

MODES OF RELATING TO MUSIC

Luís Melo Campos (sociologist, luís.campos@iscte.pt)

Introduction

Portugal, the westernmost country in continental Europe, joined the European Union in 1986. In addition to its outlying geographical location, the country lived under an authoritarian regime (Salazarism) for forty years, which had a negative impact on its economic, social and cultural development. Democracy was only established after the 1974 revolution, when the country opened itself up again to the socio-cultural dynamics characteristic of western societies: this included the consumption and playing of music. The country became more open to widespread international musical genres (which we can call pop/rock), and also to the emergence and consolidation of more marginal musical genres (such as jazz). At the same time, musical genres with traditional roots were revitalized, which to a large extent involved new performers taking over the lead. Nonetheless, in comparison with other European countries, we should stress that there is little tradition of the teaching (and playing) of music and that this situation did not change substantially in the wake of the revolution.

This article seeks to present the concept of *modes of relating to music*, which is the main substantive finding of a sociological study based on the following line of enquiry: how are life-courses, experiences and aspirations modelled around musical objects and practices? As this is a potentially universal question, the normal contingencies of a research process led us to concentrate on the sub-universe of professional musicians (composers and performers) with a musical career, in order to assess the hypotheses that a) there are different *modes of relating to music*; and b) they are connected in a congruous manner to different musical genres. So, on the basis of a typology of musical genres designed to be fairly comprehensive, we interviewed 24 Portuguese musicians who can be categorised as follows: six in the area of academic music,¹ six in pop/rock,

¹ The expression “academic music” is used to refer to what it commonly called classical music, relating to an entire tradition of musical art in Western culture. The choice of this expression is due in part to the unsatisfactory nature of the alternatives (for example, the expression “classical music” refers, strictly speaking, only to a limited historical period) and is also explained by the fact that, with rare exceptions,

six in jazz and six in the field of traditional Portuguese music, which then subdivides into *fado* (four representatives) and non-*fado* (two representatives).²

The concept of modes of relating to music

The concept of modes of relating to music consists of three conceptual levels, covering thirteen analytical dimensions which can be used to observe and measure empirical situations, as described below:

A) Musical skills and learning contexts

This conceptual plane is comprised of three objective analytical dimensions (level of formal musical training, intensity of practice, and authorship of musical compositions and arrangements) and one subjective analytical dimension (the relative importance of work and talent to the person's musical and artistic enterprise):

A1] Level of formal musical learning: by formal musical learning we understand attendance at educational establishments or private lessons with music teachers. Formal teaching is not the only way to acquire musical skills (theoretical or practical). However, it is known that there is a close relationship between formal musical teaching and the Western serious music tradition and, more recently, jazz. Musical genres with more traditional roots tend to be transmitted rather through traditional oral means and informal learning. In comparison with informal learning contexts, it is presumed to be indisputable that undergoing continuous formal musical training may lead the practitioner to acquire higher levels of musical skill and expertise, at least with regard to technical skills (practical domain) and cognitive skills (theoretical knowledge). In addition, formal musical learning not only permits practitioners to obtain diplomas which can then advance their professional careers, but also reflects different and specific socio-cultural learning contexts.

practitioners have to study for a long period at a music academy. This is the criterion selected here, though it is very likely that some readers will find the expression equally unsatisfactory...

² Initially conceived as a group with a reasonable level of internal homogeneity (as the other musical genres considered), empirical analysis revealed significant discontinuities. From a theoretical point of view, the division between *fado* and non-*fado* might be understood in the light of the fact that *fado* is much more popular (in terms of dissemination and recognition, and also in terms of the way it is learned, which is significantly based on oral tradition), whilst non-*fado* traditional Portuguese music is restricted to a number of niches for conservation and dissemination, and is normally associated with more formalized approaches to musical learning.

For the purposes of this study, we distinguish between three levels of formal musical learning: a) none or incipient – meaning that there has been no formal musical training or very little and merely incipient training, b) intermediate – meaning that the person has undergone significant formal musical training, which may have been over a more or less lengthy period of time and on a more or less continuous basis, albeit without achieving the highest qualifications; c) high – meaning that the person has undergone continued and lengthy formal musical training, achieving the highest qualifications.

A2] Daily musical practice: this analytical dimension is designed to assess the relative importance of the hidden musical work (not on public view) in the musical activities of the interviewees. The importance of practice is relative, as any professional musician will practice regularly to a greater or lesser degree. During periods when they are giving daily or very frequent concerts, when they go to the recording studio or when they have deadlines to meet for a commissioned musical work, musicians will certainly devote most of their time to playing. But a given period defined by a full diary does not reveal the relative importance of the intensity of daily practice as a necessary investment in the musical enterprise. The aim here is therefore to apprehend different levels of the intensity of daily musical practice as the expression of the practice needed to maintain and develop the interviewees musical plans.

A scale with three levels has been considered: (-/-), corresponding to a low daily intensity of musical practice, which does not appear to be an essential requirement for pursuing a career; (+/-) or an intermediate level, meaning that the musician practices regularly with moderate intensity; (+/+), or a high level, meaning that considerable time is devoted to practice every day and this appears to constitute a necessary requirement for the individual's pursuit of his or her artistic/musical enterprise.

A3] Composition and musical arrangements: this analytical dimension refers to the individual or collective nature of the work of musical composition and arrangement. The reference to musical arrangements is justified because it concerns the musical product as it is publicly presented. This is an important issue when assessing levels of specifically musical skills, insofar as there are not insignificant differences between composing a song or a piece (melody, harmony and rhythm) and the way in which this song or piece is publicly presented, which involves a musical arrangement, even when minimal (what instruments play what and when, what orchestral modulations are introduced, or not, over the course of the song etc.). In musical genres in which

arrangements are most used, they are perhaps more revealing of musical skills (theoretical, technical and cognitive) than composition itself.

In any case, as regards both composition and the respective arrangements, this dimension involves different levels of musical expertise, which reflect creative independence and also reveal the more individual or more gregarious character of the musical enterprise (albeit only partially, insofar as the execution of the works normally involves contributions from third parties).

