his music listening, writing, composing, and teaching. He appreciated structure, but felt free to improvise and act in ways that he deemed most important, even if those ways were different than mainstream practices.

Summary

Native New Zealander, Christopher Small (1927-), has found meaning in social and conceptual relationships throughout his life. These relationships have occurred in musical experiences, science studies, music-making, and musical studies.

Small's early musical experiences, such as listening to music and music-making, involved relationships and rituals. For example, his mother sang young Christopher lullabies as part of his nighttime ritual. His family attended classical concerts together and listened to café music. He and his older sister sang Gilbert and Sullivan songs while doing chores. He and his brother, Larry, secretly listened to jazz recordings on a portable record player upstairs in their bedrooms because their parents did not allow jazz recordings to be played in their home when they were young. Larry also gave him a radio that he listened to under the bed covers.

Freedom in his early musical experiences and subsequent studies contributed to Small's inclusive approach to musical styles. His first piano teacher, Hamilton Dickson, encouraged Small to play a varied repertoire without the pressure of performance examinations. His secondary music instructor, Lance Craig, instilled a sense of independence in Small by allowing him access to the school's music room

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and Pain," Louis Jordan's 1947 "Ain't Nobody Here But Us Chickens," and Sweet Honey in the Rock's "When I Die Tomorrow."

where he could listen to recordings of his choice instead of attending rugby practice. These experiences provided fuel for his passion toward independent musicianship, active music-making, and a curiosity for learning.

As he was growing up, Small paid no heed to classifying certain musical styles as "better" than others. Rather, he enjoyed both the social and sonic experiences of a variety of styles of music. Throughout his career, Small has continued to perform, teach, and write about both Western and non-Western musical styles. This variety of musical experiences played a role in the formation of his theory of musicking.

Unconventionally, Small earned a science degree prior to beginning formal music study. His science studies, primarily in the field of zoology, provided tools for conceptual relationships among living organisms, which he later would assimilate into his theory of musicking.

Small developed composition skills during his formal musical studies at Victoria University. He used these abilities when he worked with Morrow Productions Film Corporation in New Zealand and when he taught music students in London. Furthermore, Small won a scholarship from the New Zealand Government for his ballet composition, "Children of the Mist" along with other application materials.

With financial support from his scholarship, Small moved to London 1961, continued his musical studies, and began his professional teaching career. Early on in London, Small met composer Bernard Rands at a Dartington summer music program. Rands introduced Small to a concept of music as gesture, which broadened Small's

thinking about music and eventually contributed to aspects of his future theory. Small's main teaching position in London was at Ealing College of Higher Education where he worked as Senior Lecturer in Music from 1971 to 1986.

In addition to his professional teaching and throughout his retirement, Small created opportunities to be actively involved in community music-making. Through these experiences he developed musical and social relationships. In 1970 he attended a rock music festival, the Isle of Wight Festival of Music, which he described as a "turning point" (Thornley, 2001, p. 18) in that he became more aware of the ritual meanings of music-making. Other community musical experiences included teaching at the Schools Outreach section of the Belgrade Theater in Coventry, creating active learning experiences for his music students, interacting with jazz musicians and occasionally performing with them, serving on the advisory board for the non-profit group Musicians United for Superior Education, and directing a Catalan choir.

In 1973, while teaching in London, Small met Neville Braithwaite who further influenced his thinking about musical relationships. Braithwaite provided opportunities for Small to broaden his listening repertoire to include reggae, African American musical styles, and other world music. According to Small, Braithwaite helped him to understand how it felt to live as a racial minority. At retirement Small and Braithwaite purchased a home together in Sitges, Spain.

After suffering from Parkinson's disease and a brain tumor, Braithwaite died in his sleep on October 12, 2006. Braithwaite's death occurred only seven months after they were married under a new Spanish law allowing same sex marriages.

Chapter Three will examine how Small began his writing career and includes comprehensive tables of his publications. Additionally, the next chapter will identify particular themes in his publications that illustrate particular contours of his thinking in respect to the development of his theory of musicking.

CHAPTER THREE

Christopher Small's Published Writing

The purpose of this chapter is to explore Christopher Small's published

writing, focusing particularly on the period 1977 to 1987, as a lens to glimpse the

development of his theory of musicking. Beginning with a description of the start of

Christopher Small's publishing career in 1967, this chapter then explores his writing

through a thematic analysis including two chronological tables of his published and

unpublished writing. Reviews of his first two books, *Music, Society Education* (1977)

and *Music of the Common Tongue* (1987), are summarized. Thereafter, an analysis of

Small's ten published book reviews illustrates how Small analyzes other writers

during this period, using his developing theory of musicking as a yardstick.

Small's Associations with John Calder, Susan McClary, and Rob Walser

Small's publishing career began inconspicuously. He approached John Calder

of the British publishing company Calder and Boyars with a half-completed

translation of Belgian serialist Henri Pousseur's (1929-) *Fragments Théoriques sur*

la Musique Expérimentale (1970).[26] Because Small knew this firm had published

unconventional books, such as John Cage's *A Year from Monday* (1968), he thought

Calder and Boyars might be interested in publishing his Pousseur translation.

According to Small, he walked out of Calder's office with something he had not

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[26] Henri Pousseur composed avant-garde music including serial, aleatoric, dodecaphonic, and electronic musical styles. From 1960 on, he made efforts to bridge scholarly and popular music. At the time he wrote this book, he was teaching at the University in Liége, France, founded the Centre de Recherches et de Formation Musicales de Wallonie, and participated in alternative music education activities. His book *Fragments Théoriques sur la Musique Expérimentale* (1970) was a reply to Claude Levi-Strauss (1908-) who had argued about the viability of modern music. Pousseur's book addresses a number of matters related to electronic music, such as new technical means, integration by chance, consonance and dissonance, non-periodicity and periodicity, and classical dualisms between pitched sound and noise.

anticipated: a contract to write his own book. At the time, Small was grateful to Calder for offering to publish his work, and for "understanding his ideas, which were far from conventional" (Marghanita Laski, as cited in Calder, 2001, p. 503).

Unfortunately, Small's relationship with Calder and Boyars turned sour. John Calder, according to Small, was "in clear breach of contract over royalties" associated with both *Music, Society, Education* (1977) and Small's second book, *Music of the Common Tongue* (1987) (C. Small, personal communication, December 9, 2006). According to Small, he did not receive American royalties from *Music of the Common Tongue* until seven years after it was published. Small contends Calder still owes him roughly $2,000 (C. Small, personal communication, June 20, 2006). Small recalled writing the following lines to Calder in the mid 1980s: "I was grateful to you for giving me the chance to write and be published, but I'm afraid I ran out of gratitude a long time ago" (C. Small, personal communication, December 9, 2006). Still, Small was concerned that he would not find another publisher.

That concern was alleviated by a fortuitous panel presentation at an academic conference. At the 1989 Annual Meeting of the Society for Ethnomusicology, hosted by the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) and Harvard University in Cambridge, Massachusetts, Small served on a panel with Rob Walser (1958-). Walser, a musicologist specializing in jazz and other popular American music, would later author *Running with the Devil: Power, Gender, and Madness in Heavy Metal Music* (1993) and serve as primary editor for *Keeping Time: Readings in Jazz History* (1999). At the time, however, both he and Small were engrossed with exploring the

theme of the Conference: "Assessing Ethnomusicology: Where We've Been, Where We Are, and Where We're Going."

Walser's spouse, Susan McClary (1946-), was also deeply interested in ethnomusicology research. McClary, who would later achieve fame as the author of *Feminine Endings: Music, Gender, and Sexuality* (1991), perhaps her best known book, was at the time on the faculty of the University of Minnesota.[27]

Both Walser and McClary had been using *Music, Society, Education* (1977) in their college courses for a number of years (S. McClary, personal communication, June 4, 2006). According to McClary, after their time together at the conference, Small extended an open invitation to Walser and McClary to visit him at his home in Sitges, Spain.

In 1994, Walser and McClary accepted this invitation and stopped in Sitges to spend time with Small and his partner, Neville Braithwaite, on their way to teach in Granada, Spain.[28] They "were charmed by Chris and Neville and enchanted by Sitges" (S. McClary, personal communication, June 4, 2006). During their visit, Small shared details about his professional relationship with publisher John Calder.

According to Small, Calder claimed that no one purchased Small's books, which accounted for the very low royalties. McClary believed, however, that Calder

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[27] At the time of this writing, both Walter and McClary serve on the faculty at the University of California Los Angeles (UCLA). See <http://www.musicology.ucla.edu/faculty/faculty-bio.html> for more information on Dr. McClary and Dr. Walser.

[28] In the Preface to *Music of the Common Tongue,* Small gratefully acknowledges McClary and Walser and recalls their conversation, "Above all I want to thank Robert Walser and Susan McClary for their vision and the support they gave, which revived my flagging energies. Had they not listened, one afternoon on a terrace looking over the roofs of Sitges to the sea, to my complaints about the fate of my two books, those books would today be in limbo, while the third would remain a muddled bundle of manuscripts and computer files" (p. xi).

did not distribute Small's books effectively (S. McClary, personal communication,

June 4, 2006). McClary and Walser, then representing a two-thirds contractual

interest in Wesleyan Publishers, suggested to Small that they inquire about obtaining

the publishing rights from Calder. Their efforts were successful. Wesleyan published

the 1996 edition of *Music, Society, Education* and the 1998 edition of *Music of the

Common Tongue*. With encouragement from McClary and Walser and support from

Wesleyan press, moreover, Small would later write *Musicking: The Meanings of

Performing and Listening* (1998).

Small's Writing: Influences and Thematic Analysis

The next section explores selected themes in Small's writing as they intersect

with and illustrate his developing contextual theory of musicking. Table 2 contains a

chronology of all Christopher Small's published books, book sections, journal

articles, papers, and book reviews. Table 3 lists his in press and unpublished

manuscripts.

Table 2

Chronology of Christopher Small's Published Writing

Books

(1977). *Schoenberg: Short Biography*. Borough Green, Sevenoaks, Kent, Great

> Britain: Novello and Co. Ltd.

Table 2 (continued).

Chronology of Christopher Small's Published Writing

Books

(1977). *Music, Society, Education: A Radical Examination of the Prophetic Function of Music in Western, Eastern and African Cultures with Its Impact on Society and Its Use in Education.*[29] London: John Calder (Publishers) Ltd.

(1980). *Music, Society, Education: A Radical Examination of the Prophetic Function of Music in Western, Eastern and African Cultures with Its Impact on Society and Its Use in Education*. (Rev. ed.). London: John Calder (Publishers) Ltd.

(1980). *Music, Society, Education*. Published in Italian. Milan, Italy: Feltrinelli.

(1983). *Music, Society, Education*. Published in Greek. Athens, Greece: Nefeli.

(1987). *Music of the Common Tongue: Survival and Celebration in African American Music.* Great Britain: John Calder (Publishers) Ltd.

(1989). *Music, Society, Education*. Published in Spanish. Madrid, Spain: Alianza.

(1996). *Music, Society, Education*. (3rd ed.). Hanover, NH: Wesleyan University Press.

(1998). *Music of the Common Tongue: Survival and Celebration in African American Music* (Rev. ed.). Hanover, NH: Wesleyan University Press.

(1998). *Musicking: The Meanings of Performing and Listening*. Hanover, NH: Wesleyan University Press.

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[29] This subtitle was added by the publisher without consulting Small. The first time Small saw "that ridiculous subtitle" was when he received his advance copies. Wesleyan and Small agreed to remove it for the third edition (C. Small, personal communication, June 26, 2006).

Table 2 (continued).

Chronology of Christopher Small's Published Writing

Book Sections

(1980). American vernacular music—A meeting of two worlds. In G. Spence and G.

Swayne (Eds.). *How Music Works* (pp. 293-320). London: Collier-Macmillan.

(1982). Music in education. In G. Martin (Ed.). *Making Music* (pp. 332-333).

London: F. Muller.

(1987). Performance as ritual: Sketch for an enquiry into the true nature of a

symphony concert. In A. V. White (Ed.), *Lost in music: Culture, style and the*

music event (pp. 6-32)*.* London; New York: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

(1999). A music of survival and celebration. In R. Walser (Ed.), *Keeping time:*

Readings in jazz history (pp. 376-386). New York: Oxford University Press.

Journal Articles

(1967). Bernard Rands. *Musical Times, 108*(1496), 905-907.

(1970). Contemporary music in contemporary culture: Part one. *Music in Education,*

37(345), 262-263, 265.

(1971). Contemporary music in contemporary culture: Part two. *Music in Education,*

43(347), 376-378.

(1971). Contemporary music in contemporary culture: Part three. *Music in Education,*

43(348), 436-438.

(1973). Cage and Cardew—Words on Music. *Music in Education, 37*(360), 77-79.

(1973). Ives and Varese—Words on Music. *Music in Education, 37*(362), 187-188.

Table 2 (continued).

Chronology of Christopher Small's Published Writing

Journal Articles

(1974). Mahler: Symphony No. 1. *Music in Education, 38*(369), 215-217.

(1975). Webern: Concerto for Nine Instruments. *Music in Education, 39*(372), 19-22.

(1975). Towards a philosophy of music education: Part 1: Education and experts.

Music in Education, 39(372), 110-112.

(1975). Webern: String Quartet Op. 28. *Music in Education, 39*(373), 114-119.

(1975). Towards a philosophy of music education: Part 2: Metaphors and madness.

Music in Education, 39(373), 163-164.

(1975). Towards a philosophy of music education: Part 3: Creation and curricula.

Music in Education, 39(374), 205-207.

(1983). The vernacular in music education. *Educational Analysis, 5*(2), 65-75.

(1985). Music—A resource for survival. *Musical America, 35*(11), 6-11.

(1989). Growing up in New Zealand. *Echology, 3*, 38-40.

(1995). [The theory of participatory discrepancies: A progress report; Searching for

swing: Participatory discrepancies in the jazz rhythm section; Rhythm as

duration of sounds in "Tumba Francesca"]: Responses. *Ethnomusicology,*

39(1), Special Issue: Participatory discrepancies, 73-96.

(1999). Musicking: Meanings of performing and listening: A lecture. *Music education*

research, 1(1), 9-21.

(2001). Why doesn't the whole world love chamber music?" *American music, 19*(3),

340-359.

Table 2 (continued).

Chronology of Christopher Small's Published Writing

Papers

(1978). *Toward an aesthetic of popular music.* Paper presented at the Biennial

    Conference of the American Association for Popular Culture, Chichester,

    Sussex, July.

(1982). *Performance as ritual.* Paper presented at the Department of Social

    Anthropology, Queen's University, Belfast.

(1982). *African values in Afro-American music.* Paper presented at The Challenge of

    African Humanism, Ohio State University, May.

(1984). No meanings without rules. *The Proceedings of the Forum Held at the*

    Institute of Contemporary Arts, 31 March 1984, 1-5.

(1984). Treasuring the creative act. Address to the A. G. M. of the Composers' Guild

    of Great Britain, 5 April, 1984.

(1989). Towards a general theory of music(king). Paper presented at the Annual

    Meeting of the Society for Ethnomusicology, Cambridge, Massachusetts,

    October.

(1990). Whose music do we teach, anyway? Lecture for MENC, Washington, DC, 28

    March, 1990. Retrieved March 14, 2006, from Musicians United for Superior

    Education Web site: http://www.musekids.org/whose.html.

(1995). Musicking: A ritual in social space. Lecture at the University of Melbourne, 6

    June 1995. Retrieved March 14, 2006 from

    http://musekids.org/musicking.html.

Table 2 (continued).

Chronology of Christopher Small's Published Writing

Papers

(1997). Musicking: A ritual in social space. In R. Rideout (Ed.). *Oklahoma*

　　Symposium on Music Education. On the sociology of music education (pp. 1-

　　12). Norman, OK: School of Music, University of Oklahoma.

(2003). Exploración, afirmación y celebración. *Eufonia 28: La Música en el Aula ¿Y*

　　Ahora?

(2005). "Creative reunderstandings" conference on globalization, University Centre,

　　Trondheim, August.

Book Reviews

(1986). [Review of the book *Song and democratic culture in Britain: An approach to*

　　popular culture in social movements]. *Ethnomusicology, 30*(3), 580-582.

(1987). [Review of the book *A music for the millions: Antebellum democratic*

　　attitudes and the birth of American popular music]. *Ethnomusicology, 30*(1),

　　145-147.

(1987). [Review of the book *Music and its social meanings*]. *British Journal of Music*

　　Education, 4(1), 94-95.

(1987). [Review of the book *Becoming human through music*]. *British Journal of*

　　Music Education, 4(1), 95-98.

(1988). [Review of the book *Music and society: The politics of composition,*

　　performance and reception]. *Music & Letters, 69*(3), 421-423.

Table 2 (continued).

Chronology of Christopher Small's Published Writing

Book Reviews

 (1991). [Review of the book *Studying popular music*]. *Music & Letters, 72*(2), 319-
321.

(1991). [Review of the book *Blues fell this morning: Meaning in the blues*]. *Music &
Letters, 72*(4), 630-632.

(1992). [Review of the book *Music as social text*]. *Music & Letters, 73*(1), 89-91.

(1993). [Review of the book *A history of Western musical aesthetics*]. *British Journal
of Music Education, 10*(3), 277-279.

(1996). [Review of the book *Heartland excursions: Ethnomusicological reflections
on schools of music*]. *American Music, 14*(2), 239-241.

Table 3

Christopher Small's Articles in Press and Unpublished Writing

(in press). Six aphorisms and five commentaries. *Quodlibet*.

(2004). Unpublished autobiography.

The following thematic categorization is used in this examination of Small's

writing in an attempt to highlight concepts that relate to development of his theory of

musicking and philosophy of music education: (a) a tally of those authors most

frequently cited in Small's writings; (b) writings about specific composers, their

compositions, and a three article series on contemporary music and contemporary

culture; (c) a three article series by Small on his philosophy of music education; (d)

Music, Society, Education (1977) and its critical reviews; (e) five other publication

related to Small's theory of musicking; (f) *Music of the Common Tongue* (1987) and

its critical reviews; and (g) a summary of book reviews written by Small.

 Most frequent citations. Small's citations offer a window into his interests and

offer a broad framework for understanding whom he considers primary influences.

Table 4 provides a list of those authors whom Small cites most frequently.

Table 4

Top Ten Most Cited Authors in Small's Published Articles and Books

Author	Number of Times Cited
Gregory Bateson	31
Clifford Geertz	12
Charles Keil	11
Mircea Eliade	8
Marshall McLuhan	8
Albert Murray	8
John Cage	7
Cornelius Cardew	7
John Blacking	6
Ivan Illich	6

 Examination of Small's books and published articles indicates that the ten

persons Small cites most frequently are, in descending order: (a) anthropologist and

biologist Gregory Bateson (1904-1980), (b) anthropologist Clifford Geertz (1926-2006), (c) anthropologist and music educator Charles Keil (1939-), (d) religion scholar Mircea Eliade (1907-1986), (e) African American writer Albert Murray (1916-), (f) media analyst Marshall McLuhan (1911-1980), (g) British composer Cornelius Cardew (1936-1981), (h) experimental composer John Cage (1912-1992), (i) ethnomusicologist John Blacking (1928-1990), and (j) philosopher Ivan Illich (1926-2002).

Such data indicate three, general observations potentially helpful for a thematic examination of Small's writings. First, Small most frequently cites anthropologists (Bateson, Geertz, and Keil). Second, Small frequently cites authors whose interests and expertise were wide-ranging, extending beyond the discipline of music education. Third, there are no names of prominent philosophers of music education on this list.

Thematic and Chronological Examinations

As Bevir (1999) suggests, research in the history of ideas requires a rigorous combination of criticism, comparison of whole webs of theories, and agreement of certain facts in relation to defined criteria for establishing objectivity (p. 80). Analyzing Small's writing through categorical themes may assist in detecting development of his ideas over time, observing patterns in his thinking, and uncovering contextual elements of his theory.

Published Writing about Specific Composers and Their Compositions

From 1967-1977 Small published seven articles discussing the following composers: (a) Bernard Rands (1934-), (b) John Cage (1912-1992) and Cornelius Cardew (1936-1981), (c) Charles Ives (1874-1954) and Edgard Varese (1883-1965), (d) Anton Webern (1883-1945), two articles, and (e) Gustav Mahler (1860-1911). In addition, Small published in monograph form a short biography of Arnold Schoenberg (1874-1951). Four publications that were most relevant to Small's theory of musicking were his articles on Rands, Cage and Cardew, the Schoenberg monograph, and a three article series on contemporary music and contemporary composers.

Bernard Rands. In his first published article, Small (1967) explained how meeting Rands in 1962 at Dartington Summer School contributed to his understanding of contemporary music and musical relationships. Small described himself as being, at the time, a "fairly raw colonial . . . excited, stunned, and bewildered by the new musical phenomena" (p. 905). Small wrote that he made a passing comment to Rands that opened the door to a rather detailed conversation about contemporary musical concepts.

At their first meeting in 1962 at Dartington, Rands "spent a whole afternoon with me with pencil and manuscript paper explaining the principles of serial composition and other concepts." Their friendship developed during the subsequent eight years. Rands introduced Small to a number of "luminaries" including experimental composer Luciano Berio (1925-2003) and avant-garde singer Cathy Berberian (1925-1983) (Small, 2004, p. 6).

Interactions with Rands appeared to have contributed, at least indirectly, to Small's developing ideas about musicking in these respects: (a) teaching approach, (b) interest in contemporary music, and (c) criticisms of music education in college and university contexts. Small (1967) appreciated Rands's "generosity, with his time, his knowledge, and his personality." According to Small, Rands exemplified multiple hallmarks of a gifted teacher, particularly, "integrity, patience, tolerance, and a strong sense of tradition" (p. 905). Small was clearly impressed with Rands's skills as teacher, which may have influenced Small's own teaching approach. For example, according to Small, his conversations with Rands unveiled the mysteries of contemporary music terminology. Rands's teaching style appeared similar to Small's style in their efforts to connect to students' perspectives and levels of understanding.

Through Rands's mentoring, Small shifted from feeling "baffled" (p. 905) about contemporary music to developing an understanding and affinity for contemporary music. Over the course of the 13 years following his first association with Rands, Small published 13 articles and a monograph on contemporary musical styles and contemporary composers. Small used these analyses as vehicles for a deeper exploration on societal influences on musical practices.

Third, according to Small, Rands was "scornful of the preparation given to composers at the London colleges and the universities." Small indicated that Rands felt that these college and university programs were "taking an easy way out, lacking the courage to strike out in new and exciting ways to meet the needs of young musicians, as well as of campus and community" (p. 907). Small later wrote his own criticisms of contemporary music education practices in a 1975 three article series

titled "Towards a Philosophy of Music Education" and in his book *Music, Society, Education* (1977).

   John Cage and Cornelius Cardew. In "Cage and Cardew—Words on Music," Small (1973) explored the writing and work of two innovative and nontraditional composers: John Cage (1912-1992), an American experimental composer and prolific writer, and Cornelius Cardew (1936-1981), an English composer and founding member of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party of Britain. In this analysis, Small discussed the social importance of music making, a theme that reemerged later in all three of Small's books and would figure prominently in his theory of musicking. Cage and Cardew, moreover, were among the top ten authors that Small cites in his articles and books (See Table 4).

   Small recognized that both Cage and Cardew were engaged in "stripping away the mystic and mystification which has . . . for too long surrounded music" (p. 79). Specifically, Small referenced excerpts from their books that exemplified their simplicity, directness, and clarity. For example, in Cage's *A Year from Monday* (1969), Small quoted, "*A composer is simply someone who tells people what to do. I find this an unattractive way of getting things done. I'd like our activities to be more social and anarchically so*" (Cage, 1969, as cited in Small, 1973, p. 77).

   Small also commented that the books written by Cage and Cardew "have much to say to any music teacher who has a concern beyond the traditional day-to-day routine of his job" (p. 79). Small specifically remarked that music teachers "should take note" (p. 77) of this assertion by Cage: "*It* [art] *isn't anyone saying something but people doing things, giving everyone (including those involved) the*

opportunity to have experiences they would not otherwise have had" (Cage, 1969, as

cited in Small, 1973, p. 77).

Themes in the books by Cage and Cardew that Small considered relevant to

music teachers concerned (a) an overemphasis on traditional notation in music

teaching and practice, (b) the composer's primary role as one of encouraging

performers to express themselves creatively, (c) the values inherent in social

processes of music making, and (d) moral discipline as an element of music training.

With respect to an overemphasis on traditional notation, Small described how

Cardew's 193-page composition, *Treatise* (1967), used patterns of curved and straight

lines with occasional musical symbols sprinkled throughout, "bearing a strange

resemblance to 1930s 'Art Deco' motifs" (p. 78), clearly a move away from

traditional notation. Small also cited Cardew's satirical take on traditional notation:

"*The great merit of a traditional notation is that it enables people to say things that*

are beyond their own understanding. Thus, a 12-year old can read Kant aloud, and a

gifted child can play late Beethoven (Cardew, 1971 as cited in Small, 1973, pp. 78-

79). In other words, Cardew argued that because performers can read the syntax of

traditional notation without understanding the nuances of expression, traditional

notation could be a barrier to musical comprehension.

With respect to the composer's primary role as encouraging performers'

creative self-expression, Small explained how *Treatise* (1967) allowed performers to

exercise freedom in deciphering nontraditional notation, choosing what instrument to

play, and how to play the piece. Small also noted that Cardew saw the primary

function of composers as building "a framework that will support rather than control the music-making actions of performers" (p. 78).

With respect to the social processes of music making, Small quoted Cage: "*Art instead of being an object made by one person is a process set in motion by a group of people. Art's socialized*" (Cage, 1969, as cited in Small, 1973, p. 77). Small also noted that Cage included ideas about music's social functions and comments on social matters in a series of "typographical fantasies called HOW TO IMPROVE THE WORLD (YOU WILL ONLY MAKE MATTERS WORSE)" (p. 77).

Regarding moral discipline as an element of music training, Small suggested that central concepts in Cardew's thinking included different types of "*virtue or strength that can be developed by a musician*" (Cardew, 1971, as cited in Small, 1973, p. 78). Small also noted with approval Cardew's ideas about improvisation: "*Improvisation cannot be rehearsed. Training is substituted for rehearsal, and a certain moral discipline is an essential part of this training*" (p. 78).

Schoenberg. In Small's (1978) 28-page biography of Schoenberg, he described how Schoenberg was "building new linkages and new relationships and offering them to us as models for the perception and ordering of the contemporary world" (p. 10). Small maintained that these complex connections were evident in Schoenberg's compositions, particularly his "Three Piano Pieces, Opus 11;" "Five Orchestral Pieces, Opus 16;" and "Erwartung," a monodrama (Schoenberg's term for an opera with one character). These relationships, remarked Small, "are associative links which are not always comprehended by the conscious mind, being rather apprehended at a deeper level" (p. 10).

For example, Small compared Schoenberg's "Erwartung" to Sigmund Freud's research on dreams. "Erwartung" was a short opera about a nightmare in which the only character finds her lover's bloody and murdered body in a horrifying and dark forest. Freud had explained that this type of dream symbolized confused feelings toward one's lover. Small remarked that although Schoenberg had not read Freud, he nonetheless may have demonstrated an insightful understanding of the complex characteristics of dreams.

Small also highlighted what he termed "the clarity and honesty" of Schoenberg with which he depicted the condition of modern man [*sic*], decades before it revealed itself in the wider social situation" (p. 26). At the end of this biography, Small commented on the gradual rise in harmonic tension across the history of Western tonal music. He suggested that with Schoenberg, the "relaxation which the music seeks to achieve" increasingly becomes more indefinable: Resolution from dissonance to consonance becomes "inaccessible, as if a road had been closed off" (p. 25). Small indicated that this lack of tonal stability in Schoenberg functioned as "a metaphor for European rationalism and individualism" (p. 26) tangled in a predicament:

> The more he [the modern Western person] seeks peace, security and satisfaction of needs through the proliferation of material means, the products of pure will and intellect, the more he [*sic*] finds them receding from him, and the more he tries to progress the more he destroys that to which he wishes to attain. (p. 26)

Contemporary Music and Contemporary Culture

Entitled "Contemporary Music in Contemporary Culture," Small wrote a series of three articles published in 1970 and 1971. A central theme of this series was that, in popular musical genres, the "primary purpose is not the music itself but the communal function it serves" (Small, 1971b, p. 436).

Small (1970) began the first article by looking at present musical practices and exploring similar changes among musical styles and contemporary culture. Small contended that a new culture was replacing "our post-Renaissance culture." This new culture, according to Small, was "more outward-looking, less fragmented, in which the *now* is more important than the past or future, and which the senses, the instincts and the subconscious are restored to their proper importance beside the will and the conscious intellect." Similarly, Small noticed that in musical practices of non-European cultures "music exists in the *now*" (p. 262). In other words, rather than containing devices of reference or anticipation, such as particular harmonic or structural components, the non-European musical practices that Small referred to had "a hypnotic quality that takes us out of time" (p. 262). Small would return to pondering these real time interactions in contemporary and non-European musical styles as he later explicated in his mature theory of musicking.

Small suggested that for the past 500 years "European culture has been dominated by the will or intellect, a tremendously energetic patriarchal culture, worshipping two masculine gods, Jehovah and Mammon." Rather than cooperating with nature, Small argued that in European culture, music had been considered primarily as "something outside ourselves, to be dominated, subdued and exploited."

Such a perspective, according to Small, "appears to stem from the uniquely European emphasis on will, on power through conflict, which is reflected on the quality and tension of harmonic organization." Because of these European attitudes toward art, Small suggested that "art has been demoted from an essential tool of existence to a mere gloss on gracious living" (p. 263).

In Part Two of this series of articles, Small (1971a) analyzed three twentieth century composers: Claude Debussy (1862-1918), Igor Stravinsky (1882-1971), and Arnold Schoenberg (1874-1951), primarily by contrasting their compositional styles with those musical practices that antedated them. Each of these composers, according to Small, moved away from a European harmonic focus and instead exploited texture and color in their compositions. Debussy, Small reflected, did not use devices of reference or anticipation; rather, he placed a deeper focus on each performed sound rather than the linear direction of the harmonies or melodies. Stravinsky, said Small, developed new concepts of rhythmic interplay, while Schoenberg's creations provided little sense of tonal structure.

Small asserted that these three composers contributed to "a new sensibility and the revival of aspects of ourselves which have long been devalued or suppressed" (p. 376). By freeing themselves from traditional hierarchical harmonies, regular accents, and the structure of conventional musical argument, Small observed that they released hidden impulses, restored magic and ritual, and re-established the world of the senses.

In the third article of this series, Small (1971b) described similarities among popular music and avant-garde styles, noting specifically that (a) both have a

tendency to conceive music as a "process of exploration" (p. 437), rather than a collection of objects, and (b) both use a type of ritual in performance. In regard to music as a "process of exploration," Small discussed how avant-garde compositions, such as those by Schoenberg, Hindemith, and Skryabin ("Scriabin"), have explored non-traditional harmonic structures. This move away from traditional harmonies, Small noted, has affected rhythmic elements of popular and avant-garde music, creating a less precise concept of the beginning, middle, or end in these pieces.

With respect to the use of ritual, Small indicated that audience behavior often resembled ritual. People, he noted, moved about, sat and stood, or danced at popular music concerts, as opposed to sitting "in reverent silence throughout" (p. 436). Small also discussed ritual by means of English composer Cornelius Cardew's (1936-1981) *The Great Digest* (1968). The words of Confucius in this avant-garde composition were repeated against a monotonous instrumental background.

According to Cardew, there was "a hostile disturbance during the first performance of this work" (p. 438). Gerald Larner (1968) described this disturbance at the 24th Cheltenham Festival in London: "One-third of his audience . . . retreated noisily into the corridor to vent its anger while others, as noisily, attempted to quell it" (p. 831). Cardew remarked that because music was more than "a purely aesthetic experience. . . . It [music] must make waves in our environment, and have repercussions outside the concert hall" (Cardew, as cited in Small, 1971b, p. 438).

A Three Article Series on Small's Philosophy of Music Education

In 1975 Small published another series of three articles titled "Toward a Philosophy of Music Education." In Part One, "Education and Experts," Small

(1975a) pointed to a discrepancy between human learning and schooling by employing a geographical analogy to describe contemporary approaches to curriculum. He argued that experts were more like oilmen, miners, or cattlemen, each viewing the landscape through their own particular perspective, but avoiding an overall assessment of the broader terrain (p. 110). In other words, contemporary curricular practices, according to Small, mandated students follow the particular perspectives of the experts in the schools rather than allowing individuals opportunities to explore their own areas of interest.

Small also suggested that the scientific method, specifically its inductive reasoning, has taken priority over other modes of thinking in schooling curricula. According to Small (1975a), "Scientific method constantly strives to reduce all phenomena, all experience, to the sets of abstract relationships we call mathematics." Although Small recognized the value of scientific activities, he reminded the reader that it is only one way of exploring the learning terrain. With measurable outcome as a prevailing contemporary concern, Small observed that the result is "an impoverishment of human experience" (p. 111) and that, as a consequence, schools tended to view education as a distribution of facts. He questioned whether educators had become too entrenched in viewing nature as known object and thus whether they had neglected to engage students in meaningful active learning experiences that might question that assumption.

In Part Two, "Metaphors and Madness," Small (1975b) argued against the concept of music as object by advocating music as a mode of exploration. He suggested that through music and art activities "we explore ourselves, our experience

and our environment and come to terms with them." According to Small, when the emphasis in music teaching is on learning about the past— past compositional forms, lives of past composers, and how to perform music of past composers—the teachers seem to have an "obsession" with facts, and therefore "our *experience* of it [the world] has become severely diluted" (p. 163). Small did not suggest eliminating past musical compositions from music teaching, but encouraged an increased awareness of musical compositions' role in past societies and in contemporary culture.

Small asserted that "at practically no time are pupils or students confronted with the raw experience of music" because music teachers mediate teaching through "*our* knowledge, *our* expertise, *our* opinion of what is 'good' and what is 'bad'" (p. 163). By "raw experience" Small meant: (a) the experience of creating music directly, relying on one's own perceptions and senses no matter what the resulting sound may be, and (b) encounters with contemporary music (p. 164).

Small (1975b) stated that music teachers maintained an unexamined assumption that learning about music had to precede making music. Small argued that teaching about music before allowing students to make music ran counter to the nature of art and of life: "In art as in life, you learn by doing it . . . the learning is the experience is the joy" (p. 164).

In the third article of the series, "Creation and Curricula," Small (1975c) asked, "What, then, are the alternatives to sitting the pupils down and teaching them *about* music?" He responded that placing the creative process at the core of all artistic activity would afford an alternative to considering music as an object (p. 205). In this

respect, Small suggested that children's creations should become the curriculum and their musical experiences the syllabus.

Small thus preferred to view children as the integral component of the learning process, rather than seeing them primarily as objects of instruction and consumers of knowledge. Small reminded the reader that children have questions and curiosities that lie between and beyond the subjects of the school curriculum (p. 206). When a school curriculum was delineated so precisely that there was no room for students to inquire and engage with their own interests, then, asserted Small, students' passion for learning became stifled.

Student-centered curricular frameworks, suggested Small, had little need for strictly following a curriculum written without regard to particular learning contexts, for aptitude testing, for syllabi, or for research into the musical development of children according to presumed universal various stages of maturation (p. 205). By contrast, he observed that current schooling practices were concerned mainly with organizational matters and teaching what school leaders deemed necessary information. As Small pointed out, "Schools and soup kitchens are about the only places where the customer is always wrong—or at least is required to prove that he's right" (p. 206).

Small also suggested that the values of a society were mirrored in its arts and in its system of education—in the case of capitalist countries, the values of a consumer-driven society. He argued that capitalist societies equate "the good citizen with the good consumer." Small also suggested that the "psychic deprivation of life" occurred not only in "advanced technocratic communities," but also in socialist

countries where "the product is required to conform to someone's idea of universal acceptability" (p. 206). These challenges translated to the realm of arts, according to Small, because engaging freely in artistic creation helped to "counter this technocratic impoverishment of our experience, by which we can pursue a reality which is proportioned to the full scale of our human nature" (p. 207). For Small, the real experience of art was the creative process itself.

<p style="text-align:center">*Music, Society, Education (1977)*[30]</p>

Small mentioned that he wrote the book *Music, Society, Education* (1977) "more or less off the top of my head" (C. Small, personal communication, May 22, 2006), using years of lecture notes. According to an interview with American essayist, music journalist, and rock critic Robert Christgau, Small expected this book "to sink from sight. It never occurred to me that there was anything out of the ordinary about it" (Small, as cited in Christgau, 2000d, ¶ 2). Yet a review in *Musical Opinion* suggested quite the opposite: "This combative, infuriating and profoundly stimulating work is no ordinary book. . . . This is an important, stunningly original book certain to provoke debate for it is an unflattering mirror of our times" (E.M.P., 1977, p. 602). There have been three editions of this book, and it has been translated into Italian, Greek, and Spanish.

One of *Music, Society, Education's* themes, which eventually served as an underlying framework of Small's mature theory of musicking, was that every human, whether aware or unaware, was conditioned by the cultural assumptions that are a

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[30] As mentioned at the beginning of this section, the 1977 and 1980 editions of *Music, Society, Education* were published by John Calder Publications. The material in all three editions is identical except the 1996 edition includes a three page foreword by Rob Walser.

part of one's living environment. Small argued that a proper understanding of artistic activity could restructure education and possibly change society. Interestingly, although his book was about music, Small compared similar qualities of various art disciplines to support particular points. Yet he warned that analogies between music and visual arts "should not be pushed too far" because a painting was comprised of solid materials and was located in a particular place, and in Western culture, the concept of a musical work, according to Small, was less clear. For example, Small suggested that the score cannot be the work, and a performance could encompass only "part of the essence of the work." The concept of a musical work, Small indicated, was "an abstraction which perhaps can never be perfectly realized in concrete sounds" (p. 28).

Small compared cultural assumptions within Western classical musical traditions to musical practices in non-Western cultures. Those comparisons particularly relevant to his later mature concept of musicking fell in three main categories: (a) music as action, (b) social influences on musical practices, and (c) relationships in musical practices. Small also listed seven assumptions from the Western classical tradition that he wished to reject. Two of these assumptions that connect most closely to his concept of musicking are described in this section.

Music as Action

Small's descriptions of music as action appeared to have two functions in his argument: (a) to emphasize that Western classical music traditions had an underlying assumption that music was conceived as an object, and (b) to clarify differences

between notation-focused music making and musical practices that were not heavily reliant on traditional notation.

