

METRISCHE UND SPRECHNAHE ZEITGESTALTUNG DES RAP IM HISTORISCHEN WANDEL¹

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1. Einleitung

1.1 Zum Hintergrund

Ausgangspunkt der Auseinandersetzung mit dem Mikrotiming im Rap war ein Vortrag auf dem Treffen der Fachgruppe »Aufführungspraxis und Interpretationsforschung« der Gesellschaft für Musikforschung, »Von recitar cantando bis Hip-Hop – Stimmkunst zwischen Sprechen und Singen« in Kloster Michaelstein am 23. Oktober 2016. Zunächst galt es, eine allgemeine Definition und einen kurzen geschichtlichen Abriss über die Entwicklung des Rap zu geben. Während der Vorbereitungen stellte sich heraus, dass sich Definitionen von Rap in der Regel lediglich vom Gesang abgrenzen. Die Frage sollte jedoch vielmehr sein, was den Rap von anderen Formen des Sprechens in populärer Musik unterscheidet. Im Vergleich zu den verschiedenen Arten des ›klassischen‹ Gesangs, wie sie an den meisten Hochschulen gelehrt werden, steht der vokale Ausdruck in populärer Musik ohnehin häufig dem Sprechen näher, da der Stimmklang ohne die Ausbildung eines Formantclusters (›Sängerformant‹)² auskommt. Er richtet sich stattdessen näher an der mittleren Sprech-

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- 1 Folgender Artikel beruht auf dem gleichnamigen Vortrag, gehalten auf der Tagung der Gesellschaft für Populärmusikforschung am 18. November 2018 in Oldenburg.
 - 2 Der Sängerformat besteht aus dem dritten, vierten und fünften Formanten der Stimme. Unter anderem durch das Anheben des Gaumensegels und dem tendenziell tief stehenden Kehlkopf verschieben sie alle diese drei Formanten auf einen Bereich um drei Kiloherz und bilden einen Cluster. Dieser führt vor allem bei tieferen Stimmen dazu, dass die Obertöne in diesem Bereich deutlich verstärkt

stimmlage aus und die Vokalfärbung orientiert sich weniger an ›klassischen‹ klangästhetischen Merkmalen, sondern weist individuellere Züge auf, indem die Stimmen mehr Freiheiten in der Aussprache haben und häufiger Geräuschanteile aufweisen (wie beispielsweise Rauheit, Behauchtheit, Knarren, Jitter, Shimmer oder Growls). Diese Unterschiede ermöglichen in höherem Maße die Assoziation mit soziokulturellen Stereotypen. Eine weitergehende Erörterung der Komplexität des klassischen und populären Gesangs soll jedoch nicht Gegenstand dieser Einleitung bleiben und wurde an anderer Stelle bereits abrissartig dargestellt (Hähnel 2015). Rap kann in Abgrenzung zum Sprechen im Talking Blues, in der Gospel Music oder im Crooning beschrieben werden als ein um einen Rezitationston herum gespanntes Netz dichter Reime und Alliterationen, die als Ankerpunkte auf kurzen, rhythmisch prägnanten Motiven durch Dynamik, zeitliche Dehnung und Wiederholung betont werden. Die Komplexität dieses Netzes und der Rhythmen, die Semantik und das Spiel mit Bedeutungen sind äußerst variabel, wie auch der Stimmklang selbst. Sie sind jedoch keine Alleinstellungsmerkmale des Rap und auch in anderen Vokalstilen zu finden, vorwiegend in solchen, die aus afroamerikanischen Traditionen herrühren.

Für die grundsätzliche Beschreibung des Rap und die Möglichkeit, Rap wissenschaftlich zu betrachten, erwies sich vor allem das Konzept des Flow von Oliver Kautny (2009) als geeignet. Kautny schafft es, genau die für den Rap typische Verbindung von Sprache, Sprechklang und Rhythmus in ihrer Ganzheit analytisch greifbar zu machen. Doch auch Kautny ist sich darüber bewusst, dass ein Ansatz, der auf Noten-Transkriptionen basiert, Grenzen hat, die es nicht erlauben, wirklich an die Sprechhaftigkeit des Rhythmus selbst heran zu kommen. Seine Methode eignet sich jedoch, wenn es um Einzelfallbetrachtungen geht. In puncto Einzelfall hat auch Robert Walser (1995: 206f) schon vor Jahren in seiner Analyse von Public Enemys »Fight the Power« (1989) festgestellt, dass es eine kaum zu stemmende Herausforderung ist, die verschiedenen Ebenen eines Songs nach ihrer Analyse wieder sinnvoll zusammen zu bekommen. Eine Verallgemeinerung von Analyseergebnissen ist über die Detailanalyse also problematisch.

1.2 Ziel und Überblick

Ziel war es zunächst, über den Forschungsstand hinaus einen Eigenbeitrag zum Thema zu leisten. In Ermangelung an vergleichbaren Studien wurde explorativ ein Zugang zur quantitativen Beschreibung verschiedener Phänomene

werden und der typische Klang des Bühnentenors entsteht. Vgl. dazu Johan Sundberg (2016).

der Zeitgestaltung im Rap erprobt, auch, um erst einmal Möglichkeiten zur Deskription der rhythmischen Gestaltung des Rap auszuloten, mit denen sowohl musikalische als auch sprachliche Zeitgestaltungen angemessen abgebildet werden können, die aber auch geeignet für größere Stichproben sind, um so historische Zusammenhänge oder gar Entwicklungen abbilden zu können.

Nachfolgend werden die Möglichkeiten der Quantifizierung des Rap Timings anhand der explorativen Studie vorgestellt (Abschnitt 2). Anschließend werden die daraus resultierenden Hypothesen zusammengefasst und in einer Replikationsstudie geprüft (Abschnitt 3), um sie letztlich erneut zur Diskussion zu stellen (Abschnitt 4). Die Replikationsstudie steht zwar inhaltlich im Zentrum der vorliegenden Arbeit, ist aber ohne eine vorausgehende Beschreibung der Vorstudie wenig verständlich.

2. Vorstudie

2.1 Material und Erhebung

Ausgangspunkt waren acht Aufnahmen zwischen 1979 und 2002, auf denen insgesamt 14 MCs zu hören sind. Nachfolgend wird zugunsten sprachlicher Klarheit auf eine Differenzierung von MC, Rapperin und Rapper verzichtet. Da in der Analyse alle Ausführenden gleichrangig behandelt wurden, werden sie vereinfacht unter dem Begriff MC subsumiert.

Auswahlbedingung der Aufnahmen war eine hohe internationale Popularität der Titel. Insgesamt wurden 72 Kennwerte erfasst, wobei es sich um verschiedene Maße der rhythmischen Gestaltung handelte, wie beispielsweise die durchschnittliche Silbendauer, das Laidback, die metrische Prägnanz, der rhythmische Kontrast und Sprachkontrast (s. Abschnitt 2.2), jeweils sowohl auf die absolute Zeit (in Millisekunden) als auch auf die relative musikalische Zeit (in 16tel-Einheiten) bezogen. Für die Messungen wurden mithilfe des Sonic Visualisers³ zunächst alle Viertel (Beats) und alle Einsatzzeiten der Silben über mindestens die ersten 100 Silben jedes MCs im Titel markiert und anschließend die Zeiten der Silben und Beats mit einer Tabellenkalkulationssoftware verrechnet. Die so berechneten Kennwerte konnten anschließend mit der Software R⁴ statistisch weiter ausgewertet werden. In die Analyse flossen für alle Kennwerte jeweils Mittelwert, Median, Standardabweichung, Standardfehler des Mittelwerts und ausgewählte Quantile ein (alle Quartile plus erstes und neuntes Dezil). Hinter der Verwendung einer Vielfalt an Lage-

3 <https://www.sonicvisualiser.org>

4 <https://www.r-project.org>

und Verteilungsparametern stand die Überlegung, dass der Mittelwert allein nicht zwangsläufig der aussagekräftigste Wert sein muss. Auch Streuungsmaße oder hohe Quantile können eigene Bedeutungen haben. Welche Maße den Höreindruck am besten abbilden, ist bisher nicht erforscht, weshalb hier eine gewisse Offenheit nötig war. Eine Faktoranalyse zeigte jedoch sehr hohe Korrelationen der Mittelwerte mit den anderen Lage- und Verteilungsmaßen. Da sie also ebenso aussagekräftig waren, wie die anderen Werte, zusätzlich aber leichter interpretierbar sind, wurden Mittelwerte ›mit gutem Gewissen‹ gewählt.

Neben der Entscheidungshilfe für bestimmte Parameter zeigte die Faktoranalyse drei unabhängige Faktoren, die sich mit den Dimensionen musikalischer Rhythmus/Tempo, Sprachrhythmus und Synchronizität interpretieren ließen.

2.2 Quantifizierungen und Ergebnisse

Tab. 1 (s. Anhang) zeigt alle Ergebnisse im Detail. Der Zusammenhang zwischen Jahr und einigen Kennwerten ist in Abb. 3 (S. 12) dargestellt.

Geschwindigkeit

Die mittlere Geschwindigkeit des Rap bezeichnet die mittlere Silbendauer, wobei die Silbendauer jeweils als die Dauer zwischen zwei unmittelbar aufeinander folgenden Silben eines MCs definiert ist. Längere Pausen zwischen Phrasen wurden nicht mit eingerechnet, was insbesondere bei Aufnahmen mit verschiedenen MCs bedeutsam wurde. So führte das »Trading Phrases« (Keyes 2004: 62f) insbesondere bei den Beastie Boys dazu, dass Silben eines MCs die Silben eines anderen ablösen. Die individuellen Silbenabstände würden ohne diese Korrektur also durch die Einschübe der anderen Bandmitglieder künstlich verlängert. Entsprechend kamen nur zusammenhängende Passagen in die Auswertung. Von allen Silbenabständen ließ sich der mittlere Silbenabstand jeder Aufnahme für jeden MC ermitteln. So rappt Melle Mel etwa mit einer durchschnittlichen Silbendauer von 200 Millisekunden, was fünf Silben pro Sekunde entspricht.

Tab. 1 enthält unter anderem das Jahr der Erstveröffentlichung jeder Aufnahme und das mittlere Tempo jedes auf ihr abgebildeten MCs (Spalte s). Die drei MCs der Beastie Boys (MCA, Ad Rock und Mike D) zeigen eine hohe Tempoähnlichkeit in »No Sleep Till Brooklyn« (1987). Doch es ist nicht zwingend so, dass MCs, die gemeinsam in einer Aufnahme rappen, auch ein ähnliches Tempo aufweisen. Die Aufnahme von »Rappers Delight« (1979, *Sugar Hill*

Gang) enthält Raps der MCs Master G, Wonder Mike und Big Bank Hank. Alle drei rappen in verschiedenen Tempi, was sich durch die jeweils verschiedenen Präferenzen für Rhythmen und Tondauern erklärt. Die mittlere Silbendauer der Raps scheint sich im historischen Verlauf nicht zu verändern, eignet sich aber durchaus als individuelles Kennzeichen eines Raps und kann auch im Zusammenhang mit dem musikalischen Tempo aussagekräftig sein.

Sprachkontrast

Mit Sprachkontrast ist vereinfacht der rhythmische Kontrast aller Silben innerhalb einer Tonwertklasse gemeint. Dabei wird der rhythmische Kontrast über den *nPVI*, den »Normalised Pairwise Variability Index«, erfasst.⁵ Das Verfahren wurde von Esther Grabe und Ee L. Low (2002) vorgestellt und dient der Erkennung von Sprechrhythmen. Dabei werden zwei aufeinander folgende Vokalabstände gemessen und ihre Differenz ins Verhältnis zu ihrer Durchschnittsdauer gesetzt. Indem also Zeitdifferenzen nicht absolut, sondern relativ gesetzt werden, können sie unabhängig vom Tempo interpretiert werden. Die Sprechgeschwindigkeit hat keine Auswirkungen auf den Kontrast. Nach der Annahme von Grabe und Low haben spezifische Worte und Sätze nicht nur ihre eigenen Klänge, sondern auch ihre eigenen spezifischen Rhythmen, egal, wie schnell sie jemand spricht. Auch verschiedene Sprachen haben demnach unterschiedliche Rhythmen bzw. *nPVIs*; so haben Deutsch und Englisch einen höheren *nPVI* als Italienisch. Joseph R. Daniele und Aniruddh D. Patel (2013) haben diese Formel auf das musikalische Anwendungsfeld übertragen. Über den Kontrast von Notenwerten aus Kompositionen untersuchten sie rhythmische Nationalstile. Auch hier ist der Kontrast unabhängig vom Tempo und beispielsweise der Kontrast einer Viertel zu einer Achtel identisch mit dem Kontrast einer Halben zu einer Viertel.

In der Vorstudie wurde der *nPVI* zur Untersuchung von Silbendauern eingesetzt und ist damit näher an der originalen Variante des Vokalabstandes, da Silbenabstände in der Regel über Vokalabstände gemessen wurden. Der große Vorteil des *nPVI* ist, dass alle Silbenabstände relativ zu sich selbst behandelt werden, was die Analyse unabhängig vom musikalischen Tempo und der Geschwindigkeit des Rap macht. Abb. 1 zeigt das Prinzip am Beispiel:

5 Die Formel ist im Anhang angefügt und näher erläutert.



Abb. 1: Oben stehen die transkribierten Notenwerte einer Passage aus der ersten Zeile von Melle Mel (Grandmaster Flash and the Furious Five, »The Message«, 1982, ca. bei Minute 1:15). Über den Notenwerten steht der allein auf ihnen basierende rhythmische Kontrast nach Daniel und Patel (2013). Achtel und 16tel stehen im Verhältnis 2:1, was einem Kontrast von 67% entspricht. Gleich lange Tondauern haben den Kontrast 0.

Eine notenbasierte Analyse, wie sie Daniele und Patel (2013) vorschlugen, ist im vorliegenden Fall ungeeignet, da es keine präskriptive Notation gibt, sondern lediglich eine deskriptive. Deskriptive Transkriptionen enthalten weder feine Nuancen, noch sind viele Einzelfallentscheidungen, die beim Transkribieren getroffen werden, intersubjektiv begründbar. Durch die Messung der Geschwindigkeit der Rap-Silben lagen die Silbenabstände jedoch vor. Mit ihnen konnte der tatsächliche *nPVI* der artikulierten Silben direkt berechnet werden. So erlaubt der *nPVI* aus den Silbenzeiten, den Rap in seiner konkreten Ausführung direkt für eine Analyse nutzbar zu machen. Interessant ist der rhythmische Kontrast vor allem dort, wo der *nPVI* der Noten Null beträgt (grau gerahmte Werte in Abb. 1). An diesen Stellen könnte sich eine sprechnahe Rapweise deutlicher zeigen. Das würde bedeuten: Je präziser sich ein MC am zugrunde liegenden Metrum orientiert, also je perkussiver der Rap ist, desto näher ist der *nPVI* innerhalb dieser gleichen Tonwertklassen an Null, also desto kleiner wird er. Je sprechähnlicher das Timing ist, desto ungleichmäßiger werden die Silbendauern. Die Kontraste nehmen zu, der *nPVI* wird größer. Aufgrund dieser Beziehung soll dieser spezielle Fall des *nPVI* innerhalb gleicher Tonwertklassen vereinfacht als Sprachkontrast (*nPVI_0*) bezeichnet werden.