A4] Work/talent relationship: in the light of its etymological roots, the word art has various connotations: a cognitive connotation in Germanic languages, and a connotation with craftsmanship in Latin languages. Maria de Lourdes Lima dos Santos (2005:5) notes that the construction of an artistic identity is a recurring question in many studies in this area and there are three analytical vectors that are most persistent over time: a) the distinction between work as in artwork or *oeuvre* and work as in labour, b) the attribution of a time of creation which cannot be assimilated into a time of work, and c) the invocation of genius as a distinctive factor in artistic activity.

Be that as it may, in the opinion of the interviewees, work and talent are essential factors in any music making. This analytical dimension seeks therefore to discern, for each musical enterprise, which of these two factors is regarded as preponderant in the context of the undertaking itself. Three possibilities are considered: the predominance of talent, the predominance of work, and a certain balance between the two.

B) The relative importance of the music in the context of musical performance (concert/show dichotomy)

The second conceptual plane consists of four analytical dimensions, all of them subjective, which seek to enquire into values and representations relating to presence on stage and the forms of conceiving (and carrying out) a musical performance. It also looks at the relative importance of the uses of words in the performance context and the greater or lesser value attached to musical authenticity. These four aspects constitute a set of dimensions which operationalize the concert/show dichotomy.

Concerts and gigs are part of the hard core of a professional musician's artistic career (another one would be the release of recordings, to which the spirit of this dichotomy applies in good part, albeit adapted as necessary). The words concert and show are often

used indiscriminately in relation to a certain type of musical event, although no one refers to a variety concert, but rather to a variety show, which suggests that there are important differences between the two terms. In the context of this study, we decided to make use of these terminological gradations to draw attention to a number of not insignificant differences at the level of *modes of relating to music*. This took shape in the idea of a concert as a public performance essentially centred on music making (sound in movement), where minimum space is given to the not strictly musical elements, such as the theatricality of the performers on stage, the use of scenery and props of any kind, and little value is attached to the semantic content of discourse as habitually conveyed through song. In contrast, the idea of a show takes form around a public presentation, firmly anchored in a musical performance but supplemented by a set of not strictly musical resources which improve the communication with the public, in a more diverse manner (theatrical staging, musicians moving about the stage, the significant use of scenery and props, either physical or produced by lights, lasers or other devices, and significant exploitation of the semantic and communicative potential of the lyrics). More specifically, the following analytical dimensions have been considered:

B1] Authenticity of the musical performance: this dimension brings into play the importance assigned to musical authenticity, understood as a performance practice based on playing in real time with acoustic musical instruments and with as little technological mediation as possible between playing and listening. By stressing the distinction between acoustic and non-acoustic musical instruments, the central question lies in whether the sound (its intensity, dynamic and “colour”) is exclusively controlled by the physical action of the performer.

The existence of some type of mediation between players and listeners is today regarded as almost inevitable. This is obvious in the case of recordings or broadcasts of any kind, and less obvious for live performances. Indeed, either because electrical instruments are used, either because of the size or acoustic conditions of concert venues, the amplification systems are required (including at certain performances of academic music, such as the concerts held at the Pavilhão Atlântico).³

³ A concert venue in Lisbon which, despite its great size, has been used for performances of academic music.

In the studio there are also different degrees to which the vast technological potential of sound manipulation can be exploited, both in the actual recording of performances and the subsequent processing of these recordings. Without going into detail, in addition to the recording of several takes of the same song, movement or piece, the musical performance of each instrument can be recorded on independent tracks. Various phonographic recordings are collected and then, if selected, manipulated (by cutting, adding, introducing reverb, delay, echo or fading effects, etc.). Finally, the chosen recordings are mixed to create the finished product.

In all cases, live or in the studio, the technical resources of sound mediation and manipulation can be used to a greater or lesser extent. In short, on the terms in which this study uses the concept of musical authenticity as an analytical dimension, we should stress that attaching value to this dimension means attaching value to music-making in real time, reducing technological mediation to the essential minimum. In absolute terms, a live concert should be strictly acoustic and a studio recording would be the recording of a concert with no audience. This contrasts with the opposite approach, where these values are not a concern or where technologically-enabled manipulation of sound is itself valued, both in relation to the actual musical instruments and in studio recordings and staged performances. In practical terms, this means that a performance on stage is not conceivable without the mediation of amplification, and that the studio work focuses more on manipulating the sound than on actually recording it.

The notion of musical authenticity proposed here should not therefore be confused with other concepts or categories described by the same word, such as the concern to respect the historical origins of musical genres or, for example, the meaning lent to the word by Richard A. Peterson (1997) when discussing the emergence and consolidation of country music as a commercially successful musical genre.

In assessing empirical situations, we considered a scale ranging from an approach attaching great importance to authenticity (+/+) to an approach where authenticity has no value, or even a negative value (-/-).

B2] Conception of the stage as a space for acting/not acting: the stage is normally associated with the idea of acting roles. On stage, people take on the status of actors. In the domain of sociological theory, as symbolic interactionism has clearly shown, it is considered that, in the presence of third parties, people play social roles, are actors, and

this playing of roles is an unavoidable dimension of social interactions (cf., for instance, Goffman, 1983). Whilst we here subscribe essentially to this standpoint, it is possible to consider that there are different degrees to which the self is exposed, namely in the domain of the exposure of intimacy in relation to the public. This analytical dimension leads us to question, precisely, the conception of the stage as a space for acting or not acting (or, to put it in positive terms, the stage as a space for exposure), in the search to understand to what extent the role of an actor is taken on in musical performance, in order to discern different degrees of identification between public and private behaviour and different levels of identification between musical performance and the respective individuals.

This is a dimension where analysis can identify different positioning: from musicians who fully embrace the proposed values (for instance: acting) to those who adopt a more ambivalent stance (acting, but also exposure). There is therefore a dominant position which has to be identified, although empiricism also requires us to consider a hybrid version: the stage as a space for acting and not acting.

B3] The importance of words: this analytical dimension seeks to assess the importance assigned to the semantic contents of texts conveyed by song or, in the case of instrumental music, the titles of pieces. Three levels are considered: of great importance (+/+), of some importance (+/-) and of little or no importance (-/-).

B4] Conception of musical performance: the actual musical discourse is a fundamental component of any live performance by a professional musician. However, the strictly musical component can be combined with other elements of performance. One of these is speech, or rather, the use of singing as a vehicle for texts. In view of the enormous importance of the use of words in music, it was decided that it should be separated from the previous dimension and treated independently (see the previous dimension).