Western classical music traditions. Small argued that Western classical music had both a spatial and a temporal frame. The spatial frame included the place where the performance occurred and how the performers and audience members were situated. Small suggested that a "temporal frame" (p. 25), on the other hand, seemed to be taken for granted. One aspect of this temporal frame, Small indicated, was the length of musical performance or the actual time when musical sounds occurred and when they stopped. Small suggested that another aspect of a temporal frame included the sequences of musical form, such as introductions and transition sections. According to Small, these elements that "direct attention forward to coming events" revealed "a dynamic process taking place in time rather than a static paper symmetry" (p. 27). By "static paper symmetry," Small was referring to dissecting a composition into its various elements such as subjects, developments, and recapitulations, rather than analyzing the composition in terms of foreground, middleground, and background.

Characteristics of notation-focused musical practices. Small indicated that because of a highly developed notation system in Western classical musical practice, musical works have lasted past the composers' lives and have become "permanent features of the musical landscape" (p. 31). Musical actions that originated with score-based Western classical compositions, according to Small, differed from musical practices that used notation as a means to remember what was performed. In the former case, the composer worked in the solitude of his or her study, while in the

latter instance, such as Balinese gamelan compositions, each performer contributed something to the composition.

Small contended, moreover, that emphasis on musical notation contributed to the development of the discipline of musicology, which he called the "bastard child of music and science" (p. 32). He suggested that its emphasis on past creations as musical works reflected, at heart, a lack of confidence in contemporary creativity.

Social Influences on Musical Practices

Small provided various examples of social influences upon musical practices in *Music, Society, Education.* Three of these examples tied closely to concepts of his forthcoming theory of musicking: (a) reciprocal influences between society and composers, (b) communal experiences of select non-European musical performances, and (c) communal experiences of the Isle of Wight Music Festival.

Reciprocal influences of society and composers. Small stated that "composers, like other artists, catch ideas and visions that are, as it were, still in solution in society and crystallize them in metaphorical form" (p. 127). Although Small indicated that composers generally did not perceive their role as changing the world, he contended that music, society, and education were loosely interlocked, such that a change in one construct imposed changes in the other two.

According to Small, between roughly the 1500s and the late 1800s, European culture had been "cut off . . . from the fertilizing influence of other cultures" (p. 34). He suggested that Europeans perceived their art as superior to the rest of the world, and they identified non-European cultures "at best strange and exotic, at worst primitive and unworthy of notice" (p. 34).

Small indicated that in 1889 the first observable break from this Eurocentric attitude occurred during the Paris World Exhibition with the performances of the Cochin Chinese musical theater and the Javanese gamelan. According to Small, Debussy was the only Western composer who understood the significance of these performances, particularly the Asian counterpoint, the nature-influenced sounds, and the colors of percussion sounds. Debussy, Small maintained, "worked a quiet revolution" (p. 106) because he emphasized sound qualities and rejected European tonal-harmonic structures. The sound qualities Debussy embraced, moreover, included sounds of nature: "In Debussy nature is readmitted in her own right to the tonal world" (p. 107). Because of Debussy's break from tonal traditions, Small suggested that his compositions "liberated European music from sequential logic" (p. 106) and "established a language for the argument against the scientific world view" (p. 107).

Communal experiences of select non-European musical practices. Through descriptions of Balinese gamelan orchestra practices and West African musicking, Small suggested communal involvement was of great value in these musical practices. He recognized that in these cultures, the function of composers was "not to provide completed art works for professionals to play and the community to listen to, but to act as leaders and pacemakers in the communal work of musical and choreographic creation" (pp. 57-58). Small described how musical products could be discarded once they have served their purpose in these cultures.

Communal experiences of the Isle of Wight Festival. As previously mentioned, in July of 1970 Small attended the three-day festival on the Isle of Wight. Small

wrote that music, as traditionally conceived, was but one element of this festival experience. According to Small, social experiences were more noteworthy than purely musical ones. He stated that bonfires, "ancient expressions of communality," burned through the night, and the passing of time occurred more or less unnoticed. Small remarked that during the festival "the potential society which lies beyond our grasp" (p. 171) came into at least partial existence. For Small this festival represented a "kind of communality which we have noted in other musical cultures, and of which ours is in desperate need" (p. 172).

Relationships in Musical Practices

Throughout *Music, Society, Education,* Small touched on various relationships present in musical practices. For example, Small described sound relationships in tonal-harmonic traditions, personal relationships between Africans and hand held instruments such as thumb pianos, and the interconnected complex musical and social relationships within U.S. culture.

Tonal-harmonic traditions. Small explained that the tonal-harmonic traditions of Western classical styles had to do primarily with relationships between chords and secondarily with relationships among pitches. For example, Small stated that J. S. Bach's "C Major Prelude" from book one of the "Well Tempered Clavier" was based on the relationships between chords rather than individual sounds of the arpeggios (p. 18).

Furthermore, he described here how post-Renaissance music was limited to major and minor modes, and thus the only instruments used for this musical style were instruments that produced definite pitch. Post-Renaissance musicians, he

asserted, could not readily tolerate "acoustically illogical and unclear sounds, sounds which were not susceptible to total control" (p. 21) such as bells, drums, tambourines, the crumhorn, bagpipe, racket, sackbut, and shawm.

African thumb piano. The African thumb piano (or mbira), according to Small, personified the close relationships that Africans have with their instruments. Small indicated that many times Africans either made their own thumb pianos or received them as a gift or inheritance. In this sense, such instruments were regarded as "colleagues in the work of creation" (p. 52). Furthermore, the mbira and other African instruments such as drums, gourd shakers, and xylophones differ slightly from one another, thereby contributing to the individuality of each African musician, a contrast to the similarities among instruments in classical practices.

United States musical culture. Small has singled out United States musical culture, asserting it had within it "the vision of a potential society which is perhaps stronger and more radical than anything in European culture" (p. 3).[31] Moreover, he hypothesized a similarity among tonal-harmonic music and the totalitarian state, in that tonal-harmonic music required subordination of individual voices—each voice must conform to the harmonic progression and is meaningful only within the context of the whole composition—resembled how individual citizens must subordinate themselves to the totalitarian state. He also noted there was a breakdown of tonal functional harmony in the U.S. prior to a similar process occurring in Europe.

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[31] Small borrowed the phrase "vision of a potential society" from Jean Duvignaud's *The Sociology of Art* (1972).

Small described characteristics of American William Billings's (1746-1800) compositional style favorably, particularly his preference for spatial separation among various parts. According to Small, this type of compositional technique "was the stuff of a new, democratic tradition in music, strong, confident, firmly rooted in the life of the people" and matching "the aspirations of Jeffersonian democracy." He indicated that these styles, however, were frowned upon by musical leaders such as Lowell Mason who preferred "European-style 'correctness'" (p. 136).

Two Assumptions of Western Classical Music Rejected by Small

Small (1977) claims that among all the arts, music connects most closely to society's "subconscious attitudes and assumptions." Therefore, music may be "the most sensitive indicator of culture" (p. 80). In *Music, Society, Education*, Small explores what he terms deep-seated connections among the development of the Western classical music tradition and the development of the European scientific world view. Small identifies these historical developments as occurring roughly from 1600-1910 (p. 61).

During this time frame, asserts Small, practitioners of both science and Western classical music viewed rational thinking, reason, and logic as more important and valuable than emotional, experiential, and sensual processes. Though it possesses certain limitations, there is nothing "necessarily wrong with the scientific world view," says Small, "*as long as those limitations are recognized*" (p. 80). Primary among the limitations of the scientific worldview, according to Small, is the stance that instinctual, sensual, emotional, and experiential aspects of human life are

misleading and dangerous (p. 81). Other limitations include the scientific world view's notion of mastery, aggression, and conquest.

Particular foundational assumptions of Western classical music, according to Small, appear also to emphasize reason and logic over the relational and experiential aspects of music-making. Two such assumptions Small explicitly rejects are (a) music considered as a self-contained art, and (b) the attribution of an abstract existence to music compositions (p. 36). These rejected assumptions, of course, correlate with Small's (1987d) working assumption one: "*music is not primarily a thing or a collection of things, but an activity in which we engage*" (p. 50).[32]

Critical Reviews of Music, Society, Education (1977)

Small's book, *Music, Society, Education*, received a number of critical reviews. Those discussed here are by Leonard Davis, Cyril Ehrlich, and Tony Attwood. In several respects, these reviews anticipated some criticisms that would continue to be leveled throughout Small's career, up to and including his mature theory of musicking in *Musicking: The Meanings of Performing and Listening*.

Leonard Davis. Leonard Davis (1977) had three primary criticisms of Small's book. Davis first took issue with Small's penchant for "psychological theorizing that industrial unrest in mass-production industries is due to the workers' distaste at being

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[32] The other five assumptions Small (1977) wishes to reject are: (a) "The idea that the techniques of harmony and harmonically governed counterpoint to achieve the composer's expressive ends are supreme musical resources and that they predominate as musical techniques over all the other elements of music," (b) "The prime attention given to pitch relationships and the relative lack of interest in tone colour, texture and timbre, at least as structural elements," (c) "The acceptance of the impoverishment of the rhythmic element in music and relative lack of attention to it as an organizing principle," (d) "The idea of music as the conscious articulation of time so that one always knows or expects to know where one is in relation to the beginning or the end—indeed, the idea of music as a linear progression in time from a clear-cut beginning to a fore-ordained end," and (e) "The idea that it is necessary to use conscious devices, such as the large harmonic forms, to make clear the articulation in time and prevent the listener from becoming lost in time" (p. 36).

regarded as 'interchangeable objects.'" Davis indicated that Small misrepresented the value of industrial work in the Soviet Union. According to Davis, the production of commodities "enriches the lives of the [Soviet] people, while ours enriches big business." Second, Davis, a professional string player who performed under Leopold Stokowski (1882-1977), took issue with Small's view that in Western music the performer was "depersonalized." Rather than orchestra conductors demanding "uniform bowing" as Small stated, Davis remembered Stokowski sometimes demanding "free bowing," while other times he "was a stickler for uniformity" (p. 4). Although Davis's comments demonstrated that one conductor, Stokowski, did not always conform to a "performance convention" in the case of his bowing directions, his anecdotes may have actually supported Small's view that orchestral musicians must follow the demands of the conductor.

Davis's third criticism was that Small omitted any description of grass-roots amateur music making. Davis cited orchestral and choral societies, local music festivals, adult education music classes, and summer schools as examples of "our nationwide multiplicity of amateur musical activity at grass roots level, uninhibited by the virtuosity of professionals" (p. 4).

Cyril Ehrlich. Cyril Ehrlich (1977) argued against Small's perception of the state of Western classical music. He called *Music, Society, Education* "a populist tract which demolishes straw men, ignores or lambasts all forms of musical activity which the author deprecates, and excludes any evidence that might conflict with his theme." Ehrlich argued that Small's "contempt for discipline, scholarship, and paying

audiences leaves no room in his world for the multifarious examples of health in our musical life" (p. 1012).

Tony Attwood. In a single article Tony Attwood (1978) reviewed both *Music, Society, Education* (1977) and *Whose Music? A Sociology of Musical Languages* (1980) by John Shepherd, Phil Virden, Graham Vulliamy, and Trevor Wishart. Attwood argued that although the solutions Small proposed at the end of his book were impossible, "his questioning is bound to set off new trains of thought in the mind of an enquiring teacher." Attwood suggested that where Small was weakest, Shepherd was strongest, particularly regarding the sociology of knowledge. Attwood took particular issue with Small's comment: "We have no science, we just know things as well as possible." According to Attwood, that perspective raised more issues in the realm of 'knowing' than it solved (p. 35). Attwood concluded his review by suggesting that perhaps the authors of *Whose Music?* could team with Small, then Small could translate their ideas into "readable English." He recommended Small's book "to everyone and *Whose Music* only to those doing their own research degrees" (p. 36).[33]

Other Publications Contributing to Small's Theory of Musicking

When asked about how he formulated the concept of musicking, Small responded: "The idea of musicking as about relationships crept up on me gradually . . . I have no idea when it became fully formed" (C. Small, personal communication,

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[33] Small received at least 11 letters from readers of *Music, Society, Education* (1977). Piers Spencer, who wrote an unpublished letter to Small, stated: "The ferocious energy of your prose as it demolished sacred cows at high speed made me rather suspicious at first reading—it all seemed pat and simplistic," (P. Spencer, personal communication to C. Small, February 12, 1978). Spencer explained that the second time he read Small's book, he became more convinced that what Small wrote was valid.

May 22, 2006). Nevertheless, certain ideas evident in his published writing may be seen retrospectively to point to development of Small's theory of musicking. This section examines three articles and two chapters by Small that contributed in various ways to Small's mature theory of musicking.

"American Vernacular: A Meeting of Two Worlds." In the article "American Vernacular: A Meeting of Two Worlds," Small (1981) explored relationships inherent in vernacular music, or music styles popular in a specific society including ragtime, jazz, blues, rhythm and blues, rock 'n' roll, rock in Britain, and contemporary jazz. Small illustrated how the social conditions of New Orleans following the Emancipation were especially conducive to the development of jazz music. "Creoles of color," light-skinned girls who were mistresses of Creole aristocracy, were reclassified as black and experienced racial inequities as a result. Although these people tried to maintain European cultural ties, their social connections and musical performances with black musicians contributed to the development of new jazz styles.

Small also addressed the phenomenon of African American musicians composing in classical styles and white classical musicians performing jazz styles. Small suggested that because musicians "think, feel, and perceive music differently," to compose or perform a style of music different from the one with which they are most accustomed was a matter of "embracing, or at least empathizing with, all the cultural elements that go to make the style" (p. 303). These elements, according to Small, included a sense of time, modes of perception, life styles, eschatology, and concepts of human relationships.

Small then portrayed the complexity and irony of a blues musician who sang about loneliness, poverty, disintegration of community, and other social challenges, while at the same time that musician was creating a communal experience for the performers and listeners (p. 295). He concluded the chapter by noting that music was "the expression, not merely of individual creativity, but of human sociability and conviviality. . . . The story of American vernacular music is nothing less than the story of human relationships in the United States, revealed with unselfconscious candor" (p. 318).

"The Vernacular in Music Education": Music as verb. Small (1983) defined music as a verb for the first time in print in an article titled "The Vernacular in Music Education." As Small stated, "to take part in a musical performance, to 'music', as I wish it were possible to say, is to take part in a ritual occasion which articulates the values of a culture or a social group and affirms one's empathy with those values." In so doing, Small argued against a consideration of music "as a collection of works to be performed and appreciated." Rather, he contended that music is primarily a "social act" (p. 67).

On the whole, this article was devoted to making a case for including vernacular music in school curricula. He pointed to a discrepancy between the musical styles that schools try to cultivate and the popular or vernacular music that young people enjoy (p. 66-71). Music, said Small, was simultaneously the least practiced of all the arts in the British school system and the most engaged of all the arts by youth when not in school. Arguing that no one can be persuaded to like music that does not relate to one's own feelings and life, Small suggested this discrepancy

was rooted more in social conflicts than ostensibly "purely musical" reasons. Small

also questioned why schooling experiences tended to convince pupils that they are

unmusical and why many people in Western society believed they could not make a

creative musical contribution of their own.

"Music: A Resource for Survival": First use of musicking. In 1985 Small

wrote the article "Music: A Resource for Survival: How Young People Are

Bypassing the Classical Tradition." Although Small had used and defined the verb "to

music" in "The Vernacular in Music Education," he first used and defined the term

"musicking" here. In "Music: A Resource for Survival," Small also sketched some

central facets of his theory of musicking through the following four propositions: (a)

music is primarily an action (to music, musicking), (b) musicking is a matter of

identity, (c) all are born with the ability to music, and (d) what should be valued most

is the creative act of musicking, not any created thing in and of itself (pp. 6-8).

With respect to the first proposition, Small stated that his term "musicking"

was not an attempt at "verbal cuteness," but rather an effort to focus on a concept of

music as "primarily an action, something that people do" (p. 6). In some non-

Eurocentric musical cultures, he contended, performance and composition activities

overlapped without any notion of a permanent musical object. Small maintained that

it was more important to explore the meaning of a particular musical performance

(music as verb) than the meaning of a musical work (music as noun).

With respect to Small's second proposition, identity, Small indicated that

musicking was a means for participants to "affirm, explore, and celebrate their sense

of who they are." According to Small, this matter of identity was primarily a matter

of relationships. Musicians, he wrote, established relationships between sounds. But those relationships serve as a "metaphor for relationships as they are presumed to be in the wider world of human interaction" (p. 6). Thus the relationships between sounds established by a musical performance were but one element of a larger social event "whose purpose as a whole is to outline, to model, ideal relationships between people" (p. 7).

Small then proposed that enjoyment of a musical performance was linked to whether one discerned a stronger sense of personal identity through the performance or not: "After a good and satisfying performance we feel more completely and fully ourselves and more in tune with our fellows" (p. 7). Small indicated that even though these feelings may not occur on a conscious level, their meaning was not thereby diminished.

With respect to his third proposition, the universality of music, Small asserted that all people were "born with the gift of music" (p. 7). He indicated that this gift was as universal as the gift of speech. According to Small, this universality included more than understanding musical performances and performing others' compositions. It also involved creating.

With respect to a fourth proposition, the act, Small maintained that creative acts rather than creative things should be treasured. He argued that cherishing past musical masterpieces per se precluded understanding "their true meaning and value" (p. 8), which, Small suggested, resided in the complex processes of musical performance.

In addressing how young people by passed the classical tradition, Small suggested that the most significant musical development of the twentieth century was the growth of an Afro-American musical style.[34] He described this musical culture as "the embodiment of a dogged resistance to the values of the industrial state and of the equally dogged survival of obdurate humanity" (p. 9). His view of African American musicking as a tool for survival was based, at least partly, on his observation of the close relationships among performer(s) and audience members prevalent in this musical style. Small indicated that participating in African American musicking may be "a human reply to a progressive dehumanization of our society" or "a tool for survival" (p. 10).

"Performance as Ritual." According to Thornley (1992), Small's chapter about the nature of a symphony concert appearing in Avron Levine White's edited Sociological Review Monograph, *Lost in Music: Culture, Style and the Musical Event* (1987) was one of "the most provocative" (p. 35) essays that Small had published. At the 1988 Society of Ethnomusicology's national meeting in Boston, people were freely circulating photocopies of this essay: "Performance as ritual: Sketch for an enquiry into the True Nature of a Symphony Culture," and it had attained "'something like cult status among ethnomusicologists'" (Small, as cited in Thornley, 1992, p. 35).

In this essay Small (1987e) argued that there were two simultaneous strata of meaning at a symphony concert: a surface experience and a level of ritual (p. 8).

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[34] In the preface to the 1998 edition of *Music of the Common Tongue*, Small apologizes to African Americans and anyone else who might be offended by his use of the term "Afro-American." He described the phrase as "awkward" (p. ix). He corrected the term on the title page and remarked that "its use in the new edition is a consequence of having been unable to reset it" (p. x).

Small defined ritual as "an act which dramatizes and re-enacts the shared mythology of a culture or social group, the mythology which unifies and, for its members, justifies that culture or group" (p. 7). He examined the ritualistic dimensions of symphony concerts in terms of the building where the concert occurs, technology and logistics, participants' behavior, structure of the performance, literature performed, the orchestra as model of industrial enterprise, those values represented in the participants in a symphony concert, and other ritual characteristics of a symphony concert.

In many ways this essay foreshadowed Small's mature theory of musicking. Primary among them were Small's analyses of the various social dimensions of symphony orchestra concerts, analyses he would later expand and incorporate into his book *Musicking: The Meaning of Performing and Listening* (1998). For example, Small suggested that the soundproof building where concerts typically occurred served as a separation of the social world outside of the hall from experiences inside the hall (p. 8). The organizational details such as booking artists, publicizing, preparing programs, taking tickets, ushering audience members, arranging the stage, serving refreshments, and cleaning the house suggested a planned rather than a spontaneous activity. He mused that audience members and performers alike demonstrated formal rather than everyday behaviors. Although intermissions provided opportunities for audience members to socialize, Small pointed out, nonetheless, that intermissions could "seem interminable" (p. 12) for people who have no one with whom to talk.

Second, Small argued that because the concert repertory "virtually froze" after World War I, symphony concerts seldom offered "any genuinely new musical experience" (p. 13). Rather, particular classical pieces composed prior to 1920 were repeated throughout the twentieth century. Small indicated that because of this repetition, audiences became skilled at noticing subtle differences between interpretations. However, he also noted his astonishment at the substantial amount of orchestra compositions since 1920. Small indicated that the "human need for new experiences" (p. 15) had resulted in not only new compositions, but also reworking of older compositions. He remarked that "a culture able to take full advantage of present creativity would not feel this compulsion to nitpick at its past" (p. 16).

Third, Small suggested the symphony orchestra itself functioned under the umbrella of an industrial philosophy (p. 17). For example, according to Small, social relations among the orchestra members appeared similar to those in the industrial workplace, because the relationships were merely functional. Any true friendships that developed were irrelevant to the labor at hand. Moreover, Small thought that such working relationships among players were mediated by the written score. In an almost ethnographical fashion, Small also described a social hierarchy among orchestra players according to the instruments they played: "string players accorded the highest status (white-collar, one might almost say), the brass and percussion having . . . a distinctly blue-collar image . . . jolly fellows, not over-sensitive and given to the consumption of large quantities of beer" (p. 18).

Fourth, Small argued that a symphony concert celebrated the "sacred history" of the Western middle class and affirmed its values. He offered numerous examples

of how symphony orchestra concerts were ritualistic. He noted that as these values

and the industrial society's values became increasingly under attack, the symphony

concerts served as a "ritual of stability in an unstable world" (p. 19).

Small offered three additional examples to substantiate his claim that the

symphony concert could be understood as a ritual: (a) concert hall as "sacred

ground," (b) focus on performance standards, and (c) similarities between rituals of

music and food, and between music and drink. First, he argued that the concert hall

may be regarded as "sacred ground," a term Small borrowed from Mircea Eliade

(1965). Small remarked that the passing of money in order to attend a symphony

concert demonstrated "one of the most sacred functions of our society." To support

his claim that money was sacred to society, he declared that the "mystical belief in

money's absolute value and mysterious efficacy is enshrined in the policies of

successive governments of the last decades" (p. 20).

Second, Small suggested that increasing performance standards, such as the

demand for increased technique and more precision in following the written score,

demonstrated a resolve toward performance accuracy. Small likened this demand to

"American Indian healing rites, in which a single wrong word, sound or gesture can

render the whole procedure invalid" (p. 20). In a similar vein, Small indicated that a

desire for preservation of past compositions and the subsequent transmittance to

future generations, such as how Stravinsky attempted to record all his works for

future generations, left "little or no room for creative development" (p. 21).

Borrowing Mary Douglas's (1975) analysis of a meal, Small also explored

connections among the rituals of eating and drinking and attending a symphony

concert. In this respect, he suggested that similar to a meal, an orchestra concert usually started with what Douglas called "an unstressed course." This part of the concert typically included an overture or other "lightweight concerto." Small indicated that a symphony was considered "heavier (more 'nourishing') than a concerto, and somehow of more moral/intellectual value." These two elements of the performance could be reversed, Small suggested, if the fame of the concerto's soloist was deemed more important than the symphony composition. Small also indicated that the structure of a symphony concert could consist simply of a single large work, similar to a meal comprised of one complex dish like "paella" or "Chicken Marengo." Small contended that some large works, such as Schoenberg's "Gurrelieder," did not enter the regular repertory because these pieces lacked a balance between "lightweight" and "symphonic weight" (p. 23).

Again, referencing Douglas, Small (1987d) suggested that concerts with homogeneous material and generic titles, such as "'Night in Old Vienna', 'Nights at the Ballet', or 'An Evening with Gilbert and Sullivan'" (p. 24), resembled drinks rather than food. Such programs, he said, were less structured and seemed to attract people who were "not necessarily fully initiated into the mysteries of symphonic music (many dedicated concert goers would not be seen dead at such events)" (p. 24).

Small (1987d) recanted a remark he made in *Music, Society, Education* (1977) that modern society was absent of ritual (p. 19). Rather, he suggested that rituals were as common in modern Western lives as eating, even though people may not perceive their activities as rituals.

Many themes in "Performance as Ritual" would re-appear in Small's subsequent writing as he both expanded and fine-tuned them en route to his mature theory of musicking. Particularly noteworthy in this respect were his contentions that symphony orchestra concerts developed social dimensions and functioned as ritual events.

Music of the Common Tongue (1987)[35]

The impetus for Small's writing *Music of the Common Tongue* (1987) came through an unusual chain of events. After participating in an episode of a television series on improvisation in England, the director, Dennis Marks, asked Small if he had any ideas for programs for a soon to be formed television production company. Small shared some ideas about African American music, and he and Marks subsequently met on several occasions to develop concepts for the program. After a period of time with no correspondence, Small tried to contact the television production company. He received a "curt little note thanking me for my contribution" and a check for 200 pounds (C. Small, personal communication, December 10, 2006).

A seven part documentary film series titled "Repercussions: A Celebration of African American Music" debuted in 1984. According to Small, the only ideas of his that Marks used were the subject matter itself, and the word "celebration." The introduction to a book, *Repercussions: A Celebration of African American Music* (1985) published by Century Publishing in conjunction with the film, stated that the

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[35] There are only two differences between the 1987 and 1998 editions of *Music of the Common Tongue*. The 1987 edition is subtitled "Survival and Celebration in Afro-American Music" and the 1998 edition is subtitled "Survival and Celebration in African American Music." Also, the 1998 edition has a two and one-half page preface written by Small. The material and pagination in both editions are identical.

series was "based on the writings of Christopher Small" (p. 10), which Small

"thought was a nerve" (C. Small, personal communication, December 10, 2006). The

whole experience provoked Small to begin writing *Music of the Common Tongue:*

Survival and Celebration in African American Music. Calder was asking him for

another book anyway.

For Small, writing this book was much more difficult than writing his first

book, *Music, Society, Education*. According to Christgau's (2001) interview with

Small, it took him ten "laborious" years and a great deal of energy to complete it, due

in part to the fact that Small was teaching full-time, with twenty-one hours of student

contact weekly through the writing of the book (C. Small, personal communication,

May 22, 2006).

Small received motivation to continue writing from his friend, Edwin

Mason,[36] Reader in Education at Sussex University from 1979 to 1983. Mason

encouraged Small by complimenting what he had written thus far and telling him that

he should persist. According to Small, Mason's encouragement "stopped me giving

up altogether" (C. Small, personal communication, May 22, 2006). Mason was the

only person who read the first draft of *Music of the Common Tongue* before Small

sent it to the publisher, which "was scary" according to Small (C. Small, personal

communication, May 22, 2006).

The odd-numbered chapters in *Music of the Common Tongue* offered histories

and summaries of African and European musical practices. Themes in those chapters

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[36] In the 1960s, Edwin Mason, along with colleagues from Goldsmith's College, University of London, proposed collaborative learning concepts based on biologist M. Abercrombie's research that suggested medical students were better at learning the art of medical judgment in small groups rather than individually. See Edwin Mason, *Collaborative Learning* (1970).

included (a) exploring how these two cultures eventually blended in the Americas, (b) contrasting African and European value structures, and (c) tracing changes in popular or "vernacular" (p. 7) music, with particular emphasis on the influence of African American musical styles on popular music.

The even-numbered chapters contained the theoretical analyses of Small's argument. That argument, overall, contended that African-influenced musicking emphasized social dimensions in multiple ways, such as the importance placed on improvisational performance, whenever Euro-centric music practices valued music primarily as an ordinary collection of reified objects.

In *Music of the Common Tongue* Small took issue with the notion of music as object by questioning unexamined assumptions related to being literate and illiterate. To this end, Small briefly compared symbolic and phonetic languages. Symbolic languages, such as Arabic numerals and Chinese ideograms, he suggested, depended on symbols, to represent ideas, whereas languages that rely on phonetic alphabets used separate symbols to represent discrete phonemes, which were put together to form words, and in turn formed ideas.

Small referenced Marshall McLuhan (1911-1980), who suggested that in phonetic cultures there was a "bias towards logical sequential thinking" (p. 223). According to Small, McLuhan argued that phonetic literacy "'endows men [*sic*] with the means of repressing their feelings and emotions when engaged in action'" (McLuhan, 1964, p. 96, as cited in Small, 1987, p. 223).

Small suggested that communication patterns in non-literate societies had specific characteristics, such as direct and immediate face to face interactions.

Communication in these societies, he indicated, occurred both through spoken words and through artistic means, such as musicking, dancing, sculpting, painting, or masking. Non-literate cultures tended to be less centralized, said Small, because their local interactions occurred more often than interactions with communities at a geographic distance.

In his comparison of literate and non-literate musical cultures, Small indicated that non-literacy was the norm for most musical cultures across the globe. For example, he examined how Balinese and the Chopi of Mozambique rehearsed and composed simultaneously in front of their respective communities. Thus, their compositions changed over time rather than gaining a sense of permanence as a notated composition may imply. Composition, in the manner of these Balinese and African cultures, argued Small, was "a living organism" (p. 230).

That perspective, said Small, contrasted markedly with the emphasis on notation apparent in the Western classical music tradition. Notation, commented Small, had proved its value, yet notation nonetheless required a player to read a score, following the "coded instructions" (p. 231). Such emphasis, he claimed, rendered the music "dead," with the score as "its sarcophagus" (pp. 230-231). Playing by ear, on the other hand, required musicians to comprehend musical relationships. Thus, he concluded, "Literacy is a good servant but a bad master" (p. 244).

Small also recognized here that neither a literate nor a non-literate performances were superior to the other: "The two are just different modes which are suited to different kinds of musicking, and thus to celebration of different sets of social and musical values (we may esteem those values differently, but that is another

matter)" (p. 234). Such social and musical values were then explored in Small's descriptions of compositional practices.

Critical Reviews of Music of the Common Tongue

Andrew Peggie. Andrew Peggie (1988) remarked that Small's first book, *Music, Society, Education* "has worked slowly but inexorably, like a potent drip-feed in the worlds of music and music education constantly since then" (p. 198). He predicted Small's second book, *Music of the Common Tongue* could have a similar effect.

Peggie launched two main criticisms of *Music of the Common Tongue*. First, he argued that Small implied a difference between the African and Caucasian psyche. Peggie suggested that because Small detailed a sharp distinction between these two ways of musicking, he implied "a similar difference in the respective human natures of each race." Rather than understanding these different musical styles as a difference of human nature, Peggie suggested the difference was "a difference of degree." He suggested all musicians encountered similar issues, such as "the 'magnetic' effect of the intellect" and the desire for fame. Peggie linked the power struggles for public funding that classical music organizations confront with the struggles of a "Chicago club jazz band" (p. 201).

Second, Peggie suggested a different analysis of certain musical activities. For instance, he argued that composing, performing, and listening "can be seen as an *elongation* of the process of musicking rather than a denial of it." He also indicated that Small "stopped short of a detailed analysis of the effects of mass media on culture" (p. 201).

Eddie Meadows. Eddie Meadows (1989) concluded that in *Music of the Common Tongue* Small emphasized a diluted view of African culture, and that his arguments overall lacked sufficient evidence to support their propositions. In particular, Meadows questioned Small's reliance on two characteristics of African culture, Africans' adaptive abilities, and the interconnection between political, religious, economic, and aesthetic aspects of African life. Meadows indicated that Small's major flaw was relying on these characteristics because, in Meadow's judgment, they offered a monolithic view of African culture (pp. 348-349).

Richard Middleton. Richard Middleton (1988) criticized Small's bipolar view of Africans and Europeans (p. 424) in *Music of the Common Tongue*. He contended that such an approach led to reductive interpretations of ideological meanings and social function, without any analysis of how these two traditions were interrelated. Middleton also argued that because Small separated his analysis of Afro-American music from his theoretical analyses, he presented an over-simplified account of Afro-American music history and contemporary practices.

Small's Book Reviews

Small published ten book reviews between the years 1986 and 1996. In each review, he first proceeded to determine whether the author viewed music as an object or as an activity. If the author regarded music as an activity, Small then considered to what level the author perceived the music making activity as a communal expression of social behavior. Such priorities, common to all reviews, perhaps suggest that Small had already solidified his thinking with respect to conceiving music as a verb.

The topics of the majority of books reviewed by Small fell generally into three categories: (a) social influences on music, (b) popular music, and (c) music history. In addition, Small reviewed a book on the history of musical aesthetics and another book of ethnographic analyses of music schools in higher education institutions.

Social Influences on Music

Blues Fell this Morning (1990). Small (1991b) was very complimentary in his review of Paul Oliver's *Blues Fell this Morning: Meaning in the Blues*. He noted how Oliver explored the sociocultural aspects of African Americans realistically and directly, stating that this book was "a blunt reminder of the ordeal of black people in the United States" (p. 630) since the ending of slavery. Small remarked that his book was "not a pretty story," but was "one in which all white people . . . need to have our noses rubbed" (p. 630). Rather than focusing strictly on musical matters, Small noted that Oliver wrote a compelling account of the economic and social conditions of millions of blacks between 1865 and 1960. Oliver, according to Small, connected their life experiences to their blues music-making. Small concluded his review with this recommendation: "Read it, and rejoice that in this world there are people who can respond to such shameful treatment with such poetry, such music, and such wit, sagacity and love of life" (p. 632).

Music as Social Text (1991). In his review of John Shepherd's *Music as Social Text*, Small (1992) noted that Shepherd was not entirely clear about whether music was a thing or an action. Small also registered disappointment that Shepherd did not reference his writing: "I have to confess to being a bit sore that Dr. Shepherd nowhere

in his book mentions them [Small's writing], even though they clearly adumbrate, and even substantially anticipate, much of what he writes" (p. 90).

Becoming Human through Music (1984). Small (1987c) wrote a mixed review of *Becoming Human Through Music: The Wesleyan Symposium on the Perspectives of Social Anthropology in the Teaching and Learning of Music*. This book reflected an effort by the Interdisciplinary Committee of Music Educators National Conference to explore how music educators could incorporate world music traditions in the music classroom. Among its various contributions were explorations of musical cultures from Bulgaria, Hawaii, Iran, the Navaho, and various parts of Africa.

Small mentioned that the book had many quotable passages. For example, Small referenced John Blacking's discussion of Venda musical education: "Children were therefore considered to be active rather than passive participants in their own development, but their self-actualization called for the exercise of cooperation, kindness, neighbourliness, and compassion as well as the acquisition of skills" (p. 96).

Small also quoted approvingly from Timothy Rice's paper on Bulgarian musicians. Rice suggested that because Bulgarian musicians played random fragments of melodies for two or three years before playing their first tune, they instantiated playing skill and knowledge in their hands. Rice argued that an overemphasis on written scores during the learning process limited students' ability to create music "whether improvised or precomposed, from within one's own body and self" (Rice, as cited in Small, 1987c, p. 96).

Small, however, took issue with Bruno Nettl's points that music, unlike visual art, could not represent culture and that music therefore could be arbitrarily symbolic. Small noted that although Nettl gave "a fair and accurate description of the social nature and function of classical-music performance," Nettl found it "necessary to apologize for giving a 'perhaps one-sided and negative picture' of it." Small linked Nettl's apology to the "power of conventional music values" (p. 96). If music could not represent culture, as Nettl suggested, then Small blamed that thinking on an overemphasis on "conventional music values" to the detriment of the social nature of music-making.

Small thought that Charles Keil's paper on salsa music had the most to contribute to the symposium. Keil's paper articulated the idea that the predominant music of the twentieth century was not Western classical or experimental music, but music that was "born in the lowest reaches of society," specifically from an encounter between African and European traditions during and following slavery. Small remarked that music making in these ways was a tool for exploring, affirming, and celebrating identity. It also offered "a weapon of resistance to those forces in the modern world which would render us faceless and powerless" (p. 97).

Small concluded that although *Becoming Human through Music* was interesting and thought-provoking on one level, but on another level, it "remains strangely bloodless; what should have been its heart is just not there." He cautioned that "if we cannot respond to its [music's] challenges within our society and culture then it is no use looking outside for salvation" (p. 98).

Popular Music

A Music for the Millions (1984). In Small's (1987a) review of Nicholas

Tawa's *A Music for the Millions: Antebellum Democratic Attitudes and the Birth of*

American Popular Music, he agreed with Tawa's claim that mid-nineteenth century

Americans sang in order to explore, affirm, and celebrate their identity. However,

Small criticized Tawa for neglecting any musical analysis of these songs, and for

overlooking the need to question the surface content of the lyrics (p. 146).

Studying Popular Music (1984). According to Small (1991a), in *Studying*

Popular Music, Richard Middleton defined "notation centricity" (p. 319) as two

closely related factors in musical performance and musical notation. Small listed

several dimensions of Middleton's notational centricity such as how it "induces habits

of 'aural abstraction, synchronization, blending and arranging in hierarchy' (p. 105)"

(p. 319). Small also noted that notational centricity had a tendency "to encourage

reification; the score comes to be seen as 'the music', or perhaps the music in an ideal

form . . . practice is frozen in symbol" (p. 319). In his conclusion, Small proposed that

those who write about music should "suggest an approach to recognizing those

meanings which lie within the experience of the performance, and leave the rest to the

perceptions of those who are taking part" (p. 321).

History of Musical Aesthetics

A History of Western Musical Aesthetics (1992). Small (1993) was critical of

Edward Lippman's excessive verbosity in a review of *A History of Western Musical*

Aesthetics. Lippman's flaws, according to Small, included (a) reification of

abstractions, (b) assumptions as conclusions, (c) failure to distinguish between literal

and metaphoric statements, (d) a Eurocentric perspective, and (e) no analysis of the writings of Claude Debussy, Charles Ives, Carl Dahlhaus, or Jean-Jacques Nattiez (pp. 277-278). Small concluded that he was glad to have read this book presuming to trace the entire course of aesthetic thought in the Western world "if only for the amusing spectacle of great minds thrashing about trying to come to grips with an intractable problem. . . . the evidence of this book strongly suggests to me that the problem is largely one of their own making" (p. 279).

Music Schools in Higher Education

Heartland Excursions (1995). Prior to reviewing Bruno Nettl's *Heartland Excursions: Ethnomusicological Reflections on Schools of Music*, Small completed a semester as Visiting Professor in the Music Education Department at The University of North Texas in Denton, Texas. Timing of these two events was especially serendipitous because Nettl's book was an ethnographic study of a Midwestern music school, somewhat similar to Small's recent teaching environment in Texas.

In his review, Small (1996) particularly endorsed two aspects of Nettl's book: (a) his depiction of the music school's attitude toward famous composers and (b) his account of departmental power relationships (p. 240). Small, however, charged that Nettl neglected to make a firm, outspoken argument about these matters. Moreover, Small apparently was irked that Nettl infused his analyses with disclaimers and apologies for his critical viewpoints.