Abb. 3 (oben rechts, Punkte) zeigt den beobachteten Sprachkontrast der MCs über die Jahre. Auf der Vertikalen ist der *nPVI* der Silben abgetragen, die über gleiche Tonwertklassen laufen (= *nPVI_0*). In den 1980er Jahren scheint der Sprachkontrast wirklich klein zu sein. Beispielsweise liegt er bei Melle Mel, den Beastie Boys oder Chuck D unter 23 (bereits eine triolische Auffassung der Achtel mit einem Verhältnis von 2:1 würde einen *nPVI* von 67 bedeuten). Alle diese MCs rappen nah am Metrum. Erst in späteren Jahren lösen sie sich davon und werden sprechnaher, was auch durch einen kontinuierlich steigenden Sprachkontrast seinen Ausdruck findet (z.B. Wyclef Jean, Eminem).

Diese Entwicklung passt durchaus mit den Theorien einer Wandlung vom perkussiven zum sprechnahen Rap zusammen.

Laidback

Hinter dem Laidback steht die Frage: »Wie stark ist der MC ›hinter‹ dem Beat?« Verglichen wird hier der tatsächliche Einsatz der Silben mit dem theoretischen Einsatz basierend auf der Transkription und dem Einsatz der Beats der Begleitung. Abb. 3 (unten links, Punkte) zeigt die Entwicklung des Laidback über die Jahre. Bei den frühen MCs fällt ein negatives Laidback auf. MCs wie Melle Mel rappen also minimal vor dem Beat und nicht dahinter, wie es typisch für ein Laidback wäre. Erst nach den 1980ern zeigt sich in der Stichprobe ein positives und damit tatsächliches Laidback, dessen Spitzenreiterin Lauryn Hill mit durchschnittlich 110 Millisekunden ist. Gemessen am Tempo entspricht dies der Dauer einer 32tel; sie rappt also zwischen die 16tel.

Metrische Prägnanz

Die metrische Prägnanz gibt den Grad der metrischen Akzentuierung der Silbeneinsätze an. Sie drückt aus, wie stark oder schwach sich Silbeneinsätze an bestimmten metrischen Positionen bündeln. Dabei spielt die genaue Position selbst keine Rolle, sondern nur die Tatsache, ob sich Silben überhaupt irgendwo bezogen auf den Beat konzentrieren. Für die Berechnung der metrischen Prägnanz wird zunächst ein Histogramm erstellt. Es gibt die Häufigkeitsverteilung von Silbeneinsätzen innerhalb eines Beats (über alle gemessenen Beats hinweg aufsummiert) an. Abb. 2 (S. 8) zeigt verschiedene solcher Häufigkeitsverteilungen.

Der Grad der metrischen Prägnanz wird über ein X^2 (Chi Quadrat) angegeben. Der Wert drückt aus, wie stark die Verteilung von einer Gleichverteilung, also einer Zufallsverteilung, abweicht. Perfekt gleich verteilt ($X^2 = 0$) hieße, dass auf allen möglichen Positionen gleich viele Silben positioniert wären. Je mehr sich Silben an einzelnen Punkten häufen, je prägnanter also der Rap am Beat ausgerichtet wird, desto höher wird X^2 . Abb. 3 (rechts unten) zeigt die metrische Prägnanz im historischen Verlauf. Es wird deutlich, dass die frühen MCs sehr prägnant auf das Metrum gerappt haben, also einen hohen X^2 Wert zeigen. Dies korrespondiert mit der These des Percussive-Style Raps, der insbesondere in den ersten Jahren Ende der 1970er bis Anfang der 1980er Jahre dominierte (Kautny 2009, Krims 2001). In späteren Jahren finden sich sprechnahe MCs, was deutlich auch an der abnehmenden metrischen Prägnanz abzulesen ist. Die metrische Prägnanz

scheint sich hier in der Tat als Indikator für die sprechähnliche Zeitgestaltung anzubieten. Diese Annahme impliziert, dass eine sprechähnliche Zeitgestaltung keine hohe metrische Prägnanz erlaubt, also Sprechnähe und Metrum zwei Pole eines Kontinuums sind.

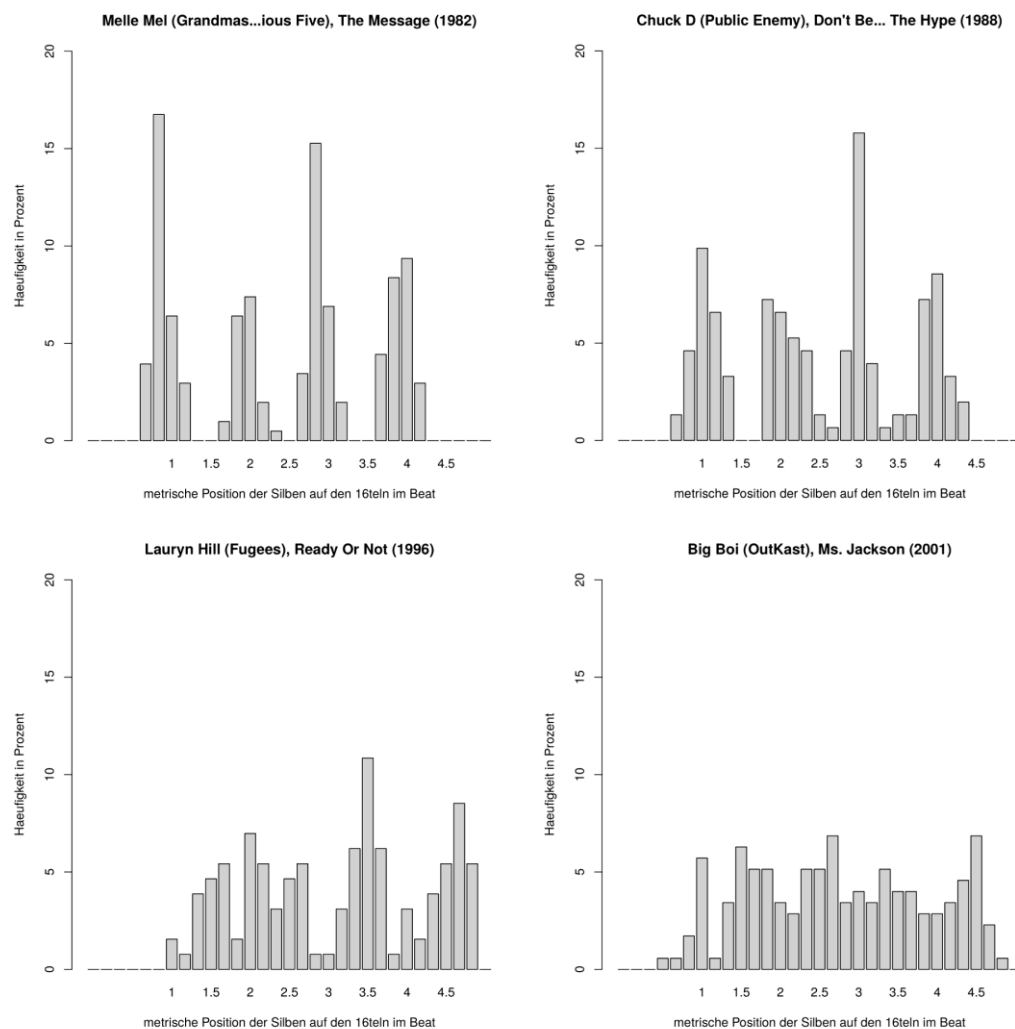


Abb. 2: Histogramme verschiedener MCs aus der Vorstudie. Die Horizontale markiert hier die Dauer eines Beats. Läuft der Beat auf Vierteln, entsprechen die 1 der Viertel, die 3 der Achtel und 2 und 4 den 16teln dazwischen. Die Ziffern dienen nur der Orientierung und wurden gewählt, da in den Beispielen meistens auf 16tel-Basis gerappt wird. Bei Melle Mel häufen sich Silben auf den vier 16teln, mit deutlicheren Spitzen auf den Achteln. Es ist jedoch auch ein leicht negatives Laidback zu erkennen, da die Spitzen um eine Kategorie vor der theoretischen Position der Achtel liegen. Bei Lauryn Hill sind die Häufungen nicht mehr so klar. Zwei von ihnen auf den Positionen 3.5 und 4.5, also genau zwischen den 16teln, zeigen dennoch das starke Laidback Hills. Das Histogramm von Big Boi zeigt den kleinsten X^2 Wert in Tab. 1. Big Boi rappt vergleichsweise

schnell und auch sehr sprechnah. Seine Silben sind kaum noch am Metrum verankert.

3. Replikationsstudie

Die in der Vorstudie explorativ ermittelten Zusammenhänge werden nun als neue Hypothesen an einem weiteren Korpus getestet.

3.1 Material

Verwendet wurden 17 Aufnahmen von 1983-2012⁶ mit hoher internationaler Popularität, auf denen insgesamt 20 MCs rappen. Die Menge des Materials war aus zeitlichen Gründen leider limitiert. Eine höhere Anzahl von MCs hätte die Interpretation der Ergebnisse deutlich erleichtert.

3.2 Hypothesen

Die Ergebnisse der Vorstudie entsprechen einigen Theorien zur Entwicklung des Rap (Kautny 2009, Keyes 2004, Krims 2001), die nun auch als quantitative Hypothesen formuliert werden können, um sie nachfolgend zu überprüfen.

Erste Hypothese: Zunahme des Sprachkontrasts

Die Hypothese H1 sagt voraus, dass auf annähernd gleich langen Silben das Timing des Rap immer sprechähnlicher wird. Die Silbendauern unterscheiden sich stärker voneinander. Dies führt zu einem Anstieg des $nPVI$ innerhalb gleicher Tonwertklassen s über die Aufnahmejahre j : $r_{js} > 0$. Entsprechend statistisch getestet wird die Nullhypothese, dass kein solcher Anstieg vorliegt: $H_0: r_{js} \leq 0$.

Zweite Hypothese: Nicht-lineare Zunahme an Laidback

Hier gibt es keine entsprechende Stärkung der Hypothese in der Literatur, aber die in der Vorstudie gefundene Korrelation entspricht dem Höreindruck. Der Ausdruck von Coolness beispielsweise kann vor allem in Studioaufnahmen über ein starkes Laidback erzielt werden. In einer Live-Situation, in der ein

⁶ Jeweils bezogen auf das Veröffentlichungsdatum der zugrunde liegende Version. Dabei können Single- und Albumversionen sich durchaus um ein Jahr unterscheiden.

MC zu lauter Musik Gehör finden möchte, führt dagegen ein negatives Laidback zur besseren Hörbarkeit, da ein vorausgehendes akustisches Ereignis wesentlich schwerer von einem lauten Signal verdeckt werden kann als ein dem lauten Signal nachfolgendes. Wobei das Laidback mit den Jahren natürlich nicht ins Unendliche linear steigen kann. Mit steigendem Laidback landet der Einsatz der Silbe irgendwann auf der nächsten metrischen Position und würde in ein notiertes Laidback übergehen. Dieses Phänomen lässt sich beispielsweise an Missy Elliotts Zeile »She's a bitch« beobachten (s. Abb. 3, oben links).

Die Hypothese der Zunahme an Laidback l über die Aufnahmejahre j prognostiziert eine quadratische Beziehung, bei der der Anstieg der Regressionskurve sich zum Ende der 1990er Jahre verliert und nach einem Höhepunkt nicht weiter steigt. Wird die Regressionskurve der Beziehung von j und l als Quadratfunktion mit $l = a + bj + cj^2$ angegeben, dann gibt der Parameter c die Krümmung der Kurve und b ihren Anstieg an. Die Hypothese H1 lautet folglich: $b > 0$ und $c < 0$. Entsprechend getestet wird die H0: $b \leq 0$ und $c \geq 0$.

Dritte Hypothese: Abnahme an metrischer Prägnanz

Die dritte Hypothese prognostiziert die Abnahme an metrischer Prägnanz m über die Jahre j , ausgedrückt mit dem X^2 -Wert.

H1: $r_{jm} < 0$, entsprechend ist H0: $r_{jm} \geq 0$.

Sensitivitätstest mit G-Power

Die Frage, die es nun zu beantworten gilt, ist folgende: Welche Zusammenhänge können mit einer vergleichsweise kleinen Stichprobe von 20 MCs überhaupt statistisch abgesichert werden? Dazu gibt es zwei Szenarien zu berücksichtigen: Ist H1 die »Wunschhypothese«, d. h. soll die Hypothese über einen Zusammenhang abgesichert werden, dann ist danach zu fragen, wie hoch die Korrelation sein muss, um statistisch nachgewiesen werden zu können. Ist jedoch H0 die »Wunschhypothese«, d. h. es soll ein Zusammenhang ausgeschlossen werden, dann ist danach zu fragen, ab wann der Effekt so klein wird, dass er statistisch nicht mehr nachweisbar ist.

Beide Szenarien unterscheiden sich hinsichtlich der geforderten Teststärke ($\text{power} = 1 - \beta$) und dem α -Niveau.⁷ Soll ein Zusammenhang nachge-

7 Vereinfacht formuliert bezieht sich das α -Niveau auf die theoretische Wahrscheinlichkeit, dass ein Zusammenhang gemessen wird, obwohl eigentlich keiner vorliegt. Sinkt die berechnete Wahrscheinlichkeit p unter das α -Niveau, wird die H0 abgelehnt und die H1 (in diesem Fall die Hypothese über den Zusammenhang)

wiesen werden (was hier der Fall ist), empfehlen Bühner und Ziegler (2017: 236f) die Teststärke bei 0.8 anzusetzen, das α -Niveau bei 0.05. Für dieses Szenario lässt sich mit der Software G-Power⁸ die Korrelationen berechnen, die statistisch auch wirklich abgesichert werden kann: Bei 20 MCs, einem α -Niveau von 0.05 und einer einseitigen Fragestellung kann mit einer Teststärke von 0.8 eine Korrelation von $r = 0.53$ abgesichert werden. Das ist jedoch ein sehr großer Effekt. Kleinere oder selbst mittlere Korrelationen lassen sich also statistisch nicht absichern, selbst wenn sie vorliegen würden. Sinkt die gemessene Korrelation unter den kritischen Wert von 0.378, kann entsprechend nur ein großer Effekt ausgeschlossen werden. Die Aussage gar, dass kein relevanter Zusammenhang vorliegt, ist damit unmöglich.

3.3 Ergebnisse

Tab. 1 enthält alle Ergebnisse sowohl der Replikationsstudie als auch der Vorstudie für alle MCs. Abb. 3 zeigt die getesteten Zusammenhänge als Streudiagramme jeweils mit einer linearen und quadratischen Regressionskurve für die Datensätze aus beiden Studien.