However, in addition to music and words, there is also a reasonable number of other possible elements of performance. The actual presence of the musicians on the stage or concert platform may be managed in very different ways (greater or less use of movement, dance and other expressive use of the body, theatrical effects, etc.). In addition, the performance on stage may or may not use a more or less diverse and dynamic range of not strictly musical resources, from the use of images, lighting and smoke effects, to the use of props and scenery, etc. This analytical dimension seeks therefore to assess the relative importance of the different elements of performance,

considering that performance can tend towards being one-dimensional (when strictly musical it is unambiguously primordial, everything else being disregarded and reduced to the unavoidable), or else veer towards being multi-dimensional (when the strictly musical component is combined with a simple or complex set of non-musical elements regarded as relevant to the performance as a whole).

C) Roles taken by music in relations with the self, with the audience and in society

This conceptual plane has to do with the roles that music plays. One of the main roles taken by music in the life of the interviewees is that of a career option. But in addition to this, what role does music play in their lives? Does it offer a space for enjoyment and pleasure? Or is it above all a space for affirmation and social recognition? Is it primarily a space for creativity and expression, or above all for communication and sharing? What is the relevance of the audience in relation to their musical undertakings? What role do these professionals assign to their role at a social level? This conceptual level therefore includes a set of five analytical dimensions (all subjective in nature), which seek to scrutinise values and representation concerning these aspects by defining suitable parameters for the relative importance of the audience, the social roles of music and the main factors in the gratification of these musicians at the level of their artistic careers.

C1] Importance of the audience: both in the concert hall, and as consumers of phonographic recordings, the audience is a necessary condition for the pursuit of any artistic career, even when, for instance, this audience has, as intermediaries, institutions which commission works or arrange for their performance. It seems reasonable to consider that someone who invests professionally in music has some awareness of the importance of the audience as a force underpinning any artistic undertaking. In the words of the actual interviewees, the creative act is only complete in communication (with the audience). However, even if this is accepted as an inevitable feature of artistic life, there is still room for the audience to be of greater or lesser importance to the way in which music-making and musical undertakings are experienced and carried on. This dimension seeks precisely to assess the relative importance of the audience on a scale with three degrees: (+/+) very important, (+/-) moderately important, and (-/-) of little importance.

C2] Social roles of music: the social dimension of music seeks to account for the way in which the interviewees view the role which their music (which may be different from music in general) plays in society. Two aspects or analytical sub-dimensions are considered. One more centred on the musicians: why do they do what they do and what is their role in society? And another more directly centred on their relationship with the audience: what role does their music play for people?

The first aspect of the social dimension takes three possibilities into account: one that accentuates the creative and expressive components, a second that accentuates the components of communication and sharing, and a third that consists of a fair balance between the first two options.

The second aspect of the social dimension of music focuses on the role which the musical practices of the interviewees (which may differ from music in general) play for their audiences. Three possibilities are considered. One assigns primacy to the dream-like component (distraction/dreaming/fantasy) of music, corresponding to the idea that music essentially offers a space for alienation from everyday life; a space of fiction, to use the terminology of Antoine Hennion (1981), or a space for making-believe, according to António Contador (2001). The second possibility is a role of socio-cultural intervention, in other words, where musical practices (either through the content of the texts presented or the actual content of the music) offer a critical commentary on some aspect of social life or question some aspect of the societal *status quo*. The third possibility is based on the idea of sensory and spiritual enrichment through musical discourse.

C3] Personal Gratification: on this level we consider two analytical dimensions which enquire into the main factors of personal gratification in the context of a musical career.

In the first place (Gratification 1), a distinction is drawn between: a) gratification exclusively or almost exclusively centred on the actual music making (the pleasure of composing, performing, improvising or merely practising, and b) gratification in which these aspects are neglected in favour of moments or aspects which go beyond or fall short of musical enjoyment in the strict sense. In this first assessment of factors of personal gratification, the analysis also includes the possibility of a hybrid form of gratification, whenever a fair balance is achieved between strictly musical factors and non-musical factors.

Then (Gratification 2), the analysis of factors of personal gratification seeks to go further in classifying the different types of gratification previously observed. The idea of Gratification centred on sound and musical experiences remains. In addition, a distinction is drawn between elements of gratification connected with social recognition (by peer groups, audiences in general or at institutional level) and elements of gratification connected with relational or life experiences connected with professional activity (people met, moments and episodes experienced, or even the feeling of personal realization associated with a successful career).

Table 1 summarises the concept of *modes of relating to music*, presenting the various sets of analytical dimensions (and their measurement scales) which allow us to work with each of the three conceptual planes. Any of the thirteen analytical dimensions presented make it possible to read empirical situations (a more detailed presentation of this set of analytical dimensions, together with empirical examples, may be consulted in Campos, 2006). However, notwithstanding the potential interest of a dimension-by-dimension reading, an integrated reading would appear to be more useful, in terms of both the three planes into which they are organized, and in terms of overall profiles. Accordingly, as we explain below, the next stage was to construct a typology of *modes of relating to music*.

A typology of modes of relating to music

In order to construct a typology of *modes of relating to music*, we sought to identify a heuristic principle which could account for the convergences and divergences detected. The search for principles which could organise the variability identified only one axis running between two poles (relational and essential), along which different *modes of relating to music* can be distributed. However, the construction of the typology focused on two extreme values, the *essential* and the *relational* modes. These terms seek to summarise the spirit, or the principle binding together the main characteristics, of each of these two distinct *modes of relating to music*, but we shall seek to demarcate them here.