Nettl, for example, argued that there was a lack of support for diverse world music styles in such music schools, but Small believed this argument needed more ammunition. Small also commented, perhaps on the basis of his experience in North

Texas, that even if a school did permit a style such as jazz, "They [musical styles] have the life squeezed out of them because they must be standardized for the purposes of assessment and because faculty apparently feel the need to retain control of students' music making" (p. 240).

Summary

Small has published three books, 17 articles, four book sections, 10 book reviews, one monograph, presented eight papers, and lectured at multiple conferences and universities. This chapter detailed each of those writings and lectures in two tables, and then offered brief thematic and chronological examinations of Small's writings prior to the publication of *Musicking: The Meanings of Performing and Listening* in 1998, particularly his publications in the decade between 1977 and 1987.

Small's numerous publications about music's potential role in enhancing society illustrated his passion for challenging his readers to become critical thinkers and creative music makers. Ideas that contributed to Small's theory of musicking began as early as 1970 with his articles on "Contemporary Music and Contemporary Culture," although in 1983 he first defined music as a verb in "The Vernacular in Music Education." He first used the term "musicking" in a 1985 article titled, "Music: A Resource for Survival." He also advanced his discussions of the values of social and sonic relationships in musical performances in many of his writings prior to 1998.

As noted in Table 4, Small's published books and articles most frequently cited anthropologists (Bateson, Geertz, Keil). No prominent philosophers of music education were among the ten persons most frequently cited by Small.

Chapter Four will explicate Small's theory of musicking through an examination of its beginnings in Gregory Bateson's ideas and four working assumptions that Small, himself, identified. The next chapter will also examine Small's mature theory of musicking.

CHAPTER FOUR

Small's Mature Theory of Musicking

Christopher Small (1997) defines music as a verb: "to music is to take part, in any capacity, in a musical performance" (p. 2). Rather than ask "what is music?" Small poses another question: "What does it mean when this performance takes place at this time, in this place, with these participants?" His answer: "The act of musicking establishes among those present a set of relationships, and it is in those relationships that the meaning of the act of musicking lies" (p. 3). For Small, then, a primary, intrinsic meaning of music resides in its social dimensions. Such dimensions exist in continuing interaction with those purely sonic or acoustic relationships typically emphasized by aesthetic philosophers of music.

The purpose of this chapter is to explicate Small's mature theory of musicking. It does so in two main ways. Section one examines Small's thinking as it incorporates experiences from his undergraduate zoology and anatomy studies, and, in particular, ideas assimilated from Gregory Bateson (1904-1980). Section two of this chapter looks at two sets of assumptions Small himself identifies: (a) four assumptions in which he roots his theory of musicking, and (b) two assumptions he attributes to Western classical music that he wishes to reject. Through such lenses, the concluding section of this chapter offers a summary of Small's mature theory of musicking.

Section One: Roots of Musicking

Examination of the foundations of Small's theory of musicking entails first exploring its roots in the ideas of Gregory Bateson. Second, in order to clarify the

relationship between Bateson's and Small's ideas, it is helpful to describe three components of Bateson's theory to which Small's thinking is particularly indebted.

Knee-Deep in Mud and Musicking

During his undergraduate zoology studies, Small gained an abiding appreciation of biological relationships among living organisms. Such appreciation would inform his theory of musicking.

Small recounted that, at the time of his undergraduate studies, zoology study focused mainly on comparative anatomy. He (2004) noted, "I used to spend weekends at the marine biological station down the harbour, up to my thighs in gooey mud, counting ascidians and other creatures of the tidal zone" (p. 4). Small recalled finding a vertebra of an extinct species of bird that he kept and used as a paperweight. He also remembers studying structural relationships within a single creature, relationships between one creature and another creature, and relationships between different groups, such as groups of humans and groups of horses.

According to Small, his interest in music "was broadening and deepening" during his zoology studies. He took piano lessons, composed "an attempt at a piano sonata" (p. 4) and other pieces, read extensively about music, and listened to a variety of musical styles. This increasing interest sparked Small's desire to study music formally.

Small, however, declined to sever conceptually his turn to formal music studies from his experiences in studying zoology. In Gregory Bateson he found a conceptual bridge between these seemingly disparate interests.

Influential Concepts from Gregory Bateson

Gregory Bateson (1904-1980) [37] was an anthropologist, social scientist, and biologist. He participated in anthropological studies in Bali, developed different approaches and models in psychotherapy, and believed it was nonsensical to understand mind as separate from matter (Lipset, 1980).

Three of Bateson's ideas, in particular, appear to have influenced Small most directly. These ideas are: (a) the pattern which connects, (b) his concept of mind, and (c) news of difference.

The pattern which connects. Bateson (2002) reflects upon "the glue holding together the starfishes and the sea anemones and redwood forests and human committees" (p. 4) in his text, *Mind and Nature: A Necessary Unity* (2002). The glue in this metaphor is understood as "the pattern which connects."[38]

Bateson's main argument in this book is that there is a necessary unity between mind and nature. This unity is reflected in the universal need for living organisms to interact with one another in order to gain information about present circumstances. According to Bateson, organisms change, develop, grow, or crumble depending on the types of interactions and relationships they have with other organisms.

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[37] Gregory Bateson was born in England, educated at Cambridge, and researched schizophrenia, psychiatry, family therapy, and dolphins. He introduced Systems Theory and Communication Theory and authored eight books including the following three influential books that Small has referenced in his own books: *Steps to an Ecology of Mind* (1987); *Mind and Nature: A Necessary Unity* (1979); and *Angels Fear: Toward an Epistemology of the Sacred* (1987), co-authored with his daughter, Mary Catherine Bateson. Small picked up *Steps to an Ecology of Mind* casually in a London bookshop in May of 1975 (Small, 2004, p. 4).

[38] Bateson (2002) first used this phrase in a letter to his fellow regents at the University of California when complaining about occidental education, "Break the pattern which connects the items of learning and you necessarily destroy all quality" (p. 7).

Bateson describes these interactions and relationships by means of an organic theory of unity. Through an analysis of symmetry in formal relations or "similar relations between parts" (p. 9), Bateson theorizes that there is a connection, a pattern, across all living organisms. He uses the term "homology" to describe this symmetry, which he defines as "a formal resemblance between two organisms such that the relations between certain parts of A are similar to the relations between corresponding parts of B" (p. 212). Bateson suggests that rather than thinking of these patterns or symmetries as set or unchanging, they are interacting. His organic theory of unity is based on the premises that all living organisms have some type of symmetry and that they all, from simple amoeba to complex human societies, share a need to give and respond to information.

Bateson aspires to revive "the sense of unity of biosphere and humanity which would bind and reassure us all with an affirmation of beauty" (p. 16). Moreover, he thinks that the question of what connects living organisms is ultimately an aesthetic question. He states that different theories of unity have shared "the notion that ultimate unity is *aesthetic*" (p. 16). Bateson argues that even contrasting perspectives share this notion that an aesthetic element connects organisms, and that "perhaps the great authority of quantitative science may be insufficient to deny an ultimate unifying beauty" (pp. 16-17).

The similarities in living organisms and their need to interact occur at multiple levels and serve as a foundation for Bateson's central thesis. "*The pattern which connects is a metapattern*" (p. 10). A metapattern, for Bateson, is a pattern of

patterns, an archetype that displays and informs the general ways in which seemingly disparate sets of connections function and interact.

According to Bateson, there are three levels to the pattern which connects: first-order, second-order, and third-order connections. First-order connections occur within an individual organism. Here Bateson cites examples of how a left crab claw is similar in core structure to a right crab claw, regardless of any difference in size, and how human fingers correspond to human toes. Second-order connections consist of relationships between two different organisms. For example, Bateson considers pattern similarities between crabs and lobsters or between humans and horses as second-order connections. Third-order connections are comparisons between comparisons. Such connections, Bateson suggests, might stem from comparing crabs and lobsters to humans and horses (pp. 9-10).

A vital concept in Bateson's theory is that patterns are not fixed. Rather, they are interrelated or find meaning through their interactive relationships with other patterns. For example, instead of thinking of a noun as a person, place, or thing, Bateson suggests that a noun should be understood in its relation to a predicate. Likewise, a predicate should be understood in its relation to a noun. To Bateson, there is no meaning without context (pp. 12-14).

Bateson's concept of mind. Bateson offers a holistic concept of mind. In this sense, he argues against traditional Cartesian dualism between mind and body. He lists six criteria that must be satisfied in order for him to "unhesitatingly say that the

aggregate is a *mind*" (p. 85). The first two of these six criteria relate most directly to Small's theory of musicking.[39]

His first criterion is: "*A mind is an aggregate of interacting parts or components*" (p. 85). Within his notion of mind, a differentiation of parts allows for differentiations in functioning. Bateson indicates that sometimes parts of an aggregate may satisfy all his criteria for mind. In such cases those parts are considered minds or subminds. Bateson explains, for example, that he does not view single subatomic particles as minds, because mental process is "always a sequence of interactions *between* parts" (p. 86). If one considers parts merely as separate or isolated details, there is insufficient complexity to meet Bateson's criteria of mind.

It is important not to confuse Bateson's use of the term "mental" (p. 86) with a concept of mind as separate from matter. As noted with respect to his first criterion, Bateson defines mind in such a way that it includes *interacting* parts of a whole, not parts in isolation from some whole. Bateson never demarcates mental processes, such as the workings of the brain, from the workings of the body as a whole. He explains that "mental phenomena must always reside in the organization and interaction of multiple parts" (p. 86). For Bateson, then, concepts of mind, mental process, and mental phenomena are always understood primarily as interactions between parts that comprise a coordinated whole, and their principle meanings ultimately derive from that whole.

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[39] The other four criteria are: "3. *Mental process requires collateral energy*. 4. *Mental process requires circular (or more complex) chains of determination*. 5. *In mental process, the effects of difference are to be regarded as transforms (i.e., coded versions) of events which preceded them*. The rules of such transformation must be comparatively stable (i.e., more stable than the content) but are themselves subject to transformation. 6. *The description and classification of these processes of transformation disclose a hierarchy of logical types immanent in the phenomena*" (Bateson, 2002, pp. 85-86).

Bateson's second criterion is: "The interaction between parts of mind is triggered by difference" (p. 85). To illustrate this difference, Bateson describes a teaching scenario. Using chalk, he marks a thick dot on the blackboard. He determines that if he places his finger directly on the dot, he does not notice the heavy dot as separate from the blackboard. But when he slides his finger from the bare blackboard to the dot, he notices a difference between the chalk dot and the board. The difference, for Bateson, becomes evident because of a relationship between dot and board (pp. 90-92).

Bateson notes that "it takes at least two somethings to create a difference" (p. 64). In the illustration above, for example, both the dot and the board are necessary. To produce news of difference or information "there must be two entities (real or imagined) such that the difference between them can be immanent in their mutual relationship" (p. 64). This relationship, Bateson suggests, can either be between two parts or within the same part at two different times. In conceptual understandings, a relationship, according to Bateson, activates "some third component" (p. 89) or receiver. A receiver notices a change or a difference in the relationship between two parts or within a single part over time.

The effects of these differences, according to Bateson, must be processed in the nervous system or another information processing system such as a computer. Bateson says that "the stuff of sensation, then, is a pair of values of some variable presented over a time to a sense organ whose response depends upon the ratio between the members of the pair" (p. 64). A mind processes these sensations or awareness of differences, which results in new information.

Bateson recognizes, however, that it can be difficult to discriminate between a state and a slow change (p. 92). In other words, some differences occur so slowly in time that people may be unaware that a change is taking place, while some other differences remain ineffective and latent.

Small's Assimilation of Bateson's Ideas

Small's assimilation of the pattern which connects. Small (1998b) integrates elements of Bateson's "pattern which connects" into the context of musicking (pp. 209-210). In so doing, however, Small replaces Bateson's term "connections" with the term "relationships" (p. 199). Relationships, for Small, are of three types: first-order, second-order, and third-order.

First-order relationships are those relationships most easily identified and discussed in musicking. When asked to clarify first-order relationships, Small stated that they are relationships "between entities, whether sounds or people" (C. Small, personal communication, May 28, 2007).

Second-order relationships are slightly more difficult to discuss. They are "relationships between relationships between entities" (C. Small, personal communication, May 28, 2007). In musicking, second-order relationships include "a relationship between the relations between composer and performers, on the one hand, and the relationships between the sounds, on the other" (Small, 1998b, p. 199). Another example of second-order relationships is the set of relationships between the physical performance setting and performers, and the set of relationships between listeners and performers (p. 199).

The core concept in Small's explication of third-order relationships is that a set of first-order relationships relates to a set of second-order relationships (or "relationships between relationships between relationships between entities" (C. Small, personal communication, May, 28, 2007). Small acknowledges that verbal difficulties arise when discussing third-order relationships:

> For instance, one set of second-order relationships between the first-order relationships between, on the one hand, performers and composer and, on the other, between performers and audience relates in a third-order relationship to a second set of second-order relationships between the first-order relationships between the sounds, on the one hand, and, on the other, those between the sounds and the space in which they are played. (p. 200)

The complexity of third-order relationships is evident when pausing to verbalize them. Small contrasts these different levels of relationships to demonstrate that it is possible to discuss first-order relationships. Second-order relationships are a bit more difficult to discuss and third-order relationships can barely be understood with words, as the quotation above demonstrates. However, Small maintains that human minds routinely comprehend these complex levels of relationships through musicking or other ritual activities.

According to Small (1998b), all the relationships embodied in musicking serve as a means of efficiently articulating the tremendous complexities inherent in human relationships overall:

> The pattern of relationships that is established during a musical performance and connects together its relationships whether they be first-, second-, third-,

or *n*th-order, models in metaphoric form, the pattern which connects us to

ourselves, to other humans, and to the rest of the living world, and those are

matters which are among the most important in human life. (p. 200)

Patterns of human relationships, says Small, are complex, frequently contradictory,

and "an image of our deepest desires and beliefs" (p. 200). They are, nonetheless,

vital for human life. Small asserts that musicking occupies a central position in

human life because through musicking, people experience the pattern which connects,

in all its complexities.

Small's concept of mind and knowledge. Two important concepts in Small's

theory are his notion of mind and his concept of knowledge. These concepts, as well,

appear to stem from Small's engagement with Bateson's ideas.

Small (1998b) claims "mind is not substance at all but process, one of the

processes of life, which is explicable by the organization and working of the brain

and the rest of the nervous system" (p. 52). Process, for Small, happens both within a

mind and externally to it. For example, Small observes that the physical processes of

sensory organs allow communication to occur (p. 56). Information received

externally, however, must be processed internally to apply and transfer it to current

situations. This concept of process, moreover, directly informs Small's view of

knowledge.

Knowledge, according to Small (1998b), does not exist "independently of who

knows it" (p. 52). Rather, knowledge can best be understood as a "product of the

knower." Small views knowledge "as a relationship between knower and known."

Because of this relational understanding of knowledge, Small maintains that there is

no such thing as "completely objective knowledge" (p. 55). A person is not, as

Bateson says, "a feather blown by the winds of external reality" (Bateson, 1972, as

cited in Small, 1998b, p. 55). For Small, anything that is "known" comes about

through human interactions with an environment, rather than an environment, per se,

simply acting upon human beings.

By the same token, Small also insists that humans are not "purely subjective."

Small acknowledges that anything people know about the world "is mediated by the

way in which we, the knowers, work on the information about it that we receive and

convert it into usable knowledge." Small maintains that "human freedom and

creativity live" in the "broad gap between 'purely objective' and 'purely subjective'"

(p. 55).

Small's integration of Bateson's news of difference. Small integrates

Bateson's notion of difference by using a concept of image formation. Small states

that "whatever the mechanism may be that binds the various sensory stimuli into a

single unified experience, *image formation is an active and creative process* [italics

added], not a mere passive reception of whatever stimuli are being presented." In

order for image formation to occur, according to Small, the receiver must be able and

prepared to receive the image and make sense of it. If the receiver cannot create an

appropriate context, there is no meaning and no communication (p. 54). It is through

the *process* of image formation that the news of difference is made known.

Summary of Section One

The preceding discussion identified some foundations of Small's theory of

musicking. Through an assimilation of key ideas from Gregory Bateson, Small

constructed a conceptual bridge between those complex social relationships he posits

occur in musical performances and the biological relationships that occur among all

living organisms.

Specifically, Small assimilated from Bateson the notions of the "pattern which

connects" and "news of difference," both of which inform Bateson's concept of mind.

Small integrated these concepts by positing three levels of relationships in musicking:

first-order, second-order, and third-order. Small's notion of mind and his concept of

knowledge were also adapted from Bateson's ideas. Each of these ideas, moreover,

becomes important for understanding both the basis for Small's view that musicking

is a biological necessity, and the holistic nature of Small's theory.

<div align="center">Section Two: Small's Mature Theory</div>

Through musicking, says Small, people simultaneously experience multiple

levels of intricate and varied relationships. Moreover, a theory of musicking,

according to Small (1998b), must account for all human musicking (p. 11). It must

explain why participating in any musicking activity arouses a joyful and powerful

emotional response in some people and irritation and boredom in others (p. 12). On

one level, then, Small's theory attempts to explain why people are attracted to

musicking and why this activity is vital to human survival.

<div align="center">*Four Working Assumptions in Small's Theory of Musicking*</div>

Small (1987d) identifies and discusses four assumptions that inform his theory

of musicking: (a) music is not an object, but an activity; (b) all people are capable of

musicking; (c) musicking has both a social and an individual component; and (d)

relationships that occur through musicking happen between sounds, among people,

and among people and sounds (pp. 49-74). It is helpful to examine each of these assumptions in turn.

Working Assumption One: Against Music as Object

Because Small (1998b) defines music as a verb, his emphasis on musical action necessarily precludes consideration of music as object. Thus, he cautions against the "trap of reification" (p. 2), or lending prominence to abstracted ideas rather than focusing on the actions that give rise to ideas. Such reification, says Small, is "part of the prevailing modern philosophy of art in general" (p. 4). In this sense, meanings of art are "thought to reside in the object, persisting independently of what the perceiver may bring to it. It is simply there, floating through history untouched by time and change, waiting for the ideal perceiver to draw it out" (p. 5).

Against performance as object. Small (1987d), for example, suggests that both Western classical musicians and those who listen to classical music in traditional venues and contexts are engaged in celebrating music primarily as a sonic object created by a composer. Performers of classical compositions, he says, simply render "service to those objects" (p. 50), because the objects are presumed to exist autonomously, without necessary reference to a particular performance context. The audience's job "is to contemplate them, in stillness and silence" (p. 50).

Thus the majority of people who enjoy listening to such music may have a largely passive attitude while doing so. They see music as "something quite apart from themselves" (p. 163), and therefore are content to contemplate the finished work without feeling that they have any role in a creative act.

Against compositions as objects. Small (1987d) suggests that much literature

on Western classical music is content to focus largely on various features of

compositions as objects and on the composers who constructed them. In this respect,

Small notes that the 1980 *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians* does not have

an entry under "Performance." Such omission, he suggests, points to an unvoiced

assumption, at least on the part of those responsible for compiling the *Grove's*

Dictionary, that permanence of a musical score and its ability to be duplicated merit

primary attention (p. 51).[40]

As attested by the list of his publications (see Table 2, Chapter Two), Small

has analyzed a variety of contemporary musical compositions. Yet he (1998b)

cautions that "to paralyze the act of musicking in order to extract formal principles"

must occur "with great care and a clear understanding that in doing so one is

switching off meaning." According to Small, the meanings of musicking occur during

performance. When one studies a score apart from performance contexts, the

formality of a score becomes an end in itself. Score study that neglects to consider the

possible contextual elements of performance fails to appreciate "the human

significance of musicking" (p. 167).

When that happens, avers Small, the created art object itself carries more

value than the act of musically performing or responding. In fact, Small claims that if

human response to music be primarily conceived in terms of perceiving the intrinsic

structure of a musical work or object, as much aesthetic philosophy is wont to claim,

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[40] Volume 14 of the *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, edited by Stanley Sadie, was published in 1980 and does have an article on "Performing Practice."

then, by definition, one could not properly enjoy music until after its performance, when the entire structure of a work had been realized (p. 163).

Small suggests, moreover, that "the abstract view of the musical work and the abstract view of knowledge" are related. Both the work and knowledge "are thought to exist 'Out There', independently of the listener and of the knower" (p. 163). Rather than understanding music as an autonomous object and focusing solely on its form, Small suggests that music should be understood contextually as process, experience, and action.

Working Assumption Two: Musicking as a Universal Human Capacity

Small's (1987d) second assumption is that "every normally endowed human being, is born capable of musicking" (p. 52). For Small, this capability is as universal as the ability to speak. He points out that the facility of speech includes more than simply mimicking or repeating the language of others. It also entails expressing one's own thoughts and aspirations, as well as interacting contextually and creatively with various communities of speech. Similarly, the universal capacity for musicking, contends Small (1998b), is more than an ability merely to mimic or perform the musical compositions of others. It also includes "the power of creation" (p. 8).

Small (1998b) observes "universal distribution of musical ability" (p. 208) in many cultures. For example, he reports that people in traditional African societies learn dances and songs at an early age and are encouraged to create their own musical expressions. "Every single individual" in these cultures, says Small, is demonstrably "capable of making some contribution to the communal activity of musicking" (p. 208). Small concedes that these African cultures recognize that certain people may be

more musically gifted than others. Nonetheless, he says, they become leaders of communal experiences of musicking, where all members of the culture are clearly expected to participate in shared musicking actions.

Conversely, Small (1987d) suggests the "pyramid of musical ability" (p. 54) prevalent in Western culture prevents creative music-making among the vast numbers of persons at the bottom of the pyramid assumed to be "listeners" and "music lovers" (p. 55). According to Small, a few extremely gifted and talented composers reside at the top of the pyramid. Below them are performers, more numerous in number. Small suggests that even performers do not believe they "are capable of a creative act" (p. 54). Rather, they consider themselves "bound" when performing to follow the composer's notation precisely (p. 54). Those individuals who both compose and perform, Small indicates, typically do not compose at the same time they perform. The many people at the bottom of the pyramid, Small suggests, do not imagine they will ever participate in a public performance because "so completely has the culture been taken over by professionalism" (p. 55).

Small contends that everyone (1985), "*needs* to do something [participate in musical actions if his [*sic*] full human potential is to be realized" (p. 8). Small, however, asserts that contemporary Western society offers fewer opportunities for cultivating the universal capacity for musicking than societies in some other parts of the world. In this respect, Small (1998b) suggests that an individual's capacity for musicking may be thwarted if adequate means for nurturing it are absent at critical junctures in human growth and development. He proposes that many people in Western societies deem themselves incapable of simple musical acts because either

"the appropriate means for developing the latent musicality have been absent at those crucial times of their lives when the nervous system is still in the process of completing its formation," or "they have been actively taught to be unmusical" (p. 210).

Small also suggests that certain hidden assumptions in Western schools and communities convey an attitude that musical ability is not universal. He observes, for instance, that some teachers, parents, and administrators seem to believe only select individuals have the ability to make music. Such beliefs, if unexamined, may cast music teachers into the role of talent agents, whose job it is to identify and nurture those who already exhibit musical skills.

Small (1998b) uses the term "demusicalization" to describe what may happen when a school structure limits students' musical growth. Demusicalization may occur, for instance, when schools narrowly define "*real* music" to include only those musical styles that the school offers. Small asserts that such thinking results from teachers who appear to care more about people's perception of their ensembles than of their students' personal and musical development. According to Small, such patterns of thinking have consequences for both social relationships and personal well-being (p. 212).

Alternatively, Small (1987d) notes that the popular music industry is based on the assumption that all people are capable of understanding its various musical styles. There seems to be no need, according to Small, for any type of formal instruction to appreciate this style of music (p. 53).

Working Assumption Three: Social Dimensions

Small's (1987d) third assumption is that "since musicking always takes place in a social context, its meaning has a social as well as an individual dimension" (pp. 55-56). He (1998b) points out, however, that the social meanings of musicking should not be confused with "something called a 'sociology' of music" (p. 8), which tends to separate social meanings from musical meanings.

In the act of musicking, Small (1987d) suggests, participants' feelings of self-identity provide the link between individual and social meanings. Small argues that even individual identity is based on relationships: "Who one is is how one relates, to oneself, to other people, to the natural and even to the supernatural world" (p. 56). Identity, moreover, is not fixed, but changes, develops, and evolves.

Identity formation, Small indicates, is central to all human activities. Small proposes that identity is explored through a variety of forms of encounter such as "sports, fighting, even crime—and artistic activity, above all perhaps musicking and dancing." These forms of encounter, moreover, occur on "a more profound level . . . than talking." Small states that identity and relationships "are the obverse and reverse of each other" (p. 58). He quotes Alan Lomax who stated that performing arts "carry their message about social structure beneath the surface" (Lomax, 1968, as cited in Small, 1987, p. 58). With respect to the latter, the relationships of a musical performance, for Small, both indicate and shape the participants' identity.

Small thus perceives an integral connection between a social group who created a particular musical style and who they are as a people. Small's (1977) second postulate in *Music, Society, Education* is that "the nature of these means of

exploration . . . are a sure pointer to the nature and the preoccupations of the society that gave them birth" (p. 4). In *Music of the Common Tongue* he (1987d) argues that people enjoy a performance because "our sense of identity . . . has been strengthened" (p. 67). Therefore, suggests Small, those who demean a particular musical practice demean the cultural group who created that particular musical practice.

Working Assumption Four: Relationship Matrices

Small (1987d) contends there are two primary relationship matrices in musicking: "first those which are created between sounds . . . and secondly, those which are created among the participants" (p. 62). Moreover, these two classes of relationships are themselves related "in complex and always interesting second-order ways" (Small, 1998b, p. 139). As noted in the previous discussion of Small's assimilation of Bateson's ideas, interconnections among these relationships occur on at least three levels: first-order, second-order, and third-order relationships. Given such complex connections among various levels of relationships, understanding relationships between sounds in congruence with relationships among people becomes necessary to comprehend the full thrust of Small's mature theory of musicking.

Small's perspective of relationships. Examining how Small understands relationships in a general sense assists in understanding the various roles of relationship matrices in particular musicking contexts. Small suggests that it is vital to an organism's survival to assess accurately the quality of its relationship to another organism. Terms such as predator, prey, offspring, or potential mate, for instance, do

not denote "essential qualities of a creature but qualities in relation to another" (p. 56).

Gregory Bateson (2002) references the following quasi-scientific fable to illustrate how one may be unaware of matters that affect changes of state (pp. 91-92). If a frog is placed in a bucket of boiling water it will hop out, but if it is placed in a bucket of room temperature water and a heat source connected to the bucket is gradually turned up, it will remain in the bucket until it dies. The frog stays in the water when it is unaware that a change is happening. Its awareness of its relationship with its environment directly affects its ability to live. Similarly, Small suggests that "the most important information they [living creatures] receive from the outside world concerns relationships" (p. 57) and humans in particular need to be made aware of these relationships.

In musicking, numerous changes in relationships may occur among the participants, the musical sounds, and the complex interactions among both elements. Relationships created in musicking allow participants to be engaged with a sense of who they are and how they interact with their world. Small (1998b) suggests that "any performance . . . should be judged finally on its success in bringing into existence for as long as it lasts a set of relationships that those taking part feel to be ideal and in enabling those taking part to explore, affirm, and celebrate those relationships" (p. 49).

Musicking, then, is a process of exploration because participants may experience concepts of ideal relationships or values for the duration of a performance. It is a process of affirmation because it permits participants to communicate their

values, concepts of ideal relationships, and say, "This is who we are" (p. 183). It is a

process of celebration because musicking empowers those participating "to explore

and to affirm their values," leaving them "with a feeling of being more completely

themselves, more in tune with the world and with their fellows" (p. 184).

Small, moreover, describes various relationship matrices at play during

musicking. Primary among these are matrices surrounding musical sounds, people,

and performance spaces.

Relationships among musical sounds. In *Musicking* Small (1998b) describes

two types of musical sound relationships, successive and simultaneous (pp. 198-199).

In order for a listener to perceive a melody, Small maintains that musical sounds are

understood in relation to one another, not in isolation (p. 112). Successive sound

relationships involve rhythms, melodies, textual and dynamic contrasts, and possibly

harmonic change. Simultaneous sound relationships, on the other hand, include the

quantity of sounds at any given time, the balance among singers or instrumentalists, a

sparse or full texture, and dissonant or consonant sounds.

Relationships among people and musical performances. According to Small

(1987d), "relationships between sounds in music . . . mirror relationships between

people" (p. 63). In this respect, Small (2001) suggests that at the center of an ever-

widening "complex web of human relationships" are the relationships that performers

create between musical sounds and silences (p. 325). The rays of such a web, looping

from the center to the outside and returning again, include relationships between

performers and listeners, among performers, among listeners, with composers or

arrangers, with any others who are present, and even with those not immediately

present such as ancestors, the unborn, or deities. In other words, how people relate to each other during musical performances connects not only to acoustic and human relationships within a particular performance venue, but also beyond the performance space.

Small (1998b) posits, moreover, that an individual may not necessarily be aware of the levels of relationships inherent in particular musicking experiences because of certain connections and customs that have been superimposed by the Western fine arts tradition. Orchestra musicians, for example, accept "more or less without question . . . that these relationships should be authoritarian and hierarchical" (p. 68). According to Small, this lack of awareness is similar to training in such professions as law, military science, academe, and medicine. The focus becomes one of accepting "the profession's assumptions and the maintenance of its esprit de corps" as much as it is "toward the acquisition of the skills that are necessary to practice it" (p. 67). Small indicates that for the professional Western classical musician, the approach is primarily one of craftsmanship, rather than creative artistry.

In this respect, Small points out that the language used in a symphony orchestra to denote who plays what part (first flute, second violin, for example) places a higher priority on the instrument than on the human performer. He (1998b) says that such nomenclature "suggests the extent to which players become nonpersons on the orchestra platform" (p. 70). Although the classical tradition has created "works of undoubted ingenuity and even occasional beauty," Small indicates that it has failed "to articulate values or to create a community that is of use to more than a relative handful of people today" (Small, 1987d, p. 366).

Performance space and relationships. In *Musicking* Small (1998b) argues as well that physical performance spaces affect both acoustical and social relationships. With respect to acoustical relationships, he points out that, prior to the seventeenth century, composers who wrote masses and motets that were to be performed in resonant Gothic cathedrals would write rests or pauses in the score to allow for the sound to die away. From the seventeenth century forward, Small indicates that composers wrote concert music for less resonant spaces (p. 26). He suggests, therefore, that the physical space of concert venues directly informs the process of composition; that process, in other words, is not somehow immune to functional considerations.

In this vein, Small maintains that the architecture of modern concert halls purposely isolates daily life from what transpires within auditorium walls. He suggests that although improved concert hall technology produces "a gain in acoustic clarity . . . that clarity is balanced by a loss of sociability." The physical separation of the concert hall stage from the audience, for instance, fosters a disconnection between audience and performers. The auditorium's seating structure encourages people to stare straight ahead, because audience members are arranged in a manner whereby they cannot easily converse with one other. Modern concert spaces, asserts Small, are "aimed not at a community of interacting people but at a collection of individuals, strangers even, who happen to have come together to hear the musical works" (p. 27). In this sense, the very architecture of modern concert halls enhances the assumption that music is an autonomous object.

Summary of Small's Mature Theory of Musicking

Christopher Small's mature theory of musicking blends musical sound environments and complex social dimensions of musical experiences into an inseparable, interacting process. Traditionally, when philosophers in Western cultures consider the meanings of music, they tend to focus primarily on music's sonic dimensions. Through ethnographic, sociological, and biological lenses, Small alters this established notion by embracing the social dimensions of music-making on an equal footing with music's sonic dimensions. Moreover, he posits an integral, continuing interaction between these social and sonic dimensions.

Thus, in contrast to aesthetic philosophies of music, Small's theory does not grant autonomous stature to musical compositions, composers, or conductors. For Small, the identity of a musical work lies in the relationships between the sounds. Small suggests that listeners do not hear these relationships as pre-existing. Rather, listeners attribute meaning to these relationships through their own perceptions. These meanings occur in the moment of performance rather than as an abstract entity separate from the contextual dimensions and actions of a musical performance.

For instance, Small cautions against certain concepts such as "sonata form." He also suggests that score study, although useful in a restricted sense, tends to diminish the simultaneous and spontaneous features that occur through the dynamic real-time process of music-making and neglects the human elements of a performance.

For Small, the contextual elements of a musical performance are integrated with the relationships between the sounds and should be understood in that way.

Small indicates that musical performances have different meanings in different contexts such as whether audience members pay a fee for admission or not, the sociocultural composition of those audience members, and how participants (both performers and audience members) interact with one another during the performance.

According to Small, these social relationships are rooted in a language of gesture, such as eye contact, vocal inflections, and body movements. Humans, Small suggests, communicate most effectively through these gestural interactions.

Small contends that musicking is a mode of gestural communication. In the actual moments of musical performance, as well as during other human interactions, gestural language is dynamic and open, not preset or predetermined. Moreover, participants' relationships differ with each particular performance because of different expectations, different settings, and different people that participate in the performance.

Small indicates that the information all living creatures need to respond to concerns relationships. Responding to or interacting with relationships is an active and creative process. The interaction between agent and experience may arouse a particular response of beauty, rather than considering beauty a reified construct fixed within an object.

Small suggests that musicking, as a mode of gestural communication, is a biological necessity. Musicking serves as a means for individuals to explore what their own particular ideal relationships are. Concepts of ideal relationships are passed between individuals, between groups, and from one generation to another through this form of gestural communication. Ritual and metaphor, both central to musicking, are

a means for people to explore their sense of ideal relationships and communicate through gestures.

Small's theory differs from aesthetic theories that do not necessarily consider human interactions, for example interactions between people and words. In Susanne Langer's (1942/1980) description of emotional responses to music, she states, "Experiments made with vocal music are entirely unreliable, since words and the pathos of the human voice are added to the musical stimulus" (p. 212). Langer assumes "music alone" to be in a different realm than texted music, whereas Small's theory examines the word factor in terms of emotional messages conveyed, connections between words and musical elements, and contextual influences.

A musicking experience differs from an aesthetic experience because musicking necessarily includes social dimensions (i.e., all the people who contribute to an event) and meanings are created through those dimensions. An aesthetic experience, on the other hand, tends to be limited to a single individual and an object.

Peter Kivy is a well-respected philosopher of music whose concepts are consistent with an aesthetic framework. A comparative analysis between Small's and Peter Kivy's concepts as articulated in Kivy's book, *Introduction to a Philosophy of Music* (2002), may further delineate the differences between an aesthetic framework and musicking, thereby clarifying the conceptual confines of musicking (see Table 5).

Table 5

Comparison of Christopher Small's and Peter Kivy's Concepts

Question: [a]   *What is Music?*

Small   All actions connected to musical performances

               Meanings are generated in relationships that occur between sounds,

                    between people, and between sounds and people

Kivy   Sound alone

Question: *What is a Musical Work?*

Small   The contextual elements of musical pieces including both the score

                    and the human encounters of the performance

Kivy   Musical objects or compositions that exist autonomously, evidence

                    expressive form, and have intrinsic value

Question: *What are musical performances?*

Small   Encounters between people that occur "through the medium of

                    sounds organized in specific ways" (p. 10)[b]

               "*Does not exist in order to present musical works*" (p. 8)

Kivy   "The act of playing a piece, or the sounds that the act produces" (p.

                    205)[c]

Question: *What is the role of the performer?*

Small   To music

Kivy   To bring a musical score into existence

Table 5 (continued).

Question:	*What is the role of the listener?*
Small	A listener explores, affirms, and celebrates his or her ideals while participating in the musicking event
Kivy	A listener is an individual who contemplates sounds alone

Question:	*What is absolute music?*
Small	Absolute music does not exist (p. 153)
Kivy	A sonic structure with no semantic content (p. 101)

Question:	*What is the purpose of music?*
Small	A biological necessity, thus all musical traditions have equal value
Kivy	Music is good for its own sake. By being such, it paradoxically enriches human experience because of its expressive form
	The Western fine arts tradition has a higher status than other traditions

[a]Although these questions themselves contain assumptions, they nonetheless serve as a handy way to quickly pinpoint some differences in concepts.

[b]The page numbers listed under "Small" refer to *Musicking: The Meanings of Performing and Listening* (1998)

[c] The page numbers listed under "Kivy" refer to *Introduction to a Philosophy of Music* (2002)

When asked to explain his concepts of relationships, Small responded, "We spend our lives trying to arrange them to maximum advantage, to make them right according to our concept of rightness. This doesn't necessarily mean selfishness—

right relationships can mean adapting one's behaviour to the needs of others" (C. Small, personal communication, April 21, 2007). Because everyone has his or her own concept of right relationships, conflicts may arise among people who try to force their concepts of right relationships upon others: "People do terrible things to one another when they try to impose their version of the pattern which connects as the only right one" (Small 1998b, p. 141).

Musicking, as a means by which people develop their ideas of right relationships, may not necessarily solve such problems. Many levels of awareness are necessary even to begin to deal with conflicting concepts of right relationships. For example, one may need to develop the ability to see beyond one's own concept of right relationships and act in ways that will build right relationships for the greater community. Otherwise, as Small indicates, "It [musicking] can serve to confirm the most grotesque and destructive ideals. *I never said musicking is necessarily a good thing to be doing*" (C. Small, personal communication, April 21, 2007). In this sense, Small's theory offers a framework for examining the many possibilities of human relationships rather than delineating or prescribing particular directions for human relationships.

In some ways, clear boundaries exist between what is and what is not considered musicking. For instance, when a musical performance occurs, performers and listeners have obvious roles in musicking. The relationships between sounds or people, what Small terms "level-one relationships," are fairly clear. For example, the relationships between certain pitches create a melody, and the relationships between different audience members may be as strangers or friends. A different experience,

such as listening to a spoken lecture on mathematics that contains no musical sounds, would not be considered musicking, even though relationships could conceivably exist between audience members.

At the same time, however, certain conceptual borders within musicking are fluid and changing. Three factors that relate to the dynamic boundaries of musicking include the differences between individual and group concepts of right relationships, to what extent the participants in the musical performance are generating relationships with the musical sounds, and the differences between the relationships that are actually occurring during a musical event and the participants' desired relationships.

With respect to issues of individual and group concepts of right relationships, an individual's notion of right relationships may differ from his or her group's stance. For example, when a group sings the National Anthem at a U.S. sporting event, the group is celebrating American patriotism. A particular individual in the group may have anti-American views and choose not to sing the National Anthem. In this circumstance, right relationships of the group do not coincide with the individual's sense of right relationships. Small suggests that no individual is required to accept the way a group constructs its concept of right relationships. In this way, Small accounts for both individual and group perspectives, even when, as the example above illustrates, these perspectives differ.