Für den Sprachkontrast konnte kein Zusammenhang nachgewiesen werden ($r = 0.36$ [-0.03; 1.00], $t(18) = 1.62$, $p = 0.06$). Die Korrelation liegt unter dem kritischen Wert, das Ergebnis wird nicht signifikant. Das Dilemma zeigt sich auch im 95% Konfidenzintervall für r , welches aufgrund der Stichprobe schätzt, in welchem Bereich eine tatsächliche Korrelation vermutet werden kann. Dieses Intervall steckt einen Bereich von -0.03 bis 1.0 ab, was aussagt, dass ein positiver Zusammenhang genauso denkbar ist wie überhaupt kein Zusammenhang.

Dagegen ließ sich die Hypothese eines Anstiegs an Laidback deutlich bestätigen ($r = 0.65$ [0.36; 1.00], $t(18) = 3.63$, $p = 0.001$). Auch der quadratische Zusammenhang bestätigte sich. Sowohl der Parameter für den positiven linearen Anstieg b war größer als Null ($b = 82.9$ [51.8; 114.0], $t = 5.62$, $p < 0.001$), als auch der für die Krümmung verantwortliche Parameter c kleiner als Null ($c = -75.6$ [-106.7; -44.52], $t = -5.13$, $p < 0.001$). Das kleine c

beibehalten. Um einen Effekt nachzuweisen, muss das α -Niveau klein gehalten werden. Die Teststärke wiederum bezieht sich auf die β -Wahrscheinlichkeit für einen Zusammenhangeffekt. Bei einer hohen Teststärke wird die Wahrscheinlichkeit, dass der gemessene Effekt tatsächlich existiert, gering. Ist die Teststärke sehr hoch, kann die H_1 nicht angenommen werden und die H_0 (kein Effekt) ist beizubehalten. Um einen bestimmten Effekt auszuschließen, wäre eine hohe Teststärke nötig.

8 <http://www.gpower.hhu.de/>

führt dazu, dass die Regressionskurve erst steigt, dann allmählich abflacht und nach der Jahrtausendwende der Anstieg sogar wieder rückläufig wird.

Auch die dritte Hypothese, die Abnahme an Prägnanz, hielt der Überprüfung stand ($r = -0.53 [-1.00; -0.19]$, $t(18) = -2.66$, $p = 0.008$).

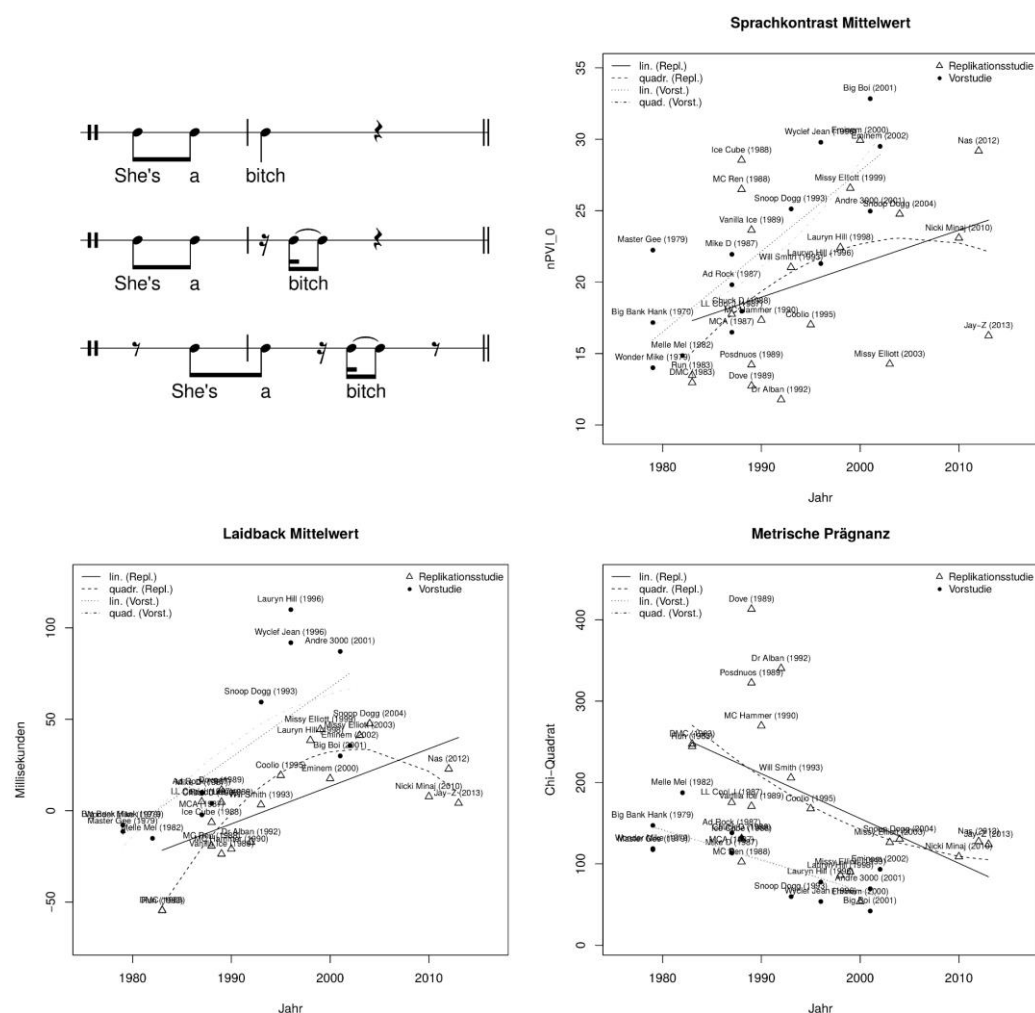


Abb. 3: Oben links: Beispiel für metrisches Laidback bei Missy Elliott («She's a Bitch» 1999). Normalerweise würde die Textzeile auftaktig wie in Notenzeile 1 rhythmisiert. Eine Möglichkeit eines metrischen Laidbacks wäre es, wie in Zeile 2, die letzte betonte Silbe nicht nur verzögert zu singen, sondern bis auf die nächste 16tel zu schieben. Missy Elliott schiebt jedoch das ganze bereits verzögerte Motiv um eine 8tel nach hinten (Zeile 3). Die Balken sind hier bewusst unkonventionell so gestaltet, dass sich visuell die Herkunft des rhythmischen Motivs nachverfolgen lässt. Die Streudiagramme zeigen Sprachkontrast (oben rechts), Laidback in Millisekunden (unten links) und metrische Prägnanz (unten rechts) im Verhältnis zum Jahr der Veröffentlichung für beide Stichproben.

4. Ergebnisinterpretation

Die Ergebnisse lassen sich wie folgt zusammenfassen: Bei den ausgewählten Rap-Songs von den 1980ern bis in die 2010er Jahre ist eine deutliche Zunahme an Laidback bis zur Jahrtausendwende festzustellen. Ebenso lässt sich in dieser Auswahl wiederholt eine deutliche Abnahme an metrischer Prägnanz statistisch nachweisen. Beim Sprachkontrast ist das Ergebnis hingegen nicht statistisch interpretierbar. Doch gerade in diesem Fall lohnt sich ein Blick auf das Streudiagramm und die Erörterung der Frage, warum sich das Ergebnis nicht in der nötigen Deutlichkeit gezeigt hat. Dieser Frage wird im Folgenden nachgegangen.

4.1 Sprachkontrast

Die Korrelation zwischen Jahr und Sprachkontrast war relativ nahe an der kritischen Schranke für die Signifikanz. Wenige Ausreißer, vielleicht auch nur ein einziger, können bei wenigen Samples den Unterschied ausmachen. Interessant sind hier die beiden Aufnahmen mit Missy Elliott: Während sich die eine von 1999 (»She's a Bitch«, *Da Real World*) mit einem $nPVI_0$ von 27 deutlich in den zu erwartenden Trend fügte, so zeigt Elliott 2003 (»Work It«, *Under Construction*) einen $nPVI_0$ von 14. Im Streudiagramm füllt diese Aufnahme von 2003 geradezu ein Loch. Keine andere Aufnahme zeigt in diesen Jahren einen vergleichbar kleinen $nPVI_0$. Diese Aufnahme könnte genau der eine Ausreißer sein, der diese Korrelation zu Fall bringt. Jedoch soll dies nicht bedeuten, dass die Aufnahme ungeeignet und das Ergebnis schöngeredet werden soll. Im Gegenteil. Aber es lohnt, diesen Ausreißer einmal genauer zu betrachten. Sowohl das Timing als auch der Sound, und auch das visuelle Konzept der Alben, auf denen die Titel enthalten sind, können in diese Betrachtung einbezogen werden. Das Titelcover von Missy Elliotts 1999er Album *Da Real World* ist futuristisch gehalten. 2003 (*Under Construction*) gibt sie sich retrospektiv, zusammen mit einem Ghettablaster vor einer Backsteinmauer in Kapuzenjacke sitzend. Obwohl die weiße, mit fellartigem Material besetzte Kapuzenjacke durchaus glamourös wirkt und stereotypen Vorstellungen des Ghettos widerspricht, weckt Elliott dennoch entsprechende Assoziationen durch das Gesamtbild. Retro bedeutet schließlich nicht »historische Aufführungspraxis«, sondern es ist der Verweis auf Altes mit Bezug auf das (jeweilige) Heute. Beim näheren Hören der Aufnahmen wird deutlich, dass Elliott auch akustisch die visuell im Cover ausgedrückte Unterscheidung von futuris-

tischer Ästhetik und Retro fortsetzt. 1999 (»She's a Bitch«) ist ihre Zeitgestaltung zwar am Metrum ausgerichtet, aber eher lässig und sprechnah gestaltet. 2003 (»Work It«) beruft sie sich auf die Anfänge der Hip-Hop-Tradition, indem der Titel mit einem als Platten-Sample hörbaren Ausschnitt beginnt, der auch Merkmale des Scratchings aufweist. Die Snare des Intros ist mit einem für die 1980er Jahre typischen starken und gleichzeitig gegateten Hall versehen, was an die einflussreichen Sounds von Run DMC erinnert. Sie rappt in diesem Titel zwar mit einem für die 1980er Jahre untypischen Laidback, aber abgesehen davon prägnanter und »nähmaschinenartiger.« Auch Marita B. Djupvik (2017) weist diese retrospektive Haltung im Track »Work It« auf mehreren Ebenen nach. Die verwendeten Samples (Blondies »Heart of Glass«, Run DMCs »Peter Piper« und das am Anfang eingesetzte Sample von Rock Master Scott and the Dynamic Threes »Request Line«) haben einen Bezug auf die Entstehung und Popularisierung bzw. Kommerzialisierung des Rap (Djupvik 2017: 125, vgl. auch Keyes 2004: 71 u. 79-81). Auch im Video zu »Work It« verweist Elliott verschiedentlich auf die Wurzeln der Hip-Hop Kultur (Djupvik 2017). Dass sich diese bewusste Rückwendung bis in das Mikrotiming hinein nachweisen lässt, ist durchaus überraschend.⁹

Ein zweites Beispiel für einen kleinen Sprachkontrast entgegen der Hypothese ist Jay-Zs »Holy Grail« (2013). Hier scheint der Sprachkontrast dem angestrebten, sehr schnellen Double-Time-Feeling des Rap entgegen zu stehen. Das Rappen von 32teln muss, wenn sie als 32tel wahrgenommen werden sollen, eine hohe metrische Prägnanz aufweisen. Sonst würde statt eines Double-Time-Feelings der Rap zwar schnell, aber eher metrisch lose wahrgenommen werden, wie beispielsweise bei Big Bois Part in »Ms. Jackson« (2001).

4.2 Metrische Prägnanz und Laidback

Die Zusammenhänge von Jahr und metrischer Prägnanz bzw. Laidback waren deutlich. Auch die Histogramme in Abb. 5 (s. Anhang) zeigen die Unterschiede anhand ausgewählter MCs. Ein Vergleich der beiden Titel von Missy Elliott zeigt auch im Histogramm die schärfere Prägnanz des späteren »Work It.« Dort hat sie die 16tel klarer am Metrum ausgerichtet, bei »She's a Bitch« dagegen ist die Verteilung aufgrund der größeren Sprechähnlichkeit gleichmäßiger und damit weniger prägnant. Das wird insbesondere auf der ersten

⁹ Die quantitative Analyse, wie sie auf der GfPM-Tagung vorgestellt wurde, stützte sich allein auf das musikalische Material. Auf die Parallelen zwischen der Interpretation des Timings als »Retro-Stil« und dem Text von Djupvik (2017) stieß ich erst später im Zuge eines Seminars zum Rap am musikwissenschaftlichen Seminar Detmold-Paderborn im Winter 2018/19.

Position deutlich. Auch bei Jay-Z wird im Histogramm sichtbar, dass sich Spitzen nicht nur auf 16tel-Positionen bilden, sondern auch dazwischen. Im Verlauf der ersten Strophe geht Jay-Z jedoch von einem sehr langsamen Rap-Tempo aus und steigert sich graduell in ein Double-Time-Feeling hinein, indem er nach und nach erst 16tel und dann mehr und mehr 32tel einstreut. Um den Eindruck des Hineinsteigerns zu erzielen, ist metrische Prägnanz wichtiger als die Sprechähnlichkeit des Rhythmus.

Die Beobachtung des negativen Laidbacks in den 1980ern wiederholte sich ebenfalls. Insbesondere die MCs von Run DMC zeigen ein deutlich negatives Laidback. Da die Histogramme in Abb. 2 jedoch das Laidback nicht in absoluter Zeit, sondern relativ zum Tempo anzeigen, wird die Intensität hier ein Stück weit verfälscht. Das hohe Tempo (weshalb die MCs keine 16tel, sondern Achtel rappen) führt dazu, dass das Histogramm extrem verschoben wird. Doch in der Tat bestätigt dies auch den Höreindruck, gerade an Zeilenanfängen.

4.3 Problem der Scheinkorrelation

Abschließend möchte ich noch auf das Problem der Scheinkorrelation eingehen. Eine Korrelation ist ein Maß für das gemeinsame Auftreten zweier Beobachtungen. Eine statistische Korrelation allein rechtfertigt jedoch keinen Rückschluss auf einen Kausalzusammenhang. Eine Korrelation von a und b kann bedeuten, dass a Auslöser von b ist, dass b Auslöser von a ist, dass a und b wechselseitig von c abhängen, oder dass a und b schlichtweg zufällig gemeinsam auftreten. Rückschlüsse auf Kausalitäten verbieten sich also. Dennoch kann, wenn a priori ein Kausalzusammenhang angenommen wird, aus dieser Annahme die Hypothese einer Korrelation abgeleitet werden. Dann (und nur dann) kann die beobachtete Korrelation die These über den Kausalzusammenhang stützen.