Table 1 Modes of relating to music

Conceptual planes	Analytical dimensions	Essential pole		
		Measurement scales		
Skills and learning contexts	Level of formal musical training	None / Collective or third parties	Intermediate	High Individual
	Musical composition and arrangement	more talent	both	more work
	Assessment of work/talent	- / -	- / +	+ / +
Relative importance of the music in the context of the musical performance	Intensity of daily musical practice	more acting	both	more not
	Stage as a place of acting/not acting	more multidimensional	Hybrid	more one-dimensional
	One/multi-dimensional conception of musical performance	+ / +	+ / -	- / -
	Importance of words	- / -		+ / +
Roles of music in relations with self, with the audience and in society	Value attached to musical authenticity	+ / +	+ / -	- / -
	Relevance of audience	more communication / sharing	Hybrid	more creation / expression
	Social role of music 1	Distraction / dream / fantasy	Cultural intervention / reflexivity	Sensory / cultural enrichment
	Social role of music 2	more extra-musical	Hybrid	more intra-musical
	Personal gratification 1	Social recognition	Relational / life experiences	Musical / sound experiences
Personal gratification 2				

The *essential* mode of relating to music emphasises the following tendencies, sometimes to an extreme extent:

a) The plane of musical skills and learning contexts:

- formal learning contexts with heavy investment in musical training and in continuous coaching and study;
- composition and arrangements bear an individual signature;
- work tends to be regarded as more important than talent in the context of individual musical plans/undertakings.

b) *Relative importance of music in the context of musical performance (concert/show dichotomy):*

- the strictly musical component of performance is self-sufficient, dispensing with any contribution from other forms of artistic expression (words/poetic expression, theatrical elements, dance, light and image, etc.);
- the means of production are the musical instrument (preferentially acoustic); the musical object is produced in real time without using sound manipulation technologies and presented in public with as little mediation as possible; value attached to authenticity;
- the stage/concert platform is above all a place of non-acting.

c) *Roles of music in relations with the self, with the audience and in society:*

- less value is attached to the audience in the context of the musical undertaking;
- personal pleasure and the creation/expression of emotions, feelings or experiences (through sound) constitute sufficient and the principal reason for being a musician and also the main gratification factor in a musical career.

These characteristics form a *mode of relating to music* which is designated as *essential* insofar as, on the three conceptual planes considered, priority is given to what is intrinsic to the strictly musical field. This is the case in relation to training in musical skills (first conceptual plane), with heavy investment in independent and in-depth study. It is also the case in relation to the form of conceiving the musical performance and presence on stage (second conceptual plane: concert/show dichotomy), with importance being attached to strictly musical elements to the detriment of other components of performance. And it is, again, the case in relation to the roles of music in relations with the self, with the audience and in society (third conceptual plane) - value is attached to musical pleasure and the creative act, and the role of the audience and more relational and communicative components is neglected.

In stark contrast to the *essential* mode of relating to music, the *relational* mode lays stress on the following tendencies, in a sometimes extreme manner:

a) *The plane of musical skills and learning contexts:*

- investment in formal musical training is normally cursory or non-existent, with priority given to the oral tradition and informal learning contexts;
- musical compositions and arrangements derive from collective work;
- talent tends to be considered as more important than work in the context of the respective cases of musical enterprise.

b) *Relative importance of music in the context of musical performance – concert/show dichotomy:*

- the stage is a place of acting; the musician is also an actor;
- music is a central but not the only component of performance, which also includes other forms of expression, especially words/lyrics, and also a theatrical presence on stage, with the use of various kinds of technological apparatus to produce light, images and other stage effects;
- there is no particular preference for acoustical instruments, and electrical/electronic instruments predominate;
- sound manipulation and mediation technologies are a working tool that is as important as the musical instruments, both in the studio and at the concert venue.

c) *Roles of music in relations with the self, with the audience and in society:*

- the audience is a very important factor in the context of the musical enterprise;
- gratification is strongly linked to success with the audience, and also to the sense of usefulness to the people in the audience;
- importance is attached to communication and sharing to the detriment of the creative act/expression.

These characteristics form a *mode of relating to music* which is designated as *relational* insofar as, on the three conceptual planes considered, value is systematically assigned to connecting to other people, and to interacting with other people and other disciplinary fields. This is the case in relation to training in musical skills (first conceptual plane), where the oral tradition and informal learning contexts are preferred. It is also the case in relation to the concert/show dichotomy (second conceptual plane), where the musician's presence on stage and his or her musical performance is conceived in multiple (and not merely musical) dimensions, using varied forms of expression and communication. And it is, again, the case in relation to the roles of music in relations with the self, with the audience and in society (third conceptual plane), where importance is attached to communication and sharing to the detriment of the creative act, by assigning special value to the audience and identifying social recognition and the feeling of usefulness to others as the main factors of gratification.

These two *modes of relating to music* (*relational* and *essential*) were configured by polarizing characteristics along a *relational/essential* axis. However, this polarized configuration of the typology of *modes of relating to music* does not prevent us from considering hybrid types, such as occur when characteristics of the *essential* type are combined with others of the *relational* type or register values that might reflect a certain balance between the two extremes.

The choice of a polarized typology for *modes of relating to music* is not the only option. One alternative approach would involve identifying and assessing a larger number of *modes of relating to music* (four, five, six or even more), and defining and demarcating each of these *modes*, in order to reflect the diversity and plurality always to be found in the social sphere. Indeed, it is possible to calculate the precise number of possible different profiles. Considering the thirteen analytical dimensions adopted (eleven of which present a scale with three values, and two of which a scale with two values), we can extract no less than 708,588 possible profiles. This can be substantially reduced by considering only the three conceptual planes which are informed by these analytical dimensions (each of these planes presenting a scale with three values), but that still leaves a total of 27 possible profiles.

At the same time, it should be noted that the gradeability of most of the analytical dimensions considered is subject to variabilities deriving from a range of factors. In effect, the subjective nature of most of the dimensions under scrutiny helps to bring out

the effects associated with the plural character of persons, in other words, of everything which, on the plane of opinions and representations (and even of practices) is variable depending on context, and mutable not only over time but also depending on different situations and even moods. In short, these are analytical dimensions where the possibility of contradiction can be felt insofar as, given that the enunciation of preferences is at issue, mentioning one does not necessarily mean that its opposite is excluded.⁴

We are therefore well aware of the social variability which may be detected with regard to *modes of relating to music*. Analysis of real situations will undoubtedly make it possible to identify multiple profiles or configurations, resulting from the complex combination of factors. But this variability is an attribute of empirical data and not so much of theory. Theory should above all serve to analyse empirical data and not to confine it to a finite number of possibilities or types which, being necessarily limited, could never illustrate the full diversity of the real world. It was therefore considered to be more fruitful to construct a polarized typology, with a diversified range of dimensions which when crossed and when the respective concrete cases are read transversally will inevitably reflect the social diversity which, from a theoretical point of view, may be considered as configurations of a hybrid type. More than fixing a finite set of *modes of relating to music*, the proposed typology identifies a set of analytical dimensions and establishes parameters for their main values, thereby providing a tool which serves to guide discussion about the axes around which variability or convergence is generated. In essence, we are here applying principles long ago proposed by Max Weber in relation to constructing and working with concepts: the *ideal type*. This also means that the two *modes of relating to music* typified above do not have to be translated exactly as they are to empirical reality, but are instead intended to help in observing this reality, and in examining and analyzing the many different observable cases. As a result of this theoretical status, the expression *modes of relating to music* will tend to be reserved for contexts of theoretical debate without reference to actual empirical situations, and the notion of *types* (of relationship with music) will be kept uppermost whenever we are dealing with procedures for operationalizing and

⁴ *A propos* of the sociological legacy of Pierre Bourdieu, Bernard Lahire (1998) proposes a critical and constructive reading where, very rightly, he has stressed the idea of the plural social individual, in other words, that people are not one-sided, and that their practices and opinions are variable depending on the contexts of interaction in which they are generated and expressed.

measuring that objectify the relationship with music in specific cases, in other words, for actual individuals.