With respect to the extent that the participants in the musical performance are generating relationships with the musical sounds, each participant's musical background may affect how he or she experiences the musical sounds. For example if

a particular style of music is new to the participant, it may be more difficult for him or her to find meaning in those sounds. Alternately, someone who consistently participates in a particular style of music may more easily be able to explore, affirm, and celebrate his or her ideals by participating in that style. Small's theory accommodates a wide variation of participants' interactions with musical sounds.

Small (1998b) suggests that musicking is a "tool" for articulating people's concepts of ideal relationships and for reconciling any contradictions that deviate from that ideal (p. 221). In this sense, a participant explores his or her ideal relationships during musical experiences and through that exploration, the participant may discover certain relationships that do not resonate with his or her ideals. Small suggests that musicking helps the participant to affirm, explore, and celebrate his or her own integrity.

Small's mature theory of musicking asserts an awareness of complex social relationships in musical performance practices. Musicking positions social dimensions on par with sonic dimensions. In this regard, the term music, itself, broadens to encompass concepts beyond simply interacting with musical sounds. Small's concept allows people a tool to conceive of music as a dynamic, changing notion that incorporates all human interactions connected to music-making.

Summary

Small's mature theory of musicking presented a way of thinking about the relational aspects of musical experiences, specifically between sounds, among people, and between sounds and people. Small considered musicking a tool in helping people explore, affirm, and celebrate who they are. His philosophy was grounded in an

experiential approach to the extent that he (1971b) stated, "If art is not experience it is nothing" (p. 163).

Section one of this chapter explored the roots of Small's theory in the concepts of Gregory Bateson. Three influential constructs assimilated from Bateson were the pattern which connects, Bateson's concept of mind, and news of difference.

Section two examined Small's four assumptions to his theory of musicking: (a) music is not object, (b) all people are capable of musicking, (c) social dimensions are an integrated element of musicking, and (d) musicking includes a complex web of relationship matrices. The final section of this chapter summarized Small's mature theory as distinct from aesthetic frameworks of music. For instance, Small suggested that all actions connected to a musical performance are part of what he terms "to music," while Peter Kivy (2002) chose to ignore the social dimensions of performance context suggesting that music consisted of sounds alone. The final section also explored some fluid and changing conceptual confines of musicking.

Chapter Five will examine what others have suggested are weaknesses in Small's theory. Considered responses to these criticisms will also be explored.

CHAPTER FIVE

Criticisms of Christopher Small's Mature Theory of Musicking

The purpose of this chapter is to balance an account of what Small says about

musicking with potential weaknesses in his theory suggested by others. Accordingly,

the first section of this chapter explores nine published reviews of Small's book

Musicking: The Meanings of Performing and Listening (1998) along with Brynjulf

Stige's (2003) criticisms of Small's theory of musicking. It then offers considered

responses to arguments advanced by selected reviewers, concluding with a conclusion

to the considered responses of Small's theory.

Published Reviews of Musicking: The Meanings of Performing and Listening (1998)

Nine critical reviews of *Musicking* (Dell'Antonio, 1999; Elliott, 1999; Keil,

2000; Paynter, 1999; Ratliff, 1998; Rischar, 2003; Swanwick; Walker, 1999;

Woodford, 2001) were published in various journals. All these reviews praised

various elements of *Musicking* (1998). The purpose of the discussion at hand,

however, is to explore critical comments contained in these reviews. While these

particular criticisms, moreover, by no means exhaust all possible avenues for taking

issue with Small's theory of musicking, they do afford an array of critical viewpoints

from persons chosen by the editors of established journals to review Small's book.

Another published article (Woodyard, 2003) offered only praise for Small's theory

and is therefore not considered here.

John Paynter

John Paynter (1999) identifies five specific problems that all stem from what

Paynter terms Small's "troublesome concept of the musical 'work'" (p. 239). These

problems relate to Small's view of (a) classical music performers' perceptions, (b) the notion of a musical "work" being limited to musical notation, (c) score-based musical analysis, (d) the authenticity movement, and (e) musical form.

Classical music performers' perceptions. Small's primary perception of Western classical compositions, according to Paynter, is informed by a notion of music as object. Paynter, however, suggests that, within a music education context, the experiences of performing are routinely more meaningful than simply attending to score study per se. In Paynter's review he lists the following examples to bolster that contention, though he does not specify in any detail how they enrich the meanings of performance experiences: (a) Nadia Boulanger's (1887-1979) classes of the 1930s; (b) a maxim from one of his teachers from the 1940s, "The sound first and then the sign;" and (c) how Wilfrid Mellers (1914-), founder of the Department of Music at the University of York in England, believed that student performance should be the starting point for studying music.

Paynter agrees with Small that there is a need in educational contexts, as Paynter states, "to be involved with the actuality of music." Paynter asserts, however, that between the years 1970 and 2000 progress has been made toward these ends in school music education, "making it more realistically *musical*." He supports this assertion by citing in a footnote, two of his own books, *Sound and Silence* (1970) and *Sound and Structure* (1992), along with Keith Swanwick's *Teaching Music Musically* (1999). Paynter offers no explanation of how these books specifically enhance music education. He does, however, offer two examples of music class activities, which he suggests enhance music education beyond preoccupation with musical objects: (a) the

linking of schools and orchestra outreach programs and (b) "more emphasis upon non-Western and non-notated works" (p. 239).

   Small's notion of a musical "work." Paynter claims that Small's definition of a musical work as a score-based composition is too limited. Indeed, Paynter states that most of the world's music is not notated. Moreover, Paynter suggests that any musical sounds, including improvisation, can be understood as a work of music. For example, he proposes that improvisational music "*behaves like music*: the musical ideas that constitute the 'piece' are composed; that is to say, they are posed (presented) *together* (in various relationships)." Therefore, he finds "Small's observation that improvising musicians can give beautiful performances 'without any work of music being involved' incomprehensible" (p. 239).

   Benefits of score-based musical analysis. Small (1998b) criticizes musicking practices that are heavily notation-centered (pp. 110-119). Paynter, by contrast, speaks approvingly of institutions that specialize in score analysis and historical musicology. For Paynter, "no knowledge is without value, even if, for some of us, it seems to be missing the point!" (p. 239).

   In this respect, Paynter suggests that academics should not be blamed for "the attitudes of concert-goers." He places blame, instead, with "the performers and their promoters." According to Paynter, these people "persist in producing the kind of programme notes of which Bernard Levin famously wrote, 'The trouble with this stuff is that those who can understand it don't need it, and those who need it can't understand it'" (p. 239).

The authenticity movement. Paynter takes issue with Small's references to "the authenticity movement," reminding readers that its appropriate term is "historically informed performance." Paynter agrees with Small that it is impossible to create an authentic eighteenth century performance, because contemporary musicians cannot hear music as people from the eighteenth century did. Nevertheless, Paynter suggests such inability does not necessarily prevent discovery of at least some past performance practices that could inform contemporary performances of historical works. He suggests, for example, that discovery of different tuning systems have had "extraordinary dramatic effects." Paynter also contends that Small incorrectly says that studying past performance practices began in the 1960s. Paynter offers as an example Arnold Dolmetsch (1916) who, according to Paynter, "was promoting what he called the 'revival' of 'Old music' and its interpretation as 'revealed by contemporary evidence'" decades earlier (p. 240).

Paynter's primary argument with respect to these matters is that in historically informed performances, the focus is not on musical objects, but rather on "the *experience* of music in performance" (p. 240). Therefore he contends that Small's (1998b) perception of the authenticity movement, as "anxious fidelity to the composer's written text" (p. 116), is incorrect.

Value of musical form. For Paynter, musical thought is occasioned by "the certainty and finality of a 'form.'" So he suggests that music is the "*connected* pattern, suspending ordinary time and offering us a glimpse of a different kind of existence in . . . perfected time." Because of this suspension of ordering time by means of a musical work, according to Paynter, the "'work' (our experience of the

form) would surely be the key feature without which musicking would be impossible" (p. 240).

Paynter began his review by describing Small as "untrammeled by traditional academic mores," and initially argues that Small's book is "a personal view—strongly held opinion rather than conventional research" (p. 237). Yet at the end of his review he states that Small's book "is scholarly" and he agrees with Small's final conclusion that musicking is a tool for recognizing ideal relationships (p. 241).

Ben Ratliff

Ben Ratliff's (1998) review offers five concerns about *Musicking*. Ratliff's (¶ 20) primary concern is that Small makes "breezy assumptions." For example, Ratliff points out that Small "mentions that the representational style, based on preplanned codes of harmonic 'meaning' (major for happy, minor for sad, etc.) is found especially in 'white' music and less often in 'black' music." Ratliff thinks Small may be correct in a general way, if Small means "blues tonality" or the flattening of certain notes in the blues scale, seventh chords and the "vocalized tones of blues and jazz musicians that result in emotional mixed messages." But Ratliff contends that Small's statement "begs for development."

Second, Ratliff (¶ 20) challenges Small's argument that in non-notated music or "nonliterate" musical performances, "the power relationships among those taking part are diffuse, uncentralized; all will have some authority and bear some responsibility." Ratliff argues that this type of friendly rapport is not true in bands led by "tyrannical bandleaders" such as James Brown.

A third concern of Ratliff is the question of whom Small is addressing. Ratliff (¶ 11) suggests that Small's "willingness to give the game away, to make the dialogue about music as transparent as possible" may have softened his arguments against specialists. Although Ratliff (¶ 16) says that Small has something to teach each of his readers, he thinks Small's arguments are "so diffuse, so open that he hasn't made a major disturbance" among musicologists, educators, music journalists, practicing musicians, and ethnomusicologists. Ratliff thinks Small's ideas may be useful, although simultaneously obvious, for popular music students. But Ratliff does not believe classical music scholars would pay attention to a book that attacks their tradition with only the support of a two-page bibliography.

Fourth, Ratliff labels Small "an idealist" (¶ 17). Ratliff remarks that when he shares Small's concepts with non-idealists, two questions arise: "Can his [Small's] vision of music be sustained, and if so, does it produce good music?" However, he then simply drops the matter.

Fifth, Ratliff (¶ 19) argues that Small's "conception of identity looks fairly antiquated." Contemporary urbanites, according to Ratliff, "live in many musical worlds at once." He suggests that these music lovers "depend on slightly reified notions of music" such as categories of jazz, country, and rhythm and blues. Small's perception of identity, according to Ratliff, does not account for genre blending that is prevalent in contemporary society.

Additionally, Ratliff (¶ 10) suggests that others have stressed the "social-ritual aspect" of music and made the term, music, a verb. Ratliff cites Thelonius Monk's "Rhythm-a-Ning," a chapter from Amiri Baraka's book *Blues People* (1963) titled

"Swing—from Verb to Noun," Charles Keil's *Urban Blues* (1991),

ethnomusicologists Edward Herbert and Steven Feld's description of music as a set of

fluid relationships, as well as Clifford Geertz's description of culture as lived

experience, to make that point.

David Elliott

David Elliott (1999) launches two main criticisms of Small's theory. First,

Elliott argues that by relying on Bateson's definition of mind as "the ability to give

and respond to information" (Small, 1998b, p. 53), Small is too general, leaving no

distinction between "human consciousness and a thermostat (not to mention the

'mind' of my cat)" (Elliott, 1999, p. 249). Elliott contends that Small's definition of

mind does not clarify why people desire to "live well in the world" rather than just

survive.

In this respect, Elliott suggests that Small's theory neglects to consider what

Elliott terms "the I—ME relationship, the relationship between each human brain-

mind and each individual sense of *self*" (p. 249). Elliott goes on to list five questions

concerning the self: "What is the self? What is self-awareness? Can the self grow,

develop, or strengthen? If not, why not? If so, how?" Elliott asserts that because

Small does not adequately address these questions, that is, explain the tendencies,

nature, and powers of human consciousness and how it relates to what is known as

self, Small cannot explain why humans need or desire music-based ideal

relationships. In other words, Elliott charges that Small cannot and does not explain

why people may desire musical experiences that affirm their own social status (p.

249).

Second, Elliott claims that Small, in his discussion of verbal and gestural language, replicates Susanne Langer's (1942, 1953) concepts without referencing her writing. More pointedly, Elliott contends that Langer's and Small's theoretical foundations contain a circular syllogism, in that Small's concept of musicking is not about actual relationships, but, rather, idealized relationships:

> Music (musicking) is a symbol of feeling (or idealized relationships); during musical events we experience symbolic feelings (or symbolized relationships); hence, music (or musicking) is the symbolic presentation of a symbol; music (or musicking) is a metaphorical re-presentation of a metaphor. (p. 250)

In correlating Langer's concepts with Small's notion of musicking, Elliott asserts that the reasoning of both philosophers leads to a non-informational or circular (if A is B, then B is A) understanding of music.

Charles Keil

Charles Keil (2000) has problems with the "level of specificity and fixity in Small's reading of the score" (p. 162). In short, he finds a subtle paradox in Small's explication of his theory. Small, says Keil, appeals to fixed meanings in the music itself (p. 163) in order then to argue against such meanings.

In this respect, Keil wonders, "Is sexism coded as syntax? Embedded in the sound patterns?" (p. 163). At root, Keil's concerns appear related to what he sees as Small's tendency to generalize. Keil questions whether Small's arguments about symphonic works as narratives are appropriate for all listeners. If, as Small indicates, each musicking experience is context dependent, Keil suggests that not all audience

members may follow Small's (1998b) line of reasoning and hear symphonic works as reassuring (p. 187).

Paul Woodford

Paul Woodford (2001) argues that *Musicking* suffers from paradoxes and circular fallacies. In particular, Woodford suggests that Small's "extreme social construction" agenda "occasionally leads to philosophical contradiction" (p. 46). He points, in this respect, to a portion of Small's reference to Susan McClary's (1990) remark about feminine semiotics: "He [Small] accepts as unproblematical the radical feminist proposition that women are essentially different from men and thus ought to have 'authentic' musical voices of their own" (p. 46). Woodford suggests that the corollary assumption is that women should have "their own '*genuinely* [italics Woodford's] feminine semiotics of representational music' (Small, 1998b, p. 171)" (p. 46).

Woodford remarks that Small's use of his former female composition teacher who "is described as having composed like a man" is an "unfortunate" example. Woodford suggests that with this reasoning "auditors ought also be able to decipher the sexuality, ethnicity, nationality, social class, age, weight, eye color, or height of the composer or performer from merely listening to the music." Woodford reasons that Small's gender-based generalization is too broad. Small, according to Woodford, "seems to confuse metaphor with social reality," particularly when Small describes many Western musical works "as representing male reason and violence." Woodford concludes that Small's reasoning amounts "to stereotypes that mask and discourage diversity" (p. 46).

Richard Rischar

Richard Rischar (2003) offers criticisms with respect to six elements of *Musicking*. First, Rischar suggests that, particularly since the advent of "the New Musicology" of the 1990s, many music scholars find difficulty in studying music in a manner that reflects both individual identities and competing social groups. According to Rischar, Small "demonstrates little sense of the contours of that struggle" (p. 163).[41]

Second, Rischar indicates that he would like Small to transfer his ideas of social relationships in musicking to the realm of "musically-knowledgeable readers." He suggests that Small's argument "that music(king) is an expression of shifting personal and social identities" already is understood in current ethnomusicological and musicological thought. Rischar wishes for "a payoff in terms of how such ideas affect our approach to musical works and performance practices" (p. 162). In this regard, Rischar questions whether Small's minimal references in this section of *Musicking* indicate he is writing independent of related contemporary scholarship or if he is unaware of this scholarship.

Third, Rischar takes issue with Small's "one alternative" to listening styles. Rischar suggests that multiple modes of listening have "the potential to break the very bonds of interpretation Small rails against." Rischar then shares his own multiple ways of listening to Beethoven's Fifth Symphony including "the modernist

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[41] Rischar states that when Small does reference a contemporary scholar, he does not always notice elements of that scholar's argument that would help his case. For example, Rischar indicates that although Small references Richard Taruskin regarding "the centrality of a modern aesthetic in the authenticity/performance-practice movement" (p. 163), Small fails to note how Taruskin offers an alternative way to listen to music from that movement.

autonomous-intramusical style, a semiotic-affective style, another more rhetorical, or sensual-physical, and so forth" (p. 163).

Fourth, Rischar thinks that Small's use of "stereotyped" interpretations familiar to the musically knowledgeable "will most likely merely preach to the converted." Rischar indicates, for example, that Small's analysis of Beethoven's Fifth Symphony is "the very kind of one-dimensional analysis he [Small] elsewhere decries." Rischar states that Small describes Beethoven's piece as "a dramatic work of heroic proportions, a product and symbolic representation of triumphant masculine aggression." Rischar does not deny that the Ninth Symphony is all those things, but, suggests Rischar, "it is also much more" (p. 162).

As another example, Rischar references Small's quotes about Tchaikovsky's well-known homosexuality, along with Small's statement that "gay men . . . do not feel . . . anxiety when confronted with the feminine" (Small, 1998b, p. 177, as cited in Rischar, 2003, p. 162). Rischar indicates that, as gender scholars have argued, homosexuality is not a monolithic identity, but, rather, one aspect of identity. In particular, Rischar finds it is problematic to equate nineteenth century Russian homosexuality with contemporary understandings of homosexuality.

Fifth, Rischar acknowledges Small's descriptions of the discrepancies between early and contemporary musical performance practices: specifically (a) secular performances of Bach's sacred compositions, (b) lack of improvisation in Mozart piano pieces, and (c) silence between movements of classical Western compositions. With regard to audience applause, Rischar agrees with Small's desire

for a wider range of audience behavior. But Rischar asks how do "we get to a place where such behavior (such as applauding a virtuosic passage) is accepted?" (p. 164).

Sixth, Rischar argues that two aspects of *Musicking* appear to reinforce cultural and racial stereotypes: (a) the book's cover, and (b) Chapter 13: A Solitary Flute Player. The front cover displays a slightly fuzzy black and red background of a European-style concert hall, superimposed with an inset of a clear black and white photograph of an older African American black man playing a guitar. Rischar contends that the contrasting graphic, along with differences in skin colors and in focus between background and foreground, represents Small's view that Western concert experiences are disappointing, while the African American guitarist knows "what's 'really going on'" (p. 164).

Regarding Small's chapter on the solitary flute player, Rischar states that "this evocation may serve a heuristic purpose, that it 'does have something to tell us about the nature of the musical act.'" However, he contends that Small's depiction of the flute player is an "African-derived archetype" and he "cannot help but cringe" when he reads the chapter (p. 165).

Andrew Dell'Antonio

Andrew Dell'Antonio (1999) offers two primary criticisms of *Musicking*. First, for Dell'Antonio, the least satisfying section of Small's book is the section on the socially constructed meaning of music (Small, 1998b, pp. 130-143). He finds Small has a tendency to "employ sweeping generalizations" accompanied by a lack of references or examples. For example, Dell'Antonio states that Small lists no additional names, examples, or citations, other than briefly noting Leonard Meyer, in

his discussion of possible reconciliations between formalist and expressionist philosophers of music (p. 884).

Dell'Antonio argues, in a similar vein, that Small appears too ready to accept simple generalizations about classical repertoire. For instance, he accuses Small of a "vague and misleading" account of baroque music (p. 884).

Dell'Antonio refers to Small's (1998b) description of Susan McClary's dichotomy of male as diatonic and female as chromatic (p. 149). He argues that Small takes McClary's ideas out of context. Dell'Antonio also thinks that Small accepts McClary's authority too readily, and is unaware of how her work is controversial. He claims that Small makes "generalizations substantially beyond what McClary has claimed in her own arguments" (p. 884).

Dell'Antonio reserves his heaviest criticisms for a section of Chapter 11, "A Vision of Order" (Small, 1998b, pp. 169-182). He complains in that regard about Small's "excursus on the anthropomorphization of the 'subject' in symphonic music." In Small's analysis of Beethoven's Fifth Symphony, according to Dell'Antonio, Small takes the forcefulness and masculinity traditionally associated with Beethoven compositions at face value and neglects to question these concepts. Dell'Antonio complains that "generalizations fly here like feathers at a cockfight" and he states that Small's analysis is "so keyed on a 'vulgar' version of the masculine/feminine dichotomy (which Small seems to gloss from another simplification of McClary) that the complexities of the possible subjectivities projected by the work are reduced to a monochromatic line" (p. 885). In general, Dell'Antonio does not think Small

evidences the same analytical energy in his discussions of Beethoven or Tchaikovsky as he does in his analysis of the social dimensions of musicking.

Robert Walker

Robert Walker (1999) finds little problem with Small's approach overall. He does argue, however, that musical experiences are not based completely on socially generated interactions, as Small suggests. For instance, Walker contends that there is no difference between "Small's listener in isolation in the concert hall and the listener in isolation at home" (p. 245). He maintains that the same musical sounds would be heard whether the concept of ritual applicable to audiences in a concert hall is present or not. In other words, for Walker, socially generated interactions do not affect the sounds produced in a concert hall.

Walker also refuses to accept, as Small suggests, that "classical musicking" is class-based. Walker argues that although economic constraints may affect who attends symphony concerts, lower income individuals may still develop an enjoyment of Western classical music styles (p. 245). He even suggests that the book's cover, with a red and black background of a classical audience depicting the wealthy seated in certain areas of the hall and the poor in other areas, does not depict Small's (1998b) argument that a "concert hall is a place where middle-class white people can feel safe together" (p. 42).

Walker claims, furthermore, that Small does not clarify certain points of his explication of musicking, thereby leaving him open to charges of vagueness and uncertainty. As an example, Walker cites portions from Chapter Seven, "Score and Parts" (Small, 1998b, pp. 110-119). In this chapter Small explores aspects of musical

scores in the context of Western classical musical styles. Walker (1999) argues that Small "does not raise to any great extent the question of whether such essence may simply be in the pattern realization of the listener" (p. 245). In this example he cites (a) Small's (1998b) definition of musical score as "a set of coded instructions," (b) Small's perception that listeners recognize aural images, (c) Small's view that "relationships are mental not physical events," and (d) Small's contention that "a musical work . . . only exists in performance" (pp. 112-113). According to Walker, Small's argument is similar to one advanced by Roger Scruton (1983), who claims music is "an intentional object. It is intentional from the composer, the performer, and the listener, and therefore music cannot lie in the sounds" (p. 246). But Walker contends that Small is unclear about what is intended and who intends it. A listener's intention could be manifest in any number of ways, according to Walker, so he suggests that it is impossible to be certain what the listeners' contributions may be. He thinks that Small's argument should have addressed issues of listeners' indeterminate contributions in a musical performance.

Keith Swanwick

Keith Swanwick's (2000) first problem with Small's theory relates to social elements of musical performances. Swanwick agrees that ritual meanings are socially constructed (p. 95), but he points out a possible conflict between Small's assertions, on the one hand, that there is an overriding group unity in a musical performance and, on the other hand, that people belong to multiple social groups. According to Swanwick, Small fails to reconcile this tension.

In this respect, Swanwick comments that Small's form of discourse relies on people "interpreting and negotiating their perspectives within systems of shared meanings that are never one hundred per cent agreed." Because there is a varied nature of individual perspectives within a group, Swanwick indicates that a group of people taking part in a musicking event are "not an undifferentiated mob but a temporary and mostly voluntary subscription" (p. 95).

Small (1998b) was advised by his friends who read his manuscript to leave chapter 13, titled "A Solitary Flute Player" (pp. 201-206), out of the book: "I have come clean about the following chapter and say that it is here against the advice of some of my friends who have read the manuscript" (p. 201). Swanwick (2000) mentions that he is grateful that Small did not follow his friends' advice. Swanwick suggests that the solitary flute player's perspective "might indeed appear problematic to those who subscribe unswervingly to the idea of music as being not only socially constructed but also and inevitably socially symptomatic." Swanwick voices this concern because he thinks that a reader may imagine the flute player to represent an individualistic understanding of "here I am, and this is who I am" (p. 95). He appears to understand the "solitary flute player" is an ideal identity that can be interchanged with other musical identities. Rather than understanding musicking solely in terms of a more individualistic identity, Swanwick suggests that "'musicking' groups" (p. 95) are fluid communities brought together for specific performances (p. 96).

Finally, Swanwick describes Small's discussion of music and emotion as "uninformed and uninforming." Even though Swanwick does not clarify why he perceives Small's discussion on music and emotion in this manner, he does suggest

that "in general an editor's pencil might have been used more often and more ruthlessly to good effect" (p. 96). Swanwick also wishes that Small would have provided more helpful referencing and indexing.

Brynjulf Stige's Criticisms of Small's Theory

Several researchers reference Small's theory of musicking at various junctures. These studies are primarily ethnomusicological investigations that use Small's theory either to analyze a musical culture or to help explain another musical phenomenon (e.g., Campbell, 1998; Costes, 2005; Dvorin-Spross, 2005; Fellezs, 2004; Gaunt, 1997; Sarbanes, 2006; Sauve, 2004; Stige, 2003; Truchly, 2003). However, in his dissertation, "Elaborations toward a Notion of Community Music Therapy," Brynjulf Stige (2003) levels three direct criticisms at Small's theory of musicking. He asks: (a) Why does music need to be considered a verb? (b) How does Small's theory of musicking apply to cultures that already utilize the word music as a verb? and (c) What activities are not considered musicking? (pp. 165-169).

Stige's first question addresses whether defining a term in a new way, specifically Small's definition of music as a verb, necessarily corresponds to a new understanding. In this regard, Stige notes that some nouns denote processes, such as the word "action." Action can be understood both as noun and as process. If action can be understood as both noun and process, then Stige concludes that music can be understood as both noun and as process. In this vein, Stige does not grasp why Small needs to define music solely as a verb.

Second, Stige questions how Small's emphasis on music as verb would translate to other languages. German and Norwegian languages, he notes, already use

music in the form of a verb: "musizieren" and "å musiserer." Respectively, Stige suggests that questions may arise when Small's ideas are translated into these languages. If these words already mean "to music," then it may be challenging to differentiate between Small's meaning from already existing meanings in these particular languages.

Third, Stige examines the potentially broad scope of Small's definition of musicking. Small (1998b) includes a variety of activities in his concept of musicking such as taking tickets and setting up the stage (p. 9). From this perspective, Stige asks, could the lumberjacks who cut the trees down that are used in the paper for the tickets also be musicking? Stige therefore suggests that Small's concept of musicking may be so broad as to be meaningless.

Considered Responses to Reviewers' Criticisms of Small's Theory

Five reviewers (Dell'Antonio, 1999; Paynter, 1999; Ratliff, 1998; Rischar, 2003; Swanwick, 2000) comment negatively, either directly or indirectly, upon aspects of Small's scholarship, research, and methodology. Another reviewer (Elliott, 1999) charges that Small fails to acknowledge a conceptual debt to Susanne Langer. Four reviewers contend that Small's description of music as social experience is either inaccurate or insufficiently developed (Paynter, 1999; Rischar, 2003; Swanwick, 2000; Walker, 1999). Three reviewers find fault in Small's account of listeners' experiences (Keil, 2000; Rischar, 2003; Walker, 1999). Two reviewers think Small's description of a musical work is limited (Paynter, 1999; Walker, 1999). One reviewer argues against Small's perception of the authenticity movement (Paynter, 1999). Four reviewers point out cultural and racial stereotypes in Small's

book (Ratliff, 1998; Rischar, 2003; Walker, 1999; Woodford, 2001). One reviewer

suggests Small's theory lacks a cognitive focus (Elliott, 1999). Another reviewer

suggests that it is difficult to implement Small's ideas with contemporary classical

music audiences (Rischar, 2003). One reviewer questions how, practically, the word

music can be re-defined as a verb in German and Norwegian, two languages where

the word already exists as a verb. This same reviewer questions the possible

broadness of Small's theory (Stige, 2003). This section considers these particular

issues.

Scholarship

Reviewers' concerns about Small's scholarship in *Musicking* fall, by and

large, into three groups: concerns about (a) insufficient attention to matters of

scholarly presentation [e.g., a mere two-page bibliography (Ratliff, 1998) and lack of

helpful referencing and indexing (Swanwick, 2000)], (b) apparent failure to read,

research, and cite other scholars [e.g., "uninformed" (Swanwick, 2000), does not

reference scholars effectively (Rischar, 2003), and "not conforming to conventional

research" (Paynter, 1999)]; and (c) numerous generalizations [e.g., "Generalizations

fly here like feathers in a cockfight" (Dell'Antonio, 1999)]. In addition, one particular

concern expressed by Elliott appears to raise the question of plagiarism with respect

to Small's use of Susanne Langer's writings.

With the exception of Elliott's allegation and the comments about

generalizations, which will be addressed separately, most of these concerns about

Small's scholarship can simply be accepted as having merit. Small, by his own

admission, is not a traditional scholar. Nor is he always a meticulously careful writer.

One may also legitimately be perplexed about why Small sometimes appears unaware of other contemporary scholars and thinkers engaged in addressing matters pertinent to his arguments. Small acknowledges that he has not read certain books that may relate to his argument such as David Elliott's *Music Matters* (1995), or Lydia Goehr's *The Imaginary Museum of Musical Works* (1992) (C. Small, personal communication, April 29, 2007; April 11, 2007).[42]

Yet the task of doing philosophy is not primarily about conforming to scholarly conventions per se. Succinctly put, a philosopher's task is to "think about thinking" in such a way that sound arguments prevail (Blackburn, 1999). Scholarly conventions such as an extensive bibliography, clear indexing, and referencing may assist in that task, but consistently adhering to such conventions, however nice or however helpful such adherence may be, is not absolutely necessary for the task of doing philosophy.

An effective technique for doing philosophy is to engage in explicit dialogue with other thinkers in order to explain and hone one's own work. But this technique is not the only means of doing philosophy. For example, Plato (427-347 B.C.E.) implicitly addresses ideas, not thinkers directly, through dramatis personae engaged in imaginary conversations. Some twentieth century philosophers, e.g., John Paul Sartre (1905-1980), Albert Camus (1913-1960), and Ayn Rand (1905-1982), articulate philosophical frameworks through novels. Twentieth century music philosopher John Cage (1912-1992) declines to adhere even to basic conventions

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[42] Concepts from John Dewey's *Art as Experience* (1934) appear also to interact with some of Small's arguments. When asked about that book, Small remarked that he had not read it when he wrote his books nor had he read it as of April 29, 2007 (C. Small, personal communication, April 29, 2007).

such as complete sentences and left to right placement of words in his book *Silence* (1961).

In his book *Musicking*, Small chooses an ethnographic analysis of the modern symphony orchestra concert to articulate some of his propositions. Also, he employs storytelling at one juncture ("A Solitary Flute Player," Chapter 13, pp. 201-206). Neither the use of such approaches per se or his disinclination to cite other thinkers necessarily disqualifies *Musicking* from succeeding at the task of doing philosophy.

Small's success at that task, ultimately, must be evaluated by inquiring whether or not his theory of musicking evidences sound argument. That is, when all is said and done: Has Small articulated propositions such that, according to canons of logic, he offers true premises that lead to true conclusions?

Generalizations

The charge that Small engages too frequently in generalizations, however, is a potentially damaging one. Generalizations can lead to what are referred to as logical "fallacies of presumption" (Engel, 1986, p. 126). For that reason, reviewers' comments in this regard merit detailed consideration.

Paradoxically, the format of a book review does not lend itself to a tightly reasoned discourse. For example, its length is not particularly conducive to having sufficient space to support or document specific items. So these particular allegations of generalization may, to some extent, themselves be generalizations.

Nonetheless, the potential seriousness of the matter requires that it be addressed as carefully as possible. Here, that examination proceeds by (a) defining "generalization," (b) examining its possible role in logical fallacies, and (c)

determining to what extent, if any, particular reviewers may have demonstrated that

the logic of Small's argument fails by reason of his employing generalizations.

Generalization defined. The *American Heritage Dictionary of the English*

Language (1992) defines generalization as "a principle, a statement or an idea having

general application" (p. 755). The verb "generalize" is defined as follows:

> *-tr*. 1.a. To reduce to a general form, class, or law, b. To render indefinite or
>
> unspecific. 2.a. To infer from many particulars, b. To draw inferences or a
>
> general conclusion from. 3.a. to make generally or universally applicable, b.
>
> To popularize. *–intr*. 1.a. To form a concept inductively, b. To form general
>
> notions or conclusions. 2. To deal in generalities; speak or write vaguely. (p.
>
> 755)

By definition, then, generalizations are either broad statements (e.g., "All living

persons breathe") or particular statements applied broadly (e.g., "Joan's breathing

demonstrates the human need for respiration").

The examples above illustrate how generalization can serve as a device to

move a discussion forward without a need to gather or cite specific data from every

living person or a random sample of people, with respect to respiration. The writer

assumes, in this case accurately, that all living people breathe.

Sometimes, however, generalizations contain unfounded assumptions. When

such unfounded assumptions are embedded in propositions that serve as premises in

an argument, facts pertaining to particular arguments have been overlooked or

misrepresented. Thus, conclusions based on those premises are suspect. Engel (1989)

describes three types of presumptive fallacies that overlook the facts: (a) sweeping

generalizations, (b) hasty generalization, and (c) bifurcation, sometimes called "false dilemma" (p. 126).

Reviewers' charges of generalizations. Dell'Antonio (1999) charges Small with a "sweeping generalization" (p. 884). In a technical sense, a sweeping generalization is a logical fallacy that applies "a fair generalization, one usually true, to an exceptional case by ignoring the peculiarities of the case" (Engel, 1989, p. 126). Here is the full context of Dell'Antonio's comment, italicized here for convenience's sake:

> The third 'interlude,' on the socially constructed meaning of music, is one of the least satisfying sections of the book. Here it is not always clear where Small's argument is going. He mentions Leonard Meyer and the reconciliation of formalist and expressionist views on musical meaning (p. 135) but provides no additional names or examples, nor any citations. *Small's tendency to employ sweeping generalizations continues in chapter 9, where he appears to expound the dichotomy of 'male=diatonic, female=chromatic' (p. 149) for the entirety of the operatic repertory, citing the work of Susan McClary* [italics added]. He seems, however, to take McClary's statements out of context (a common practice on the part of McClary's detractors, though Small seems to accept McClary's authority and to be unaware of the pointedly controversial nature of her work), making generalizations substantially beyond what McClary has claimed in her own arguments. *Such generalizations* [italics added] resurface through the chapter—his account of 'baroque' music on pages 155-157 is vague and misleading, resulting in several pages that read

like a poor 'music appreciation' text—undermining Small's argument that all Western music since Monteverdi (both vocal and instrumental) has been in the 'stile rappresentativo' (p. 152), an interesting claim if it weren't so tentatively supported. (p. 884)

Clearly, Dell'Antonio does not employ the term "sweeping generalization" in its technical sense, for he does not charge Small with applying a typically true generalization to a special case. He may, however, be attributing to Small the use of "hasty generalization." According to Engel (1989), a hasty generalization occurs when one uses "insufficient evidence or an isolated example as the basis for a widely general conclusion" (p. 126). In this potential regard, Dell'Antonio first comments that Small provides no citations and no names other than Leonard Meyer in discussing the reconciliation of expressionist and formalist perspectives.

Actually, Dell'Antonio could well have broadened his charge to include the whole of this particular two-page discussion. In his brief discussion of expressionism, Small offers, without citation, the name of Susanne Langer as an exemplar of one branch of that school of thought. Similarly, he mentions only the names of Eduard Hanslick (1825-1904) and Immanuel Kant (1724-1804), again without citation of particular writings, as exemplars of formalism.

With respect to his chosen focus, that is, the particular one-sentence paragraph where Small mentions Meyer's name, Dell'Antonio is correct, for Small (1998b) writes: "A third, modern school, led by the American musicologist Leonard Meyer, has tried, without too much success, to reconcile these apparently opposing views" (p. 135).

Here Small uses an isolated example, Leonard Meyer, to conclude broadly that efforts by a presumably distinct school of thought to reconcile formalist and expressionist positions have been pursued "without too much success." Moreover, as Dell'Antonio correctly states, Small does not provide citations. Small, however, begins the next sentence with, "Whole libraries have been devoted to this problem of emotion and meaning in music" (p. 135), thereby alluding to the title of Meyer's first major work, *Emotion and Meaning in Music* (1956).

In fairness to Small, this incident occurs at the tail end of a brief discussion of expressionism and formalism. His purpose is to indicate, by means of reviewing some major tenets of expressionism and formalism, that he intends to bypass altogether: expressionists, formalists, and reconcilers of the two. Small (1998b) begins that discussion by framing it thusly:

> There is a cluster of traditional problems grouped around the relation between music and the emotions. Scholars and musicians alike have long worried away at questions such as *What is the place of the emotions in music? Do they have a place at all?* And *Since music appears, at least, to have no reference to anything outside itself, what is it about? Is it about anything at all, other than pleasing combinations of sounds?* There are two apparently opposing points of view on these matters. (p. 135)

At the end of the ensuing discussion, he frames the conclusion by stating "I have always found that neither view had much to do with my own experiences of musicking" (pp. 135-136). Small then goes on to suggest three propositions shared by expressionists and formalists: (a) both groups view emotions as "autonomous states

of mind"; (b) both assume that music is a noun, in the sense of being a reified object

or autonomous musical work; and (c) both view music of the Western concert

tradition as superior to other styles of music (p. 136).

These propositions, of course, sound familiar. They are among those

assumptions that Small consistently, in *Musicking* and elsewhere, says he rejects.

Dell'Antonio is correct in pointing out that Small here employs an isolated example

with respect to those thinkers, e.g., Meyer, who wish to explore rapprochement

between expressionism and formalism. But Small's avowed purpose in the context of

this particular two-page discussion is not to present a thorough-going explication of

aesthetic philosophies of music. Rather, he references, as a whole, the expressionist-

formalist-reconciler debate simply to assert he wants no part of it, because, in his

view, that debate is between those still wed to the shared propositions Small

identifies.

Small is entitled to do that. Such a maneuver is a device to place his theory of

musicking in relief against a broad background, in this case the general history of

ideas informing debates between expressionists and formalists. In that context, the

salient issues are: (a) Is Small right or wrong with respect to the conceptual

commonalities he identifies among expressionists and formalists (his conclusion to

that discussion)? and (b) Are Small's brief assessments of each school true or untrue

(his premises in that discussion)?

Dell'Antonio's concern, properly so in this instance, is with (b) above. For, if

Small's brief assessments are erroneous, then the commonalities he identifies may be

suspect. For his part, Small appears able to respond to such concern with the assertion

that, by definition, those thinkers grouped under the traditional conceptual umbrellas of expressionism and formalism presume the "'thingness' of music," view emotions as "autonomous states of mind," and concern themselves primarily with the "Western concert tradition" (p. 136). Simply stated, were Dell'Antonio's charge in this instance, as procedurally warranted as it may be, to inflict harm on Small's argument, it would need to demonstrate that Small, in his haste, had, in fact, overlooked thinkers in Meyer's camp (or the expressionist or formalist camps) who did not subscribe in some fashion to the essential "thingness" of music, some impact of that belief upon considerations of human emotions, and the role of that belief in enshrinement of particular repertoire. Dell'Antonio offers no such thinkers for consideration.