Abb. 4 (S. 16) zeigt zwei Dreiecksbeziehungen, in denen jeweils die Korrelationen aller Beteiligten angegeben sind. Die Annahme, dass es eine historisch gegenläufige Veränderung von Prägnanz und Laidback gibt, war eine a priori formulierte Hypothese. Beide Hypothesen ließen sich absichern; doch nun passiert Folgendes: Da mit der Jahreszahl sowohl das Laidback steigt als auch die metrische Prägnanz sinkt, ergibt sich eine indirekte Korrelation zwischen Laidback und Prägnanz. Wenn die Prägnanz sinkt, steigt das Laidback. Diese Beobachtung steht jedoch in keinem Zusammenhang mit einer Kausalitätsannahme. Ein kausaler Zusammenhang zwischen Prägnanz und Laidback macht auch theoretisch keinen Sinn und kann also ausgeschlossen werden. Dass beide unabhängig voneinander sein können, zeigen die Häufigkeitsdia-

gramme von Ice Cube und Snoop Dogg in Abb. 2. Beide MCs haben einen ähnlichen Chi-Quadrat Wert bei circa 130. Ice Cube hat ein leicht negatives Laidback, wie es typisch für die 1980er ist, Snoop Dogg ein deutlich positives Laidback, auch wieder typisch für das Ende der 1990er Jahre. In den Häufigkeitsverteilungen bewirkt ein positives Laidback zwar eine Verschiebung der Haufen nach rechts, aber es ändert nichts an der Schärfe der Spitzen. Allein die Spitzen sind für den X^2 -Wert ausschlaggebend, der die metrische Prägnanz ausdrückt. Wenn sich also eine Korrelation zwischen Laidback und Prägnanz zeigt, liegt hier nur ein Scheinzusammenhang vor.

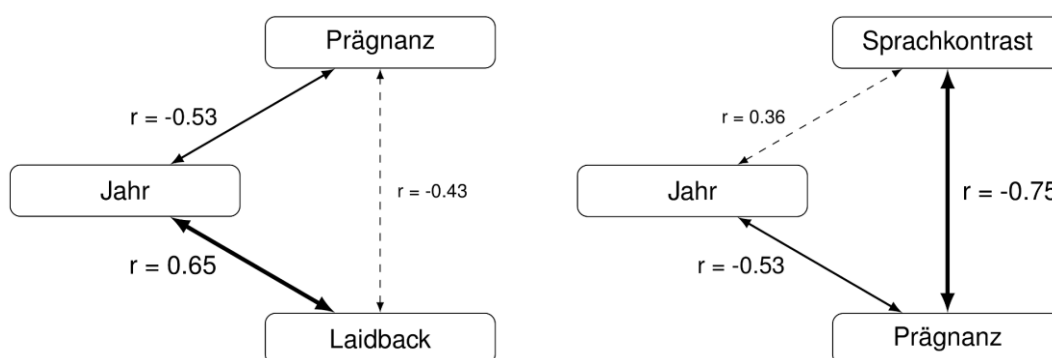


Abb. 4: Korrelationen zwischen Jahr, Laidback und Prägnanz (links) und Jahr, Prägnanz und Sprachkontrast (rechts). Aufgrund der Korrelation kann nicht auf Kausalzusammenhänge geschlossen werden. Es gibt jedoch Grund zur Annahme, dass die Korrelation von Jahr und Sprachkontrast indirekte Folge der konzeptionellen Abhängigkeit von Prägnanz und Sprachkontrast ist.

Problematisch ist es dagegen bei Prägnanz und Sprachkontrast, denn ein hoher Sprachkontrast geht mit einer geringen Prägnanz einher. Wenn beispielsweise ein MC die Achtel ungleichmäßig rappt, weil sie sprachlich rhythmisiert sind, dann finden sich auch keine klaren Spitzen mehr im Häufigkeitsdiagramm. Die Quasi-Achtel kommen häufig zwischen die metrischen Positionen, das Histogramm verschmiert. Die negative Korrelation zwischen Sprachkontrast und metrischer Prägnanz lässt sich aus der Konzeption der Berechnung der Prägnanz ableiten. Das heißt, dass, in Teilen jedenfalls, eine Tautologie vorliegt. Beide, metrische Prägnanz und Sprachkontrast, messen etwas Ähnliches. Daher ist die Korrelation zwischen beiden mit -0.75 im Betrag extrem hoch. Dass die Prägnanz und die Jahreszahl hoch korrelieren, scheint durchaus begründbar. Es passt zur Theorie der Auflösung der perkussiven Stile der 1980er Jahre. Das Problem ist hier die Korrelation von Jahr und Sprachkontrast. Diese war ohnehin nicht signifikant. Ob es sich jedoch um eine Scheinkorrelation handelt, um eine gemeinsame Teilkorrelation, oder ob sich unabhängige Korrelationen in Teilen hier verstecken, kann an dieser Stelle nicht

entschieden, sondern lediglich problematisiert werden. Wie auch immer, der Sprachkontrast korreliert so hoch mit der Prägnanz, dass er vielleicht gar nicht nötig zur Beschreibung größerer Stichproben ist. Von der Prägnanz lässt sich direkt auf den Sprachkontrast schließen.

5. Fazit

Die Zeitgestaltung im Rap lässt sich mit den beiden Kennwerten metrische Prägnanz und Laidback sehr gut erfassen. Statistisch vorerst abgesichert ist die Hypothese, dass das Laidback von den 1980ern bis zur Jahrtausendwende stark ansteigt, sich dann sättigt und wieder etwas rückläufig wird, und dass die metrische Prägnanz, also das Perkussive des Timings, in dieser Zeit deutlich sinkt. Umgekehrt fungiert die Prägnanz auch als Indikator für die Sprechähnlichkeit des Raps, die gleichzeitig ansteigt. Die Analyse größerer Stichproben erlaubt zudem Ausreißer zu identifizieren, die dann in einer Detailanalyse gezielt beobachtet werden können, um neue interessante Phänomene zu finden und Erklärungsmöglichkeiten vorzuschlagen.

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Anhang

Formel für die Berechnung des *nPVI* nach Grabe und Low (2002):

$$nPVI = \frac{100}{m - 1} \times \sum_{k=1}^{m-1} \left| \frac{d_k - d_{k+1}}{\frac{d_k + d_{k+1}}{2}} \right|$$

Das Wesentliche steht zwischen den senkrechten Betragstrichen: d_k ist der Abstand zweier aufeinander folgender Vokale an der Stelle k , d_{k+1} ist der Vokalabstand an der nächsten, also auf k folgenden, Stelle. Die Differenz von beiden Vokalabständen ($d_k - d_{k+1}$) wird ins Verhältnis gesetzt zur durchschnittlichen Dauer der beiden Zeitabstände ($[d_k + d_{k+1}]/2$). Die Differenzen werden als Betrag genommen, d.h. negative Ergebnisse (kleineres Intervall minus größeres) werden ebenfalls positiv interpretiert. Diese Prozedur wird für alle Vokalabstände durchgeführt, anschließend über alle Teilergebnisse der Durchschnitt gebildet und das Ergebnis mit 100 multipliziert, um leichter interpretierbare Werte zu erhalten.

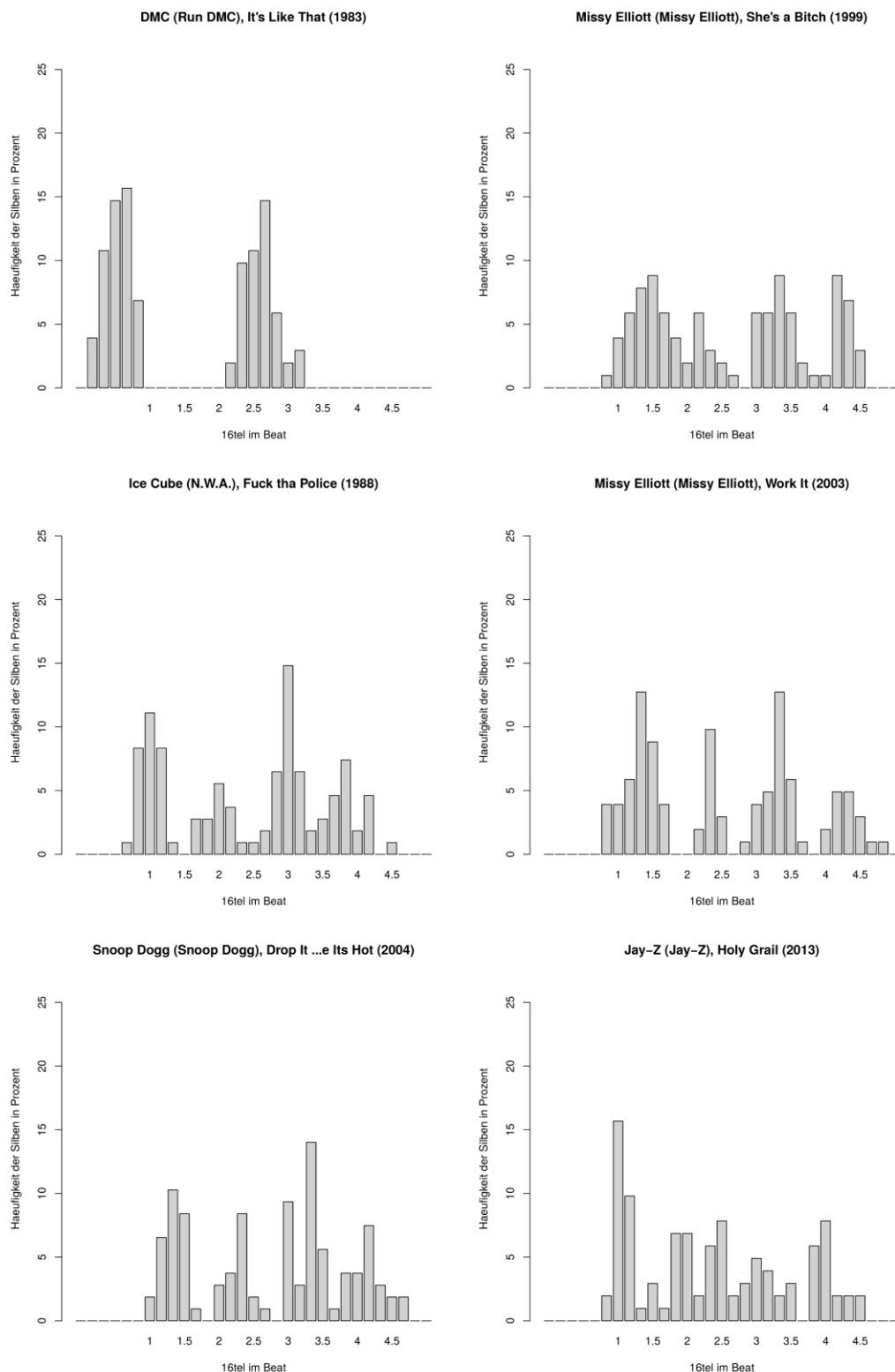


Abb. 5: Auswahl verschiedener Histogramme aus der Replikationsstudie. Deutlich zu erkennen ist, dass DMC nur Achtel rappt. Der Vergleich der beiden Rap-Passagen von Missy Elliott zeigt die höhere Prägnanz des späteren »Work It«, dessen Häufigkeitsspitzen klarer voneinander getrennt sind. Der Vergleich von Ice Cube und Snoop Dogg zeigt eine relativ ähnliche Prägnanz bei unterschiedli-

chem Laidback. Snoop Doggs Häufigkeitsmaxima sind deutlich hinter den 16tel-Positionen. Bei Jay-Z finden sich kleinere lokale Maxima auf den 32teln (auf 1.5 und 2.5), die er am Ende der gemessenen ersten Strophe einbringt.

Tab. 1 (folgende Seite): Überblick über die Ergebnisse der Vorstudie (V) und der Replikationsstudie (R), sortiert jeweils nach Jahr der Erscheinung. Angegeben sind die ermittelten Werte für das Laidback (in Millisekunden), die metrische Prägnanz (X^2), die durchschnittliche Silbendauer (s in Millisekunden) und der Sprachkontrast ($nPVI_0$). $\bar{\emptyset}$ = arithmetisches Mittel; err = Standardfehler des Mittelwertes; sd = Standardabweichung. Für die Untersuchungen wurde jeweils ein Minimum von 100 Silben gemessen. Dabei wurde von Hooklines und Refrains abgesehen und es wurden nur reine und deutlich als Rap wahrnehmbare Passagen verwendet. Grandm. Flash = Grandmaster Flash and the Furious Five; DJ Jazzy J. = DJ Jazzy Jeff and The Fresh Prince.

METRISCHE UND SPRECHNAHE ZEITGESTALTUNG DES RAP IM HISTORISCHEN WANDEL

	Gruppe	MC(s)	Titel	Jahr	Laidback			X ²	s	nPVI_0		
					Ø	err	sd			Ø	err	sd
V	Sugarhill Gang	Big Bank Hank	Rapper's Delight	1979	-8	1.4	23.2	148	217	17	1.2	14
V		Master Gee		1979	-11	1.4	24.5	118	194	22	1.4	16
V		Wonder Mike		1979	-8	2.2	25.0	119	240	14	1.9	14
V	Grandm. Flash	Melle Mel	The Message	1982	-15	1.4	20.1	188	199	15	0.9	10
V	Beastie Boys	MCA	No Sleep Till Brooklyn	1987	-2	2.6	25.7	117	214	17	1.9	14
V		Ad Rock		1987	10	2.9	30.0	139	212	20	2.0	15
V		Mike D		1987	10	3.2	28.6	114	216	22	2.4	17
V	Public Enemy	Chuck D	Don't Believe The Hype	1988	4	2.1	26.4	133	216	18	1.6	14
V	Snoop Dogg	Snoop Dogg	What's My Name	1993	60	3.4	42.2	60	223	25	2.2	19
V	Fugees	Wyclef Jean	Ready Or Not	1996	92	4.0	52.0	54	221	30	2.2	22
V		Lauryn Hill		1996	110	5.8	66.4	78	228	21	1.8	15
V	OutKast	Big Boi	Ms. Jackson	2001	30	4.1	53.9	43	170	33	2.4	24
V		André 3000		2001	87	3.3	46.3	70	206	25	1.7	19
V	Eminem	Eminem	Lose Yourself	2002	36	2.9	38.3	94	242	30	3.8	25
R	Run DMC	Run	It's Like That	1983	-55	3.3	30.9	244	377	13	2.9	17
R		DMC		1983	-55	2.6	25.8	247	351	13	1.4	9
R	LL Cool J	LL Cool J	I need Love	1987	5	2.0	20.2	176	214	18	1.6	13
R	N.W.A.	Ice Cube	Fuck tha Police	1988	-6	2.8	29.1	131	225	29	2.6	20
R		MC Ren		1988	-19	3.6	38.3	103	220	26	2.7	20
R	Vanilla Ice	Vanilla Ice	Ice Ice Baby	1989	-24	4.2	42.6	171	199	24	3.5	23
R	De La Soul	Dove	Me Myself and I	1989	11	2.1	20.7	413	280	13	1.1	10
R		Posdnuos		1989	5	2.4	24.0	323	280	14	1.2	11
R	MC Hammer	MC Hammer	You Can't Touch This	1990	-21	1.8	19.0	270	236	17	1.9	15
R	Dr Alban	Dr Alban	It's My Life	1992	-17	2.2	23.9	340	220	12	1.4	11
R	DJ Jazzy J.	Will Smith	Boom Shake the Room	1993	3	1.8	20.9	206	219	21	2.0	17
R	Coolio	Coolio	Gangsta's Paradise	1995	19	2.8	28.1	168	240	17	2.4	17
R	Lauryn Hill	Lauryn Hill	Doo Whop (That Thing)	1998	38	2.7	28.6	86	204	22	2.3	18
R	Missy Elliott	Missy Elliott	She's a Bitch	1999	44	3.2	31.9	90	209	27	2.4	18
R	Eminem	Eminem	The Real Slim Shady	2000	18	4.6	47.3	54	189	30	3.9	23
R	Missy Elliott	Missy Elliott	Work It	2003	41	3.0	29.9	126	229	14	2.0	13
R	Snoop Dogg	Snoop Dogg	Drop It Like It's Hot	2004	48	3.7	38.7	130	237	25	2.8	21
R	Nicki Minaj	Nicki Minaj	Moments4Life	2010	8	3.5	34.5	109	229	23	3.1	20
R	Nas	Nas	A Queens Story	2012	23	2.6	26.0	128	194	29	2.6	20
R	Jay-Z	Jay-Z	Holy Grail	2013	4	3.2	32.3	124	290	16	2.2	14