In order to assess specific empirical situations on each of the three conceptual planes and in overall terms, it is necessary to construct an index which equates the thirteen analytical dimensions considered. This is not the place for a presentation or explanation of the technical and operational procedures involved in this process: suffice it to say that the possible values in each of the dimensions adopted were numerically codified and, using elementary arithmetic (sums and calculation of mean figures), an index of *modes of relating to music* was constructed, which was then recoded in the manner presented in Table 2.

Table 2 Index of modes of relating to music

Mean (between x and y)	Modes of relating to music	Abbreviation
1.0 to 1.40	Relational	R
>> 1.40 to 1.80	Pro-relational-hybrid	H / R
>> 1.80 to 2.2	Hybrid	H
>> 2.20 to 2.60	Pro-essential hybrid	H / E
>> 2.60 to 3.00	Essential	E

Despite the vicissitudes involved in these technical and operative processes (cf. Campos, 2006), construction of the index made it possible to undertake a clearer, more systematic and comprehensive analysis of the empirical cases observable in terms of *modes of relating to music*. Tables 3, 4, 5 and 6 show the distribution of the twenty four interviewees, aggregated by musical genre, and the five types of relationship with music identified, on each of the three conceptual planes and in terms of overall profile. These tables constitute a summary which was constructed by encoding the discourse produced in the course of a survey using interviews. For a detailed presentation and discussion of these empirical records, see Campos, 2006.

Table 3 Musical genres by modes of relating to music: skills and musical learning contexts

Modes of relating to music	Relational	Pro-relational hybrid	Hybrid	Pro-essential hybrid	Essential
Musical genres					
Jazz					6
Academic music				3	3
Traditional Portuguese music: non-fado				1	1
Traditional Portuguese music: Fado	4				
Pop/rock	2	2		2	

On the plane of skills and musical learning contexts (Table 3) we find a clear separation between different musical genres, especially when we exclude the two atypical cases in the field of pop/rock which, due to reasonable investment in formal learning and individual authorship of the musical compositions and arrangements, fall into the *pro-essential hybrid* type. These two cases apart, the other four musicians in the field of pop/rock and the four *fadistas* congregate around the *relational* pole (*pro-relational hybrid* and *relational*), whilst the musicians from the fields of academic music, jazz and traditional Portuguese music (excluding *fado*) congregate around the *essential* pole (*pro-essential hybrid* and *essential*). It should be noted that the even distribution of the academic musicians between the *pro-essential* and *essential* types is due to the fact that three of them are devoted to performing a repertory composed by others (which, as one of the defining factors of this musical genre, excludes them from the authorship of compositions and arrangements).

Table 4 Musical genres by modes of relating to music: the relative importance of music in the context of musical performance and the concert/show dichotomy

Modes of relating to music	Relational	Pro-relational hybrid	Hybrid	Pro-essential hybrid	Essential
Musical genres					
Jazz				1	5
Academic music			1	4	1
Traditional Portuguese music: non-fado				2	
Traditional Portuguese music: Fado			2	2	
Pop/rock	4	1	1		

On the second conceptual plane (relative importance of music in the context of musical performance – concert/show dichotomy, Table 4), we find that although the field of pop/rock continues to present a degree of dispersal (between three types: *relational*, *pro-relational hybrid* and *hybrid*), the *relational* type is clearly dominant in this field. Academic musicians, in turn, reveal a greater degree of dispersal, between three neighbouring types, although with the *pro-essential hybrid* type clearly prevailing. *Fadistas* are distributed evenly between the *hybrid* and *pro-relational hybrid* types, while traditional musicians (excluding *fado*) are concentrated in the *hybrid pro-essential* type. Finally, jazz musicians are concentrated almost exclusively (with one exception) in the *essential* type.

Table 5 Musical genres by modes of relating to music: roles of music in relations with self, with the audience and in society

Modes of relating to music	Relational	Pro-relational hybrid	Hybrid	Pro-essential hybrid	Essential
Musical genres					
Jazz		2	1	1	2
Academic music	1		2	2	1
Traditional Portuguese music: non-fado			2		
Traditional Portuguese music: Fado	3			1	
Pop/rock	6				

On the third conceptual plane (roles of music in relations with self, with the audience and in society; Table 5) we find more widespread dispersal, except for musicians from the pop/rock field who here too congregate to a strong degree around the *relational* pole. Most *fadistas* also fall into the *relational* type, although one atypically falls into the *pro-essential hybrid* type. Academic and jazz musicians are fairly dispersed, with academic musicians revealing a variability which runs the whole *relational/essential* gamut, and jazz musicians falling into every category except the *relational* type.

This third conceptual plane appears to be that which departs furthest from the strictly musical, being indeed directly applicable to any other field of socio-vocational activity, in considering the social reflexivity of the actors in relation to the connections between music and a range of not specifically musical aspects. This is therefore a less

circumscribed conceptual plane, and perhaps more permeable to the logic of reflexivity which the different actors apply in the context of a more general appraisal of their life in society and their relationship with society, which, at least in part, may explain the greater degree of dispersal in three of the musical genres considered. In a certain sense, the dispersal discovered on this conceptual plane suggests that music may be many things, not only depending on the musical genres performed in the context of an artistic career but also depending on different and distinct socio-cultural characteristics relating to its diverse individual practitioners.