Dell'Antonio's misgivings about Chapter Nine of *Musicking*, where Small (1998b) "appears to expound the dichotomy of 'male=diatonic, female=chromatic' (p. 149) for the entirety of the operatic repertory, citing the work of Susan McClary" (Dell'Antonio, 1999, p. 884) can technically be dismissed because of the verb "appears." To sustain a complaint, it is incumbent upon Dell'Antonio to level an actual charge, not vaguely suggest the appearance of conceptual misbehavior.

Nonetheless, in the interest of charity, by removing the verb "appears" a determination can be made as to what charge may then exist. Dell'Antonio's concern, in that case, clearly contains three propositions: (a) that Small applies a male-female dichotomy, (b) that he does so to the entirety of the operatic repertory, and (c) that he relies solely upon the work of Susan McClary in so doing.

With respect to proposition (a) and (b), Small does apply male-female considerations, particularly in terms of gender, to his discussion of opera in Chapter

Nine of *Musicking*. A major instance of such application occurs in the following paragraph:

> From its beginnings opera has concerned itself primarily with two intertwined themes. The first is that intractable mixture of the sexual and social that today we call the relations of gender, and the second is the fate of heroic and often aberrant individuals who threaten to disrupt the social fabric. These two themes are intertwined, since those who step out of their socially assigned sexual role, whether they be male or female, are always taken to constitute a threat to social order, and they expose themselves to the possibility of destruction or at least containment by coercive means. *From Orpheus, and Nero and Poppaea (who, atypically, obtain their anti-social desires), through Don Giovanni and the Queen of the Night, Don Carlos and Otello, Norma and Lucia di Lammermoor, through Siegfried and the lovers Tristan and Isolde, to Tosca, Peter Grimes and Lulu, these disruptive large-than-life creatures have trodden the operatic stage for getting on four centuries and do not yet look like losing their fascination for audiences in the opera house* [italics added].
> (pp. 148-149)

The italicized sentence above, in particular, supports, at least to some degree, Dell'Antonio's contention with respect to proposition (b), the "entirety of the operatic repertory."

However, that same paragraph further disproves Dell'Antonio's proposition (a). First, Small does not simply or solely apply male-female considerations; he clearly examines them in conjunction with considerations of social disruption ("These

two themes are intertwined"). Second, neither here nor anywhere in Chapter Nine does Small present a male-female "dichotomy." Indeed, Small clearly opposes such: "It is, of course, not a simple antithesis between two mutually exclusive sets of characteristics. There is an infinity of shades of masculinity and femininity, of which we all partake" (p. 150).

With respect to Dell'Antonio's proposition (c), which largely revolves around Susan McClary, it is difficult to ascertain precisely what Dell'Antonio's concern is. On the one hand, he asserts simply that Small cites McClary's work. That much is true. In Chapter Nine of Musicking, Small does cite McClary's book *Feminine Endings*, once on page 148 and again on page 150. On the other hand, however, Dell'Antonio complains about Small's use of McClary:

> He seems, however, to take McClary's statements out of context (a common practice on the part of McClary's detractors, though Small seems to accept McClary's authority and to be unaware of the pointedly controversial nature of her work), making generalizations substantially beyond what McClary has claimed in her own arguments. (p. 884)

Here, again, employment of the verb "seems," as was the case with the verb "appears," technically results in no charge leveled. Either Small took McClary out of context (at least once) or he did not take her out of context. Either Small accepted McClary's authority (at least once) or he did not accept it.

With respect to the latter, it is clear that Small (1998b) accepts McClary as an authority. The phrase "her brief but magisterial book" (p. 148) supports that contention, as does the information that Small and McClary are friends and

colleagues and McClary is part owner of the firm that published *Musicking*. But the "guilt by association" contention that Small "seems . . . to be unaware of the pointedly controversial nature of her work" is patently false, given their close association. In fairness to Dell'Antonio, he may have been unaware of that association. Nonetheless, the assertion that McClary's work is controversial is at best a red herring; whether one is controversial or not holds no sway in examining the logic of one's arguments.

A major presumption informing Dell'Antonio's comments here with respect to a large portion of Chapter Nine of *Musicking* is that Small uses Susan McClary as his authority for statements he makes about the entire operatic repertory. Small does reference McClary twice in Chapter Nine. Otherwise, however, his commentary is clearly presented as his own and should, in fairness, be evaluated as such, that is, on its own terms, not simply according to however much he may deviate from McClary.

As noted previously, Dell'Antonio also takes issue with Small's account of baroque music in Chapter Nine of *Musicking*:

> His account of 'baroque' music on pages 155-57 is *vague and misleading* [italics added], resulting in several pages that read like a poor 'music appreciation' text--undermining Small's argument that all Western music since Monteverdi (both vocal and instrumental) has been in the 'stile rappresentativo' (p. 152), an interesting claim if it weren't so tentatively supported. (p. 884)

A charge that an argument is "vague" indicates that it is "unclear in the sense that one can't be sure what it is at all, even what the alternatives are" (Baggini & Fosl, 2003, p. 69).

Small's primary goal in referring here to baroque music, as Dell'Antonio acknowledges, is to sketch broadly the representation of relationships throughout the last four centuries. His description of baroque music is indeed brief, consisting of only two paragraphs. However, Small describes musical relationships from this period in a way that one can understand what he is referring to: "The relationship that was represented was static and did not change or develop over the course of a piece. . . . Each piece was the elaboration of a single set of musical relationships, and those relationships neither changed nor developed during its course" (p. 155). That claim is hardly vague.

Dell'Antonio's alleges that Small's account of baroque music is "misleading," particularly in the sense that it reads like "a poor 'music appreciation' text" (p. 884). Dell'Antonio faults Small for devoting little effort in detailing more particulars of music from the baroque period. In this charge Dell'Antonio commits a category mistake, which is "to claim that matter under discussion has been wrongly categorized" (Baggini & Fosl, 2003). Just because Small discusses baroque music in his argument about how musical relationships have changed in the last 400 years of the previous millennium, does not require him to offer a detailed examination of the baroque period per se. Small delves only into those aspects of the baroque period that pertain to his argument.

Dell'Antonio offers a final salvo in his litany of Small's generalizations, this time centered around Chapter 11 of *Musicking*:

Small's excursus on the anthropomorphization of the 'subject' in symphonic

music (chap. 11) is perhaps the most maddening section of the book for a

musician or a music scholar. Generalizations fly here like feathers at a

cockfight. Small's analysis of selected passages in Ludwig van Beethoven's

Fifth Symphony is so keyed on a 'vulgar' version of the masculine/feminine

musical dichotomy (which Small seems to gloss from another simplification

of McClary) that the complexities of the possible subjectivities projected by

the work are reduced to a monochromatic line. Forcefulness and 'masculinity'

are indeed traditionally associated with Beethoven's works (especially those

of the 'heroic' period), but Small seems to take this traditional association

very much at face value, without the complex questioning to which he

subjects the social sphere of 'musicking.' (p. 885)

Dell'Antonio goes on to make a similar argument about Small's discussion of Tchaikovsky's Sixth Symphony:

A similar argument could be made for his discussion of Pyotr Il'yich

Tchaikovsky's Sixth Symphony ('Pathétique'), which again buys into a

completely nonnuanced concept of sonata form and trivializes (in my opinion)

the issue of the composer's sexuality and its role in the symphony's narrative

far beyond McClary's discussion in Feminine Endings (Minneapolis:

University of Minnesota Press, 1991), which Small cites. (p. 885)

Dell'Antonio gives two examples of generalizations in the above quotes. The first example, issues of gender, has already been addressed.

With respect to the second example of a generalization, "a nonnuanced concept of sonata form" (p. 885), Small's (1998b) overall argument through this section is that symphonic works are "narratives that tell of the development of human relationships, and in telling their stories they explore, affirm, and celebrate certain concepts of what those relationships are and what they ought to be" (p. 173). Small uses these two symphonic works to illustrate how musical sounds can portray human relationships. Small does not explore the mechanisms of sonata form because he does not need to do so with respect to his primary contention: music is based on social dimensions and human relationships.

Despite his criticisms of *Musicking*, Dell'Antonio concludes his review by stating "ultimately, these drawbacks do not invalidate the main part of Small's argument." He suggests that Small's book will "broaden the mind of many a scholar, musician, and concert-goer" (p. 886).

Ben Ratliff (1999) charges Small with "breezy assumptions" (¶ 20) relating to his discussion of representational style, which immediately follows Small's discussion of the opera repertoire. Ratliff states:

Small is not always a reliable guide to the music he celebrates as an alternative to our increasingly sclerotic classical tradition. As culturally sensitive as he is, as often as he invokes Edward Said's *Orientalism* as a guide to avoiding blind, patronizing valuations of the 'other,' *Small can make breezy assumptions* [italics added]. He mentions that the representational style, based

on preplanned codes of harmonic 'meaning' (major for happy, minor for sad,

etc.) is found especially in 'white' music and less often in 'black' music.

Where black music is concerned, I assume he's referring to blues tonality—

the microflatening of certain notes in the blues scale, the use of seventh

chords, and the vocalized tones of blues and jazz musicians that result in

emotional mixed messages. If so, his statement seems correct in a general

way, but *it begs for development* [italics added]. More troublingly, he argues

that in the performance of 'nonliterate' (not notated) music, 'the power

relationships among those taking part are diffuse, uncentralized; all will have

some authority and bear some responsibility. Sounds friendly, but *that*

wouldn't be true in a band led by James Brown or any number of other

tyrannical bandleaders in 'nonliterate' music" [italics added]. (¶ 20)

Ratliff presents two charges here. First, he claims that Small's description of

representational style in terms of Western popular music is insufficiently developed.

Yet Small (1998b) indicates that these ideas have been explored in his book *Music of*

the Common Tongue: "The tension between the two [white and black musical styles]

has proved a powerful creative force in African American music is a fascinating topic

that forms the subject of an earlier book of mine (Small 1987)" (p. 152). Even though

Small avoids developing aspects of White and Black musical styles in *Musicking*, as

Ratliff notes, Small does offer a more developed argument in his previous book.

Second, Ratliff alleges Small's premise about nonliterate musical practices is

false, because James Brown and other "tyrannical" band leaders do not match Small's

description of nonliterate musicians. Small suggests that the leader of the musical

ensemble, "has no monopoly of the creative act" (p. 115) because other people, including performers, listeners, and bystanders, contribute to the musical creation. Small also indicates that in these musical traditions listeners may perform with the group at a future time. Small's description contrasts with Ratliff's example of "tyrannical" band leaders and their practices. In this instance, Ratliff simply misunderstands Small's intended meaning about nonliterate musical performances.

Elliott's Allegation

As noted previously, Elliott (1999) alleges that Small fails to credit Susanne Langer for ideas Small employs in *Musicking* on pages 58-59. The full context of Elliott's comments is as follows, with the specific allegation(s) in question italicized:

> Second, the success of Small's effort depends heavily on providing a reasonable explanation of *how* people achieve immediate, nonverbal understandings of human relationships from participating in acts of musicking. How do we 'know' that specific musical gestures and experiences 'fit' our beliefs about ideal relationships? How do we 'understand fully the message' of musicking? If we achieve this by feeling a social 'fit' with a musical situation (as Small claims), then processes of cognitive appraisal and recognition also must be taking place in the minds of participants (according to the contemporary psychology of emotion, which Small never mentions).

> *Small's answer (pp 58-59) duplicates Susanne Langer's claims (without giving any credit to her works!)* [italics added]. Langer rests her theory on a dichotomy she alleges between language (discursive form) and the arts

(nondiscursive or presentational forms). Langer claims that whereas (a) the sequential, one-thing-at-a time nature of language is inadequate to communicate the multidimensional, flowing nature of human feeling, (b) the sonic patterns of musical works are presentational (open, organic, unconsummated) symbols can capture and metaphorically re-present the *general* patterns of human feeling (e.g., tension and release). Moreover, says Langer, musical patterns do *not* arouse feelings in listeners; all music can do, says Langer, is symbolize how feelings go metaphorically. Music is tonal *analogue* (a purely metaphorical presentation) of emotive life, says Langer; music sounds *as* feelings feel.

Small (pp. 58-59) says almost exactly the same thing [italics added]. The difference is that Small substitutes "ideal relationships' for Langer's 'general forms of feeling.' He claims that whereas (a) the sequential, one-thing-at-time nature of language is inadequate to communicate the multidimensional, flowing nature of human relationships (the 'pattern that connects'), (b) the patterns of musicking and musical works are 'presentational' (open, organic, unconsummated) symbols that capture and metaphorically re-present the general patterns of human relating, interacting, struggling and overcoming. And, like Langer, Small wants to claim that the ineffable 'knowledge' achieved in and through our experiences of musicking's metaphorical patterns is given and received effortlessly and immediately. (p. 250)

Examined in context, it is somewhat difficult to ascertain from Elliott's writing the precise thrust of his allegation. He obviously wishes to contend, as is apparent from the italicized lead sentences above, that Small fails to give credit to Langer where such credit is due. Elliott, however, does not claim specifically that Small either paraphrases or lifts verbatim specific passages from Langer. To make that kind of claim conclusively, Elliott would be required to place Small's writing side by side with Langer's writing, or at least provide page numbers from Langer, in order to demonstrate the alleged similarities. That he does not do.

Rather, Elliott apparently wishes to engage Small on the broader issue of using, without giving proper credit, Langer's theoretical solution to the practical question of "how people achieve immediate, nonverbal understandings of human relationships from participating in acts of musicking" (p. 250). There is, of course, an unvoiced assumption prior to this assertion: that the particular solution in question is exclusively Langer's. Conceivably, one might argue that Langer herself, to large extent, borrows this solution from Ernst Cassirer (1874-1945) and Arthur Schopenhauer (1788-1860), who borrowed it in nascent form from Immanuel Kant (1724-1804). There also exists some ambiguity in the charge Elliott wishes to pursue. In paragraph two above, Elliott asserts that Small "duplicates" Langer's claims. In paragraph three, he alleges that Small "says *almost* [italics added] exactly the same thing" (p. 250).

For the sake of both charity and discussion, however, let us grant that (a) Langer alone has proprietary rights to this theoretical solution and (b) Small, should he make use of that particular solution in either or both of the ways suggested by

Elliott ("duplicating" or saying "almost exactly the same thing"), would have an obligation to acknowledge Langer. The matter then hinges on whether or not Small uses Langer's theoretical solution.

Succinctly, the argument to be advanced here is that Small does not use Langer's theoretical solution and, therefore, Elliott's allegation is unfounded. The premises of that argument now follow.

First, Small begins his discussion of the strengths and weaknesses of verbal languages on pages 58-59 by referencing Bateson. It is against the backdrop of Bateson's idea of "metamessages," specifically cited, that Small develops his discussion of verbal and gestural languages. Even Elliott appears momentarily to recognize Small's acknowledged debt to Bateson, as indicated by Elliott's parenthetical reference to the "pattern that connects" in the third paragraph of the quotation above.

Second, Small indeed references Langer later on in *Musicking*, calling attention to her view of music as "the 'representation of the morphology of the emotions'" (p. 135). He does so, however, within a larger discussion about expressionism (Langer is an expressionist) and formalism, with the point of that discussion being to argue against both of those perspectives: "I have always found that neither view had much to do with my own experience of musicking" (pp. 135-136). Here, once more, Small cites Bateson, suggesting that "we find that Bateson, once again, has provided us with a concept that can help us with the problem of the relation between music and the emotions" (p. 136). That Batesonian concept, says Small, is:

that emotions, those states of mind to which we give names, such as fear, love, anger, sorrow, happiness, respect, and contempt, are not autonomous mental states but are ways in which our computations about relationships – 'computations' is the word he uses, suggesting precision and clarity rather than the woolliness and mental confusion that is usually associated with the emotions—resonate in our consciousness. (p. 136)

Third, Langer's (1942, 1953) solution to the problem of how the sonic dimension of music, specifically music's expressive form as a tonal analogue for feeling, is cognized. A presumption of that solution, moreover, is that emotion resides in musical works, not in listeners, because music simply imitates emotion, that is, is symbolic of emotive life.

Small's solution via Bateson, by contrast, presumes that "sound relationships . . . contribute to the nature and meaning of the human encounter that is a musical performance, but they do not constitute the whole of it" (p. 139). In that regard, he maintains that emotions are not simply symbolized or limited by musicking encounters. Rather, actual emotions are aroused in participants by those events: "The emotion that is aroused is not the reason for taking part in the ritual. Rather, it is the sign that the ritual is doing its work" (p. 96).

Vague Views of Music as Social Experience

Four reviewers maintain that Small's ideas of music as social experience are inaccurate or vague (Paynter, 1999; Rischar, 2003; Swanwick, 2000; Walker, 1999). These criticisms fall into two categories. First, two commentators declare that Small's emphasis upon group dynamics may ignore the reality of persons functioning as

individuals (Swanwick, 2000; Rischar, 2003). In his discussion on socially constructed meanings, however, Small acknowledges the balance between an individual and a group sense of reality as "a dialectal process between on the one hand, the experience and the inborn temperament of each individual and, on the other, the perceptions of the various social groups to which he or she belongs" (p. 131). As Swanwick and Rischar note, Small does not focus on issues of individual identities and how they relate to their participation in multiple group activities. In fact, Small states, "The ways in which concepts of reality are acquired and how they operate are mostly outside our scope here" (p. 132). Rather, his focus is on the "dialectic process" between individuals and groups.

The second category of criticisms likely is based on a misinterpretation of the social dimensions of Small's theory of musicking (Walker, 1999; Paynter, 1999). For instance, Walker (1999) argues that the aural experience of symphonic music concerts is not affected by social contexts. He asks, "What can be the difference between Small's listener in isolation in the concert hall and the listener in isolation at home?" (p. 245). Walker contends that without the ritualistic experience of a symphony concert, the individual still hears the same symphonic music. The issue of what the listener hears is not Small's point. His purpose in illustrating the ritual of attending symphony concerts is to illustrate the irony of audience members participating together in such a fashion. Furthermore, the contextual factors of Walker's two scenarios are quite different. For example, the acoustics of the two listening spaces are different. Also, Walker's example presents a different set of relationships than Small's depiction of an audience of classical music enthusiasts.

Paynter's (1999) music education examples do not emphasize musical and human relationships in a manner that aligns with Small's theory of musicking. Paynter cites examples such as "linking classroom activities with the educational and 'outreach' programmes of major orchestras, and placing much more emphasis upon non-Western and non-notated works" (p. 239). Small critically analyzes social relationships with respect to symphony orchestra concerts. Indeed, Small (1998b) argues that the structure of the performance hall does not allow for equal relationships between performers and audience members (pp. 19-29). Outreach programs with orchestras may focus primarily on the musical relationships and neglect complex human relationships.

Faulty Descriptions of Listeners' Experiences

Three reviewers imply that Small's descriptions of music listening experiences are inaccurate (Keil, 2000; Rischar, 2003; Walker, 1999). Keil (2000) questions Small's perception of sound patterns, particularly in relationship to audience members' listening practices. Keil states that while reflecting on Small's prose, he is "almost persuaded; what I've been hearing as soap opera soundtracks is indeed some set of patriarchal master narratives endlessly permutated by Great Dead Composers that now reassures contemporary concert goers" (p. 163). But he continues, "Do these stereotypes or narrative archetypes or semi-semiotic sound conventions really work in the minds of a majority of listeners in a 1999 concert hall as Small assumes they do?" (p. 163).

To answer Keil's inquiry, an examination of Small's perception of listening practices of concert hall audiences is necessary. Also an interpretation of Keil's terms

"stereotypes or narrative archetypes or semi-semiotic sound conventions" in relation to Small's prose is helpful.

Twice Small indicates that audience members listen individually: "each listener listens on his or her own" and "the listener is left to create his or her own spectacle within his [*sic*] mind (p. 154)." According to these quotes, it appears that Small supports individually interpreted listening practices.

With respect to an interpretation of "stereotypes or narrative archetypes or semi-semiotic sound conventions," Small forewarns that his verbal description of musical compositions, with which Keil takes issue, gives "only one dimension at a time of the multidimensional experience (p. 172). Small indicates that a symphony is "a dramatic narrative in which a change in relationship occurs" (p. 159), not unlike a novel. Audiences of symphonic concerts only see the performers and their instruments, so the relationships portrayed are more abstract than the dramatic relationships among opera characters. Small suggests that if others can understand musical works in "purely abstract terms, they are at liberty to do so" (p. 172). He states, however, that he needs to understand musical works in connection to a person who is "aggressing, triumphing, struggling, and so on" (p. 173). So, in describing musical works, Small does use part of the convention Keil refers to: "narrative," but not "narrative archetype." But he also grants that other listeners may interpret performances of these compositions in their own individual manners.

Keil also questions how sound patterns relate to syntax: "Is sexism coded as syntax? Embedded in the sound patterns?" (p. 163). These questions appear more directly to address Small's references to Susan McClary than Small's theory of

musicking. However, as noted previously, Small does explore masculinity and femininity in the context of Beethoven and Tchaikovsky. Nevertheless, Small's purpose is not to suggest that certain concepts are embedded in the patterns of musical sound, rather, that musical sounds offer gestural relationships that connect to human lives in complex ways, and through an awareness of those relationships, people have a means to explore, celebrate, and affirm their identities.

Rischar (2003) argues that Small offers only one way to listen to symphonic music. Walker (1999) contends that in Small's discussion about musical sounds and the score, Small "does not raise to any great extent the question of whether such essence may simply be in the pattern realization of the listener" (p. 245). One point addresses both of these criticisms. As noted previously, Small indicates that individuals listen in their own ways. Moreover, in Small's theory of musicking, he indicates that meanings are found in the relationships created both between sounds, among people, and between combinations of sounds and people. These relationships include listeners perception or as Walker states, their "pattern realization." Small does not delimit how these musical relationships occur. Rather, he offers a theory that encompasses both Rischar's ways of listening to music and all possible "pattern realizations" of various listeners.

Problems with Small's Analysis of a Western Fine Art View of a Musical Work

Two reviewers think Small's explanation of a musical work is limited (Paynter, 1999; Walker, 1999). Paynter (1999) suggests that any musical sounds should be considered a work, including an improvisational performance. What

Paynter does not explain, is how Small's definition of "work" limits or hinders his theory.

Walker suggests that Small's (1998b) argument, "a musical work . . . only exists in performance" (p. 113) is similar to Roger Scruton's (1983) view. Scruton claims, according to Walker (1999), that music is "an intentional object. It is intentional from the composer, the performer, and the listener, and therefore music cannot lie in the sounds" (p. 246). Walker contends that Small "opens himself up to confusion about what, precisely, is intended and by whom" (p. 246). Walker's error in his analysis relates to a misunderstanding of Small's perception of music. Small (1998b) has argued against performance as object (e.g., pp. 8-10) and against composition as object (e.g., pp. 2-5, 112-118). Furthermore, Small defines music as a verb. So correlating Scruton's view of music (music as object) with Small's perception of music, is a category mistake.

Authenticity Movement

Paynter (1999) suggests that Small is mistaken regarding the authenticity movement. He corrects two of Small's comments. One, Paynter states that the correct term is "historically informed performance" (p. 240). Two, Paynter notes that this movement began in the first decade of the twentieth century, earlier than Small suggested. This second correction actually makes Small's argument, that this movement is an example of the "anxious insistence of fidelity to the composers' written text" (p. 116), more powerful. Paynter asserts that this comment is incorrect, yet he does not support this charge with any examples or reasons. As noted previously, Small rejects a notion of composition as object, and he indicates that

followers of the authenticity movement are inflexible regarding their perception of musical score as fixed object. Small suggests that the "totalitarian" viewpoints of the authenticity movement mandate only one way performances can be played, leaving little room for creative interpretations of a past composition. Paynter's contention is that studying past performance practices may enhance understanding of musical relationships. Paynter's second correction, that this movement began earlier than Small noted, actually demonstrates a lengthier connection to a concept of perceiving music as a fixed object.

Small's Use of Cultural and Racial Stereotypes

Four reviewers point to cultural and racial stereotypes in *Musicking* (Ratliff, 1998; Rischar, 2003; Walker, 1999; Woodford, 2001). Two of these criticisms relate to the picture on the front cover of the book (Rischar, 2003; Walker, 1999). Rischar describes his criticism as "somewhat trivial" but that it "becomes more emblematic as one reads *Musicking*" (p. 164). The front cover contains a red and black fuzzy background of a symphonic concert hall audience, seated in a balcony and on the orchestra level. A small black and white photograph consists of an elderly African American guitarist, dressed in a suit, seated next to a rickety wall, and is pleasantly smiling directly into the camera. The photograph is positioned on top of the red and black background. According to Rischar, these pictures represent Small's view that the audience members' experiences "are glittering and serious but ultimately disappointing," while the guitarist knows "what's 'really going on' and what can potentially happen when one's musicking clearly 'explores, affirms, and celebrates' the cultural values of a person or group" (p. 164).

Walker (1999) simply complains about the red and black background picture. He suggests that the hierarchical layers of audience, wealthy seated on the floor or in the boxes, while "the poor in the 'gods'" (p. 242), does not reflect the fact that the middle classes participate in these events. Also, he suggests that symphonic performances do not necessarily need to be class-based. Although there may be economic obstructions preventing low income people from attending, Walker suggests these people may still develop a love of classical music styles (p. 245).

Rischar (2003) suggests that Small's chapter about the solitary flute player connotes cultural stereotypes. Rischar describes the flute player as an "African-derived archetype" (p. 164). Indeed, Small (1998b) does portray this flute player as "a herdsmen . . . playing his flute as he guards his flock in the African night" (p. 201). Yet, Small uses this example as a narrative technique to further illustrate his theory of musicking, particularly the complex sets of relationships that occur in what appears to be a simple musical experience. For instance, Small describes the flute's technology as "the result of an attitude toward the natural materials that is the opposite of what is generally found in industrial societies" (p. 202). He also mentions that the melodies and rhythms reflect society's cultural assumptions and practices. Small insists that the flute player simultaneously explores his isolation and his relationship with "the entire population of his conceptual world" (p. 204). Small's intention is not to stereotype African archetypes in this narrative. He could have chosen any musical practice to express his point, which is not that the flute player is a cultural stereotype, rather, that all musical performances, simple or complex, contain multiple relationships.

Small's References of Susan McClary

Woodford (2001) states that Small, "while decrying the growth of the music authenticity movement," accepts "as unproblematical the radical feminist proposition that women are essentially different from men and thus ought to have 'authentic' musical voices of their own. The corollary assumption," according to Woodford, "is that women ought to have their own '*genuinely* [italics Woodford's] feminine semiotics of representational music' (p. 171)." In this regard, Woodford chastises Small particularly for the "unfortunate example" of describing his female composition teacher "as having composed like a man" (p. 46). In each of these related allegations, however, Woodford reads into Small's text propositions not otherwise present.

First, in the passage in question (p. 171), Small does not indicate he accepts, unproblematically or otherwise, the "radical feminist proposition" Woodford attributes to him. Small simply references McClary:

> Indeed, as Susan McClary (1990) remarks, it is difficult even to imagine what a genuinely feminine semiotics of representational music might be like, so completely has it, from its inception in the seventeenth century, been a masculine affair. (p. 171)

That referenced remark, moreover, comes at the end of the particular discussion in question. It serves, in context, as a bridge to Small's examination of two symphonies that, in Small's view, embody a masculine protagonist in contrasting ways. In fact, with respect to the second symphony discussed, Tchaikovsky's Sixth Symphony, Small takes pains to point out that the male protagonist "does not triumph but is

unmistakably overcome and destroyed." And he goes on to state, "It is clear that whatever it is that destroys him is not the feminine, which in this work is associated not with anxiety but with reassurance and consolation" (p. 177).

Second, Woodford employs the word "ought" twice in depicting Small's reasoning: (a) women "thus ought to have 'authentic' musical voices of their own"; and (b) "by this logic, auditors ought to be able to decipher the sexuality." Nowhere on pages 171-182 of *Musicking* (in other words, from the discussion Woodford addresses to the end of that particular chapter) does Small use the word "ought," or even the words "should" or "must." Woodford simply reads the "ought" condition into Small's text.

Third, that kind of isogesis is readily apparent when Woodford characterizes Small as having said of his former composition teacher "she composed like a man." In fact, Small wrote, "She assimilated—had been obliged to assimilate if she was to get a hearing—*to the masculine system of signs of concert music*" [italics added] (p. 171). As previously noted, Small takes pains to separate the concept of sex, a biological construct, from the concept of gender, a social construct. That Woodford, for whatever reason, declines to accept such a distinction becomes crystal clear when he says of Small's example of the composition teacher:

> He [Small] thinks it would be somehow better were auditors able to tell her gender from hearing the music. By this logic, auditors ought also be able to decipher the sexuality, ethnicity, nationality, social class, age, weight, eye color, or height of the composer or performer from merely listening to the music. (p. 46)

Such comments demonstrate a category error on Woodford's part, that is, he mixes indiscriminately biological characteristics (e.g., ethnicity, age, weight, eye color, height) with social characteristics (e.g., sexuality, social class, nationality, gender).

In sum, Small is not arguing that there should be a "genuinely feminine semiotics of representational music," as Woodford alleges. Rather, Small simply states that because masculine compositional traditions have been dominant in Western classical practice, his female teacher had to follow the dominant tradition to be accepted as a legitimate composer.

Woodford's review also contends that Small "seems to confuse metaphor with social reality" (p. 46). The context of that contention in Woodford's review is as follows:

> The Western musical canon is after all extremely diverse and relatively few of those works feature the bombast or 'violence' that is so repellent to some. *Small, however, seems to confuse metaphor with social reality* [italics added]. Metaphors, as he so helpfully explains, are tools of understanding, but they can also be used to obscure meaning. And just because meaning is possible does not mean it is true, valid, or important. Other interpretations are possible. Nor should one confuse semiotic with political freedom. (p. 46)

Here again, however, Woodford assigns an "ought" condition to Small's text. Among Small's consistent propositions are (a) that metaphors primarily serve as vehicles for exploring, affirming, and celebrating shared concepts of ideal relationships (p. 106); (b) that interpretations of metaphors, that is, the projection or assigning of meanings to them, resides with those individuals and groups engaged in particular acts of

metaphorical thinking and behavior (pp. 102-104); and (c) that such ascribed

meanings are dynamic, that is, they shift and change according to "the aspects of that

infinitely complex process to which we wish to draw attention at that moment" (p.

104). Woodford, by contrast, focuses exclusively upon proposition (a), and in so

doing neglects to consider the other propositions articulated by Small with respect to

metaphor, specifically the dynamic nature of metaphor, and the multitude of

interpretations metaphor permits because such interpretation arises from particular

sets of interactive human relationships at particular times.

There is, according to Small, no one, static meaning forever attached to a

particular metaphor. Moreover, whatever the assigned meaning in particular contexts,

such interpretation is not imposed from without, but rather negotiated by and among

particular human beings in the process of seeking meaning. Small, for example,

points out that the phrases "all the world's a stage" or "life is a cabaret, my friends"

do not mean that "the world is *identical* to a theater or cabaret," but rather that life

relationships, in certain respects, are similar to theatrical relationships. Small adds

that whatever metaphor a person chooses to depict a particular life process, such as "a

battle, a circus, a tale told by an idiot, a bitch, a game or a dream" (p. 104), reflects

that particular individual's attention to their situation at that moment.

Meanings of such metaphors, according to Small, depend not on some pre-

existing, absolutely objective reality, social or otherwise, as Woodford suggests, but

rather on whichever aspects of "an infinitely complex process" (p. 104). In other

words, metaphor could not be confused with social reality from Small's perspective,

because, for him, metaphor is part of social reality, a dynamic process rather than a static construct.

Although these various allegations of Small contributing to cultural and racial stereotypes appear disheartening, a closer consideration of Small's viewpoint about ethnicity dismisses these accusations. For example, Small dedicates his second book, *Music of the Common Tongue*, to his life partner, Mr. Neville Braithwaite, a Black man from Jamaica. Also, this book explores African American racial issues in the context of musical practices. Clearly, as indicated by the previous discussion, Small has duly considered and attempted to avoid cultural and racial stereotypes in his writing.

Not Sufficiently Cognitive

Elliott (1999) contends that Small's theory is not sufficiently cognitive. In his discussion on socially constructed meanings, however, Small (1998b) acknowledges the role of individuals' thinking processes: "Reality may be socially constructed, but no individual is bound to accept unquestioningly the way it is constructed" (p. 134). Small, who roots his ideas in Bateson's concepts, also indicates that "Bateson even suggests in passing that human consciousness may be, at least potentially the organ of self-knowledge of the entire system." Small recognizes that because human minds are limited, this Batesonian idea "may well be an illusion." Nevertheless, Small indicates that "the cosmos is only as big as our minds can conceive it as being" (p. 57). Furthermore, Small contends that bodily and cognitive processes are integrated: "In all those activities we call the arts, we think with our bodies" (p. 140).

In one instance Small states, "Relationships are mental, not physical events" (p. 112). This idea could be misconstrued in the sense that Small is separating the mental and physical processes of relationships. But in this instance Small refers to the mental relationships that occur when a person perceives patterns of musical sounds. Small indicates that giving meaning to relationships is an active process that only occurs when the listener has a framework established that helps him or her attribute meaning to the sound relations.

Elliott maintains that Small does not reasonably explain "the nature, powers and tendencies of human consciousness and its relationship to the phenomenon we call 'selfhood.'" In a similar charge, Elliott also argues that Small neglected to include issues related to "the I—ME relationship" (p. 249).

With respect to Elliott's charge that Small does not explore self-relationships, Small indeed does address this issue. He states, relationships are "among people, as well as those between people and the rest of the cosmos, and also perhaps *with ourselves and with our bodies* [italics added]" (p. 183).

Music as a Verb

Stige (2003) holds that the word, music, already has been defined as a verb both in German and Norwegian. However, in German, the word, music, also is defined as a noun: "Musik." As a verb, "musizieren," its meaning is limited. According to *Langenscheidt's New College German Dictionary* (1988), musizeren means, "make music, play the piano" (p. 380). This definition does not connote the same social and musical relationships that Small's concept holds. Stige does not explain how the fact that the word music is already used as a verb in two languages

detracts from Small's theory. Any issues related to translating Small's theory into these languages, moreover, would not change the thrust of Small's theory.

Difficulty of Applying Small's Ideas

Rischar (2003) suggests that it may be difficult to apply Small's "wider range of audience-behavior" in contemporary classical performance contexts. Not only, as Rischar indicates, do some audience members appear to achieve an "aesthetic-contemplation state" (p. 164), but performers may be offended if audience members were to applaud after they play a virtuosic passage. However, it is not impossible to implement these types of changes. That may be able to occur, for example, simply through instructing performers and audience members over time that audience engagement in the form of applause during performances or between movements is acceptable behavior.

Broadness of Small's Theory

Brynjulf Stige suggests that Small's concept of musicking may be so broad that it is difficult to draw the line between what activities are and are not musicking. He suggests that if musicking involves everyone who contributes to the event, then the lumberjacks who cut the trees down that are used for the paper tickets are musicking.

Stige appears to make a category mistake in his charge. He is categorizing an activity that is not intentionally done for the musical event (cutting down trees) as part of the musical event.

Small states that "when we want to distinguish between the two sets of activities [what the performers are doing and what the cleaners are doing] we already

have adequate words with which to do so" (p. 10). Also, he states that musicking "is an activity in which *all those present* [italics added] are involved" (p. 10). In this sense, musicking specifically involves those who are present during a musical event.

However, Small also indicates that there is another possible set of relationships in a musical performance: "between those present and those significantly absent or perhaps those supernatural beings that are being summoned by the musicking" (p. 197). Small continues by suggesting that in a symphony concert, the dead composer is one of the "significantly absent." In other types of performances, according to Small, relationships may occur between "the ancestors, the unborn, deities, political and religious leaders, and even the rest of the human race if, for instance, those taking part consider themselves in any way an elect group" (p. 197).

In these examples, the boundaries of musicking broaden to incorporate relationships not only between people, but also between participants and any resources or entities those people may associate with a particular musical performance. The very fact that these boundaries appear broad, strengthens the explanatory power of Small's theory. He offers a theory that is inclusive and appropriate to any musical performance.

Small's Use of the Term "Ideal"

Four reviewers assert that Small's theory of musicking relies too heavily upon idealized or metaphorical, rather than actual, human relationships (Elliott, 1999; Ratliff, 1998; Swanwick, 2000; Woodford, 2001). Indeed, Small employs the term "ideal" 44 times in *Musicking* (see Table 6).

Table 6

Use of the Term "Ideal" in Musicking (1998)

Category	*Quantity*	*Page(s)*
Technical or Philosophical Use		
Essences	1	172
Colloquial Use		
Performance	20	38a, 38b, 49a, 49b, 137, 140, 136, 157, 180, 183, 188a, 188b, 204, 211, 213, 215, 218, 219d, 221a, 221b
Social (non-performance)	19	5, 13, 27, 42, 43, 46, 80a, 80b, 81a, 81b, 96, 98, 134, 139, 187, 193a, 193b, 210, 221c
Beauty	3	219a, 219b, 219c
Heroic Individualism	1	188c

As noted in Table 6, Small (1998b) uses the term "ideal" in a philosophical sense only one time. He does so to dispute the Platonic notion of abstract ideal essences unattached to human lives: "To maintain that abstractions such as those mentioned can exist unattached to human beings is to return to that Platonic notion of ideal essences, which, as I have maintained before, is one of the silliest ideas ever to

have befuddled human minds" (pp. 172-173). Clearly, Small dismisses the use of the

term ideal in a strict philosophical sense.[43]

Rather, his primary use of the term "ideal" is in a colloquial sense. Small uses

the term in one sense of aspiration, wishing, or hope: "To music is not a mere

enhancement of spare-time enjoyment but is an activity by means of which we learn

what are our ideal social relationships" (p. 210).

Among Small's uses of "ideal" in terms of performance, Small's meaning can

be further differentiated into the following subcategories: (a) participants' individual

perception of ideal relationships in the context of a musical performance (*n=14*), (b) a

sense of a group's ideal relationship (*n=5*), and (c) a composer's representation of

ideal relationships (*n=1*). When discussing musical performances, Small maintains

that all individuals experience their sense of ideal relationships uniquely and their

perceptions may change over time. Moreover, what may be ideal for one person in a

musical performance may not be ideal for another person (p. 188). Small's theory

allows for individual perceptions and constructions of ideal relationships. He does not

hold that such relationships, even as perceived, exist somehow apart from actual

human relationships. Nor does he commit the naturalistic fallacy, as some of the

reviewers may do, in assuming that what is therefore becomes what ought to be.