SONIC SIGNATURES IN METAL MUSIC PRODUCTION TEUTONIC VS BRITISH VS AMERICAN SOUND

Jan-Peter Herbst

Introduction

Popular music studies have seen a rising interest in what could be called »sonic signatures« or »signature sounds«. According to Zagorski-Thomas (2014: 66), the »use of the term in music has been to describe the character of a particular individual or group's performance style and output, but can also relate to a record company or a producer.« He gives the example of producer Phil Spector, who worked with the same pool of musicians, and the Motown label with their iconic band the Funk Brothers, who recorded in the Snakepit studio. Other signature sounds from characteristic instruments and effects devices shape popular music genres (Brockhaus 2017). Even countries and cities can have signature sounds (Simmons 2004; Owsinski 2006; Zagorski-Thomas 2012; Massey 2015; Herbst 2019, 2021), e.g. Philly soul. Many approaches for analysing a recording and its meaning have been pursued. Based on auditory analysis, von Appen (2015), Helms (2015), and Zagorski-Thomas (2015) have interpreted potential decisions in the production process concerning their creative and commercial reasons. But as Morey's (2008) analysis of the Arctic Monkeys' demos has shown, even highly skilled production experts and musicologists can be wrong in their assumptions and interpretations. Interview statements and production recollections (e.g., »Produce Like a Pro«¹ or »Nail the Mix«²) by those involved in the production help to mitigate some of these problems, but there may still be forgotten details, vague memories, or mystified stories (Thompson/Lashua 2016). An ethnographical approach (Meintjes 2003; Davis 2009; Bates 2016), in which the recording and

1 <https://www.producelikeapro.com/>

2 <https://nailthemix.com/>

engineering processes are observed first-hand, could be a solution, although studio access during all phases from recording to final mastering is commonly restricted, and research interest often only emerges after a record is released. An alternative to observation-based field work is to test assumptions through practical re-enactment of the recording, mixing, and mastering processes of a production (Meynell 2017). The outcome will be even more accurate when collaborating with the original engineers and having access to unpublished data like multi-tracks as well as specialist production resources and skills (Hammond 2018).

This article is part of a larger research project on ›Teutonic metal‹, which is metal music from Germany and neighbouring countries (Elflein 2017; Herbst 2019). Previous qualitative research (Herbst 2019, 2021) with influential ›Teutonic producers‹ such as Karl ›Charlie‹ Bauerfeind³, Harris Johns⁴, and Siegfried ›Siggi‹ Bemm⁵ as well as other professional metal producers like Lasse Lammert⁶ and Mark Mynett⁷ suggests that, during metal music's globalisation in the mid-1980s and 1990s, German metal diverged from the two main cultures of origin, Great Britain and the USA. Indications of a ›German metal sound‹ were also found in a recent *Rock Hard* interview with Dennis Ward, a German-based metal music producer from America:

Oh, indeed, there definitely is one. Just a few days ago I got a request, one of the kind I often receive. The band was from Italy and they wanted me to make them sound like ›all the great German metal bands‹. This probably is the best evidence. But I cannot explain what exactly makes up this sound given that Accept sound totally different to Helloween. There must be some common element. Maybe this kind of music from Germany is produced with more reverb, roomier and not so dry and ›in your face‹ like much of the music coming from the US. (Schiffmann 2018; translation by the author)

Based on the experience of the aforementioned producers, the characteristics of metal from Germany, Great Britain, and the USA were investigated in previous research (Herbst 2019, 2021). Comprehending culture-specific sonic signatures nevertheless proved to be a challenge in light of the large variety of variables: bands, song structures, arrangements, tempos, studios, recording and mixing techniques. The present article takes a different approach by

3 Producer of Angra, Helloween, Gamma Ray, Running Wild, Blind Guardian, Rage, Saxon, Motörhead, and Venom.

4 Producer of Kreator, Sodom, Tankard, Voivod, and Saint Vitus.

5 Producer of Angel Dust, Kreator, Morgoth, Samael, Moonspell, Rotting Christ, and Theatre of Tragedy.

6 Producer of Gloryhammer, Alestorm, MessengeR, Svartsot, Primitai, and Rumahoy.

7 Producer of Rotting Christ, Godsized, Paradise Lost, and My Dying Bride.

exploring a practice-led methodology. Producing three pastiche mixes—Teutonic, American, and British—of the same multi-track recording allows to directly compare the sonic signatures of the full arrangements and their individual parts. This methodology also considers the practical challenges that mixing and mastering engineers face in the real world when crafting music with specific sonic signatures in mind, something that can easily be overlooked from a mere musicological point of view.

Geographically associated sonic signatures

In popular music performance and production, equipment and engineering techniques are widely associated with geographical areas. Guitar players commonly associate amplifiers from the UK (Marshall, VOX, Orange, Laney) with a British sound and those from the USA (Fender, Mesa Boogie, Peavy) with an American sound (Stent 2019). This is mainly due to the history of rock music, as both countries manufactured original amplifiers early on (Burr-luck/Seabury 1996). Since they were less expensive, renowned bands played amplifiers from domestic manufacturers in the formative phase of rock (Brosnac 2004: 56). Deviating circuit designs, valves, speakers, and cabinets create sounds that vary in distortion characteristic, frequency spectrum, and dynamic response (Brosnac 2004; Stent 2019). In the digital world, geographical origins are used in amplifier simulations to classify impulse responses (sonic fingerprints) of guitar cabinets and speakers. Normally, these include American and British characteristics, but some also distinguish a German sound that is most closely associated with the manufacturer Engl, sometimes Diezel.

In audio engineering, several geographical references exist too. The classic Urei/Universal Audio 1176 FET compressor set to all buttons in is known as British mode, characteristic for aggressive wave-shaping (Felton 2012). There is also the myth of a British equaliser, which is characterised by a special bandwidth behaviour that allows engineers to apply more extensive boosts without unpleasant artefacts on British mixing desks as opposed to American consoles (Winer 2012: 282). However, this proportional bandwidth is not a unique feature of all British consoles: the British SSL 4000G has it, while the E series does not. Besides, it also exists on some American devices, such as the API. As mentioned before, even some cities are known for their specific signature: New York style compression, for instance, is a recognised term for parallel compression (Owsinski 2006: 58). This is a technique in which unprocessed and processed tracks are mixed together to achieve a full-

bodied effect without significantly affecting the important transients. Owsinski (2006: 3f) describes distinct mixing styles of Los Angeles, New York, and London that differ in their approach to compression, effects layering, and spatial staging, but admits that the uniqueness of these signatures gradually diminishes. Similar trends can be found in mastering practice. Interviews with leading engineers indicate that until the turn of the millennium, the East Coast could be distinguished from the West Coast due to distinct styles within the USA. This is not possible anymore, however. As Meadows observes: »it's all blended in to be a big jumble of sound, and you almost can't pinpoint anybody's characteristic fingerprint anymore. Everybody has basically the same kind of tools and is doing the same kind of thing to satisfy the customers« (Meadows in Owsinski 2008: 219).

Examining British and American sonic signatures, Zagorski-Thomas (2012) concluded that productions from these countries differed considerably in the 1970s but then gradually assimilated from the 1980s onwards. Back in the 1970s, American producers had a higher track-count, tended to record more live, and preferred close-miking, while British engineers applied more traditional room techniques, valued mono-compatibility, and strived for a warm and ›fat‹ sound, often created in large studios. American producers generally opted for an intense and controlled sound, created in smaller spaces with more acoustic treatment. Distinctive sounds were also due to the use of different desks and microphones in each country. However, the international availability of production resources and staff mobility since the 1970s has increasingly blurred these distinctions.

Previous research on Teutonic metal (Herbst 2019, 2021) has confirmed some of the geographically associated sonic signatures for the UK and the USA and shed light on the German music industry and metal scene. The three veteran producers Johns, Bemm, and Bauerfeind—all decisive for the rise of the metal labels Noise, Century Media, and Steamhammer—felt that in the 1980s equipment comparable to that in America and Great Britain was available in Germany. Yet, tariffs charged on imports increased the prices of mixing consoles, microphones, and amplifiers in the three nations disproportionately (Zagorski-Thomas 2014: 118). This affected the choice of guitar amplification, as producer Bauerfeind explained:

The basic character [of the guitar sound] is determined by the amp, they all have different characters, Marshall, Engl, [Mesa] Boogie and so on ... And this is what shapes styles within metal, i.e. in melodic metal you have the even distortion of Engl amps. In more rock-based metal, you have Marshall sounds, which by far don't distort so evenly. ... British and American players liked the [Peavy] 5150, and Americans [Mesa] Boogie, of course. The [Mesa Boogie] Rec-

tifier is the typical sound of America. And Germany is Engl for sure, it is Engl country, that's a trademark! Everybody in Germany was interested in sounding original, not sounding like everybody else. This was easy to achieve because everybody who played Engl had a sound of their own, this was the Teutonic metal sound. (Bauerfeind in Herbst 2021)

Most other producers in the study shared this view (Herbst 2019, 2021), confirming that they deliberately selected amplifiers for their sonic associations. Apart from amplifier circuits and valves, Bauerfeind was convinced that a country's utility frequency⁸ had an audible impact on the guitar tone. Using an electrical ›variac‹ transformer, the power line could be artificially lowered from 60 to 50 Hz to achieve European sounding distortion, a technique applied by some American engineers and many European producers when recording in the USA.

Drum sounds differed between the countries too. Both American and British productions tended to sound ›wooden‹ (e.g., Armored Saint ›Never Satisfied‹, 2000) but the British even more so (e.g., Iron Maiden ›Be Quick or Be Dead‹, 1992). This impression is achieved by emphasising middle frequencies instead of the high and low end. In American and British production styles the snare drum was the most prominent instrument of the kit, while the kick drum was the focus of Teutonic productions. From a technical point of view, the differences resulted from the tunings, recording techniques, and processing approaches. According to Bauerfeind, kick and snare—the two most important drum sounds—needed to have a particular sound to fit a Teutonic aesthetic. He compared the kick with a ›cannon shot‹, a sound rich in low end, compressed, and loud in the mix. As early as the late 1980s, sample reinforcement enabled this aesthetic prior to the advent of digital audio workstations (DAW). By then, Teutonic productions were already internationally known for loud and deep kick drums. This drum aesthetic can be heard, for example, on Helloween's influential ›I Want Out‹ (1988) and Gamma Ray's ›Last Before the Storm‹ (1993). The snare sound was also different between countries. Whilst British and American productions tended to feature a higher pitched snare, Teutonic metal artists followed the aesthetic of two influential German bands, the Scorpions and Accept, who used a low tuned snare with a centre frequency around 130 Hz and a loud snare wire rattle to create a sound resembling a ›pistol shot‹. Early examples of this sound are the Scorpions' ›Longing for Fire‹ (1975) and Accept's ›Breaker‹ (1981). These low tunings extended to the toms, which required large shells and double ply (Remo Pinstripe) heads. Good examples to

8 The utility frequency is 60 Hz in North America, 50 Hz in Europe.

compare these drum sounds in the same genre and period are American Jag Panzer's »Call of the Wild« (1997), British Shadow Keep's »Corruption Within« (2000), German Gamma Ray's »Somewhere out in Space« (1997), and Italian Rhapsody's »Flames of Revenge« (1997).⁹ Two records by the German power metal band Rage are even more revealing. *Welcome to the Other Side* (2001) was self-produced by the band members for their respective parts. The drums by American Mike Terrana are high-pitched, bouncy, and fusion-like. When this album failed to convince the audience due to lack of Teutonic production attributes, Bauerfeind was hired to achieve a Teutonic signature on *Unity* (2002). The songs »Paint the Devil on the Wall« (2001) and »Down« (2002) demonstrate the differences.

Teutonic producers chose studios that supported this ›thundering‹ aesthetic. Such a sound can only be achieved with specific room acoustics that produce pressure points and controlled low frequencies that can be captured by the microphones. Bemm emphasised that his drum sounds stood out because of the glazed tile walls in his Woodhouse Studio (Morgoth »Odium«, 1993). Johns also appreciated hard reflections from concrete or tiled walls, especially reverberation chambers for snare drums and guitars (Tankard »Death Penalty«, 1993). Bauerfeind liked to record at Hansen Studios (Gamma Ray »The Cave Principle«, 1993) and RA.SH Studios, both built into World War II bunkers whose concrete walls had reflection chambers made of pure ferro-concrete walls (Gamma Ray »Rebellion in Dreamland«, 1995). Blind Guardian's »Twilight Hall«—the studio where Bauerfeind now records most of his production—still features these hard, reflective surfaces (Figure 1, p. 7).

In the 1980s and '90s the vocal sounds in Teutonic metal were less characteristic than in American rock and metal productions, which had a unique vocal signature. Typical vocals on American records had a ›bubble effect‹ created by Dolby A, a tape noise reduction unit used as a multiband compressor/expander to boost the top end with the device's encoding stage (AudioThing 2019). A similar effect was commonly achieved with the Aphex Dominator II multiband peak limiter that can be heard on early Skid Rock albums (*Skid Row*, 1989; *Slave to the Grind*, 1991).

9 Rhapsody have been strongly influenced by German metal. They have often collaborated with German producers and session musicians.



Figure 1: Drum recording room of Twilight Hall studio¹⁰

Apart from the production aesthetics, most of the interviewed producers were convinced of performative differences that were particularly evident in drum playing. In accordance with stereotypes, Teutonic performances were described as ultra-precise and sterile due to the exact internal alignment of drum instruments and the ensemble synchronisation. The snare drum had to be exactly on the grid or even slightly ahead so as not to mask the all-important kick drum, contrary to American and, to a certain extent, British performances. Strongly influenced by jazz and rhythm'n'blues, they tended to be laid-back, with the snare slightly behind the beat. Greek Mikkey Dee is one of the few drummers Bauerfeind has worked with who manages to play both styles. On Helloween's »Just a Little Sign« (2003) he performs in a Teutonic style, on Motörhead's »Stone Deaf Forever!« (2003) he plays in an American/British style.