Table 6 Musical genres by modes of relating to music: overview

Modes of relating to music	Relational	Pro-relational hybrid	Hybrid	Pro-essential hybrid	Essential
Musical genres					
Jazz				3	3
Academic music			1	4	1
Traditional Portuguese music: non-fado				2	
Traditional Portuguese music: Fado		2	2		
Pop/rock	3	3			

Finally, in Table 6 (Musical genres by *modes of relating to music*) we find a fairly significant correspondence between musical genres and *modes of relating to music*. In fact, the overall assessment of *modes of relating to music* reveals that the pop/rock area falls into the *relational* and *pro-relational* types, *fado* is located in the *pro-relational hybrid* and *hybrid* types, traditional music (excluding *fado*) in the *pro-essential hybrid* type, academic musicians are rather more dispersed, spread between three types (*hybrid*, *pro-essential hybrid* and *essential*), though with the *pro-essential hybrid* type dominating, and jazz musicians fall into the *pro-essential hybrid* and *essential* types.

Interviewees in the fields of jazz and academic music are therefore those who most represent the *essential* type of relationship with music, although jazz musicians are more consistent in this than academic musicians. These groups are distinguished from each other insofar as academic musicians stray somewhat from the *essential* pole with

regard to the social roles of music, where the *relational* tendency is of some importance, without being preponderant.

The interviewees in the pop/rock area form the group that best represents the *relational* type. As we have seen, they form the group which most unambiguously prefers the show format (to the detriment of the concert format), which, we should recall, means that the strictly musical plane forms only one of the major dimensions in a broader set of performance and communicative practices. In addition, they only most rarely, indeed very rarely, provide indicators pointing to the *essential* mode of relating to music, generating to a large extent indicators that reflect the *relational* mode (more extroverted and socio-centric), ranging from the informal contexts for musical learning to the predominance of communication and sharing over creation and expressiveness, and also the little importance attached to intra-musical factors in comparison to the value assigned to extra-musical factors with regard to personal gratification.

The interviewees working in *fado* also revealed a *relational* profile that is unambiguous on the plane of musical skills (levels of training and learning contexts) and also with regard to the roles of music in relations with the self, with the audience and in society. However, this group differs from the pop/rock group precisely with regard to the concert/show dichotomy: the musical instruments here are essentially acoustic and mediation limited, with a clear preference for live performance and for the value of authenticity, whilst the presence on stage reveals a balance between the logic of acting and that of non-acting. In the field of *fado*, it is only the very great importance of poetic expression, of the semantic content of the lyrics, which introduces an element of the logic of the show into a domain otherwise given over to the logic of the concert.

Finally, the two interviewees in the field of traditional Portuguese music (excluding *fado*) reveal a *mode of relating to music* of the *pro-essential hybrid* type: more *essential* on the planes of the concert/show dichotomy and of musical skills and learning contexts, and more *relational* on the plane of the social roles of music.

Points for discussion

1] It may be concluded from the analysis carried out that different musical genres are associated with distinct *modes of relating to music*. Not only did the different sample groups turn out to be internally coherent to a reasonable degree, in other words, there were significant affinities between the interviewees from each of the musical genres considered, but there were also important differences between the different musical genres, with regard to the objective dimensions of the relationship with music and also with regard to the subjective dimensions of the same relationship, which can be systematized using the concept of *modes of relating to music*.

Either to explain themselves or else to explain how they wish to be thought of, the different interviewees in each musical genre use similar cultural references, showing that they share a single universe of values and of symbolic and cultural references. Now, this is what we mean when we talk about *modes of relating to music*. Although the term *essential* is used to designate one of the *modes of relating to music*, this analytical tool is not designed to find any supposed intangible meaning in the music, or to elucidate an essentialist relationship with music. In constructing a typology of *modes of relating to music*, the aim was to systematise and uncover the different ways in which people (the musicians, in the case of this study) conceive of and interpret their relationship with music, in other words, the aim was precisely to reveal configurations of a cultural nature. Cultural configurations which are woven on the complex web of social inclusion/integration in which they take shape and establish themselves as significant to their respective protagonists. We might say that the universes of reference for accounting for the relationship which the interviewees have with music (or with which they wish to be identified) are differentiated in accordance with the different musical genres and that these universes, in outline, may be summarized and identified through the typology of *modes of relating to music* which was constructed and is proposed as an analytical tool.

2] In the essence of its substantive, analytical and operative content, the typology of *modes of relating to music* may constitute a conceptual tool whose potential is not exhausted in the field of music. Although constructed with a specific field in mind (music), the typology appears to be similarly appropriate for analysis of various other fields of cultural production (both in the arts and also in intellectual and scientific

work), with some necessary adjustments to content and operationalization on terms appropriate to the specific features of each field.

The clearest way to indicate the potential transposability of this typology to other fields of cultural production is to focus on its conceptual core: the polarization of values along a *relational/essential* axis and the three conceptual planes which provide the substance and structure of its operationalization. For two of these conceptual planes (skills and learning contexts; roles of cultural production in the relationship with self, with the audience and in society), there will be no real difficulty in making the adaptations and adjustments needed for other areas of cultural production. Indeed, any area of cultural production (intellectual or artistic) involves learning processes which may be formalized to a greater or lesser degree. This may also be associated with different learning contexts, together with different degrees of institutionalization and different types of accreditation. On the individual plane, varying levels of investment and daily involvement in pursuit of the practices will be found. It is easy to conceive of a similar approach to the group of dimensions for the roles of cultural production in the relations with self, with audiences and in society, considering here too the essence of the analytical dimensions proposed in relation to music: elements of gratification relating to audiences (peers, the consumer audience in the strict sense, the institutional audience and the specialist critics), and also representations concerning the social roles of the practices.

The third conceptual plane (concert/show dichotomy) appears less directly transposable to many of the multiple areas of cultural production. But the difficulty is more apparent than real, insofar as it seems to be rooted much more in the immediate impact of its abbreviated designation (concert/show dichotomy) and also in the specific elements of the analytical dimensions which operationalize it (conception of the stage/concert platform and of musical performance, the importance of the sung texts, musical authenticity), than in what is really fundamental in terms of its conceptual meaning: the tendency of the practices to be more one-dimensional or multidimensional, in other words, the greater or lesser degree to which they are centred on a given area of cultural production or discipline (the strictly musical field in the case of this study). Even if we think of an area as apparently different as scientific production, it is possible and makes sense to identify practices or, indeed, postures (epistemological) which guide practices more strongly based on a given disciplinary area and others which tend to be more inter-

disciplinary (and even others which are transdisciplinary). Moreover, it is possible and makes sense to identify such divergence of postures because they normally reflect different relations with the scientific disciplines and are propagated, for instance, in different socio-institutional *milieux* for the dissemination of scientific practices and findings, or, more importantly, they generate different types of findings, namely different levels of depth and different levels of communicability, or, in the terminology proper to the typology proposed in the present study, they are more *essential* or more *relational*. Indeed, for any of the three conceptual planes considered, it makes sense to polarize the values which they may assume along the *essential/relational* axis, without prejudice to the possibility of contemplating hybrid values or types.