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[43] When asked for clarification of his use of the word "ideal" on page 96, Small answered, "I meant it in the everyday colloquial sense. Certainly not the Platonic sense that has sent European philosophy off on a wild goose chase ever since his time. It's the sense, simply, of something that one would like to come about, a situation in which one would feel most happy and fulfilled, in one's relationships with oneself, with other human beings and with the rest of the natural world, and even perhaps the supernatural world, if that is part of one's conceptual world" (C. Small, personal communication, May 23, 2007).

Moreover, the relationships that occur through musicking are context dependent. Therefore, musicking could, as mentioned previously, "serve to conform [people to] the most grotesque and destructive ideals. *I never said musicking is necessarily a good thing to be doing*" (C. Small, personal communication, April 21, 2007). Small concedes that although musicking is a tool for exploring ideal relationships, people may not agree on what is "ideal," and some conceptions of "ideal" may be injurious, offensive, vicious, or any number of negative ends.

Small articulates two kinds of relationships between a leader and his or her followers: (a) authority imposed from beyond the scope of the group, and (b) authority granted through consent of the group (p. 80). A conductor who follows this first model may have a different opinion of what constitutes ideal relationships than the participants. In many conductor-led ensembles the participants are obliged to follow the conductor's choice of literature, performance venues, schedule, and rehearsal structure. These choices may or may not align with the participants' concepts of ideal relationships. Moreover, if a group has a diverse collection of individual viewpoints, it may be quite challenging to facilitate each person's perspective of ideal relationships.

Conclusions to Considered Responses

Many of the reviewers praised the numerous aspects of Small's theory. For example, Keith Swanwick (2000) states that Small's position "has considerable virtue" (p. 94). He suggests that Small's theory helps one consider music in a broad contextual scope, and concurs with Small's articulation of three central social functions of musicking, that, through musicking, a person or group's integrity is

celebrated, explored, and affirmed (p. 94). Despite Robert Walker's (1999) comments that Small references few scholars, concepts, and theories, Walker suggests that Small integrates "commonsensical aspects of their research." Walker thinks that Small's arguments are "compelling and largely convincing" (p. 244). David Elliott (1999) praises *Musicking* as "an important contribution to the literature of music and music education" (p. 248). He reports that he uses Small's book as a catalyst for critical thinking in his undergraduate course: "Music Education in Cultural Context" (p. 248). Paul Woodford (2001) describes Small's book as a "sociological tour de force" (p. 45). Woodford thinks it explains how music communicates social information in a manner far superior to any previous book. Ben Ratliff (1998) (¶ 6) describes Small as "a perfect outsider critic, the kind of wise, generalizing mind who sees the whole picture; he's the opposite of a striving, circumspect academic who has followed the trail of specialization toward the goal of tenure." Ratliff notes that Small "has shown a rare catholicity of interests" through his book *Music of the Common Tongue*, and suggests that Small "teaches more about how to live in relation to the subject matter than he does about the subject matter itself."

Many reviewers have commented on the clearness and conviction in his writing. For example, Charles Keil (1985) complimented Small's "clarity, accessibility, parsimony" (p. 385) in his review of *Music, Society, Education* (1977). John Paynter (1999) praised Small's "exceptional insight upon world musical history, intellectually stimulating and refreshingly untrammelled by traditional academic mores" (p. 237). According to Paynter, Small is "one of those rare people who go directly to the heart of a matter and . . . think the unthinkable" (p. 237).

Summary

A balanced view of Small's theory included critiques of his theory. This chapter considered nine reviewers' comments about Small's theory. Each of the reviewers praised various elements of Small's *Musicking: The Meanings of Performing and Listening* (1998). Potential weaknesses described by these reviewers included his scholarship, his vague views of music as social experience, his faulty discussion on listeners' experiences, his perspective of the authenticity movement, an accusation that Small incorporated cultural and racial stereotypes, his lack of cognitive focus, issues with translating Small's theory to other languages particularly those that already use music as a verb, a complaint that it may be difficult to apply Small's ideas, the possible broadness of his theory, and his use of the term "ideal."

These allegations were answered primarily through a clarification of Small's concepts. Many of the charges stemmed from a misunderstanding or misinterpretation of Small's theory. For instance, the accusation that Small made generalizations about the baroque time period was dismissed because these details were not germane to his argument. To some extent, the logic of the critics was questioned. For example, one review accused Small of plagiarizing Langer, when, in fact, Small's concepts were based on Bateson's organic theory of unity.

Chapter Six will explore Small's theory specifically in relation to choral singing. In so doing, it will contrast Small's perspectives with those frameworks for choral singing advanced by three prominent North American philosophers of music education.

CHAPTER SIX

Contemporary Music Education Philosophies in Relation to Choral Singing

This chapter first considers three contemporary philosophies of music education in terms of two assumptions about choral singing conveyed in Chapter One. The first assumption is that most choral singing entails the articulation and communication of words. Henceforth referred to as the "word factor," the thrust of this assumption is that words have referential (and therefore contextual) meanings. Were words not recognized as an important component of what choral singing is, then choral teachers would not be obligated to devote time to ensemble diction, a task that involves attention to vowel formation and enunciation, intelligible articulation of consonants, and considerations of agogic ebb and flow of textual word stress. Choral singers strive to communicate words intelligibly so that auditors may understand them. In choral adjudication contexts, for instance, choirs that do not attend adequately to this common expectation are scored low on "Diction." A viable theory of choral singing pedagogy, therefore, would need to explain the word factor in some fashion, perhaps by advancing a logic that downplays its importance or perhaps by articulating a framework that accommodates the fact that choral music is texted music, not simply sound per se or sound alone.

The second assumption is that people sing choral music. Henceforth referred to as the "somatic factor," the thrust of this assumption is that choral singing entails direct, unmediated employment of human bodyminds such that the musical agent and the musical instrument are one in the same. In other words, people directly employ their bodies as well as their minds as musical instruments in choral singing. Unlike

manufactured instruments that exist beyond and apart from human bodies, the neurobiological instruments employed in choral singing are the same "bodyminds" (Thurman & Welch, 2000, p. xxiii) that people employ regularly and continuously for every facet of human living and human endeavor. These choral singing instruments do not and cannot exist outside the immediate context of the human body.

The three philosophers whose ideas about choral singing are explored in this chapter relative to the word factor and the somatic factor are Estelle Jorgensen, Bennett Reimer, and David J. Elliott. Each of these thinkers is recognized as a prominent North American philosopher of music education. [44]

Admittedly, the books authored by Jorgensen, Reimer, and Elliott are not geared solely to choral singing or choral pedagogy. Rather, they reflect philosophically about music education in a general sense. Nonetheless, an assumption shared by all three philosophers is that "choral music education" is a species of the genus "music education." That is, they each assume that the philosophies they articulate are applicable to all music educators, regardless of whether they teach instrumental, choral, or general music.

After examining frameworks advanced by these three philosophers through the lenses of the word factor and the somatic factor, this chapter employs the same lenses to look at Christopher Small's concept of musicking. Interestingly, while

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[44] Dr. Estelle Jorgensen is a Professor of Music at Indiana University. She serves as editor for the *Philosophy of Music Education Review* and is the founding chair of the Philosophy Special Research Interest Group of MENC. She is also a fellow of the Philosophy of Education Society. Dr. Bennett Reimer is the John W. Beattie Professor of Music Emeritus at Northwestern University where he was Chair of the Music Education Department, Director of the Ph.D. program in Music Education, and Founder and Director of the Center for the Study of Education and the Musical Experience. Dr. David J. Elliott is a Professor of Music Education and Graduate Advisor for Music Education in the Department of Music and Performing Arts Professions at New York University. He is also an active performer and an award-winning composer and arranger.

single-authored books by Reimer, Jorgensen, and Elliott converse with one another, explicitly and implicitly, Small's writing has received minimal to no recognition in their single-authored publications (see Table 7). Equally as interesting, Small makes no reference whatsoever to the writings of Reimer, Jorgensen, or Elliott in any of his writings.

Table 7

References to Christopher Small's Writing in Books by Prominent North American Philosophers of Music Education

Author	Text	Number of References
Estelle Jorgensen	*Transforming Music Education* (2003)	7[a]
	In Search of Music Education (1992)	1[b]
David Elliott	*Music Matters* (1995)	2[c]
Bennett Reimer	*A Philosophy of Music Education* (2003)	0
	A Philosophy of Music Education (1989)	0
	A Philosophy of Music Education (1970)	0

Note. The books chosen for this analysis are "single-authored" books published by these particular philosophers to date. Elliott has published an edited compilation, *Praxial Music Education* (2005), which is discussed later in this chapter.

[a]See pp. 25, 26, 28a, 28b, 86, 101, 150.

[b]See p. 104.

[c]See pp. 316, 320.

For purposes of this investigation, choral singing is defined as group singing with sufficient individual voices in a particular group to produce a psycho-acoustical "chorusing effect" (Daugherty, 2001, 2007; Ternström, 1989, 1994). Typically, a chorusing effect occurs when there are three or more singers phonating the same frequencies. Therefore, choral singing occurs when there are three or more singers for each voice part employed (e.g., soprano, alto, tenor, bass) in singing either scored or improvised choral literature.

The term "pedagogy" in this study is synonymous with education. Both are defined as "the deliberate, systematic, and sustained effort to transmit, evoke, or acquire knowledge, values, attitudes, skills, or sensibilities as well as any learning that results from the effort, direct or indirect, intended or unintended" (Cremin, 1988, pp. ix-x).

Section One: Three Philosophical Frameworks in Relation to Choral Singing:

The Theories of Estelle Jorgensen, Bennett Reimer, and David Elliott

Section one proceeds by examining Jorgensen's, Reimer's, and Elliott's conceptual frameworks in terms of what they say about (a) singers and songs in general and (b) choral singing. It then views each framework in terms of (c) the word factor and (d) the somatic factor. Section two examines Christopher Small's conceptual frameworks following a similar process as section one.

Estelle Jorgensen's Discussion of Singing and Choral Singing

Two books and one article by Estelle Jorgensen are used in the present analysis. The books are *In Search of Music Education* (1992) and *Transforming*

Music Education (2003). An article entitled "Western Classical Music in General Education" is also referenced because of its connection to the discussion.

Jorgensen's Discussions of Singing and Songs in General

Jorgensen (1992) distinguishes singing from other means of music-making: "From antiquity, music arising from the body—singing—has remained distinctive from instrumental and technological means of sound production." She suggests that students who choose technological ways of music-making should supplement these experiences through singing (p. 86).

Jorgensen indicates that singing in the U.S. seems to have declined while instrumental music education appears to be more prominent. She suggests that students who do not sing "may fail to experience a uniquely human musical expression possible without the aid or intervention of any technical or instrumental means" (p. 86). Jorgensen states that a balanced and integrated approach to "vocal and instrumental music programs in the context of making and receiving music provide for a broader and richer music educational program" and indicates the relevancy of such an approach in a "technologically oriented world" (p. 87).

Jorgensen's Discussions of Choral Singing

In Jorgensen's (2003a) discussion of music as agency, which she describes as various functional uses of music (e.g., social, political, religious, educational, psychological, moral virtues), she lists two examples of curricula that incorporate this image: (a) songs from the U.S. labor movement used in some labor-supported colleges and (b) Church of England choir schools (p. 90).

Jorgensen writes about musical performers' roles in music transformation through their personal interpretation of a musical score. Among other examples of musical improvisers, she compares early seventeenth-century opera singers' free ornamentation of the melody line with the restrictions placed upon early nineteenth-century singers in this regard. On the other hand, she suggests that late-twentieth-century choruses have more opportunities and freedom to improvise than early-twentieth-century choruses (p. 96).

In her discussion of the music profession as an agent for musical transmission, Jorgensen lists choral conductors along with opera managers, recitalists, critics, and instrumental conductors, as contributors to educating their publics through "their repertoire, program notes, and published critical commentaries on compositions and performances" (p. 102).

Jorgensen's examples of choral singing illustrate particular practices and explore how those practices may contribute to transform music education in general. These examples do not, however, address pedagogical aspects of choral singing.

The Word Factor

In her discussion of music as agency, Jorgensen describes how teachers may choose to "emphasize songs that in their texts and styles exhibit particular desirable beliefs and moral values" (p. 91). She also states that teachers may censor certain repertoire that they deem "undesirable" because music may affect "individuals, social beliefs, moral values, and behaviors for good or evil" (p. 90).

Jorgensen explains that since antiquity people form a communal sense of identity through playing musical instruments and singing. She states, "The texts their

songs employ . . . reinforce their beliefs and practices and educate their young" (p. 30). For Jorgensen, then, words sung play an important teaching role both in school and family communities.

The Somatic Factor

Because of her dialectical approach to philosophy of music education, Jorgensen's framework overall is well positioned to acknowledge the importance and immediacy of both body and mind in singing. Indeed, as previously indicated, she (1992) points out the gist of the somatic factor in choral singing with her statement that singing affords "a uniquely human musical expression possible without the aid or intervention of any technical or instrumental means" (p. 86). Perhaps due, in part, to her emphasis on music education in general, however, Jorgensen in these writings does not follow through on this point to an extent that would raise the issue of whether choral music education by virtue of its immediate union of musical agent and musical instrument would either challenge prevailing concepts of music education as a monolithic entity or the hegemony of the Western fine arts tradition, particularly its gravity of autonomy to selected music compositions as beings in themselves, in providing the fundamental framework for music education.[45]

Summary of Jorgensen's Discussions of Singing and Choral Singing

Jorgensen discusses choral singing in a general sense in her philosophy, such as how choral singing plays a role in transforming music education overall. In terms of the word factor in relation to choral singing, Jorgensen acknowledges that teachers

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[45] Indeed, in an article entitled, "Western Classical Music in General Education," Jorgensen (2003b) argued that Western classical music must be recovered as the primary focus and means of music education.

tend to include songs with lyrics that match the intended values the teacher wishes to address. In terms of the somatic factor, Jorgensen acknowledges its existence, but her discussions do not explore its possible ramifications for the practice of choral singing pedagogy.

<div align="center">*Bennett Reimer's Discussion of Singing and Choral Singing*</div>

Three editions of Bennett Reimer's (1970, 1989, 2003) philosophy of music education and one article are used in this analysis. The first two editions have the same title, *A Philosophy of Music Education*, while the title of his third edition contains a slight variation: *A Philosophy of Music Education: Advancing the Vision* (2003). An article, entitled "Episteme, Phronesis, and the Role of Verbal Language in 'Knowing Within' Music," is also examined here because Reimer (1997) explores issues related to the word factor in the article.

Bennett Reimer's Discussions of Singing and Songs in General

Bennett Reimer's (1970) first edition discusses singing to a greater extent than his second and third editions. He cautions against relying too heavily on singing as a means of teaching music. He notes that the "most pervasive way to study music in the general music program, from kindergarten through eighth grade, has traditionally been through singing." He states that this tradition is so strong that general music classes, often occurring in elementary schools, frequently are called "vocal music" (p. 117). However, he argues that singing as a sole means toward studying or experiencing music is not sufficient.

Reimer reasons that songs are not complex enough for students to experience the aesthetic beauty of music. According to Reimer, "the songs children can sing are

inevitably of limited complexity compared with their powers of musical perception and reaction." In addition, he claims that as children develop, a gap widens between their ability to sing and their ability "to experience music musically." Reimer contends that by early adolescence this gap "has usually become painful for both students and teachers." Reimer asserts that even if a teacher succeeds in finding songs that appeal to the students, "a diet of songs is inadequate for the increasingly sophisticated musical needs of children" (p. 117).

Reimer thus argues against providing a strictly song-teaching approach in music education because, according to Reimer, "With an ever-broadening acquaintance with the riches available in the realm of music the likelihood that song-singing alone will satisfy aesthetic needs is, and should be, small" (pp. 117-118). He does, however, note that singing is useful "as a tool for making many conceptions about musical expressiveness tangible through direct manipulation" (p. 118). Reimer suggests that music education programs should provide a combination of music learning activities that enhance an aesthetic experience of musical form, such as musical listening and analyzing (pp. 120-122).

In his second edition, Reimer (1989) continues this argument against structuring musical learning solely around "the development of vocal skills." He suggests that this type of curriculum "severely" limits students' musical experiences: "It simply misrepresents the art of music and the nature of young people when a curriculum is built on such a limited base" (p. 150).

Regarding the general music program, Reimer cautions against simplifying music instruction by training students exclusively "in sight singing . . . or in singing

folk songs." Rather, he suggests "building authentic curricula, using a philosophy as a base and adapting it to the growing knowledge in each of the areas impinging on education" (p. 155).

In a section titled "Functional Uses of Music" (pp. 121-122), Reimer suggests that a political song may be viewed as a symbol and suggests a disconnect between this functional use of music and what he considers musical: "The embodied, expressive, presentational, unconsummated meanings . . . of the sounds as artistically organized (expressively formed) are peripheral to the experience [of hearing the political song] if they are present at all" (p. 121). Reimer does not deny that music can sometimes serve utilitarian needs. He comments "that some degree of attention to artistic qualities may accompany the nonmusical focus" (p. 121). However, he argues for a distinction "between experiences of music which are essentially musical and those which are essentially not" (p. 122).

Reimer addresses songs or singing at large two times in his 2003 edition of *A Philosophy of Music Education: Advancing the Vision*. First, he briefly states that songs from Western cultures are structured in AABA form (p. 162). He does not discuss this issue any further.

Second, he addresses singing in the restructured content standards section. Between 1992 and 1994 Reimer served on a committee that created nine national content standards for music education.[46] In his 2003 edition, he suggests a

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[46] The content standards are: "1. Singing, alone and with others, a varied repertoire of music. 2. Performing on instruments, alone and with others, a varied repertoire of music. 3. Improvising melodies, variations, and accompaniments. 4. Composing and arranging music within specific guidelines. 5. Reading and notating music. 6. Listening to, analyzing, and describing music. 7. Evaluating music and musical performances. 8. Understanding relationships between music, the other

restructuring of those standards. He explains that the reason singing and playing are listed first is not because they are more important than the other standards, but because they are the most practiced and familiar among contemporary music educators (pp. 257-258). Reimer later argues that because current music education practices are performance dominated, a wider range of musical electives is necessary in order to teach all the content standards adequately.

Reimer's Discussion of Choral Singing

Reimer's (2003) only reference to choral singing is a brief description of Mary Goetz's International Vocal Ensemble at Indiana University. His purpose is to share an example of an ensemble that performs musical styles from across the globe. He suggests that a specialized performance group such as Goetz's ensemble should not take the place of traditional Western choral experiences, rather, "it adds to it" (p. 284). Reimer also indicates that Western choruses, bands, and orchestras have their own indigenous repertoire (pp. 283-284).

The Word Factor

Reimer's (1989) aesthetic viewpoint tends to negate a consideration of words. He contrasts the concept of "referentialism" in which some element of the artwork references a non-art concept, with the concept of "absolutism" where the meaning of the art is found in the art's internal qualities (pp. 16-21). He places the word factor in vocal music in the same category as referentialism: "The isolating of and teaching about the meanings of the words in vocal music . . . attest to the presence of

arts, and disciplines outside the arts. 9. Understanding music in relation to history and culture" (MENC Task Force for National Standards in the Arts, 1994, pp. 1-2).

Referentialism in music education" (pp. 21-22). He maintains that these types of teaching practices are the root of value claims for teaching music. But he asserts that this referentialist basis for teaching music is at heart "a most effective way to make people better—nonmusically" (p. 22). In other words, Reimer dismisses referentialism as a basis for music education. More pointedly, Reimer asserts that discussing referential concepts of a musical experience is "*antimusic* education." He insists that words are "nonmusical" or "nonaesthetic" (p. 124).

Furthermore, he (1989) states that "any non-artistic referents in a work of art, say, the *words in a song* [italics added] . . . are always transformed and transcended by the internal artistic form" (p. 27). For Reimer, the words of a song are not part of its internal form, and the internal artistic form is far superior to any words that may be part of a musical composition.

In a similar vein, Reimer (2003) asserts that music clearly is "superpropositional" or "above and beyond propositions." He states that "even when, as in vocal music, propositions are incorporated" (p. 163), he still considers music as superpropositional. In other words, for Reimer, music has profound meanings to which words do not contribute directly.

In his article, "Episteme, Phronesis, and the Role of Verbal Language in 'Knowing Within' Music," Reimer (1997) discusses the role of verbal language in music education. His primary emphasis is to explore the ways language relates to and does not relate to musical experiences, particularly in the context of music education and specifically in music listening. He lists singing, playing, improvising, and composing as the four national standards aimed at creating musical sounds. Reimer

contends that "while they [these four national standards] are not dependent on language as a primary medium of involvement it would be impossible to pursue any of them without language as an important if not essential instrumentality" (p. 101). Reimer explains that these four standards require two forms of knowing: "knowing how" and "knowing within" (p. 102). Reimer may, of course, address the issue of language in musical learning in the ways he deems most appropriate. Nevertheless, he neglects to clarify that the first national standard, "Singing, alone and with others," uses language "as a primary medium of involvement." This neglect seems to indicate that Reimer does not value the word factor in singing as an important element of music education.

Overall, Reimer's stance with respect to the word factor is to argue it away. In that regard, he appears to overlook the fact that words, through their basic phonemes and syllabic structures, have, at least, rhythmic components quite apart from the "pure sound" of the expressive musical forms his philosophy is wont to emphasize.

The Somatic Factor

Reimer (1989) contends that the "technical-critical level" of music, such as a vocalist's ability to sing in a high register, by itself is "preaesthetic," but in context with developing musical perception can become musical (p. 125). Reimer cautions against an overly technical approach to music education, including choral music education.

An examination of Reimer's (2003) perspective on musical sounds in relation to human production of those sounds, clarifies his perspective on the somatic factor. Reimer's primary point of concentration is on musical sounds per se rather than the

relation of the body to the music-making experience. For instance, although Reimer suggests sounds have an "intimate relation to the body and its [the body's] undergoings in feelings," his aesthetic "experienced-based philosophy" seems to negate bodily factors as important elements of learning. He elevates his notion of experienced-based philosophy over other "single-focus" philosophies, such as "a singing skills philosophy" and others, because his philosophy encompasses "the diversity of ways music can be experienced and . . . the diverse musics that offer such experiences" (p. 69). Reimer's emphasis on musical sounds themselves appears more important than the somatic factor engaged in producing those sounds.

Summary of Reimer's Discussion of Singing and Choral Singing

Reimer indicates that a song-singing approach alone to music education does not satisfy students' aesthetic needs. He suggests that songs do not provide an adequate level of complexity for students' musical perception. He categorizes sung words as nonmusical aspects of music education. He endorses an aesthetic experience-based philosophy of music education in which he emphasizes musical sounds as a means to "materialize" human feelings. Overall, for Reimer, the word and somatic factor that are integral to choral singing do not play a significant role in his philosophy of music education.

David Elliott's Discussion of Singing and Choral Singing

Compared to Reimer and Jorgensen, David Elliott pays more attention to articulating his philosophy with respect to choral music contexts. What appears to be his most substantial treatment of choral singing pedagogy is articulated in his article:

"When I Sing: The Nature and Value of Choral Music Education" (1993). References to choral singing in his book, *Music Matters* (1995), are also examined in this section.

Elliott's Discussion of Singing and Songs in General

In this article, many elements of Elliott's (1993) discussion apply equally to instrumental music-making as they do to singing. For instance, he argues that musicianship is a form of "*procedural knowledge*" (p. 11), or knowledge evident through musical performance. According to Elliott, this special kind of musicianship applies to all types of music-making.

Furthermore, Elliott does not always clarify whether he is referring to solo singing or to choral singing. At the beginning of his discussion of the nature of singing he states, "When I sing, I select a specific musical context with an intention in mind." He continues, "I judge the results of my singing in relation to the standards and traditions of specific choral practices" (p. 11). Here Elliott begins a discussion of singing without clarifying whether he is referring to solo or choral singing, yet he concludes by referencing "specific *choral* [italics added] practices."

Four types of musical knowledge. Elliott (1993) posits a combination of four kinds of musical knowledge, including (a) formal, (b) informal, (c) impressionistic, and (d) supervisory, as necessary for learning to sing musically. Elliott suggests that all of these forms of musical knowledge are best acquired through music-making rather than music listening alone.

Elliott indicates that formal knowledge, the verbal or informational knowledge about music, by itself "is inert and unmusical" (p. 12). Rather, he states that formal knowledge should be introduced in the context of active music-making. He suggests

that some singers learn principles nonverbally, others require verbal explanations, but most require a combination of verbal and nonverbal approaches.

Informal musical knowledge, says Elliott (1995), "involves the ability to reflect *critically* in action" (p. 63). By informal musical knowledge, Elliott (1993) is referring to learning the subtleties and nuances of what he considers "truly musical" (p. 12) performing. This type of knowledge, Elliott indicates, is highly context-dependent. He indicates that is developed through "progressive musical problem-solving" (p. 13) during music-making. This informal musical knowledge, Elliott suggests, may develop through listening that relates to music-making and through music-making that relates to specific practice traditions.

Elliott (1995) states that "at root, impressionistic knowledge is a matter of cognitive emotions or knowledgeable feelings for a particular kind of doing and making" (p. 64). According to Elliott (1993), impressionistic musical knowledge is an intuitional understanding of musical practice. Through music-making, Elliott suggests that a performer gains musical instinct related to whatever particular musical genre he or she is performing. He describes this knowledge as "a strongly felt sense" (p. 13) that certain musical choices are better than other choices.

Supervisory knowledge includes a person's "disposition and the ability to monitor and adjust one's thinking in action" (p. 13). Elliott suggests that supervisory knowledge happens during live performances and especially in unfamiliar situations. Elliott maintains that this type of knowledge develops in relation to performing demanding musical compositions.

As mentioned previously, these concepts of musical knowledge do not apply solely to singing in Elliott's perspective. For example, instrumentalists also learn these same four types of musical knowledge (formal, informal, impressionistic, and supervisory). The verbal facts listed under formal knowledge apply to wind players as well as singers: "tongue position, musical phrasing, melodic structure, musical form" (p. 12).

Music composition as "thought-generator." Elliott (1993) claims, "*the* [italics added] musical compositions we perform and listen for are multidimensional challenges to our powers of consciousness" (p. 15). Then he states that "an *excellent* [italics added] musical composition is an exquisite kind of 'thought-generator'" (p. 15). So, in order for a musical composition to be a "thought generator," it must be an excellent composition that is performed and listened to. However, Elliott does not delineate the requirements for an "excellent" composition. But he does suggest that "excellent choral music educators" (p. 16) find appropriate balances between challenging musical compositions and their students' levels of musicianship. Such an ideal balance, he suggests, allows choral students not to become bored or frustrated, but to be appropriately challenged. When choral practices sequence musical challenges with increasing difficulty to match the developing musicianship of the participants, Elliott suggests that "one's powers of consciousness are also propelled 'upward' in terms of complexity and integration" (p. 16). For Elliott, then, the cognitive processes that develop through learning musical compositions are important elements of choral singing pedagogy. However, these same ideas can also be applied to teaching instrumental music-making.

Elliott's rejection of singing as a skill. Elliott (1993), contrary to Reimer, maintains that it is "inaccurate and reductive" to describe singing as simply a "skill or behavior" because this description dismisses the "rich cognitive nature of musical singing." Elliott states, "although it is common for people to describe singing as a skill or behavior, these old ways of talking are inaccurate and reductive. They fail to acknowledge the rich cognitive nature of musical singing as musical knowing-in-action" (p. 11). He (1995) argues that describing music-making as both knowledge and skill "assumes a dualistic sense of mind" and that this understanding wrongly implies that musical actions are secondary to verbal thoughts. Therefore, when one considers musicing a skill, he contends, "the actions of musicing are essentially mind-less" (p. 70).

Rather than terms such as "skill, craft, technique, or psychomotor behavior" (p. 69), Elliott (1995) proposes the term "praxis." According to Elliott, praxis is concerned with "right action" in which a person is acting in relation to particular standards, viewed as "Ideals," that are open to reformulation. Elliott suggests that through self-reflection one can improve "one's expertise" and redefine one's goals. He transfers this concept to musical practice by describing praxis as acting "artistically as a music maker" and engaging in music listening (p. 69).

Elliott asserts that common ways of thinking about musicianship and music-making, such as considering it a skill or a psychomotor behavior, "tend to misrepresent and diminish their true natures." For Elliott, music listening and music-making "involve a multidimensional, relational, coherent, generative, open, and educable form of knowing called musicianship" (p. 70).

Elliott's argument that singing should not be described as a skill perhaps

implies a disconnection between the technical processes of singing, such as using

breath, phonating, reducing unnecessary bodily tension, and the cognitive processes

of singing. Elliott's preference for a cognitive notion of singing over an

interconnection of the cognitive and psychomotor processes tends to disregard the

interconnected "bodymind" (Thurman & Welch, 2000, p. xxiii) of the singing

process.

Elliott's Discussion of Choral Singing

Elliott (1993) argues that singing is "a particular form of intentional action"

and that if performed well, singing "is an exquisite form of what Donald Schon calls

'thinking-*in*-action' and 'knowing-*in*-action.'" Elliott suggests that a singer's musical

knowledge is apparent through a choral performance: "In choral singing, one's

musical knowledge is not manifested verbally but practically: it is manifested *in* one's

singing itself" (p. 11).

Elliott, however, appears to rely on two related and implicit assumptions.

First, that music education's purpose and possibly benefits are primarily expressed in

individualistic terms. Second, when there is excellence in a choral musical

performance, each singer, according to Elliott's perspective, is presumed to be

demonstrating individual musical knowledge. Elliott's explanation, however, simply

equates the concept of each singer demonstrating musical knowledge on individual

terms with the group demonstrating musical knowledge on group terms. He states,

"When a school chorus achieves an artistic performance of a given work, such as

Bach's 'Duet and Choral' from Cantata No. 93, the quality of *their* [italics added]

performance reflects the quality of *their* [italics added] musical thinking and knowing." However, an artistic performance by a group of individuals may not necessarily attest that each singer demonstrates musical knowledge on his or her own accord. Such internal inconsistency leads to confusion with respect to his principal premise, which he calls "procedural knowledge" (p. 11), that individual singers demonstrate musicianship through singing.

The nature of solo singing and choral singing are quite different. Research, for instance, indicates that (a) choral singers tend not to employ the singer's formant, a resonant peak that occurs when a singer coordinates proper inhalation and relaxation of vocal mechanisms (Goodwin, 1980; Rossing, Sundberg, & Ternström, 1985; Ternström, 1991), and (b) that audiences prefer that such resonance not be employed in choral singing (Ford, 2003).

Other differences between singing with other people and singing alone are that when singing together, some individual choristers could conceivably be "mouthing the words" or only sing a portion of the songs. A soloist, on the other hand, sings every word alone. In a choir, the singers are making extra efforts to match each others' pitch, timbre, rhythm, and expressive qualities. Soloists, on the other hand, express themselves individually without matching any other voice.

Elliott does not clarify what the differences are between individual musicianship as evidenced by a solo singer and musicianship as evidenced by a choir. In other words, Elliott offers no definition of procedural knowledge for singing groups as a whole. Musical knowledge in the context of a choir may not necessarily correlate to each participant's individual musical knowledge.

Furthermore, Elliott (1993) concludes his article about choral singing by emphasizing the individual benefits of singing: "Learning to sing musically is something worth doing . . . 'for the sake of the self.' Singing is a unique and major source of the most important kind of knowledge human beings can achieve: self-knowledge" (p. 16). Daugherty (1996) points out that the Subject Index of *Music Matters* (1995) has numerous lines under the following headings: "Self" (50 lines), "Consciousness" (33 lines), while only eight lines reference "Community" and "Culture." Daugherty also indicates that Elliott does not reference the term "Society" in his index. Elliott appears to neglect the complex social constructs of group singing in favor of individual benefits of singing when he explains his praxial philosophy in relation to choral singing pedagogy.

The Word Factor

Elliott seems to deemphasize the word factor in choral musicianship. For him, musical factors unrelated to text appear primary. For example, in Elliott's (1993) description of musicianship in choral performance, he illustrates how a chorus can demonstrate informal musical knowledge through its interpretation of his arrangement of Ella Fitzgerald's "A-Tisket, A-Tasket." He remarks that "words and notes are rough approximations of rich nonverbal understandings" (p. 13). He delves into how informal musical knowledge is gained through the nonverbal "*action-concept*" of "the blues-rooted, '4-beat' swing *practice*" (p. 13). Elliott places greater value on the swing style of this song than any textual factors.

In a section on musical challenges, Elliott (1993) states, "The complex relationships between texts and compositional designs in choral works mean that

choral performances frequently involve musical expressions of emotion and musical representations" (p. 14). Apparently, for Elliott, the structural aspects of choral songs can exist independently of words.

In *Music Matters* (1995) Elliott also describes the function of texts in J. S. Bach's "Saint John Passion" and "Saint Matthew Passion." According to Elliott, the function of the texts in these compositions is their "musical design elements." By "musical design elements," Elliott suggests that the use of consonants and vowels serve a "timbral" (p. 188) function. Here Elliott argues that words serve the role of providing another timbre to the orchestra sounds.

The Somatic Factor

Elliott (1993) states that "singing done musically . . . engages the whole self." But Elliott offers only a limited definition of "the whole self." He states that when singing "all the resources of consciousness are engaged" and that "the energy resource we call attention is completely absorbed in the thoughtful actions of singing." He continues his argument by recommending musicianship and musical challenges that "spiral upward in complexity." In this sense "one's powers of consciousness are also propelled 'upward' in terms of complexity and integration" (p. 16).

Elliott's concept of "the whole self," as described above, appears primarily focused on a person's cognitive processes. Furthermore, Elliott states, "The energy resource we call attention is completely absorbed in the thoughtful actions of singing" (p. 16). Elliott's philosophy of choral pedagogy as evidenced in his 1993 article, his most thoroughly explanation of choral music education, appears to offer little

framework for explaining two central phenomena of choral singing: the embodied characteristics of choral singing and the contextual factors of singing in a chorus, as opposed to singing soloistically. Elliott's stance on choral music education does not change in *Music Matters* (1995). For instance, his discussion on singing and choral singing in his book center around musical works (see pp. 121, 166-167, 180, 208-209, 275, and 281). He discusses examples of choral musicianship which develop "self-growth" and "constructive knowledge" (p. 181), which appears similar to his focus on the cognitive processes of singing as evidenced in his 1993 article.

Summary of Elliott's Discussion of Choral Singing

The concepts central to Elliott's philosophy are appropriate for all people engaged in music-making of all kinds. Among these central concepts are his four types of musical knowledge, his concept of musical composition as "thought-generator," and the cognitive processes involved in musical performing. He seems to deemphasize the word factor in choral singing pedagogy and his concept of the somatic factor appears to center on cognitive processes rather than holistically-conceived somatic aspects of choral singing.

<p align="center">*David Elliott and Christopher Small*</p>

Elliott employs the term "musicing" in describing aspects of his philosophy. Because of the outward similarities between Elliott's term and Small's term, "musicking," a comparison of these two terms is warranted. Additionally, a brief analysis of how these terms relate to choral singing helps clarify their meaning for this investigation.

Musicing

In *Music Matters* (1995), Elliott explains that his term "musicing" is a contraction of music-making. He also states that the term includes performing, arranging, composing, conducting, listening, and improvising (pp. 40-41). Moreover, Elliott indicates that musicing involves "a multidimensional form of thinking" (p. 33) and that it is one of the most important types of knowledge that people can obtain. Elliott describes musicing as "an inceptional property of music as an auditory presence" (p. 49). Elliott considers musical understanding evident when an individual is musicing.

When Elliott (1995) first introduces his term "musicing" (p. 40), he acknowledges in an endnote that Small also uses the term, spelled "musicking" (p. 320). In *Music Matters*, Elliott, however, offers no description or analysis of Small's theory.

Musicking

Small offers two contrasting reasons for adding the "k" to his spelling of musicking. Twice he wrote that the added k is "not just a caprice but has historical antecedents" (Small, 1998b, p. 9; Small 1999, p. 12). However, in a published proceeding from two years earlier, he stated "I put the 'k' in there as a little caprice of my own" (Small, 1997, p. 2).

When asked the reason for using the 'k,' Small shared that he does not remember when he first used the 'k.' He mentioned that it does have formal analogies, for example "frolic, frolicking; panic, panicking, both according to the *Oxford Dictionary for Writers and Editors*" (C. Small, personal communication,

March 31, 2007). Small also pointed out that the verb "to music" is found in some older dictionaries. But his understanding is that in those contexts the term is defined as "'to perform' or 'to make music,' with none of the wider significance I have tried to give to it" (C. Small, personal communication, March 31, 2007).

Small suggests, moreover, that adding the 'k' makes it "much more civilized-sounding," while admitting that Elliott's use of the word has "a somewhat different meaning from mine," Small did not address that difference in detail. He admits that Elliott's term "jarred on me every time I encountered it" (C. Small, personal communication, March 31, 2007).[47]

Musicing and Musicking in Relation to Choral Singing

Both Small's and Elliott's terms involve the actions of choral singing. However, as noted in this section, Elliott finds meaning in the sonic and cognitive dimensions of choral singing. Small, as explained in Chapter Four, finds meaning in the social and relational dimensions of choral singing.

Summary of Elliott and Small's Differences

Although Elliott's (1995) intention is to "modify the aesthetic idea of works to achieve a more reasonable concept of musical products" (p. 35), he, nonetheless, appears to function in several respects with a concept of works similar to that employed by many aesthetic thinkers. For instance, he proposes that "all forms of musicing depend on a multidimensional form of knowledge called musicianship" (p. 296). A major difference between Elliott and Small is that Elliott perceives musicing

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[47] When asked about when he first heard of Elliott's term, Small stated that it was in 1995 when he was a guest professor at the University of North Texas. He mentioned that the faculty was excited about Elliott's new book, *Music Matters* that had recently been published. He admitted that he did not read Elliott's book, "though I dipped into it" (C. Small, personal communication, April 11, 2007).

primarily as a cognitive act centered mainly on the stylistic and structural elements musicians must negotiate, and Small perceives musicking as a social experience of making music with meaning rooted in participants' sense of ideal relationships explored, celebrated, and affirmed in musical performances.

In terms of their views of music education, Elliott and Small have a different perspective on which construct, music or education, is genus. Elliott has developed a theory of music education that is rooted in the nature of music. His first premise is that "the nature of music education depends on the nature of music" (p. 12). Therefore, for Elliott, music is genus or the primary term in the construct "music education." In his theory of musicking, social dimensions and relationship matrices play a central role in the meanings of musical performances. So for Small, education appears to be genus, and music is species.