Methodology

Practice-led, practice-based research and practice as research—these approaches are different variations of a methodology that values the expertise of practitioners as researchers rather than viewing them merely as objects of

¹⁰ http://www.blind-guardian.com/popups/images/xmas2009/IMG_4115-resize.jpg. Access 4 June 2019.

study, as is common in traditional qualitative research. In his introductory chapter to the collected edition *Artistic Practice as Research in Music* (Doğantan-Dack 2015), Cook (2015: 13f) points out that the »performative turn« in many arts, humanities, and social science disciplines since the 1970s has had little influence on musicology. In the United Kingdom this changed when the Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC) began to recognise the value of such research:

Practice-led research is a distinctive feature of the research activity in the creative and performing arts. ... it involves the identification of research questions and problems, but the research methods, contexts and outputs then involve a significant focus on creative practice. (Arts and Humanities Research Board 2003 in Graeme 2009: 47)

Smith and Dean (2009: 5) further stress that »creative practice—the training and specialised knowledge that creative practitioners have and the process they engage in when they are making art—can lead to specialised research insights which can then be generalised and written up as research.« The popularity of practice-led research brought about a thriving postgraduate community of researcher-practitioners in (popular music) composition and performance. Especially for performance, this practical turn seems significant when music is appreciated »as a temporal act rather than a notational artefact, and as a form of cultural and social practice encompassing a broad spectrum of repertoires, idioms, conditions« (Rink 2015: 128). The same holds true for popular music in recorded and produced form, which is fundamentally shaped—technically and artistically—by recording, mixing, and mastering methodologies. Expert knowledge in the field of music production is therefore highly valuable for decoding sonic signatures into their meaningful elements and the crafting techniques on which they are based.

Previous research on the Teutonic metal sound was limited by the lack of opportunities for direct comparison of sonic features between countries and cultures (Herbst 2019a, 2021). Even if one or two elements such as producer and studio were constant, there were still too many variables impacting the result. This is a problem because subtle details potentially mark significant differences. To overcome some of these methodological issues, this project builds on pastiche mixes to give audible examples of Teutonic, American, and British signature metal sounds from the same material. The sound files are provided in an [audio appendix](#).

The remixed song for this project is »Sleeper Cell« by the Manchester-based band Kill II This, released as a single and video in 2017.¹¹ Having toured

11 <http://kill2this.co.uk/>

with American bands such as Anthrax, Slipknot, Machine Head, Megadeth, Fear Factory and with seminal German bands like Running Wild and Helloween, the band performs at an international level. The recording also meets professional standards. It was recorded in one of Huddersfield University's studios¹² (Figure 2) on a British Audient ASP8024-HE analogue console (Figure 3) by the band's guitarist, Mark Mynett, a senior lecturer in music technology and production.



Figure 2: Live room of the recording



Figure 3: Control room with Audient ASP8024-HE desk

12 <https://selene.hud.ac.uk/sengbr/Joomla3/index.php/bluerooms-profiles/greenrooms-profile>

The multi-tracks are publicly available as part of the online appendix of Mynett's (2017) *Metal Music Manual*¹³. Stylistically, the track can be broadly defined as contemporary metal with fast sub-divisions and double kick parts, melodic singing, and virtual instruments that extend the traditional metal instrumentation. The condensed arrangement¹⁴ comprises 48 tracks: 17 drums, 3 bass, 5 distorted guitars, 6 vocals, 1 synthesiser, 3 mellotron choirs, 1 mellotron strings, 7 virtual strings, 2 pianos. The choirs, strings, and pianos play throughout the song but are quiet in the mix up to the outro. All instruments except the synthesiser, mellotron, strings, and pianos were recorded in an overdub fashion: first the drums, then the guitars, bass, and finally the vocals. Apart from the miked guitar and bass amplifiers, the performances were also recorded as Direct Injection (DI) tracks, which allows re-amping through a 'real' amplifier or computer-based amplifier simulation in the later production stages. The song is in a 4/4 metre and changes tempo in the middle eight from 156 bpm to 116 bpm. Although the style is more modern than the music recorded by the German producers, whose experiences informed the theory of a Teutonic signature, it shares enough similarities to explore production features. The pastiche mixes were aimed at the production aesthetics of the 1990s but with a modern mastering level.

Mixing approaches

The three pastiche mixes were created using Avid Pro Tools, the industry standard DAW for metal music. This study understands itself as practice-led (as opposed to 'practice as research'), which means that the creative output is subordinate to the research interest in creating and comparing versions of three distinct metal sounds. The mixes were approached to facilitate direct comparison in the same Pro Tools project, allowing processing to be varied systematically whilst keeping the signal chain as similar as possible (see Table 1, p. 16, for an overview). Figure 4 illustrates the instrument and pre-master busses of the three mixes; blue for the Teutonic, turquoise for the American, and green for the British mix.

13 <https://www.routledgetextbooks.com/textbooks/9781138809321>. The permission to use the song in this project was granted by the band.

14 Some tracks like those of all bottom tom microphones were discarded.

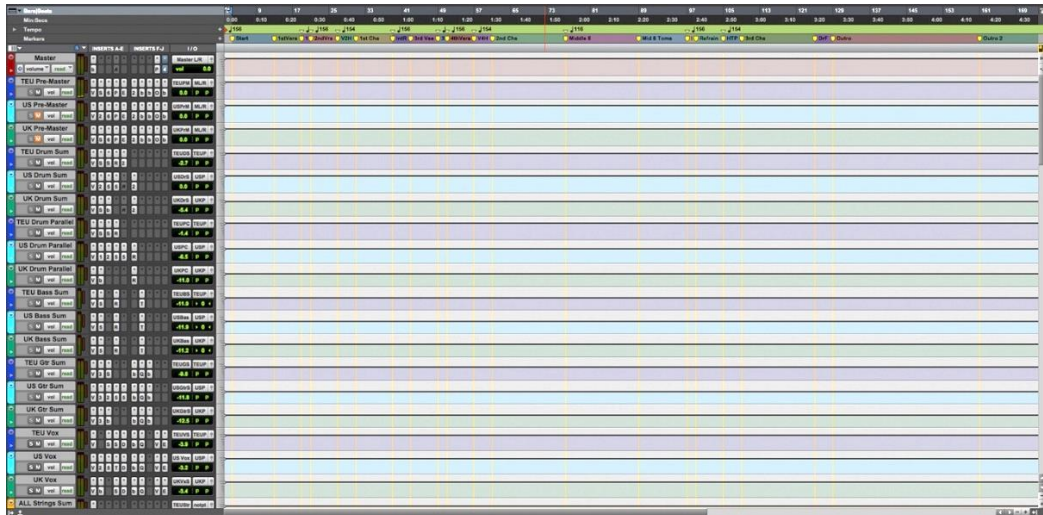


Figure 4: Instruments and pre-master busses of all three mixes

The Teutonic mix was created first. Once it was mixed and mastered, all tracks were duplicated twice and routed to new instrument and pre-master busses (Figure 5). Most tools and settings were identical, apart from key features that were altered.

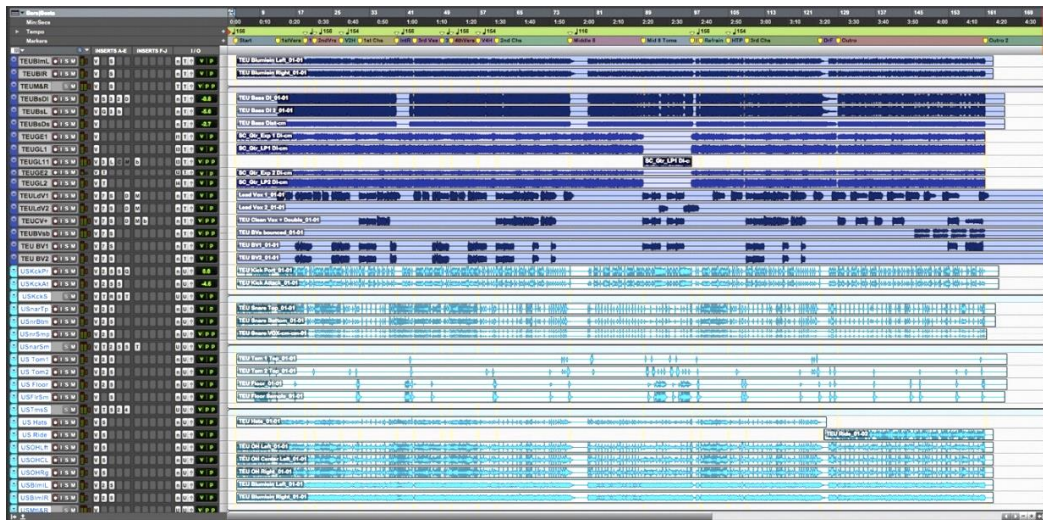


Figure 5: Tracks of the Teutonic original and the duplicated American mix

On all tracks, the first insert was the Slate Digital Console (Figure 6), which was set to an American API 1604 for the American, a Neve 8048 for the British, and a British Solid State Logic (SSL) 4000E for the Teutonic mix due to the lack of a German desk. The SSL is known for »tight but punchy low-end, warm low-mids, and a present midrange«, the API for its »thick and fat tone with incredible vibe and mid-range punch«, and the Neve for its »rich, fat, and warm sound« (Pack 2018). The drive levels were set to maximum (+18 dB) for maximum colouration.



Figure 6: Virtual Channels; ›Brit 4k E‹ is the SSL 4000E, ›US A‹ is the API 1604, ›Brit N‹ is the Neve

The Teutonic mix used the Waves SSL 4000E channel strip for equalisation and compression (Figure 7). The equaliser is parametric with adjustable frequency centres and bandwidth, also known as ›Q factor‹, and the compressor has a soft-knee response (Waves 2019a: 4). The American mix used API equalisers and compressors, also by Waves. Since they exist only as separate units, the filtering was done with API 550B and 560 equalisers, which have fixed frequency centres and non-adjustable bandwidths. Unlike the SSL equaliser, however, the API 550 series is equipped with a ››Proportional Q,‹ which intuitively widens the filter bandwidth at lower settings and narrows it at higher settings‹, letting one ›push the API 550 harder than you normally would other equalizers‹ (Waves 2019b: 6). The API 2500 compressor also differs from the SSL: although adjustable, only the hard-knee behaviour was used, resulting in more aggressive wave-shaping. Additionally, it has a ›Thrust‹ setting that ›inserts a High Pass Filter at the RMS detector input, limiting compression response to lower frequencies while applying additional compression to higher frequencies‹ (Waves 2019c: 6). The settings were transferred from the SSL channel strip to the API as authentic as possible, which was not always possible with the equaliser settings, since the SSL allows free choice of frequency, while the API has predefined frequency steps such as 50 Hz, 100 Hz, 200 Hz (see Figure 7). The sound neutral FabFilter Pro-Q3 equaliser was used for additional, more surgical low end control. The British mix used a Neve VCX console strip by Brainworx, since there is no emulation by Waves. The compressor threshold was medium-knee and the equaliser bandwidth adjustable, as with the SSL.

The master busses were completely identical except for one compression unit. The Teutonic and British master used the Waves SSL 4000G buss compressor, famous for its ›glue effect‹, whilst the American master had another instance of the API 2500 on it (Figure 8). Both had a 2:1 ratio and moderately fast attack time of 10 ms, but differed in their release times. The SSL featured automatic release, the API was set to a medium release time of 300 ms. The rest of the mastering chain consisted of multiband (Waves C6) and neutral broad-band compression (PSP MasterComp), equalisation (Brainworx Hybrid and 2098), stereo widening (Brainworx 2098), clipping (Stillwell Event Horizon), saturation (PSP Vintage Warmer), maximisation (Sonnox Oxford Inflator), and limiting (Brainworx Limiter).



Figure 7: SSL channel strip, API equaliser, and Neve channel strip



Figure 8: SSL 4000G buss compressor and API 2500 compressor

Additional vocal and bass compression was applied with Waves' emulation of the UREI/Universal Audio 1176 FET and Teletronix LA-3A electro-optical compressor. The compressors and a Waves PuigTec MEQ-5 mid-range equaliser were set to a utility frequency of 50 Hz for the Teutonic and British mixes and 60 Hz for the American mix. According to the manufacturer, this setting should affect noise behaviour and tonal colouration (Waves 2019d: 4). The American vocals were treated with AudioThing's (2019) Type A, a simulation of the Dolby A tape noise reduction unit. In every other respect, the vocal chains were identical in all three mixes. The reverb and delay effects on the vocals were all ›ducked‹ (lowered) by 6 to 10 dB with a compressor during singing to increase clarity, so that the full effects are only heard at the end of the vocal phrases. The stereo image was widened by 120 % for the Teutonic and American versions and by 110 % for the British production, based on America's renowned ›wall of sound‹ aesthetic that was adopted by Teutonic producers.

Since the same tracks were used in each mix, the sounds of all drum shells had to be altered artificially. For an audible difference between the three production styles, the shells were re-tuned with the Waves Torque plugin. The British kit remained unaltered; the Teutonic kick was tuned down by 450 cents, the snare by 210 cents, and the toms by 145 cents, whereas the American kick was pitched up by 100 cents, the snare by 200 cents, and the toms by 240 cents. These values were a compromise between stylistically appropriate sounds and acceptable quality. Clean snare hits were blended with the same hits from the room tracks to create a multi-sample instrument that added natural ambience to the snare sound without a reverb plugin. This snare sample was used on all mixes but with the different tunings. Only the Teutonic mix had kick drum sample reinforcement with the kit's own kick sound. Furthermore, the low tom track was duplicated and trimmed to isolate the attack portion. This sound served as another sample on the Teutonic kick to add high frequency drum-stick transients to the low tuning, a production trick by Bauerfeind. To simulate the loud snare wires in Teutonic productions, a duplicate of the bottom snare track was also bandpass filtered, parallel distorted, and envelope shaped (with the German SPL Transient Designer) to reduce the attack and lengthen the sustain phase. Toms were edited manually to remove spill in all mixes. Kick and snare tracks were gated in the American (with Waves' C1 gate) and Teutonic (with SSL channel strip) mixes for the controlled sound it creates. In each mix, the volumes of the individual instruments were adjusted according to the theory: loud kick and moderate snare for the Teutonic mix, moderate kick and loud snare for the American and British mixes.

Changing the room characteristics proved more difficult. In a metal music production, all instruments and voices are normally close-miked (Mynett 2017), so the room does not have a strong influence on the final sound. This does not apply to the drums. Since the overhead and room tracks in this project already had imprinted characteristics, further reverb on the main drum buss was only added to the Teutonic mix for a tiled wall characteristic. The parallel drum busses of all mixes were reverberated with the Waves Renaissance Reverb, slightly longer in the Teutonic (1.65 seconds) than in the American and British mixes (1.25 seconds).