3] Another area where the typology of *modes of relating to music* may be applied is the universe of listeners, including both regular consumers of musical products and people in general. Clearly, adaptations will be needed here. One of them seems obvious: the terms of the relationships posited will have to be inverted, transposing the standpoint of the producer to that of the receiver/participant, irrespective of their specific profiles or special aspects. We know that people invest in music. They invest financially in the purchase of phonographic recordings and reproduction equipment, in tickets to shows and concerts and, sometimes, in musical instruments and training, as well as in specialist literature. In these contexts, they mobilize multiple resources (economic, but also emotional, cognitive, cultural and social), the most important of which is perhaps the time spent in enjoying music, irrespective of its form. But what is the return from these investments? What is happening in terms of social practices, and relational, emotional and cognitive experiences which derive particularly from these investments? Whatever it is that is reinforcing, inverting or altering the respective system of dispositions (*habitus*) permanently being updated, it is believed that the typology of *modes of relating to music* could constitute a particularly fertile analytical tool for accounting for this. This potential will undoubtedly require considerable adaptation, in particular with regard to the analytical dimensions to operationalize it.

In any case, the main obstacle in the way of activating the typology of *modes of relating to music* in the field of musical enjoyment is perhaps the great transversality of the listeners in relation to different musical genres. In the study, we had the occasion to observe that some of the interviewees are or were themselves transversal, devoting

themselves to several musical genres, even in their capacity as professional musicians. Now, in the case of most listeners, we may safely say that they consume different musical genres, although the level of regularity for each type of consumption may vary, and there may even be instances of great exclusivity.

However, what we are enquiring into here is not so much the existence of a universal and totally consistent correspondence between *modes of relating to music* and the preferred practice of a given musical genre. The question is rather to establish a relationship between the different musical genres consumed and the *mode of relating to music* which tends to be established most in the enjoyment of each one of them. Individuals are plural, and this is known to be the case even through personal experience, namely with regard to musical consumption, and not only in relation to the diversity of musical genres consumed but also the actual forms in which they are enjoyed or, in other words, in terms of *modes of relating to music*. Actual personal experiences suggest that expectations and forms of feeling and living a musical experience vary depending on the type of music, and that it is normal or even common to activate not only one of the various forms of enjoying music, although one or more of these forms may have preferential status. Now, it seems reasonable to consider that the different *modes of relating to music* experienced by each person have some relationship with different musical genres. In any case, we may say that, for most musical listeners, musical practices constitute a complex network of relations between musical genres, times, spaces and forms of consumption for which the proposed typology may constitute a particularly fertile analytical tool in setting the parameters for connections and outlines. In short, using the typology constructed in this study to account for *modes of relating to music* on the part of listeners means setting parameters for different times, spaces and forms of enjoying music, which very probably connect in a congruous manner with different musical genres.

4] It should be stressed that the shape of the relationship established between musical genres and *modes of relating to music*, which we naturally advance as providing an accurate picture and as one of the substantive products of this study, is not its only relevant product. As a matter of fact, its role was essentially instrumental, in terms of the strategic design which made it possible to organize a route for sociological investigation on a consistent basis and, therefore, an intense dialogue between

theoretical questions and problems, on the one hand, and observable empirical situations on the other. However, the most relevant substantive product of this study is the actual concept of *modes of relating to music*, which is organized into three conceptual domains (skills and learning contexts; the relative importance of the music in the context of the musical performance; and the roles of music in relationships with self, with the audience and in society) which can be operationalized so as to guide the analysis of empirical situations around the *relational/essential* axis, whether or not these situations are grouped around musical genres.

It is worth explaining the main virtues presumed to be present in the concept of *modes of relating to music*. Its purpose is not merely to typify and account for certain variables, such as the times, spaces and forms in which music occurs, taken as relatively independent, correlating them to the socio-cultural profiles of the actors. It constitutes a form of considering a diversified range of specific dimensions of musical practices, integrating them as a consistent analytical unit. By internalizing and systematically organizing this set of dimensions, the concept makes it possible to differentiate and qualitatively substantiate the relationship which people establish with music (either in the gestation and creation of musical objects or on the plane of the enjoyment of music). In essence, the concept of *modes of relating to music* explains the shapes of the *structure of the dispositions* which act most directly (as principles generating perceptions, appreciations and actions) in musical contexts. In short, this is an analytical tool which can assess practices and representations implied in relations with music, and, subsequently, analyze the setting of parameters on processes of updating the *habitus* in the musical field, namely on the cognitive, educational, relational and reflexive planes, and also equate virtual relations with other spheres of social life.

5] In connection with possible relations between *modes of relating to music* and other spheres of social life, we should recall that describing is not the same as explaining, and it is worth stressing that the proposed typology is essentially an analytical tool with which to describe certain aspects regarded as relevant on the plane of relations which people establish with music.

It is clear that the relationship – presumed and detected – between musical genres and *modes of relating to music* may be set out on an explanatory plane, namely by introducing the notion of *habitus* (Bourdieu, 1972) with regard to musical genre. This

notion can be substantiated, for instance on the basis of one of the objective indicators which has disclosed significant power of discrimination, connecting almost systematically in a congruous manner with the *relational* and *essential* modes of relating to music: the level of formal musical learning.

In effect, the level of formal musical learning proved to be far from being reduced to a strictly formal question, or even a question of mere social prestige normally associated with the holding of qualifications. Formal accreditation of musical learning grants a certain guarantee or, at least, a certain additional worth, a certain skill validated by the market of professional music making. Very probably, this certification in fact identifies different levels of mastery of the host of specifically musical techniques, codes and languages. And it makes sense to think that this can restrict or broaden the field of objective possibilities of musical production, and, at the same time, restrict or broaden the subjective field of aspirations and ambitions regarding different possibilities in terms of standards of musical work.