Elliott's language choices demonstrate a leaning toward viewing the structural qualities of music as primary. For example, he alters the visual form of the word "music" in three ways that suggest an understanding of music as noun: "MUSIC is a diverse human practice" (p. 44), "Music" is a musical practice involving music-making and music listening, and "music refers to the audible sound events, works, or listenables" (pp. 44-45). When Elliott defines music as a noun in these ways, he implies an understanding of music as an object or thing.

Small (1998b) states that musicking is "an aspect of the language of biological necessity" (p. 210). Small takes a broader approach suggesting that musicking has potential to benefit society through relationships and rituals. In other words, Small's

perspective is primarily social rather than primarily individualistic, and biological rather than the more limited ways Elliott focuses upon the construct "cognition."

Praxial Music Education (2005)

Elliott's text *Praxial Music Education* (2005) is an edited compilation of essays by a variety of authors who respond specifically to aspects of his philosophy articulated in *Music Matters* (1995). In this book, Elliott (2005b) lists a web site where he responds specifically to each contributor.

In his response to Patricia O'Toole's (2005) chapter, "Why Don't I Feel Included in These Musics, or Matters" (pp. 297-307), Elliott states that he agrees with Small and O'Toole's views of the importance of relationships in music-making experiences. He declares that Small's views are "profound" regarding the sociality of music events and that his own thinking on that point is not developed at length in *Music Matters* (1995). He confesses that he must say more about these concepts in the future.

O' Toole (2005) compares Elliott's and Small's terms (pp. 297-307). On the basis of that comparison, she describes Elliott's concept of musicing as narrow, noting that Elliott focuses primarily on the technical and performance aspects of music making. She argues furthermore that it is inappropriate to offer one form of musicing (Elliott's use of the term) to incorporate all of the multiple ethnic traditions in schools (p. 300).

O'Toole's argument on this matter echoes Small's (1987d) concerns as he notes that classical musicking in schools tends to segregate children as musical or unmusical (pp. 184-185). The challenge for music educators, according to Small, is to

create opportunities for musical interaction in formal and informal social contexts.

Small (1998b) believes that these interactions lead to conviviality and rebuilding of

societies or "real development" (p. 208).

As previously mentioned Elliott deemphasizes the word factor in choral

singing pedagogy. His concept of the somatic factor centers on cognitive processes

rather than holistically-conceived somatic aspects of choral singing. His overall

framework does not appear compatible with these two assumptions of choral singing.

Section Two: Christopher Small's Discussions of Choral Singing

This section proceeds similarly to the previous discussions of choral singing

in relation to the perspectives of Jorgensen, Reimer, and Elliott by investigating what

Small says about (a) singers and songs in general and (b) choral singing. It then views

Small's framework in terms of (c) the word factor and (d) the somatic factor.

Christopher Small's Discussion of Singing and Songs in General

Christopher Small's discussions of singing and choral singing incorporate his

ideas about interacting relational matrices. It also draws heavily upon his notions of

the universality of human musicking, even though this universal activity is culturally

constructed, being shaped by particular attitudes within cultures that shift over time.

Singing and relationships. In terms of his concept of performance

relationships, Small (1998b) examines how the relationships on an opera stage are

"explicit, and the characters whose relationships are being represented are given

names, appropriate costumes and a recognizable physical setting" (p. 154). Their

interactions both physically and audibly, he suggests, are easily identified. He

describes opera singers as actors who perform the "musical representation of the

relationships" (p. 147), and he describes opera composers as dramatists. According to Small, these musical relationships portrayed in opera practices have been transferred to the relationships portrayed in love songs sung by, for instance, Barbara Streisand or Frank Sinatra (p. 152).

Small states that opera composers cast particular voice types in specific character roles. For example, basses and baritones tend to be cast "as wise men, doughty warriors and cruel villains" (p. 150). Tenors are generally cast as characters who either demonstrate zealous emotions such as love, or who are mad villains. Sopranos seem to suffer the pangs of love, while contraltos portray more mature women (p. 150). Vocal qualities, such as the amount of perceived vibrato, are also an element of the complex sound relationships in musical performances (pp. 197-198).

Small explains how the relationships between church choirs from medieval and Renaissance Christianity maintained a somewhat equal relationship with their congregation because these choirs sang on behalf of the congregation, rather than to them. He describes this practice as a "communal offering to God" (p. 40). Small notes that similar relationships occur in modern worship communities because congregational singing also does not require an audience.

With respect to cultural relationships, Small depicts a solitary flute player in Africa as a performer who develops relationships with his society through musicking. Small indicates that rather than learning about past generations through written records, the player mediates his relationships with his ancestors through "stories and myths that have been told to him, and through dances, songs and melodies passed down to him by elders" (p. 204). He indicates that some of the songs are learned in

exact detail in order to gain their full meaning, while other songs are learned in a more flexible manner and "are subject to constant drift" (p. 205).

Small uses a description of the Rotunda in Ranelagh Pleasure Gardens that opened in London in 1742 and continued into the nineteenth century as an example of social relationships and musical performances. He suggests relationships among people at the Pleasure Gardens were more informal than contemporary concert hall performances. He describes the activities at the Pleasure Gardens as having an "enjoyable social scene." Small indicates that all the participants enjoyed "a single repertory which was known to all—folk music, songs, operatic and orchestral music alike" (p. 250).

Small (1998b) discusses singing in terms of rituals, suggesting that folk singing and dancing helps people explore their identities. He describes the use of singing in ceremonies of rite of passage from youth to adult. He indicates that those who participate in these rituals are celebrating their culture's concepts of relationships through their songs and dances (p. 98).

Small (1977) states that, according to African perspectives, rather than a singer being defined by "a beautiful voice," it is "the artistic use he [*sic*] makes of what he has." Small finds a similar attitude in popular folk singers such as Bob Dylan, Rex Harrison, and Rod Stewart who have "made their voices into telling and eloquent expressive instruments" (p. 51). For Small, a sense of individual achievement rather than conforming to a fine arts industry norm is important for vocal expression.

With respect to differing approaches toward musical scores, Small writes that in the early seventeenth century, both players and singers had the ability to improvise on composers' ideas. These musicians considered it an insult to read a score with each note delineated for them to play (p. 83). A common practice at this time, according to Small, was for performers to make changes in the musical score, for instance adding newly composed arias for "star singers" (p. 116).

Small's Discussions of Choral Singing

Small (1987d) contends that the terms soprano, alto, tenor, and bass are "no more than conveniences for the purposes of literate compositions" (p. 235). He suggests that when singers are given the flexibility to invent their own vocal part, they develop a greater vocal range. He supports this claim by noting that there are African American singers "whose treble is as striking and expressive as their baritone" (p. 235). In this sense, the relationships that singers have with their own abilities, i.e. vocal range, may be restricted simply because of the parameters of a musical score.

Small (1998b) briefly comments about choir in the context of past and contemporary music professions and practices. He notes that in 1820 the largest opera houses had full-time orchestras while the smaller houses had tradesmen and local artisans that formed orchestras and choirs (p. 72). In modern society, Small indicates that professionals dominate the public music-making arena. However, amateurs can perform not only in the privacy of homes, but they may also perform in choirs (p. 71).

Universality of human musicking. With respect to Small's (1998b) assumption that all people are capable of musicking, he suggests that societal conventions such as

the "system of stars and superstars" work against any possibility of people gaining a sense of musical self-identity. He indicates these attitudes prevail because of "the assumption that real musical ability is as rare as diamonds and as hard to cultivate as orchids" (p. 210). As previously mentioned, he also notes that certain school customs emphasize students' lack of musicality.

In Small's (1998b) discussions of teaching ensembles, he draws attention to past approaches to "tone deaf" or uncertain singers. Small remarks that "the voice is at the center of all musical activity, but it is all too easy to silence and very hard to reactivate." He recommends that teachers should encourage their uncertain singers by guiding them and helping them practice. He suggests that telling a young singer to mouth the words wounds a crucial and intimate part of the learners' being and those who do should be "sacked on the spot" (p. 212).[48]

Small indicates that if the students that passed through his courses are similar to people in other Western industrial societies, then there must be "millions of people . . . who have accepted judgment passed upon them and classed themselves as unmusical and even as something called 'tone-deaf.'" Small decries the term "tone-deaf," noting its meaning is unclear. He suggests it may mean "unable to distinguish one pitch from another" (p. 211). Yet Small notes that the ability to understand speech requires pitch discrimination, so he concludes that it does not make sense that

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[48] Related to the issue of singing skills, although specifically about the self-confidence of solo singers, Small discusses a research project where one of his London students recorded various individuals singing who were self-described as "tone-deaf." She stopped the recorder after each participant finished singing a simple folk song and said something to the effect of: "There! I *told* you you could sing!" (p. 211). But the participants did not agree because they felt they had not attained their perception of real singing. Small suggests that someone had taught these "intelligent and articulate women that they could not, must not, sing" (p. 212).

so many people consider themselves "tone-deaf." Furthermore, distinguishing vocal fluctuations in the context of expressive communication, he maintains, is necessary for understanding verbal language and developing relationships.

The Word Factor

Small addresses factors relevant to questions of word-music relationships in singing. Among these factors are: (a) issues of conveying emotional messages for instrumentalists and singers, (b) similarities and differences among speaking and musicking, (c) a musical composition that effectively connects text and musical elements, (d) the use of words in rituals, and (e) how the words of a song can be interpreted differently depending upon the circumstance of the performance.

Conveying emotional messages. Small (1987d) briefly contrasts instrumentalists and singers in how they present outward signs of emotion such as "empathetic gestures with the music" during performances. According to Small, singers are expected to act out the emotions of a song's text. But Small suggests that it would be "considered bad form" if instrumentalists chose to do so. Small perceives the reason for these differences because of "the emotional situations depicted in songs and arias, in contrast to the abstract and generalized nature of purely instrumental works" (p. 11). In this sense, Small acknowledges that the words of a song depict particular emotional relationships more outwardly and directly than the musical sounds of instrumental compositions.

Speaking and musicking. Small (1998b) contends that musicking and speaking resemble one another in that all "normally endowed" (p. 207) humans are born with the potential to do both. Small indicates that words are an important tool for

analytical thinking, but they also place "limitations . . . upon the articulation of relationships" (p. 132).

In his descriptions of speaking and musicking, Small does not directly address issues related to words that are integrated into choral singing. He does, however, explain that one type of relationship in musicking is "between the sounds that are made in response to the instructions given in the score" (p. 139). Choristers who follow a written score must read the words that generally are part of that choral score. These words, along with the musical notations (unless the choristers are reading words only), are part of the written instructions that choral singers follow. Because sung words are sounds made in response to the instructions in a choral score, sung text may be considered one kind of relationship that occurs in musicking, specifically in choral singing. If choristers are not reading written instructions, they nonetheless are singing words or other vocal sounds. Because of the immediacy between agents and sung sounds, choristers may create relationships with these sounds through singing.

Wedding of text and musical elements. Small (1987d) describes how Frederick Rzewski's (1938-) "Attica" and "Coming Together" (both compositions written for speaker and variable ensemble) use an effective combination of text and musical elements to heighten the intensity of the piece. The lyrics are composed of inmates' words from an American prison riot. Small quotes Rzewski who suggested that his composition has "a certain ambiguity" (p. 354) among the emotional, personal, and meditative aspects of words. Nevertheless, this example serves as further illustration

that, for Small, the words in a score are part of the relationships that are created

through musicking.

Use of words in rituals. Small suggests rituals are "patterns of gesture" and

examples may include many different communal activities, such as "coronations,

Olympic games, the Roman Catholic mass, symphony concerts, executive lunches,

elections, funerals, having oneself tattooed, grand banquets, family dinners . . . and

thousands of other rituals large and small." Through these rituals, Small suggests,

people "articulate their concepts of how the relationships of their world are

structured, and thus how humans ought to relate to one another" (p. 95).

Small suggests that "words may be used, of course, in these patterns of

gesture, but they are subsumed into the pattern; their significance lies not so much in

their literal meaning as in the gesture of uttering them." He shares an example of how

the use of Latin in Roman masses "had a meaning over and above the literal meaning

of those resonant syllables which the worshippers did not have to understand in order

to comprehend the significance of uttering them." Upon first glance these ideas

appear similar to Reimer's concept that the referential meanings of words do not play

a role in the meaning of a musical performance. However, two elements of Small's

perception contrast with Reimer's view. First, for Small, meanings are found in the

ritual experiences of uttering the words: "Their significance lies . . . in the gesture of

uttering them" (p. 95), while for Reimer (1989), meanings occur in "the internal

artistic form" (p. 27). Second, Small also finds meanings in the relational aspects of a

musical experience. As explained in Chapter Four, these relationships occur between

sounds, among people, and between sounds and people.

With respect to words used in rituals, Small's concept of musicking does not discount the word factor in musicking. Rather, words, whether they are vernacular or foreign, have a significant role in gestural communication.

Contextual influences upon sung words. In a conference address called "Creative Reunderstandings" Small (2005) illustrates how the context of a May 2005 performance of "If I Had a Hammer" at a U.S. Republican Party dinner altered the original connotation of the song. Originally, this 1949 Pete Seeger anthem was performed for anti-war and civil rights demonstrations. In the context of the Republican dinner party, this song referred, instead, to Texan Tom DeLay's public nickname of "The Hammer," which he earned through his partisan tactics and hard-nose approach (Cohen, 2004). DeLay, Republican majority leader of the U.S. House of Representatives from 2003 to 2006, ultimately was accused of campaign finance violations in 2005. According to Small, the Republicans at this dinner party were "exploring, affirming and celebrating what they saw as their victory in the American culture wars" (p. 3).

As illustrated above, the meanings attributed to a particular song may change in relationship to the context of its performance. The context of a song originally denoting peace and brotherhood changes in its new context to symbolize opportunistic and divisive political practices. Small's theory offers a framework for such contextual understandings of lyrics and the role of human relationships in musical performances.

Other philosophers have explored connections between song and text. For example, Aaron Ridley (2004) suggests an internal relationship between the words

and music of a song: "'The music' of a song cannot be fully specified without reference to its text, and so cannot be understood or assessed in isolation from it" (p. 86). Rather than a concept of "matching" (pp. 92-98), in that the words and the musical qualities are understood as separate or matched elements of a song, Ridley argues that songs "are a *kind* of music" (p. 86), and that one should not understand the two elements, words and music, as separate, but internally connected.

A connection between Ridley's ideas and Small's theory of musicking may lie in (a) Small's perceptions of words in rituals, (b) contextual dimensions of musicking, and (c) the relationship matrices that are central to musicking. According to Small, words have a significant role in the gestural communication of rituals, the meaning of any sung words is influenced by the performance context, and the complex relationships among words and musical elements all point to Ridley's internal relationships. Both Ridley's concept of internal relationships and Small's assumption of relational matrices embrace contextual elements of the particular musical sounds.

The Somatic Factor

Small's (1998b) discussions of gesture, ritual, social dimensions, and human relationships connect in important ways to the somatic factor in choral singing. Small calls gestural language "biological communication" (p. 58), which he describes as nonverbal information that a person conveys to another person. These gestures occur in basic forms such as "bodily posture, movement, facial expression, vocal timbre, and intonation" (p. 4). Gestures, according to Small, send direct messages from the communicator to the receiver. Small suggests that gestural dialogue can connote more about the relationships of the conversers and the meanings of the encounter than the

spoken word; therefore, gestures serve as a crucial factor in human interactions. (p. 62).

According to Small, verbal communication is sequential and slow, occurring one word at a time. Small therefore suggests that words can be too cumbersome to deal with the complexities of human relationships (p. 59). He states that musicking articulates human relationships in "multilayered and multiordered complexity and quicksilver changeability in ways that words cannot do" (p. 210).

Additionally, Small describes more complex elements of gestural language: "Both ritual and the arts are gestural metaphors, in which the language of biological communication is elaborated into ways of exploring, affirming and celebrating our concepts of ideal relationships" (p. 106). Small emphasizes that the meanings of rituals occur in bodily experiences and these experiences do not happen in isolation, rather they occur in the company of others. For example, during communal singing of the U.S. National Anthem, placing one's hand over one's heart is a ritualistic gesture that symbolizes patriotic respect.

Ritual experiences, as indicated previously, align closely with the pattern which connects: "When we music, we engage in a process of exploring the nature of the pattern which connects, we are affirming the validity of its nature as we perceive it to be, and we are celebrating our relation to it" (pp. 141-142). The rituals and gestures of musicking allow humans to pass information in intricate and multidimensional ways. Musicking, thus viewed in terms of ritual and gestures, teaches us the shape of the pattern which connects (p. 140). Small illustrates this concept through a reference to John Blacking's explanation "that the musicking of the

Venda of South Africa 'may involve people in a powerful shared experience and thereby make them more aware of themselves and of their responsibilities towards one another'" (Blacking, 1976, as cited in Small, 1998b, p. 140).

The relational aspects of musicking, as noted previously, incorporate relationships among the performers. These relationships include, Small suggests, "their relation to their own bodies" (p. 195). For example, choral singers may move their bodies expressively or remain more stationary while singing. They may appear connected or detached to what they are expressing. If the performers are playing from a score, Small suggests that there will be a greater social distance among them in comparison to playing by ear. Physical factors affect the relationships such as their proximity to one another, their formation, their movement, their eye contact, and whether they are stationary or free to move about.

Small's theory of musicking necessarily accommodates social dimensions, which are a prominent element of choral or group singing. Small describes the challenges directly related to social issues that he has personally experienced while conducting a choir: "with choir . . . it is the human relations that are the hard bit." Although Small noted that his choristers "were as nice as they were keen," there were still many tensions that all "bounced back on to me" (C. Small, personal communication, May 2, 2007). For Small, these social relationships that are an integrated part of choral singing are not separate from the sound relationships. Rather, all these elements, social and musical alike, combine to form the meanings of musicking.

In terms of the somatic lens, the gestural language and rituals of musicking are interconnected within the choral singer. The elements of gestural language (e.g., the bodily alignment, facial expression, vocal timbre) are one and the same as the somatic factors. With respect to rituals, the meanings occur in bodily experiences with other people. In these ways, Small's theory of musicking accommodates the somatic factor in choral singing.

<center>Summary</center>

Section one examined frameworks of three philosophers in regard to choral singing: Estelle Jorgensen, Bennett Reimer, and David Elliott. Concepts from each philosopher were analyzed with respect to two specific factors of choral singing: the word factor and the somatic factor.

Jorgensen discussed singing in a general sense and acknowledged that teachers tend to include songs with words that connect to the values they wish to address. She did not, however, explore the possible ramifications of the somatic factor in terms of choral singing pedagogy.

Reimer suggested that a song-singing approach alone did not satisfy students' aesthetic needs. He indicated that sung words were nonmusical aspects of music teaching. The word and somatic factor, for Reimer, did not play an important role in his philosophy of music education. Rather, these factors were treated primarily as "extra-musical" components of music as expressive form.

Elliott's "praxial" philosophy tended to deemphasize the word factor suggesting the structural aspects of choral songs can exist independently of words. He emphasized the sonic elements of words in choral singing such as the consonants and

vowels contributing to the music's timbre. His concept of the somatic factor centered on cognitive processes rather than holistically-conceived somatic aspects of choral singing. Because Elliott's the term "musicing" appeared so similar to Small's term "musicking," similarities and differences among these two terms were investigated as well as how these terms relate to choral singing. Primary differences were that whereas Elliott found meaning in the sonic dimensions of choral singing, Small found meanings in the social and relational dimensions of choral singing.

Although certain concepts that Small and Elliott wrote were similar, such as the terms "musicking" and "musicing," primary differences related to (a) Elliott's emphasis on music and Small's emphasis on education and (b) their respective viewpoints on the nature and meaning of musical performances. Elliott focused primarily on the nature of music while Small focused on the human relationships that were part of musical performances. In addition, Elliott considered cognitive processes central to music-making, while Small articulated a broader concept of music in terms of sound and human relationships, ritual, context, and social dimensions.

Section two demonstrated how Small's discussions about choral singing were different from those of Jorgensen, Reimer, and Elliott. Small emphasized the centrality of singing in that amateurs may sing in choirs, and suggested that human vocal ranges had the capacity to expand beyond score-based ranges of soprano, alto, tenor, and bass. Small suggested, furthermore, that the voice was at the center of all musical activity.

The analyses of this chapter indicated that none of the four philosophers considered—Jorgensen, Reimer, Elliott, or Small—had much to say about choral

singing specifically, for none of them articulated specific philosophies of choral

pedagogy per se. However, it was demonstrated that Small's overall framework of

"musicking" was better able to accommodate the word and somatic factors associated

with choral singing, and thus offered a more robust foundation for a theory of choral

singing pedagogy.

Chapter Seven will raise and examine questions relevant to building a theory

of choral singing pedagogy in prison contexts in light of known data on prison choirs.

It will define operational terms, explore relationships between variables, and state the

proposed theory. The chapter will close with a summary of this investigation and

suggestions for further research.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Toward a Theory of Choral Singing Pedagogy for Prison-Based Choirs

The purpose of this conceptual investigation is to raise and examine questions relevant to building a theory of choral singing pedagogy for prison-based choirs with specific reference to Christopher Small's concept of musicking. For the purposes of this study a theory is defined as "a set of interrelated constructs (concepts), definitions, and propositions that presents a systematic view of a phenomenon by specifying relationships among variables with the purpose of explaining or predicting the phenomenon" (Kerlinger & Lee, 2000, p. 11).

In addition, Tim Futing Liao (1990) suggests basic steps for theory construction include: (a) articulating concepts unambiguously by explicating operational definitions, (b) specifying relationships among variables, and (c) stating the theory in such a way that it has the capacity of being either falsified or confirmed.

The purpose of this chapter, then, is to address the steps for building a theory of interactional choral singing pedagogy in prison contexts as outlined by Liao (1990). Before doing so, however, two related matters remain.

Because "prison" will be an operative variable in building any theory of interactional choral pedagogy in prison contexts, the first matter at hand is to examine this variable in order to arrive at an operational definition of it. The second matter entails consideration of those research data presently available on choral singing in prison contexts. While this corpus of data is small and disjointed to date, any viable theory of interactional choral pedagogy in prison contexts must be able to account for or explain these currently available data.

To that end, section one first explores contextual issues and identifies variables that pertain to prisons and prison education. Section two identifies variables that pertain to prison-based choirs. Section three follows Liao's (1990) steps for theory construction as detailed above and states the theory thus developed. Section four concludes with a discussion of concepts generated in this investigation, along with suggestions for future research.

<div align="center">Section One: Life in Prison</div>

Prison-based choirs raise unique contextual issues. These factors include various factors related to life in prison, concepts of prison education, politics of prison systems, and other variables.

Prison Contexts

Michael Ignatieff (1981) suggests that the shift toward imprisonment, from the former public infliction of physical pain to the body, enforces "*a markedly greater social distance between the confined and the outside world*." Incarceration, in this sense, serves to protect society from criminal behavior while it simultaneously heightens inmates' sense of social alienation (Skyes, 1970). The unpredictable threat of physical danger, the constraints of an institutional routine, and the lack of individuality reinforce this sense of social isolation (Jones & Schmid, 2002).

Erving Goffman (1961) describes prisons as "total institutions" that have "encompassing tendencies" (p. 4). He listed four characteristics of these facilities and aspects of prison life: (a) inmates are confined to a single location governed by a single authority, (b) inmates' daily activities primarily occur in the context of other inmates or officers, (c) inmates' daily activities are tightly scheduled, and (d) the

enforced activities occur under a single plan aimed to meet the institution's goals (p. 6). Goffman further suggests that relationships between inmates and staff are imbalanced. Prison staff sees itself as "superior and righteous" and inmates as "bitter, secretive, and untrustworthy." Inmates, Goffman says, perceive themselves as "inferior, weak, blameworthy, and guilty" and staff as "condescending, highhanded, and mean" (p. 7). According to Goffman, correctional facilities exercise strict rules regarding social interaction between inmates and staff, encouraging great social distance between the two groups.

In addition, life in prison is incompatible with family life, according to Goffman. Maintaining and developing close family relationships becomes difficult because inmates are separated from their family members, sometimes at great distances, and the cost of visiting inmates can be expensive (Grinstead, Faigeles, Bancroft, & Zack, 2001).

Goffman further explains that an inmate's sense of self is often unintentionally shamed. Upon first entering a prison, an inmate experiences, says Goffman, "degradations, humiliations, and profanations of self" (p. 14). In addition to losing a feeling of personal safety and removal of property, inmates are issued a number and are addressed by their last name rather than by their full name. Goffman indicates that inmates' most severe loss of self is this loss of their full name (p. 18).

History, Practices, Research, and Attitudes toward Prison Education in the U. S.

Prison education programs necessarily occur within the confines of these contextual factors of prison life. At this point in the history of correctional education, no prevailing strategies or approaches have surfaced as "successful" or "ideal."

Rather, various strategies and approaches have been attempted, some with more success than others.

In the United States the prison education movement developed under the leadership of Austin MacCormick, who founded the Correctional Education Association in 1930, authored *The Education of Adult Prisoners* (1931), and established the *Journal of Correctional Education* in 1937. A particular thrust of MacCormick's efforts was that prison education should address moral and cultural matters by developing the whole person rather than only addressing vocational and literary skills.

In the last half of the twentieth century, major shifts have occurred in criminologists' underlying beliefs regarding crime-related problems (Cullen & Gendreau, 2001). Through the 1950s, all states used indeterminate sentencing with parole boards, which determined release dates for inmates. Incentive to participate in prison educational programs thus was high, and rehabilitation programs were important components of prison operation because participation in these programs improved chances for early release. Moreover, during the late 1960s criminologists gradually became persuaded that the causes of crime could be determined through evidence-based scientific study (Clear & Cole, 1997). Parole boards made extensive efforts to make sure prisoners were ready for reentry, and parole officers' primary responsibility was to help the inmates find appropriate services and programs (Seiter & Kadela, 2003).

During the 1970s corrections programs shifted toward a mindset that "nothing works." Many attributed this change of perspective to Robert Martinson's (1974a)

much heralded publication, "What Works? Questions and Answers about Prison Reform." Between 1968 and 1970 Martinson joined senior author Doug Lipton and co-author Judith Wilks in analyzing 231 corrections program evaluation reports carried out between 1945 and 1967. All three researchers analyzed prison programs such as educational approaches, vocational training, group therapy, psychotherapy, medical interventions, and intensive supervisions. Outcomes measured included recidivism, educational achievement, institution adjustment, and psychological change.

Sarre (1999) asserted that Martinson (1974a) published his first report without the consent of the other two authors and pointed to flaws in the publication. Among these flaws was the fact that some of the rehabilitation programs in Martinson's report did not have sufficient funds to provide the services they attempted to provide. More pointedly, Martinson's report dealt only with how rehabilitative treatment affected recidivism, a term with no common definition in criminal justice research. Martinson himself stated, "When the various studies use the term 'recidivism rate,' they may in fact be talking about somewhat different measures of offender behavior" (pp. 24-25).

In this sense, Martinson's conclusion, that "the rehabilitative efforts that have been reported so far have had no appreciable effect on recidivism" (p. 25), may be flawed because the outcome variable Martinson measured, recidivism, did not have a consistent operating definition. Furthermore, recent research indicates that using recidivism as an outcome variable may be inadequate for assessing the impacts of correctional education. Other pertinent variables such as "implementation, delivery,

retention, and other post-release variables" are generally not included in recidivism studies (Lewis, 2006, p. 286). Martinson (1974a) himself acknowledged inconsistencies in these variables when reporting data from a youth program: "It is impossible to tell whether this failure lay in the program itself or in the conditions under which it was administered" (p. 26).

The full report of the Lipton, Martinson, and Wilks survey, published five years after its completion, left some space for an optimistic view of prison rehabilitation: "The field of corrections has not *as yet* [italics added] found satisfactory ways to reduce recidivism by significant amounts" (Lipton, Martinson, & Wilks, 1975, p. 627). Martinson (1979) later recanted his pessimistic first report: "Some treatment programs do have an appreciable affect on recidivism" (p. 244).

As mentioned in Chapter One, despite Martinson's (1979) more hopeful view of prison rehabilitation programming, the political and public climate moved away from supporting rehabilitative programming for prisoners and toward more punitive approaches (Cullen & Gendreau, 2001). During the last twenty-five years of the twentieth century, reductions in funding and changes in parole supervision altered the prison system from a casework model to a surveillance model (Seiter & Kadela, 2003).

Today there appears to be renewed public interest in rehabilitation programs for prison inmates, although several problems related to creating and supporting such programs remain evident. A 2006 report of the Commission of Safety and Abuse in America's Prisons that compiled current issues in U.S. prisons indicates 87% of Americans favor rehabilitation services for prisoners rather than punishment only

(Gibbons & Katanbach, 2006, p. 12). The safety commission's report states "as a society we have focused on putting people away without understanding the reality of life behind bars or the consequences when correctional facilities fail" (p. 8) and that "violence remains a serious problem in America's prisons and jails" (p. 11). Six recommendations for preventing violence are outlined in the report. Several approaches to correctional education include developing social competence and enhancing thinking skills.

Issues related to criminal behavior. Research into the causes of criminal behavior generally falls into three levels of analysis: (a) psychological, (b) sociological, and (c) social psychological. Ardrey (1961) and Lorenz (1966) argue that human's instinctual drive to defend territory is a cause of criminal behavior. Other psychological levels of explaining criminal behavior include mental pathology (Glueck, 1959), hormonal imbalance and epilepsy (Shah & Roth, 1974), and maternal deprivation (McCord & McCord, 1956).

Variables of criminal behavior within sociological levels of analysis include social disorganization or weakening of social norms which appears to occur in certain areas of cities (Faris, Dunham, & Dunham, 1939; Shaw & McKay, 1942), cultural transmission of values that support rule-breaking (Cohen, 1955), and "opportune structure" where people without financial means attain particular material goods illegally (Merton, 1968; Cloward & Ohlin, 1960). These variables relate in various ways to pressures from social environments and eventually may lead to criminal behavior.

In social psychological levels of analysis inmates learn criminal behavior primarily from other inmates (Sutherland & Cressey, 1970). Termed "differential association," this concept proposes that people learn behavioral norms from the groups with which they associate. For instance, if a person socializes with others who engage in criminal behavior, then that person will consider criminal behavior acceptable (Leighninger & Popple, 1996). Daniel H. Antonowicz and Robert R. Ross (2005) report that a number of empirical studies indicate a link between low social problem solving skills and criminally offending (p. 99). They suggest implementing strategies to develop emotional skills, values, and social reasoning skills when designing and developing interventions for prisoners.

Enhancing thinking skills. A common element of successful prison education programs to date involves techniques that have the potential to influence offenders' thinking (Ross, Fabiano, & Ewles, 1988). According to Ross (2004) many offenders display some or all of the following eight specific cognitive deficiencies: (a) impulsivity prior to action and lack of reflection after the act, (b) externality, or the belief that offenders consider themselves powerless, controlled by other people and circumstances, lack persistence and ambition, (c) concrete thinking with limited abstract thinking skills and a lack of cognitive and affective empathy, (d) conceptual rigidity, (e) interpersonal cognitive problem-solving skills, (f) egocentricity, (g) values deficiencies, or the undeveloped sense among inmates of how their actions affect other people, and (h) critical reasoning.

Specific components of singing in a choir may address some of these inmate deficiencies. For example, the challenge of engaging the brain prior to matching a

pitch or even learning to coordinate muscles of the larynx in order to sustain a pitch may lessen the drive toward impulsivity. These experiences may also lessen inmates' egocentricity, particularly if inmates struggle with the process. Reflection on the words sung, moreover, may be a tool for developing abstract thinking skills and affective empathy.

Operating Definition for "Prison" and "Imprisonment"

Given such considerations, prisons are here defined as confined communities where offenders follow institutional routines in a single location under a central authority, experience social alienation, a loss or shift of identity, and often a sense of shame. Imprisonment begins with arrest and lasts through trial, sentencing, and incarceration. It then may continue after release in halfway houses and through a time of parole. The system often tracks sexual offenders for the rest of their lives.

Politics of Prison Systems and Prison-Based Choirs

A variety of internal and external factors associated with prison systems may affect the implementation and practice of prison-based choirs. With respect to internal factors, the Director of Corrections for each state is appointed by the state's governor. The Director of Correction's training, experience, and attitude toward rehabilitation affects his or her particular state rehabilitation and educational efforts. Therefore, the political climate of each state in the U.S. directly influences the state's attitude toward corrections' practices.

The attitude, training, and experience of each facility's warden, who is under the jurisdiction of the Director of Corrections, also affect the facility's rehabilitation and education practices. The warden's attitude toward volunteers influences whether

the facility allows them to participate in prison education programs as well as the quality of those programs. In addition to influences from the Director of Corrections and the warden, the prison staff's attitude toward inmates and volunteers, their training, and their experience affect the climate of their respective correctional facilities (Austin & Krisberg, 1981).

With respect to external issues, a facility's capacity and space affect whether a volunteer-run program can be established within the prison walls. Prisons that are at capacity or over-crowded may utilize classrooms for housing units, leaving little or no space for prison education programs (Vacca, 2004).

Resources for prison education programs vary across the U.S. Each state has different grant programs available for correctional education programming and different human resources available to request federal grants. Variations also occur among correctional professionals' attitudes toward rehabilitation, implementation, and practice of prison education programs.

Data-based investigations of joint inmate-volunteer prison choirs, although few in number, have indicated certain related variables. In order to build a theory for choral singing pedagogy in this context, these variables must be accounted for. As research continues to investigate this phenomenon, theoretical consistency requires a reassessment of the proposed theory through comparing, conflating, and assessing variables and their relationships in prison choir contexts.

Section Two: Research to Date on Prison-Based Choirs

Choral singing within a prison context offers a possible contrast to the issues of inmate social alienation identified in section one. For instance, data-based research

focusing on choral singing in prisons, although limited, suggests the meanings of these experiences do not lie purely in a musical realm. Rather, what appear to have lasting meaning for inmate and volunteer choristers are the related sociological and personal dimensions of choral singing (Cohen, 2005; Richmiller, 1992; Silber, 2005).

Research to date suggests that at least four primary interrelated variables operate in prison-based choirs. These variables include: (a) a tool for coping with incarceration, (b) identity formation, (c) bringing joy to oneself and others, and (d) changing behaviors.

Participating in a prison choir as a tool for coping with incarceration. Singing in a prison choir may serve as a tool for helping inmates cope with incarceration. Specifically, these experiences afford a means toward inmate self-expression, enhanced self-esteem, and relaxation.

Mary Richmiller (1992) investigated residual effects of former inmates' experiences 29 years after singing in a prison choir ("The Prodigals"), specifically between the years 1963 and 1966. One of the former inmate singers described how singing in the prison choir helps him manage his incarceration: "This was an activity that helped me maintain my sanity" (p. 87). He continued, "Music was a tool that I could use to help me live with myself, and make me feel like I was worthy of living" (p. 88). He stated that listening to his recording of The Prodigals when he was upset continued to help him calm down.

Cohen's (2005) study investigates the experiences of singing in a joint inmate-volunteer choir from a U.S. state men's facility. Inmate choristers report that the words they sing play a role in helping them deal with incarceration. These data

indicate that singing texted music in the prison choir provides a momentary psychological release from prison, an opportunity for self-expression, and a sense of hope. For example, an inmate from Cohen's (2005) study remarks, "In *Wunderbar* I can feel the joy, the love, the wonderful feeling that these two people are sharing with one another . . . for how long the song lasts, I am actually living it for that moment." In this sense, the song's words may remind inmates of life outside of prison. Another inmate declares that the words, "heals the sin sick soul," from the song "Balm of Gilead" helps "me express how I feel about my past" (p. 15).

Singing as a mental release from prison emerges as a common inmate theme among prison choristers: "Although I am here physically, my spirit is let go through song." One of the inmate singers states that a combination of factors created his experience: "Nothing individual carries me, not the music itself, but the coming together of the whole thing that makes it possible . . . for me, my escape, my spirit to soar." This same individual expresses that singing the words with the other singers had a meaningful impact on his experience: "It is their words, through the song, their singing helps me. . . . I need the help of the rest of group to lift me up where I need to go" (pp. 17-18).

Participating in a prison choir as one means of contributing to ideal futures. Cohen (2005) reports that inmates from the joint inmate-volunteer choir in her investigation learn, memorize, and recite narrations in public concerts. Volunteer singers suggest that these narrations appear to be a vital part of the concerts, and that they may positively influence audience reaction as much as the choral singing. Such narrations during choir performances offer a means for inmates to develop public

speaking skills, gain self-confidence, and relate to the audience members in a personal way.

Because many inmates who participate in prison choirs are new to singing, a chorister sings a particular song numerous times in preparation for performance. A former inmate singer from Richmiller's (1992) estimated that everyone had sung a song about 400 times before performing it in public (p. 91). Such repetition requires perseverance, self-discipline, and dedication.

Singing in prison choir seems to afford inmates an outlet for self-expression. In Laya Silber's (2005) investigation of an Israeli female prison choir, she reported that an inmate had been in solitary confinement for self-mutilation a few days prior to a particular choir rehearsal. At this rehearsal the inmate privately disclosed to Silber that she wished to sing a solo for the choir's ritualistic opening song as a prayer for her mother who was dying of AIDS. The structure of this song is similar to a call-and-response song with harmonic support from the chorus. The inmate, less popular than other inmates and apparently depressed, took a risk and sang the solo "passionately, buoyed by the soft harmonic support of the other voices. . . . It was clear that for the soloist, it was as if the group had not only supported her in her prayer but ultimately answered 'Amen.'" A combination of singing the words expressively and feeling the choir's vocal support appeared to help the inmate find "a means to communicate to and be consoled by those around her" (p. 263).

Silber reports that her prison choir formed an "alternative community" within the prison because the choir had its own codes, language, rules, and techniques.

Furthermore, the choir established opportunities for an alternative to criminal behavior and a safe space for participants to take risks.

Participation in prison choir as a means to bring joy to others and to celebrate ideal futures. Richmiller (1992) indicates that former inmate singers perceived their singing in the choir benefited their community. A former choir member stated, "If you read anything about prisons then [during the 1960s], they talked about the individuals as being less than human, generally. Therefore, when you could do something that made everybody happy and pleased them, it lifted you up (in your own opinion) in their eyes" (p. 92). Another former inmate recalled experiences from outside concerts, "It was heart-filling to know that even though the position I was in [a prisoner], I was still able to impart happiness to other people" (p. 96). In these ways, a combination of the word factor and the somatic factor in choral singing seems to provide an outlet for developing concentration skills, abstract thinking, and critical reasoning.

When asked to describe the experience of singing in a recent concert, one inmate remarked, "It was like holding 700 or so people in the palm of your hand. It was like they were just waiting on the next thing so they could go—ahhh, yeah. . . . It's almost like you are filling a need."