Performance-wise, the snare was moved five milliseconds forward in the Teutonic mix to give space to the kick drum transients, in the American mix it was moved five milliseconds back for a laid-back feel, and the British snare was left unchanged (Figure 9).



Figure 9: Snare timing of all three mixes

The guitar sounds (two tracks of Gibson Les Paul and two of Gibson Explorer, each of them panned hard left and right) were recorded with Direct Injection (DI) tracks, allowing the use of amplifier simulations. Half of the guitars in the Teutonic mix were sent through an Engl E646 Victor Smolski amplifier (by Engl), the other half through an Engl 530 (by Brainworx), all with Engl cabinets. The guitars of the American mix went through two different Mesa Boogie Rectifier simulations (by Brainworx), each with nationally branded impulse responses (Figure 10). The British guitars were amplified with a Marshall JCM800 simulation (by Brainworx) with different settings and impulse responses. The Engl, Mesa Boogie, and Marshall amplifiers added distorted colours to the bass tracks, depending on each country.



Figure 10: American Mesa Boogie Dual Rectifier amplifier with American cabinet

In general, processing was limited to frequency and dynamic range control, some algorithmic reverb and delay effects (Valhalla Vintage Verb, Soundtoys Echoboy) and de-essing (Massey, Waves, Brainworx) on the vocals, bass shaping (Waves Renaissance Bass), saturation (PSP Vintage Warmer), and distortion (Soundtoys Decapitator). The mastering was influenced by the original track, but with very loud -6.5 LUFS (loudness units relative to full scale) it

was still two loudness units quieter, a decision taken to improve clarity. When soloing individual tracks in the audio export, the mastering chain was kept active to maintain the sound features as much as possible, but less compression was applied due to quieter programme levels.

Table 1: Comparison of the main sound colouring processing for each country

General Mixing	Teutonic	British	American
Virtual console	<i>SSL 4000E</i>	<i>Neve 8048</i>	<i>API 1604</i>
Equaliser	<i>SSL 4000E, Waves PuigTec MEQ-5 (50 Hz)</i>	<i>Neve VCX4000E, Waves PuigTec MEQ-5 (50 Hz)</i>	<i>API 5504000E, Waves PuigTec MEQ-5 (60 Hz)</i>
Compressor	<i>SSL 4000E, Waves 1176 (50 Hz)</i>	<i>Neve VCX, Waves 1176 (50 Hz)</i>	<i>API 2500, Waves 1176 (60 Hz)</i>
Instruments and Vocal Processing			
Vocal refinement	–	–	<i>AudioThing Dolby A</i>
Guitar and bass amplification	<i>Engl E646, 530</i>	<i>Marshall JCM800</i>	<i>Mesa Boogie Rectifier</i>
Drum re-tuning	Kick -450c, snare -210c, toms -145c	–	Kick +100c, snare +200c, toms +240c
Drum reverb	<i>Waves RVerb with tiled wall on main and parallel buss</i>	<i>Waves RVerb on parallel buss</i>	<i>Waves RVerb on parallel buss</i>
Drum gating	<i>SSL 4000E</i>	–	<i>Waves C1</i>
Drum reinforcement	Snare sample with room ambience, <i>kick sample (from kick and low tom), fake snare wires</i>	Snare sample with room ambience	Snare sample with room ambience
Drum performance	<i>Snare 5 ms ahead</i>	–	<i>Snare 5 ms back</i>
Mastering			
Virtual console	<i>SSL 4000E</i>	<i>Neve 8048</i>	<i>API 1604</i>
Stereo widening	<i>120 %</i>	<i>110 %</i>	<i>120 %</i>
↳Glue↳ compressor	<i>SSL 4000G</i>	<i>SSL 4000G</i>	<i>API 2500</i>
Multiband compressor	<i>Waves C6</i>	<i>Waves C6</i>	<i>Waves C6</i>
Broadband compressor	<i>PSP MasterComp</i>	<i>PSP MasterComp</i>	<i>PSP MasterComp</i>
Clipper	<i>Stillwell Event Horizon</i>	<i>Stillwell Event Horizon</i>	<i>Stillwell Event Horizon</i>
Saturation	<i>PSP Vintage Warmer</i>	<i>PSP Vintage Warmer</i>	<i>PSP Vintage Warmer</i>
Equaliser (Stereo)	<i>Brainworx Hybrid</i>	<i>Brainworx Hybrid</i>	<i>Brainworx Hybrid</i>
Equaliser (Mid/Side)	<i>Brainworx 2098 (Amek 9098)</i>	<i>Brainworx 2098 (Amek 9098)</i>	<i>Brainworx 2098 (Amek 9098)</i>
Maximiser	<i>Sonnox Oxford Inflator</i>	<i>Sonnox Oxford Inflator</i>	<i>Sonnox Oxford Inflator</i>
Limiter	<i>Brainworx Limiter</i>	<i>Brainworx Limiter</i>	<i>Brainworx Limiter</i>

Note: Processing in italics differs between one or more of the mixes

Comparing the mixes

On a global level, all three mixes (*audio examples 2-4*) of the same multi-tracks (*audio example 1*) have clearly diverging sounds resulting from the production choices described above. All artificially created sonic signatures seem to work musically and technically and bear similarities with productions from respective countries in the 1990s. The analysis of the spectra with two- and three-dimensional representations was inconclusive, so the following comparison is mainly based on listening perception.

In the corresponding literature, the tone of the electric guitar is described as decisive for the quality and classification of metal (Berger/Fales 2005; Herbst 2017). Indeed, the guitar sounds of the three versions are distinct and immediately attract attention (*audio examples 5-7*). The British and American amplifiers fulfil their expectations: the British Marshall fills the spectrum of the mix with its distinctive midrange and thus occupies a prominent place in the arrangement. The American Mesa Boogie is the exact opposite with its ›scooped‹ sound, heavy in the bass and rich in treble. It hardly competes with the snare drum and tom transients and leaves more space for the vocals. Despite its rich low end, the bass guitar is intelligible due to the careful low end control; the same holds true for the British mix. Interestingly, the kick in the American mix seems to be located above the guitars, an unusual effect that rearranges the frequency spectra of the instruments. The Teutonic guitar sound of Engl has more presence in the top end without neglecting the other frequencies. In comparison—and in line with the common view—, it sounds brighter and somewhat ›sterile‹. Despite the pronounced presence, the Engl's bass frequency resembles the American Mesa Boogie but is more strongly disguised by the top end, making the Teutonic guitar tone the brightest.

The bass guitar is a blend of two identical DI tracks, one processed for general tone and consistency and one for low end. Only the distorted third track varies between the three mixes—as do the relative volumes of the bass tracks due to mix requirements. The bass sounds differ in a similar way to the guitar sounds: Teutonic the brightest, American booming with noticeable treble distortion, British ›wooden‹ and pronounced in mid-range (*audio examples 8-10*).

The ways bass and guitars are combined also leads to different flavours (*audio examples 2-4, 11-13*). In the Teutonic mix, the bass is not very present; due to the distinct treble information, it blends with the guitars and it is masked more strongly by the kick drum than is the case in the other mixes.

The bass is slightly more present in the American mix, but still blends with the guitars because of their dominant low end. In the British mix, bass and guitars are the most separated and remain recognisable as independent instruments due to the mid-frequency centre of the guitars.

The drum sounds also differ significantly between the three sonic signatures in accordance with the theory (*audio examples 14-16*). Authentic for the Manchester-based band, the drum shells are unaltered in the British mix. According to the FabFilter Pro-Q3 spectrum analysis, the kick drum's lowest resonance is at 119 Hz, quite high for this instrument and representative of what Bauerfeind described as a ›wooden‹ aesthetic. This is also true for the snare with its high fundamental resonance at 247 Hz. The kick resonance in the American mix is not higher, but due to formant shifts the sound is brighter. The snare drum's centre fundamental is at 271 Hz. In contrast, the Teutonic kick sits at 64 Hz and the snare at 216 Hz; still too high, yet the lower tuning has an audible effect on the entire drum sound. The fake snare wire rattle is effective in achieving the Teutonic signature: low tuning and yet bright because of the present rattle. The diverging tom tunings also have a striking impact on the overall production aesthetic, most clearly in the middle eight tom break. All tunings work within the chosen aesthetic, but the low Teutonic tuning was more challenging to mix as it required multiband compressors for dynamic control. For example, masking was reduced by using a multiband compressor on the bass guitar, side-chained to the kick to ›duck‹ the lowest frequencies of the bass with every kick hit. The kick and snare gating in the Teutonic and American mixes is rather subtle, but the special combination of articulated hits and audible reverberation on the Teutonic drums sounds unique. Regarding the relative volumes of kick and snare, the Teutonic style works with the loud kick and quieter snare just like the more prominent snare functions in the American and British mixes. However, achieving these aesthetics required advanced side-chain multiband compression and dynamic equalisation techniques in the mix. The mastering still defined the limits of what was possible. With a limited dynamic range of seven decibels, any volume increase of kick or snare in the respective mixes was eventually rendered ineffective by the broadband compressors. Multiband compression mitigated this but had a negative effect on other instruments in that frequency range. The best solution to maintain a loud kick drum in the Teutonic production was to combine broadband (SSL) and multiband (Waves C6) compressors with another broadband compressor (PSP MasterComp) equipped with a side-chain filter that ignores bass and sub-bass frequencies. Between the mixes, the cymbals do not differ significantly, since little processing was done except for the rooms that were bandpass filtered in all mi-

xes between 100 and 4,000 Hz and heavily compressed with ten decibels of gain reduction. Apart from the ›dryer‹ 1.25-second reverb in the other two mixes, only the Teutonic mix with a ›wetter‹ 1.69-second reverb time from a tiled room was given a different spatial characteristic. Reverb was applied to both the drum and parallel drum compression busses for the Teutonic mix, but only to the parallel buss in the other mixes. Having had the opportunity to listen to raw tracks of drum recordings in some of the popular German studios, the acoustic pastiche bears similarities to authentic productions. The drums shells are deep but still bright because concrete or tiled walls create an ambience with hard reflections. Even in the full arrangement this room character is recognisable without reducing the clarity too much. It should be noted, however, that the room choices for the American and British drums are somewhat arbitrary, as rock and metal were produced in different sized studios in both countries. Rather important in this context are the tiled walls characteristic of the Teutonic drums.

Performance characteristics could only be simulated rudimentarily by nudging the snare back and forth on the grid (*audio examples 2-4, 14-16*). Empirical research suggest that listeners can distinguish between rhythmic events that are 30 to 50 ms apart (Clarke 1989). Yet the snare already sounded unnatural when it was moved by 10 ms—nothing that should theoretically be perceptible. In the end, 5 ms was chosen; a value still noticeable. To my German/European ear, the unaltered British snare and the slightly rushed Teutonic snare sounded almost identical. The American snare, on the other hand, appeared laid-back and seemed to change the groove significantly. It is worth noting that even rigid quantisation, e.g. with Pro Tools' Beat Detective, does not affect these performance features, as edits are made in ›group-locked‹ mode to avoid phase problems and audible flams. To alter natural characteristics of the performance, an engineer or producer would need to manually change the timing of the snare tracks in a separate step. Whether this is common practice in contemporary metal production practice is unclear. Apart from the perception thresholds of micro-timing, the range of deviation (+/- 5 ms) is also worth discussing. In ›groove-based music‹ like Afro-American soul, funk, and r'n'b, expressive micro-timing ranges between 30 (Danielsen 2012: 158) and 70 (Danielsen 2010: 22) milliseconds, which matches Clarke's (1989) claim of 30 to 50 ms as the threshold for the perception of expressive timing. This project suggests that micro-timing in metal music could be in much shorter ranges¹⁵, but still have a significant effect, making it an overlooked phenomenon in popular music research.

15 These smaller values of micro-timing are probably a consequence of the much faster song tempos in metal music on average.

The vocal sounds (*audio examples 17-18*) differed only slightly, although the American tracks were treated with a Dolby A simulation (by AudioThing) to boost the top end. Of the four bands, only the two highest were used with a boost of 2.3 dB in the third and 2.7 dB in the fourth band. The mix amount was set to 80 %. Despite the relatively low values, the vocals are much more present in the arrangement. Aesthetically, this processing is not optimal for this singer's voice, as it is quite harsh already. Reducing shrieking s, z and c consonants by de-essing and filtering was made more difficult by Dolby A processing. With another singer, however, this technique, common in the USA, would likely make the vocal sound stand out from competing productions.

The choice of different console characteristics was somewhat arbitrary, as in the formative phase of metal, all desks were available in all three countries. Bypassing all instances of virtual console emulation had little impact on the three mixes, apart from the effects created by volume changes in the signal chain (*audio examples 19-21*). In all cases, the respective emulation made the sound slightly brighter and compressed, but the effect was so marginal that no significant differences were noticeable between the three consoles. Testing the console emulations with sine waves, needle pulses, and white noise revealed larger deviations. The British SSL emulation was slightly louder than the British Neve, which in turn was louder than the American API. The louder the console was, the smaller the loudness range (LR) and peak to loudness ratio (PLR) became, indicating a dynamic compression behaviour. All consoles had different harmonic distortion characteristics. The SSL and API shared some harmonics but differed in other. Despite this obvious colouration on test tones, little of it can be heard in the full mixes. The heavy use of distortion at source level probably prevents this, next to distortion, saturation, and clipping applied in the mixing and mastering stages. This might explain why metal was amongst the first genres to move to digital production technology compared to other band-based genres (Thomas 2015). With heavy distortion and broadband compression, the subtleties of tone are likely to disappear. The utility frequency of vintage compressors (Universal Audio 1176 and Teletronix LA-3A) and equalisers (PuigTec MEQ-5) also did not create an audible difference. The effect of utility frequency on guitar and bass amplifiers could not be tested with the project setup, but according to producer Bauerfeind the effect should be audible.

The diverging equalisers and compressors used in the three mixes had a noticeable effect on the sonic result and workflow. Rather limited was the API 550 equaliser with its fixed centre frequencies. Whilst cuts are often wide, unless one wants to remove ringing or piercing frequencies, boosts are

narrow to strengthen specific qualities of an instrument. This was difficult to achieve in the American mix, especially on the kick and snare drum, as only 40, 50 or 100 Hz could be selected. Musically, this range spans more than one and a half octaves with few opportunities for fine-tuning. This was partly mitigated by using the graphic API 560 equaliser with slightly different centre frequencies. For compression, however, the API's hard knee and 'Thrust' filter proved very suitable for the metal genre because it allowed rigid dynamic range control of instruments with various frequency spectra. The SSL and Neve equalisers and compressors were similar in functionality; the SSL brighter in overall tone.