But this is still vague. We would have to find the factors which explain the option for different musical genres, and for the greater or lesser investment in formal musical learning. Some of these factors (which are believed to be multiple and diversified) emerge, in fact, from the analysis conducted. Investment in formal musical learning, which appears to be a case of the earlier the better, seems to depend to a large extent on the socio-family context of origin. And personal commitment to this learning seems to be connected to a strong relationship with the musical instrument and the actual sound, control of which (of the instrument and the sound) the learner seeks to carry to the highest levels, not only to optimize creative expressiveness, but also to ensure that this can be done, because the market is very competitive and there is room only for the best. As regards the option for different musical genres, there are also a number of apparently decisive factors. In the first place, family music-making traditions (a family *habitus*) which, with the exception of jazz, proved to be strongly connected to the musical course taken by the interviewees. But also factors of a more subjective nature. This is the case of the value attached to national heritage (poetic production, instruments and musical structures) with regard to traditional Portuguese music. And it is also the case of the value attached to a more erudite musical heritage in the case of academic musicians, with a view to a sublime expression of communication, and a more popular heritage, with a view to a more direct form of communication, more at home in the media, in the

case of pop/rock. Finally, it is also the case of the value attached to spontaneity, risk and a creative expressiveness closely connected to personal enjoyment, on the one hand, and (musical) transculturalism, on the other hand, in the case of musicians opting for jazz.

Amongst other possible factors, these factors may be regarded as clues for considering working hypotheses which are particularly fertile in explaining the economy and management of *modes of relating to music*. In any case, it is worth noting that they belong to a somewhat circular logic, around topics and issues developed in this study, in other words, as dimensions of the concept of *modes of relating to music*, these factors themselves constitute what whose emergence or prevalence we seek to explain. It is clear that the set of thirteen analytical dimensions considered certainly includes some which are more crucial than others, and it makes sense to admit that some explanatory factors are contemplated in the actual concept of *modes of relating to music*. In any case, the search for heuristic principles should be based on theory and, in the domain of empirical investigation, should be governed by a methodological strategy capable of revealing either cause-effect relations or concomitant variations anchored in a given conceptual pole, on pain of being limited to revealing spurious relationships. Now, the fact is that the search for principles capable of explaining the emergence, or even the prevalence, of one or other *mode of relating to music* was far from being a central aim of this study, and pursuit of this aim would involve not only a more systematic effort towards conceptual and analytical exploration geared to this specific purpose, but it would also merit a broader empirical universe which could be subject to quantitative and generalizable treatment, insofar as it is believed we are dealing with a complex network of densely articulated dimensions, and not a strict set of explanatory factors.

Bibliographical references

- Bourdieu, Pierre (1972), *Esquisse d'une Théorie de la Pratique*, Geneva, Librairie Droz.
- Campos, Luís Melo (2008), *Músicas & Músicos. Modos de Relação*, Lisboa, Celta Editora.
- Contador, António Concorde (2001), *Cultura Juvenil em Portugal*, Oeiras, Celta Editora.
- Goffman, Erving (1983), *A Representação do Eu na Vida Cotidiana*, Petrópolis, Editora Vozes.
- Hennion, Antoine (1981), *Les Professionnels du Disque*, Paris, Editions A.M. Métailié.
- Lahire, Bernard (1998), *L'Homme Pluriel: Les Ressorts de l'Action*, Paris, Nathan, Essais & Recherches.
- Peterson, Richard A. (1997), *Creating Country Music: Fabricating Authenticity*, Chicago/London, University of Chicago Press.
- Santos, Maria de Lourdes Lima dos (2002), "Amador ou profissional?... Peças de um puzzle", *OBS, Publicação Periódica do Observatório das Atividades Culturais*, 11.

Abstract/résumé/resumen/resumo

Modes of relating to music

The concept of *modes of relating to music* is presented, consisting of three conceptual levels and organized into thirteen analytical dimensions that may be operationalized for the purposes of observing empirical situations. It involves closely examining a diversified set of relationships specific to musical practices, in an integrated manner, qualitatively typifying the forms of enjoying them around two poles: the essential and the relational. Although formulated to analyze professional musicians, it is maintained that the concept is also suitable (with adaptations) for the analysis of musical consumptions and other spheres of cultural production (intellectual and artistic).

Key-words: sociology, culture, music, musicians.

Rapports à la musique

Cet article présente le concept de *rapports à la musique* qui comprend trois plans conceptuels et qui organise treize dimensions analytiques susceptibles d'être opérationnalisées aux fins d'observation de situations empiriques. Il s'agit d'approfondir de façon intégrée un ensemble diversifié de rapports spécifiques aux pratiques musicales, en classant qualitativement leurs modalités selon deux pôles : l'essentiel et le relationnel. Bien que ce concept ait été construit pour analyser les musiciens professionnels, l'article soutient qu'il est aussi indiqué (avec quelques adaptations) pour analyser les consommations musicales, ainsi que les autres domaines de production culturelle (intellectuelle et artistique).

Mots-clés: sociologie, culture, musique, musiciens.

Modos de relación con la música

Se presenta el concepto de *modos de relación con la música* que, abarcando tres planos conceptuales, organiza trece dimensiones analíticas, las cuales son operacionalizables con el fin de observar situaciones empíricas. Se trata de profundizar de modo integrado un diverso conjunto de relaciones específicas a las prácticas musicales, tipificando cualitativamente las modalidades de su usufructo en torno a dos polos: el esencial y el relacional. Más allá de ser construido para analizar músicos profesionales, se sostiene que el concepto también es adecuado (con adaptaciones) para analizar consumos musicales, así como otras sedes de producción cultural (intelectual y artística).

Palabras-clave: sociología, cultura, música, músicos.

Modos de relação com a música

Apresenta-se o conceito de *modos de relação com a música* que, compreendendo três planos conceituais, organiza treze dimensões analíticas susceptíveis de operacionalização para efeitos de observação de situações empíricas. Trata-se de aprofundar de modo integrado um diversificado conjunto de relações específicas às práticas musicais, tipificando qualitativamente as modalidades da sua fruição em torno de dois pólos: o essencial e o relacional. Embora construído para analisar músicos profissionais, sustenta-se que o conceito é também adequado (com adaptações) para analisar consumos musicais, assim como outras sedes de produção cultural (intelectual e artística).

Palavras-chave: sociologia, cultura, música, músicos.