Participation in prison choir as a means of learning new behaviors. Data indicate that prison choir participation may potentially and positively transform inmate behavior. Impulsivity, one of the possible inmate cognitive deficiencies Ross (2004) delineated, may be lessened through developing and practicing the somatic skills necessary for choral singing. For instance, Silber (2005) described how her

inmate choristers initially acted out impulsively: bursting into a different song than the one being rehearsed or singing before the chorus was prepared to start. To improve the choristers' self-control, Silber implemented strategies such as teaching her choristers to think the pitch before phonating, to be aware of taking breaths together as an ensemble, and to articulate consonants at the same time as the other singers. Silber reported that the choir members adopted the "cut-off" sign they learned from choir as a non-threatening way to stop arguments. She stated that at the end of the choir's second performance, the deputy warden commented: "These girls were in solitary confinement and barely human. They were wild and undisciplined . . . now they know their part, they are organized, they sing together and are very connected to you" (p. 264). Many of the inmates in the prison choir investigations had not sung in a choir before and had never sung in a public concert. Data indicate that inmate singers were surprised at the slow process involved in preparing for a choral concert (Cohen, 2005).

Cohen (2005) reports that an inmate singer who had difficulty matching pitch stated, "My most positive experience was doing the note comparisons with [the researcher], that is when I realized I could do it" (p. 14). Individual vocal training helped this inmate learn to develop coordination of his larynx muscles necessary first simply to sustain a pitch, second to match a pitch with another voice, and third to learn tools for individual practice.

Richmiller (1992) indicated that a former inmate singer who served as a leader for The Prodigals remarked, "None of the choir members, during their membership, ever had any disciplinary action taken against them. Being a choir member meant

they were to set an example, like no fighting [*sic*]" (p. 79). Another former singer

stated, "It [singing in The Prodigals] taught me the sweet rewards and satisfaction that

comes from doing something positive as opposed to the rewards of negative

behavior" (p. 42). Former staff members reported that choir members were more

amenable to treatment (although Richmiller did not state what type of treatment) than

other inmates (p. 47).

As noted in section one, inmates tend to experience cognitive deficiencies.

Choral singing, on the other hand, requires focused concentration. As a former inmate

leader for the Prodigals recalled: "You've got to concentrate on your part, because it's

very easy to stray to another person's part if you don't concentrate" (Richmiller,

1992, p. 78). This inmate taught his fellow singers to focus on their own singing

while simultaneously listening to the other parts (p. 79).

Cohen (2005) suggests that a combination of experiences in a joint inmate-

volunteer choir provides opportunities for positive transformative change. The

complex relationships among the sung words, interactions with volunteers and

audience members, and inmates' enhanced self-perception merge to provide a context

for changes in inmate behavior. A former prison choir participant declared, "Do you

have any idea of how it feels to get a standing ovation when you've been told all your

life that you're not worth anything?" (p. 18). A veteran volunteer likened the

conductor's efforts to working with a piece of clay and shaping it into something

beautiful.

Identity formation. Tajifel (1978) argues that social identity development is

best characterized as a matter of collective action rather than individual initiative. He

suggests that people tend to seek solutions to identity acquisition in various stages through affirming and relevant group memberships.

These concepts seem to align well with data from prison choir research. For example, social contacts through choral singing appear to bolster inmates' identity formation. While incarcerated, inmates who participate in a prison choir have opportunities to develop relationships with other inmates who seem to be looking for something positive to participate in while incarcerated. Through their common goals of preparing for a prison choir performance, these individuals tend to develop relationships. One former inmate singer commented that the relationships that began through the choir "developed into many positive lifetime friendships" (Richmiller, 1992, p. 36). Another former singer indicated that singing in the choir helped with his re-entry because of the "cooperation, teamwork, being appreciated, [and] meeting square people" (p. 36).

Community involvement appears to contribute to inmate positive self-perception. One inmate singer noted that his most positive experience of singing in the choir was "being accepted by people immediately" (Cohen, 2005, p. 12), referring to being accepted by volunteer singers and also being accepted by audience members. The Prodigals regularly performed outside the prison walls. Former staff indicated that these trips allowed inmates opportunities to be exposed to non-inmates in a more natural setting than at the prison facility: "Inmates were able to mix with church people and had a better understanding of the good life outside of the prison" (Richmiller, 1992, p. 56). Furthermore, these experiences "gave 'civilians' a refreshingly unbiased look at incarcerated offenders. It demonstrated to skeptical staff

that these inmates could be trusted" (p. 48). One of the former staff members remarked that inmates were "viewed as regular people rather than as convicts" (p. 53). Richmiller (1992) reported, "The feeling of acceptance and achievement, perceived by standing ovations, applause, and interest of the community during these concerts, greatly helped the felon in creating a better attitude about himself and his future potential" (p. 39).

An inmate chorister from Cohen's (2005) study described his interaction with audience members after a concert: "Everyone came out and shook hands . . . everyone looked at one another as a person in a much sought-after group" (p. 16). These perceptions positively influenced inmates' self-image.

These external influences seem to play an integral role in inmates' self perception. For instance, Cohen (2005) reports that a former inmate singer declared, "I absolutely hate the behavior that resulted in my incarceration but I have stopped hating myself. It is programs like [name withheld] that can help me in this process of believing in myself [*sic*]" (p. 17). Silber (2005) reported that one of her inmate choristers "receives much encouragement for her singing. She has many areas of failure but here she shines. She has really found her niche" (p. 267).

Desegregation issues were prominent in Richmiller's (1992) investigation. The choir conductor's desegregation efforts, moreover, may have influenced the inmates' sense of identity. The prison choir members in Richmiller's study ("The Prodigals") were housed at the Moberly Training Center for Men in Moberly, Missouri, which opened in 1963 as a racially integrated prison. Chaplain Earl Grandstaff, founder and conductor of The Prodigals, recruited a chorus membership

of 50% White inmates and 50% Black inmates. When the choir began to receive invitations to perform at community churches, Grandstaff would only accept invitations when two churches, one African American and one Caucasian, would co-host a concert and serve a meal. Initially, some churches withdrew their invitations when the church members realized this stipulation (p. 23).

Chaplain Grandstaff recalled some of the challenges and successes of his efforts for racial integration: "In some of those small towns, where they hadn't even seen many blacks [*sic*], it was a little scary, and they were somewhat anxious. But before the night was over . . . everyone was laughing and having a wonderful time" (p. 101).

Despite the fact that this choir was integrated, a former staff member recalled the mood of the choir was "one for all and all for one" (p. 56). Through such experiences inmates' sense of personal identity seems to have not been affected by the strong racial segregation that was apparent in their day. They seem to have gained a sense of respect for one another despite these outward differences thereby building a healthier sense of self-perception.

Inmates from the prison choir in Cohen's (2005) investigation report a broader understanding of other cultures through singing in this choir: "This musical experience is bigger than just the music. It has some effects on my life, like the way I view other cultures." Singing in this choir provided an opportunity for inmates to develop human relationships that cross racial lines: "It helped me open up a door and see them [inmates] from a human side instead of some dude." One of the inmates in Cohen's (2005) study remarked, "In prison you have a tendency to hang around your

ethnic group . . . and coming to something like this you see those barriers disappear"

(p. 15).

In a study of songs performed or written by inmates, Marianne Fisher-

Giorlando (1988) indicated that the words inmates sing reflect components of their

identity and their prison experience. Her study spanned over 100 years: from the early

1800s to the 1980s and explored the words from prison songs such as unpublished

songs written by 1980s prisoners, folk songs, and commercially recorded music.

Fisher-Giorlando found differences between Black and White inmates' songs in terms

of style, content, and function. For example, Black inmates used work songs, while

White inmates did not have any similar type of song. She indicated that a tentative

perception of Black inmate subculture prior to the 1970s developed through their

relationship to the work song. She also reported that both Black and White inmates

sang songs that expressed their concern for the "pains of imprisonment," particularly

their separation from loved ones and friends (p. 18).

Negative variables. Several negative variables can occur in prison choir

contexts. Such variables may not be avoidable given the social-institutional matrix in

which inmates must live. Occasionally prison incidents require facility "lock downs,"

in which all scheduled programs and classes are cancelled. Prison staff may move

inmates from one facility to another or within one facility to a different security level.

These institutional practices may directly affect choir rehearsals and personnel.

Data indicate that some of the inmate and volunteer singers experience

negative feelings from their choral singing experiences. For instance, Cohen (2005)

reports that some inmates experienced frustration with their limited musical skills. A

few volunteers reported that they became agitated when they heard inmates singing under-pitch during the concerts.

Inmate singers from Cohen's and Richmiller's studies reported frustration with fellow inmates who do not seem to take their choral participation seriously: "The only criticisms I have are with my own peers . . . coming into practice late . . . not learning material, whining about the amount of work" (Cohen, 2005, p. 14). Former staff from Richmiller's (1992) investigation reported that inmates who were highly self-disciplined "were impatient with peers who were always late" (p. 55).

Two former inmate choristers from Richmiller's investigation recalled incidents of choir teasing. One inmate remembered that he "almost got in a fight." Another inmate indicated his most negative recollection of the choir was "ridicule from the inmates that were not involved" (p. 42).

Dissimilarity among Prison and Choir Variables

Prisons and choirs are fundamentally different in a number of ways, especially in terms of individual and group processes. For example, for security purposes, inmates are referred to by numbers, are required to follow specific rules, and individual behavior is rewarded or punished accordingly. Alternatively, in choirs, individual and group expression can be encouraged. The singers express themselves through choral sound, participants develop a group sound through individual expression, and some conductors tend to establish a family-like rather than an authoritarian structure. These concepts seem to run counter to the hierarchical structure and "encompassing tendencies" as referenced by Goffman of prisons.

In some prison contexts, personal values of music may be "used as a 'daily act of resistance and survival' against the stress of incarceration" (Elsila, 1995). Elsila refers to this process as "infrapolitics," indicating that although the music is not explicitly political, it can be viewed as "waging war on the anonymity of prison life" (p. 44). Inmates tend to perceive their participation in music activities as a means for personal power: "In prison . . . music's symbolic values—its personal functions, the hidden transcripts—are not converted into economic power, but personal power. This power is especially important in prison because it represents an individual voice, the antithesis of incarceration" (p. 44).

U.S. state and federal correctional systems currently employ a four level security model: minimum, medium, maximum, and super-maximum custody levels. Inmates are assigned to different custody levels depending on the crime committed, the length of time incarcerated, and behavior while incarcerated. Security levels at prisons affect inmate's ability to participate in special programs such as choirs. In Cohen's (2005) study, all inmate singers were in a minimum security level at a state facility. In order to participate in the public concerts, the inmate singers had to maintain a clean disciplinary record for a required number of days.

Section Three: Toward a Theory of Interactional Choral Singing Pedagogy

As mentioned previously, Tim Futing Liao (1990) suggests basic steps for theory construction include: (a) articulating concepts unambiguously by explicating operational definitions, (b) specifying relationships among variables, and (c) stating the theory in such a way that it has the capacity of being either falsified or confirmed.

The theory constructed in this investigation is termed an "Interactional Choral Singing Pedagogy."

Operational Definitions

The operational definitions employed in this study derive from a review of literature, an analysis of Small's theory of musicking, and an examination of relevant data, particularly data on prison education, prison contexts, and prison choirs. The variables to be defined represent aspects of the phenomena of choral singing in prisons: behaviors, choristers, prison choristers, choral singing, choral musicking, teacher-conductor, education, growth, pedagogy, musical pieces, prison/imprisonment, social interaction, and prison-based education.

Behaviors. A person's reactions in response to an external or internal stimulus.

Choral musicking. With specific reference to Christopher Small's theory of musicking, choral musicking comprises social and sonic relationships of choral singing and interactions therein. These relationships may occur among choristers, sung words, audience members, and the teacher-conductor and may happen during rehearsals, performances, or activities that directly relate to these events. Choral musicking may also include ritual experiences that encompass group singing.

Choral singing. Choral singing is group singing, with sufficient individual voices in a particular group to produce a psycho-acoustical "chorusing effect" (Daugherty, 2001, 2007; Ternström, 1994). Typically, a chorusing effect occurs when there are three or more singers phonating the same frequencies. Therefore, choral singing occurs when there are three or more singers for each voice part employed

(soprano, alto, tenor, bass, etc.) in singing either scored or improvised choral literature.

Choristers. The people who sing in a choir.

Desirable personal behaviors. Desirable personal behaviors are those assessable behaviors that prison choristers may develop through choral musicking that relate to individual growth in as self-concept, self-discipline, attention span, vocal skills, increased lung capacity, vocabulary building, and thinking skills.

Desirable social behaviors. Desirable social behaviors are those assessable behaviors that prison choristers may develop through choral musicking that relate to interpersonal skills in sociability, citizenship, and decreased criminal behaviors.

Education. This investigation employs Lawrence Cremin's (1988) definition of education: "the deliberate, systematic, and sustained effort to transmit, evoke, or acquire knowledge, values, attitudes, skills, or sensibilities as well as any learning that results from the effort, direct or indirect, intended or unintended" (p. ix-x).

Growth. As used here, growth is defined as assessable improvement from a measured baseline condition.

Musical pieces. The selections, composed or improvised, that the choir sings are termed "musical pieces." These may include short selections such as vocal warm-ups or lengthier compositions. The choir may learn these pieces aurally, through notated scores, or a combination of these methods. Choristers may contribute to the arranging or composing of these pieces. While musical pieces may include what is traditionally described as "musical works," they are not limited to such.

Pedagogy. In this study, the term "pedagogy" is synonymous with education.

Prison-based education. A learner-empowering program that "is moral, critical, and social in its context and operation" and occurs primarily in a prison setting (Werner, 1990, p. 161).

Prison/imprisonment. Prisons are defined as confined communities where offenders follow institutional routines in a single location under a central authority, experience social alienation, a loss or shift of identity, and often a sense of shame. Imprisonment begins with arrest and lasts through trial, sentencing, and incarceration. It then may continue after release in halfway houses and through a time of parole. The system often tracks sexual offenders for the rest of their lives.

Prison choristers. The inmate singers who sing in a prison-based choir on a consistent basis for the duration necessary to prepare and perform in a concert.

Recidivism. Different correctional facilities define recidivism differently. For example, some states do not count offenders who are released from a state facility and re-incarcerated in a facility located in a different state because of the difficulty in tracking such movement. The Florida Department of Corrections does not count an individual who commits a lesser offense that results in incarceration in a county jail as recidivism. The Colorado Department of Corrections includes technical violators in their definition of recidivism (Beck, 2001, p. 1). Various state prisons use anywhere from a 1 to 22 year time frame for counting recidivism (Camp & Camp, 1998, pp. 56-57). For this study, recidivism is defined as a reconviction (either county dispositions or return to prison) within three years after an offender is paroled or discharged. Reconviction in a different state, although difficult to track, is considered recidivism.

Social interaction. Social interaction denotes the human communication that occurs among choristers (whether these interactions occur between inmates solely or some combination of inmates and volunteers or prison staff), between the teacher-conductor and choir, between the choristers and the audience members, and between prison staff and choir personnel. This communication may be verbal or non-verbal. Such interaction, moreover, occurs in specific contexts, including prisons and performance or rehearsal venues outside the prison walls.

Teacher-conductor. The teacher-conductor is the choir's facilitator. This person plans learning experiences for choral rehearsals and prepares the choir for its performances. During performances, the teacher-conductor may or may not serve as a conductor in the traditional sense (i.e., visually gesturing to the choir). Rather, the teacher-conductor may establish tempo and pitch, then step aside or sing with the choir.

This definition of teacher-conductor is based on Durrant's (2003) theory of choral conducting as singer-centered. As such, it stands in opposition to teacher-centered perspectives of the conductor as "maestro" or master (Daugherty, 2007).

Relationships among Variables

According to the data available on prison-based choirs, singing in a prison choir appears to provide a means for inmates to cope with incarceration, develop a sense of personal identity, construct and celebrate ideal futures, and learn new behaviors (Cohen, 2005; Richmiller, 1992; Silber, 2005). The relationships between these variables interact with one another (see Figure 3).

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┌─────────────────────────────┐   ┌──────────────────────────────────────┐
│  1. Choral Musicking        │   │ 2. Coping with incarceration through   │
│     in prisons              │   │    singing                             │
│     Singing                 │   │       Self-expression                  │
│     Speaking                │   │       Self-esteem                      │
│     Practicing              │   │       Relaxation                       │
│     Performing              │   │   Momentary psychological release from │
│                             │   │              prison                    │
│                             │   │               Hope                     │
└─────────────────────────────┘   └──────────────────────────────────────┘

┌─────────────────────────────┐   ┌──────────────────────────────────────┐
│ 3. Forming one's identity   │   │ 4. Constructing and celebrating        │
│   Interactions with others  │   │       ideal futures                    │
│    Develop friendships      │   │   Emotional connections to words       │
│  Feeling accepted by others │   │     Singing to an audience             │
│      Achieve goals          │   │     Imagining ideal futures            │
│    Increase self-esteem     │   │                                        │
│  Become a "choir member"    │   │                                        │
└─────────────────────────────┘   └──────────────────────────────────────┘

        ┌─────────────────────────────────────────────┐
        │        5. Learning new behaviors            │
        │          Impulsivity lessened               │
        │     Decreased disciplinary infractions      │
        │    Improved singing and speaking skills     │
        │          Public speaking skills             │
        │        Increased somatic awareness          │
        │         Increased attention span            │
        │          Improved thinking skills           │
        │           Respect for authority             │
        └─────────────────────────────────────────────┘
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Figure 3. Choral musicking in prison-based choirs.

Theory of Interactional Choral Pedagogy in Prison Contexts

Modeled after Small's concept of musicking, the theory of interactional choral

pedagogy here proposed states:

Choral musicking experiences in prison contexts facilitated by a

knowledgeable teacher-conductor results in assessable growth in desirable

personal and social behaviors by individual prison choristers, when those

choral musicking experiences include (a) engaging choristers in appropriate

ways with combinations of the somatic and word factors unique to choral

singing including the thoughtful selection of musical pieces, (b) the intentional

development of mutual and simultaneous relationships between musical

sounds produced by prison choristers, the social interactions between and

among people making or listening to such sounds, and the relationships

between such singing and such people, such that (c) growth in desirable

personal and social behaviors occurs in a manner specific to choral

musicking that can be measured qualitatively and quantitatively.

This theory recognizes that each participant's level of engagement, attitude

toward the learning process, and awareness level of these processes influence

individual growth. The personalities of each chorister may also affect the group

learning process. Moreover, each prison-based choir, similar to choirs in other

contexts, is distinctive in terms of its membership, history, traditions, audiences,

geographic location, motivations, intentions of participants, and other contextual

factors.

Levels of Interactional Choral Pedagogy

Using a framework that Bateson and Small employed for categorization

purposes, interactions in prison-based choral singing may occur on at least three

levels (see Table 8). Prison choristers' initial choral experiences more than likely will

be at a level one. Rather than a chorister completing a level and moving on to the next

level, the interactions that occur at level one continue to occur at levels two and three.

Growth and development take place in a manner that is individually appropriate for each chorister.

As Carter (2005) suggests, "Choral singing requires a particular kind of environment in which to thrive" (p. 1). At the very least, interactions within the choir must occur in a safe environment with the teacher-conductor facilitating in a supportive and nurturing manner.

Level one interactions. Level one interactions are evident in singing together as a choir. For example, coordinating individual singing with group singing requires some or all of the following components: matching pitch with others, working toward rhythmic accuracy, expressing dynamics and tempo as an ensemble, gaining independence of vocal parts, and either following a conductor's gestures or coordinating without a conductor the onset, phrasing, articulation, and cut-off of choral sound. Choristers intermingling with one another, the leader, and audience members also may be considered a level one interaction.

Level two interactions. In order for new choristers to be aware of level two interactions, at least one to six months of consistently attending practice sessions may be necessary. One possible area of level two interactions is the relation between two or among multiple somatic processes in the context of choral singing. Examples include body alignment, breath management, mouth shape, unnecessary physical tension, physical health (such as appropriate hydration and cessation of smoking), and relaxation. Another level two interaction occurs through the chorister's awareness of his or her commitment to attendance and how that commitment level affects the quality of the choir.

Level three interactions. Level three interactions include the awareness of relations between a chorister's role in the choir and his or her role in greater society. Such interactions would include transferring behaviors from his or her choral experiences to his or her own life. For example, a prison chorister who considers the "choir as family" (Stollak & Stollak, 1991; Stollak, Stollak, Meyers, & Stollak, 1994) may consider himself or herself as a family member within the choir and embrace the social responsibilities (e.g., consistent and punctual attendance, personal best rehearsal and performance efforts, perseverance through difficult times in the choir) and emotional connections (e.g., demonstrating respect for fellow choristers and conductor, showing compassion toward other members and conductor) of such a role. A level three interaction would occur when that chorister transfers such behaviors and responsibilities to his or her own family and incorporates positive changes in his or her behavior such as increased responsibility (e.g., outward concern for family's financial situation, plan for post-incarceration employment) and improved communication (honest and caring verbal, nonverbal, and written communication).

When a chorister transfers ideas learned through the word factor to life outside of choir, he or she has interacted at a level three. For instance, an inmate who personalizes the phrase, "Each man's grief is my own" from "No Man Is an Island" by recognizing how his or her past actions may have caused another person grief, would be interacting on a level three.

Table 8

Levels of Interactional Choral Pedagogy

Level One: Basic Actions

Interactions that are part of singing

Interactions that are part of socializing

Level Two: Awareness of Word and Somatic Factors in Choral Singing

Interactions among somatic factors

Interactions between commitment to attendance and choir's quality

Level Three: Examples of Transfers from Choir Experiences to Life

Interactions between one's role in the choir and one's role in society

Interactions between one's role in the choir and one's role in one's family

Research Directions toward Theoretical Consistency

Liao (1990) suggests that the evaluation of a theory may occur in one or all of the following three dimensions: (a) its "capacity of being confirmed or falsified," (b) "its generality of scope conditions," and (c) "its ability to induce new paradigms" (p. 91). With respect to confirmation or falsification, the theory should be able to withstand credible assessment. Its description must be clear and worded in such a way that it may be judged as true or false. Moreover, because choral singing per se is contextually based, any generalizations from one data set to another require careful and critical analyses. "Scope conditions" prevent a theory from becoming too broad. By placing conditions on the theory's boundary, its application remains in line with the theory's capacity.

For his third dimension Liao borrows ideas from Thomas Kuhn (1962). Kuhn suggests that "scientific revolutions" begin with a shift in professional commitments to shared assumptions. New theories both demand a reconstruction of a priori assumptions and are strongly resisted by traditional practices.

Confirmation or Falsification of the Theory

Liao (1990) suggests that empirical assessments contribute to falsifying or confirming a theory. In terms of the theory of interactional choral pedagogy in prison contexts, assessments may begin with establishing a baseline for each chorister at the first choir rehearsal with respect to his or her vocal skill (both singing and speaking), lung capacity, and social skills. Baseline assessments should also be made with respect to the chorusing effect, both acoustical and interpersonal, of the group as a whole.

Possible assessments related to desirable personal behaviors. Numerous possibilities related to participants' vocal use are conceivable. For example, an individual voice range profile of each participant can be collected at the beginning of his or her participation in the choir and repeated after a certain number of months of participation. Qualities of participants' speaking voice may likewise be measured including speaking pitch, enunciation, and vocal inflection.

Carter (2005) offers a variety of exercises to help choristers effectively communicate sung words through expressive facial communication. Many of these exercises may be used as an intervention for building choristers' communication skills. A pre- post- assessment of the particular skill targeted may be taken before and after the teacher-conductor leads the choristers in these exercises. To develop facial

expression, Carter suggests that the choristers share a humorous or exciting story with a partner in the following manner. Partner A expressively speaks his or her story to partner B while attempting to engage partner B enthusiastically. Upon cue (after approximately five seconds), partner A shifts from speaking the story to singing the story to partner B. The teacher-conductor continues to cue partner A to shift between speaking and singing the story after short increments. After approximately one minute, the roles are reversed and partner B speaks and sings his or her story to partner A. At the conclusion of the exercise, the teacher-conductor leads the choristers through a reflection process to help them examine how facial expression affected the storytelling experience and examine their feelings during the activity (pp. 28-29).

Carter (2005) also suggests a variety of activities to enhance the choristers' ability to tap into their imaginations. The following idea is adapted from Chapter Six, "Words and Pictures" (pp. 73-81) and Chapter Eight, "Personal Matters" (pp. 101-112). First, through a group brainstorm technique, teacher-conductor guides the choristers to create details using imagery that reflects the mood of the lyrics. Continuing this group technique, the choristers create a story that can precede the singing of the text, such as the reason why the group is singing that particular song and where the group is performing it. Once the choristers have become comfortable with engaging their imaginations, the teacher-conductor allows prison choristers to brainstorm individually and share ideas with partners or with the group. The next step of this process is for the teacher-conductor to choose musical pieces that allow the choristers to direct their imagination toward their ideal futures. Possible questions for

this process are: In what ways will the prison choristers need to act with their families in order to reestablish healthy and nurturing relationships? In what ways will the prison choristers need to act during their search for employment, at interviews, job training, and at future jobs?

With respect to choristers' physical health, a variety of measurements related to lung volume may be taken. These include total capacity, vital capacity, residual capacity, inspiratory volume, expiratory volume, reserve, and tidal volume can be measured with a spirometer or a manometer when the chorister first joins the choir and after the chorister has sung for a certain number of months. Prison choristers could take the Medical Outcomes Study 36-item short-form health survey which has a one multi-item scale that assesses eight health concepts such as bodily pain, psychological distress and well-being, limitations in activities due to health-related issues, and general health perceptions (Ware & Sherbourne, 1992). Pre- post-measurements can be collected and analyzed.

Other mental measurements that may serve as appropriate pre-post assessment tools with prison choristers include the Coopersmith self-esteem scale and the Rosenberg self-esteem scale (Bennett, Sorensen, & Forshay, 1973; Rosenberg, 1965). A combination of quantitative measurement and qualitative measurements may provide a more thorough data set.

Possible assessments related to desirable social behaviors. Lewis (2006) suggests that researchers should examine the influences of educational programming on family relations, public safety, income generated within the community, and employment (p. 293). These measures may be investigated through qualitative data

collection from inmate families and prison staff. Upon release from prison, with proper permission from the correctional facility, a teacher-conductor could communicate with the ex-offender's parole officer on a regular basis to track aspects of the ex-offender's activities such as employment, law-abiding behavior, educational activities, and musical practices. Another possible source for data collection is a prison chorister's family. For this approach, data may be collected both while the prison chorister is incarcerated and after release from prison.

Incident studies may compare prison choristers' disciplinary reports during the duration of participation in the choir to a control group of inmates who do not participate in the choir. These data may inform the facility in terms of how prison choirs influence safety within the prison. Quantitative tools may help track social behaviors such as the Texas social behavior inventory (Helmreich & Stapp, 1974).

Scope Conditions

The purpose of scope conditions is to delineate the applicability of general theoretical principles. Cohen (1980) states that scope conditions are "the conditions under which general principles are seemed to be true, or the conditions constituting an appropriate test of principles" (p. 88). Because few prison choir programs currently exist, the scope conditions listed below must be further defined and redefined through subsequent research. The scope conditions necessary for the theory of interactional choral singing pedagogy for prison choirs include: (a) opportunity for regular, ongoing and formal choral singing experiences for prisoners facilitated by a knowledgeable teacher-conductor, (b) prison choristers must attend rehearsals consistently, (c) the higher the attendance rate the greater the opportunity for prison

choristers to achieve assessable growth, (d) the teacher-conductor must learn the risks and needs of a prison population and prepare to work in a correctional facility by attending volunteer training sessions if offered at the facility and continue to learn strategies for working with this population, (e) the teacher-conductor must be skilled in understanding facilitating the process of interacting sets of musicking relationships, including those between choral sounds and persons making or listening to those sounds, as well as somatic factors and word factors, rather than focusing simply upon constructing a finished performance product for its own sake, (f) the teacher-conductor must prepare careful, thoughtful, well-planned learning experiences for the prison choristers, including those that afford opportunity for prisoners to construct their own learning in choral singing contexts, and must be able to adapt and change plans as necessary, (g) the teacher-conductor must present learning material in a way that appeals to inmates, and (h) the correctional facility must provide support for the program in terms of providing access to rehearsal space, communicating to inmates about the rehearsal schedule, and if performances occur outside of the facility, provide staff and vehicles to escort inmates to the performance venue and return to the prison.

Paradigm Shift

This theory of choral singing pedagogy provides a conceptual basis for choral professionals to consider a broader concept of the meanings of choral music-making. Although experiencing musical sounds is a central element of choral singing, this theory proposes a much richer and more complex understanding of the meanings of choral singing. Rather than walking away from a choral singing rehearsal or concert

and considering only the sounds the chorus created, this theory integrates the complex social interactions that were as much a part of the experience as the sonic dimensions, and requires one to consider how the word factor and the somatic factor, here posited as variables that must be considered in any theory of choral singing or choral singing pedagogy, contributed to personal and societal meanings.

Section Four: Summary and Conclusions

The purpose of this investigation has been to raise and examine questions in light of known prison education and prison choir data in order to build a theory of choral singing pedagogy for prison-based choirs. The process for constructing this theory has included defining operational terms, specifying relationships between variables, and stating the theory in a manner that it can either be confirmed or falsified.

The following research questions guided this study: (a) Who is Christopher Small? (b) How does his life, work, and writing relate to his theory of musicking? (c) What are the primary assumptions, meanings, and implications of Small's theory of musicking for choral singing pedagogy in general, and specifically, for choral singing pedagogy in the context of prison-based choirs? and (d) How might Small's philosophy contribute to building a viable theory of choral singing pedagogy with choirs composed jointly of prison inmates and community volunteers?

Throughout Small's life he displayed a variety of unconventionalities. He researched ethnic African and Asian musical practices at a time when university curricula focused on Euro-centric classical music. During retirement Small prepared three thirty-minute radio shows that featured African American music for a broadcast

on the British Broadcasting Corporation Radio Three. Although some critics were offended by this show and he received racist hate mail, he admitted that he reveled in the opportunity "of getting up the Establishment's nose" (Small, as cited in Thornley, 1992, p. 35). As well read as he is, Small does not cite any philosophers of music education. Through zoology studies and interactions with Gregory Bateson's concepts, Small developed a rich understanding of relational complexities among living organisms. These learning experiences eventually connected to his understanding of the meaning of music-making in human lives and the development of his theory of musicking.

For Small, meanings of musical performances lie in the relationships between sounds and among people. He defines music as a verb and suggests that human elements that are core components of musicking are central to its meaning. This perspective may be seen as a paradigm shift from traditional aesthetic frameworks of music and philosophies of music education that tend to place music in a realm separate from human experiences.

Small's concept of musicking provides a framework for including social dimensions as an integral component of the teaching process. Incorporating social components in music teaching may help learners explore, affirm, and celebrate their concepts of what Small terms above as "right relationships."

In some ways, Small's theory could be perceived as an implicit critique of certain contemporary music education methodologies that have a limited recognition of social dimensions and that primarily train basic musical skills [e.g., Kodaly, sight-singing approaches, drill-based notation]. Small (1975a) states rather directly,

"Personally, when I hear the word 'method' I reach for my tommy-gun" (p. 112). In this sense, Small disapproves of uncritical trust educators may place in scientific findings and suggests rather than considering education as an object or a fixed sequence, teaching should be learner-centered and approached as an interactive process.

Concepts from Small's first two books, *Music, Society, Education* (1977) and *Music of the Common Tongue* (1987), may signal the beginnings of a paradigm shift (Kuhn, 1962) in the music profession's conception of music. Indeed, Andrew Peggie (1988), a reviewer of Small's book *Music of the Common Tongue*, indicates, "The fundamental shift in thinking which he indicates is even now beginning to happen, but it is unlikely to take strong root for some considerable time to come" (p. 201). Small's third book, *Musicking: The Meanings of Musical Performances* (1998) carries his argument forward and explains his mature theory in the context of a Western symphonic musical concert. Through these concepts, Small has given the music profession a tool to broaden how it understands its own fundamental structure.

This study has assumed that choral singing employs words ("the word factor") and that people sing choral music ("the somatic factor"). An investigation of three contemporary North American music education philosophies, namely those of Estelle Jorgensen, David Elliott, and Bennett Reimer, revealed minimal accommodation of these two factors of choral singing. Rather, their concepts appeared in line with more traditional aesthetic theories of music. Because Christopher Small's concept of musicking provided a framework for understanding the contextual aspects of the word factor in choral singing, and because musicking affords ample opportunity for

the relational aspects of the somatic factor, his theory of musicking served as an appropriate framework for choral singing pedagogy. Moreover, because these concepts are dynamic and changing with each particular circumstance, Small's theory operated appropriately for choral singing in prison contexts.

The minimal research that is available on choral singing in prisons suggests that these experiences may affect inmates' lives beyond learning transactional musicianship and musical listening skills. Choral singing may transform inmates' sense of self and empower them to change their lives in a positive manner. Research indicates that two central components of quality prison education programs are that meaningful activities allow participants to develop social competence and cognitive skills. Choral singing in prisons affords inmates opportunities to develop these two skills. These opportunities are particularly relevant when considered in the context of current percentages of the U.S. population now imprisoned.

Following Liao's (1990) standards for theory construction—defining operational variables, specifying relationships among variables, and stating the theory in a defensible or falsifiable manner—a theory of choral singing pedagogy was proposed. The theory may be assessed through either one or all of the following three procedures: empirical investigations, delineating the scope conditions, or exploring the theory's ability to stimulate new paradigms. The theory proposed in this investigation suggests that if choral singing is facilitated in a manner that accommodates the word factor and the somatic factor appropriately, choristers experience assessable growth in a number of different realms. Future research is warranted in order to falsify, confirm, or refine the proposed theory.

Conclusions

The social challenges of crime and the complexities of the U.S. criminal justice system, including the variations of penal practice across the country and the large number of people incarcerated in United States, demand creative and effective approaches to prison education programs. Choral singing in prison contexts may serve as a tool for building inmates' self awareness and social awareness, thereby offering a "normalizing" (Harer, 1995) experience while incarcerated. Yet starting new prison-based choral programs without carefully analyzing the variables evident in these phenomena may not generate appropriate, efficient, and meaningful choral singing experiences in prison contexts.

The limited data-based research on prison choirs indicates that the social dimensions of singing provide opportunities for inmates to cope with incarceration, form positive identities, and constructively transform negative behaviors. In this sense, implementation of the proposed theory may benefit inmate populations. This investigation points toward a theory of interactional choral singing pedagogy in prison contexts such that people who participate in choirs experience improved desirable personal and social behaviors.

Choral music educators who wish to initiate prison choirs in their local regions may provide more meaningful learning experiences for participants by considering the theoretical framework generated in this investigation rather than following traditional choral music education frameworks (e.g., Brinson, 1996; Collins, 1993; Miller, 1988). Teaching under the framework of the proposed theory,

choral music educators may offer "a student-empowering educational program which is moral, critical, and social in its context and operation" (Werner, 1990, p. 161).

A broader perspective of music as evidenced in this investigation—one that incorporates the relational dimensions of music-making as examined by Small—may serve as an alternative to aesthetic frameworks or product-centered frameworks for choral singing pedagogy by addressing three process-related components: (a) the somatic factor, (b) the word factor, and (c) contextual dimensions. In choral singing, the musical agent and the musical instrument are one. By the same token, a framework that views singing or words as separate from music dismisses a central process of choral singing. Finally, each choral singing experience is unique because of a choir's membership, culture, traditions, and the particular acoustic venues in which a choir sings.

By considering each of these three components as central to choral music-making, Small's framework may signal a paradigm shift in choral music education philosophy. As mentioned previously, Kuhn (1962) suggests that "scientific revolutions" begin with a shift in professional commitments to shared assumptions. New theories demand a reconstruction of a priori assumptions and are strongly resisted by traditional practices. In this sense, Small's theory of musicking offers a way of thinking about music that may signal a reformulation of music education philosophy such that it encompasses social dimensions of music-making equally with sonic dimensions.

Paradigms contrary to Small's theory are evident among the music education research community today. For instance, two successive editors of a flagship a music

education research journal dismissed research reports submitted on prison choirs. The first editor suggested that the topic itself was more appropriate for a music therapy journal. The second editor suggested that the study addressed but one "musical" phenomenon, pitch-matching by prison choristers, despite data from prison choristers themselves that suggested their musical experience included components traditionally considered "extra-musical." In this sense, the music education research community's concepts of what music is appear to align with aesthetic frameworks. Any phenomenon not in accord with that framework is traditionally considered "extra-musical."

Such considerations raise questions about the scope of choral music pedagogy as contrasted with the scope of what is traditionally considered music therapy. It is beyond the purpose of this investigation to examine those questions in detail. However, an early and still existing definition of music therapy is the use of music for nonmusical reasons: "Music therapy focuses on non-musical goals" (King, 1999, p. 4). Traditional aesthetic frameworks tend to follow this thinking—that anything separate from the sonic dimensions of music is "non-musical" or "extra-musical." Small, however, may disagree with this concept. He reconceptualizes music as a verb and integrates social and sonic meanings of musical performing and listening. In this sense, desirable social behaviors may be part of musical experiences themselves, and not viewed as extra-musical.

It may be that Small's concept of musicking, may eventually signal a conceptual paradigm shift in music therapy as well as music education, such that

these two disciplines may eventually be viewed as parts of the same continuum rather than as related, yet nonetheless separate fields of endeavor.

In light of the theory proposed here, music educators may benefit from a reconsideration of what music actually is, not only for the incarcerated but for all segments of society. Perhaps the meaning of choral musical activities lies in social dimensions to the same extent or even greater than the concept of "music alone" as perceived solely through its sonic dimensions. Accordingly, music educators might consider reassessing the paradigms that inform current teaching practices, teacher training, and research.

Contrastingly, measurements of musical phenomena, and particularly choral singing phenomena, are only as valid as the validity of the conceptual constraints that inform such measurements. To date, much choral pedagogy appears to be predicated upon assumptions largely arising from aesthetic philosophies of music or product-oriented philosophies. In a wider used choral conducting textbook, for example, Garretson (1993) summarizes the task of the choral music educator thusly: "Your job is to communicate the composer's intentions to the singers" (p. 21). Likewise, Robinson and Winold (1976) define a choral experience as: "An interaction between a singer and a piece of music within a group setting under the guidance of a conductor" (p. 3). Moreover, there do not appear to be any choral methods textbooks to date that examine a process-oriented approach to choral singing pedagogy.

This investigation has proposed a theory of interactional choral singing pedagogy in prison contexts based on Christopher Small's concept of musicking. That theory now requires assessment that can falsify, confirm, or refine it. As that process

occurs, current paradigms of choral pedagogy will undergo at least indirect examination as well. The practice of choral pedagogy can only be enriched by increased attention to both the soundness of current theories of choral pedagogy and the soundness of this investigation's proposed theory.

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