Conclusion

There are many elements that shape the sound of a record, all of which are subject to changes over time in the context of a band's history or due to broader trends in genre aesthetics and production practice. These include performance skills and compositional preferences, recording, mixing and mastering engineer(s), producer(s), the recording studio(s), available equipment, and record label requirements. Therefore, sonic signatures have become less distinct today than in the 1960s and '70s:

I think there is a distinctly different way that the English and the Americans did things ... I don't think our Brit acoustic designers thought the same way as maybe the Americans did ... Our rooms sounded different, the way we designed things was definitely different. I think it was the approach that the engineers had. There's definitely a British sound and an American sound ... So there was a difference, I think, from both sides of the Atlantic, to do with music, to do with the producers, to do with the engineers, to do with the studios. (Toft in Zagorski-Thomas 2012: 57f)

This study explored sonic signatures in metal music from the USA, UK, and Germany based on interview statements from producers who were crucial for the emerging metal scene in Germany in the 1980s and '90s and are still active today, producing mainly melodic speed, power, and thrash metal. Creating one single pastiche mix that represents a whole country with its numerous bands, engineers, producers, and studios is obviously a reductionist approach. Furthermore, the signatures were mainly determined by the perceptions of German producers, supplemented by the little research that exists on the subject (Zagorski-Thomas 2012; Massey 2015). Even if more account had been taken of the views of British and American engineers and producers, there are still too many variables and different opinions to find a consensus on any

signature. Zagorski-Thomas's (2012) study demonstrated that already by the 1970s, when production conventions differed considerably, professionals did not agree on whether there were national signatures, nor on the respective characteristics. Similarly, the interviewed Teutonic producers were divided on the details of sonic features. Regardless of individual beliefs, the practiced methodology has shown that the same source material can be modified to create unique sonic signatures based on the mixing and mastering engineer's vision. This does not mean that the recording stage becomes unimportant;¹⁶ it rather highlights the range of possibilities that digital production tools offer in the mixing stage. These tools probably explain why sonic signatures have become less distinct. Mastering engineer Glenn Meadows once claimed that most in the business began using the same tools (Owsinski 2008: 218f). But it could just be the opposite: in fact, there are so many signatures today that larger cultural or geographical areas like cities or countries no longer have a coherent sound, unlike in early metal music when most bands were produced by a handful of professionals in a small number of studios (Herbst 2019). Modern digital signal processing is so powerful that any source material can be transformed beyond recognition. Productions and performances have consequently become hyper-real. Using compression and equalisation with rarely more than 3-6 dB of boosts and cuts, along with original drum tracks without external sample enhancement or replacement, the three pastiche mixes in this study were achieved with minimal processing, yet the results are significantly different. With affordable means, almost anything seems possible today when it comes to sonic transformation, for example shaping guitar sounds with signal processing at source with powerful simulation (Fractal Audio Axe FX, Line 6 Helix) or profiling (Kemper Profiler) technologies (Herbst, Czedik-Eysenberg/Reuter 2018). It is therefore not surprising that the sonic signatures of geographical or cultural areas are becoming less distinct. On the other hand, every engineer, producer, and self-producing artist can have their own signature if they dare to adopt new production methods and not just copy from the past.

16 Despite the powerful tools available for correction, the performances must still be good, possibly even more than in the past, as expectations of virtuosity in many metal genres are constantly rising. However, the recording environment has changed with the small budgets in the industry. Even internationally active bands often lack the budget to record in well-equipped studios, so much of the recording environment is artificially created in the mixing stage.

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FEIGNING OR FEELING? ON THE STAGING OF AUTHENTICITY ON STAGE¹

Ralf von Appen

Deciding who or what is genuinely authentic cannot be the objective of an academic analysis of the value of authenticity. A binding, universally accepted measure will not be found, because the concept of authenticity addresses different, sometimes contradictory values, which are also subject to historical change and therefore cannot be reduced to a fixed common denominator. These conflicting values are the result of the various personal and social needs of the listener and are therefore all justified. The focus should rather be on documenting the various structures and attributes of authenticity and identifying recurring patterns in order to disclose the underlying ideals, needs, attempts to identify and to distinguish, etc., hidden behind them. This is linked to a cultural anthropological interest in understanding the social and individual functions of music. As an additional goal, by heightening an awareness of the staged character of authenticity structures transmitted by media, a contribution can be made towards a more enlightened handling of economically and/or ideologically motivated staging.

With these aims, I will first discuss the key terms of authenticity, liveness and staging, in order to then examine the commonly used authentication strategies based on current examples, especially live performances. It is the stage where the conflict between these three ideas becomes most evident.

1 This is the translation of an article that first appeared in German in *Wa(h)re Inszenierungen. Performance, Vermarktung und Authentizität in der populären Musik* (= Beiträge zur Populärmusikforschung 39). Ed. by Dietrich Helms and Thomas Phleps. Bielefeld: transcript 2013, pp. 41-69. Translation by Marci Warner.

I. Authenticity–Liveness–Staging

Authenticity

Authenticity is an ethical ideal which is based on the values of sincerity, loyalty and consistency, both toward one's self and toward others. In terms of interpersonal relationships, it expresses the essential desire not to be deceived or disappointed. As an individual ethical aspiration, it is based on the need for self-realization and individual freedom and thus the desire to reach one's own potential, and to be able to behave according to one's personal ideals.

Within the context of music, at least the following four dimensions are of significance:

a) Personal authenticity

Those who are successful at aligning their inner convictions and their outward behavior are seen as authentic. People who follow their own inner compass in this way are perceived as sincere and reliable in terms of knowing what one can expect from them. Since the mid-1960s, this standard has also applied to rock and pop musicians. From that time on, these musicians were seen less as entertainers and more as artists, whereby the artist image – originally portrayed by British art schools and the role models of the Beat Poets as well as poets such as Baudelaire, Rimbaud, Keats or Blake – had a strongly romantic influence (cf. Frith/Horne 1987, Pattison 1987, Appen 2013). John Lennon, Jim Morrison and Jimi Hendrix—in contrast to the stars of the older generation—were seen as maladjusted individuals with unique personalities, who were driven only by their own convictions and who were realizing themselves independently from the authorities of society and the influences of market economics. In the context of the political discourse between the Baby Boomer generation and the »establishment«, this transformed them into future-oriented role models for a better society, in which the ideal of a people who have been freed from an authoritarian order and have a »liberated consciousness« would be realized, and in which one could lead a life »that doesn't involve the fulfillment of role expectations, compliance with behavioral conventions or the implementation of tradition-oriented

life plans«². This alleged independence from social constraints was linked to the expectation that the musicians remain authentic, be radical in their self-realization, and embody this idealistic freedom, instead of succumbing to the same compromises that the audience must endure each and every day.

Since then, such ideals have become especially common in all varieties of popular music that attempt to be defined as being anti-cultural or rebellious against the so-called mainstream (on the definition of authenticity for Punk fans, see, e.g., Lewin/Williams 2009). In this case, the criterion of authenticity is of extreme importance, particularly because all music that strives for widespread distribution is bound by market-based structures and thus is always suspected of being driven by them. Therefore, it is deemed the greatest of all disappointments when musicians adapt their music or image to meet the expectations of the masses in an effort to achieve fame and commercial success (»selling out«, examples in Appen 2007: 118 ff.). In contrast, those who work outside the capitalistic structures with (alleged) independent labels and take responsibility for as many production-related decisions as possible are considered to be especially authentic (the »do it yourself« ideal).

But even outside this freedom-oriented rock ideology, fans show a great interest in the private lives of the stars and in the extent to which their publicly portrayed image and their »actual« personality coincide. People who choose stars as role models and identify with them find it particularly important to know exactly where they stand. Even pop stars with great mainstream successes are seen as authentic if they promote the impression of being »natural« and having stayed »true to themselves« in spite of their fame and wealth (see the section on Adele, pg. 60 ff.).

b) Sociocultural authenticity

The insistence that musicians remain loyal to the values of their audience, particularly to the local or social sub-culture of their origin, is also linked to the ideal of personal authenticity, but has a different motivation. Even if they achieve fame and success and increase their social status, they should still identify with this sub-culture, so as not to compromise the very people who feel represented by them. Naturally, this ideal is primarily (but definitely not exclusively) prevalent in bands and fans who want to disassociate themselves from the »mainstream« (cf. Appen 2007: 122ff.).

2 Original: »das nicht in der Erfüllung von Rollenerwartungen, der Entsprechung an Verhaltenskonventionen oder der Umsetzung von traditionell bestimmten Lebensplänen aufgeht« (Menke 2005: 309).

The conflict involving Bob Dylan's use of the electric guitar at the 1965 Newport Folk Festival is an example of how personal authenticity (= adhering to one's own values) and sociocultural authenticity (= the alignment with sub-culture values) are not always compatible. On the one hand, Dylan was perceived as being »true to himself« in terms of personal authenticity, because he didn't allow himself to be consumed by his fans, promoters and critics, but instead followed his personal convictions and pursued a path of artistic development. His rivals from the folk revival scene, who up to that time saw themselves as being represented by Dylan and the ones to whom he owed his career, interpreted this electrification as a financially-motivated attempt to build on the success of the Beatles and the Byrds. In their eyes, by following this superficial trend, Dylan betrayed the basic political and ethical values of the folk movement: distance from the entertainment industry and the establishment, earnestness, a strong sense of tradition, and above all, a social commitment (cf. Nelson 1965).

c) Authenticity of technical ability

In keeping with the original meaning of the Greek verb *authéntein* (= to accomplish oneself, to act autonomously; see Stimpfle 2011: 161) or the adjective *authentikós* (= done by one's own hand, *ibid.*), this aspect refers to the need to not be deceived about the authorship and technical abilities of musicians. Accordingly, plagiarism, and – depending on the situation and genre – lip synching, the use of playback or auto tune, and other pretenses of competence are rejected and sanctioned. Famous examples of this are withdrawing the Grammy award from Milli Vanilli in 1990 (see Friedman 1993) and the accusations asserted by the German weekly magazine *Der Spiegel* (N.N. 1995) that the Rolling Stones used playback recordings for their concerts. Likewise, the fact that the early Queen albums included a note claiming that the band did not use synthesizers of any kind for the recording can be seen as a rejection of »technical aids.« The sources of the indignation over the pretense of non-existent skill are, first, the work ethic of »true technical ability« which is commonplace in country, rock and especially heavy metal music (Diaz-Bone 2002: 408 and 410): esteem for one's work should be earned by its hard-won quality, and not obtained by false pretenses. Second, the identification aspect plays a role in this instance as well: how should one see oneself as being represented by a musician who himself cannot be fully identified with what he pretends to be, and whose own music does not even represent himself? Last but not least, »handmade« music is seen as a prerequisite for emotional authenticity.

d) *Emotional authenticity*

The insistence that emotionally moving music should stem from the personal life of the musicians is also romantic in origin. This desire for authentic emotional expression is based on three basic assumptions:

First, music is understood as a cultural medium (more or less consciously), which serves to communicate important life experiences. People use music to relate their own emotional experiences to those of others, to imagine how it would feel to be in certain situations, to feel less alone with their feelings, to experience how others deal with their joys and sorrows. If the emotional dimension of music becomes so important for one's own life, then one needs to be able to rely on the fact that this preferred music actually conveys something genuine and true about life and is not just born of mere fiction.

This is especially feasible when, as with the second assumption, the emotional expression has autobiographical roots. Unlike actors, one rarely believes or demands that pop artists and rock musicians slip into different roles for different songs, but rather that the emotional expression of their songs stems from their own emotional life, thus expressing actual facets of their personality (for pertinent statements from musicians and fans, see Appen 2007: 129f.). Accordingly, in many styles, performers are expected to write their own songs or at least put their own personal mark on cover songs. The knowledge transferred by media about drug addiction, life in the ghetto, unhappy love affairs or experiences involving death, serve to additionally authenticate musicians like Kurt Cobain, German singer/songwriter Herbert Grönemeyer³, 50 Cent or Johnny Cash. It eliminates the suspicion that someone is lamenting a hardship that they have not actually experienced, and therefore are not really able to provide any insight into essential life situations that is worth considering.

Third, a considerable part of the audience is still convinced of the romantic idea that emotions are more likely than language and reason to convey something genuine about human relations in the world, »that ›real truth‹ only exists in feeling and not in thought«⁴. Emotions expressed through gestures, facial expressions and the music itself are regarded as an immediate, unadulterated expression of one's self: »Feelings and emotions are keys for unlocking

3 Grönemeyer is a German singer/songwriter, whose album *Mensch* (2002) is considered the best-selling German album in history. In this album, he processes the loss of his wife and his brother, who both died within a few days of each other in 1998.

4 Original: »dass es eine ›echte Wahrheit‹ nur im Fühlen und nicht im Denken gibt« (Funk 2011: 231).

who I am, my authenticity, how I perceive and how I discover my ›real self‹ (McCarthy 2009: 241). This conviction is accompanied by a rejection of technical aids and the idea of applying an inordinate cognitive influence on the creative process: The emotional impact should not be spoiled by too much perfection, by auto-tune or by other computer technology; it is preferable that music sounds unpolished and ›natural‹ rather than smooth, robotic and expressionless.⁵ Dave Grohl of the Foo Fighters summed up this value system in his acceptance speech for the 2012 Grammy in the ›Best Rock Album‹ category:

This is a great honor. Because this record was a special record for our band. Rather than, rather than go to the best studio in the world down the street in Hollywood and rather than use all the fanciest computers that you can buy, we made this one in my garage with some microphones and a tape machine. ... To me this award means a lot because it shows that the human element of making music is what's most important. Singing into a microphone and learning to play an instrument and learning to do your craft, that's the most important thing for people to do. It's not about being perfect, it's not about sounding absolutely correct, it's not about what goes on in a computer. It's about what goes on in here [pointing to his chest] and what goes on in here [pointing to his head] (Grohl 2012).⁶

Further dimensions of authenticity are conceivable, such as ›cultural authenticity‹ (Barker/Taylor 2007: X) or ›third person authenticity‹ (Moore 2002: 214-218), which promise ›true‹ insight into a specific historical or ethnic culture tradition. But they play a lesser role in a live situation, and therefore may be disregarded in this case.⁷

5 The idea that intimacy and a feeling of close proximity could only be imparted to recording devices through the invention of the microphone (see Dibben 2009: 319-321) or that a lot of technical effort is often needed to create the ›natural‹ illusion has not yet been accepted outside of professional circles.

6 Accordingly, the Foo Fighters previously released an online video in which they play the entire *Wasting Light* album live in their studio without an audience, to demonstrate the authenticity of their technical ability (see Foo Fighters 2011).

7 Other systematizations of various authenticity dimensions can be found in Fornäs (1994: 168: ›social‹, ›subjective‹, and ›cultural or meta-authenticity‹), Moore (2002: ›authenticity of expression‹, ›of execution‹, ›of experience‹), and Barker/Taylor (2007: X: ›personal‹, ›representational‹, and ›cultural authenticity‹). Although there are some identical designations, the ascertainments found there differ in content from the dimensions proposed here.

Liveness

A performance, as defined by Erika Fischer-Lichte, is an »event ... that arises from the confrontation and interaction between two groups of people who assemble in one place at the same time in order to experience a situation together in the form of a bodily co-presence.«⁸ Although the primary actions in a performance are those of the actors on the stage, viewers in this co-presence play a constitutive role, as their responses (interjection, singing along, clapping in rhythm, dancing, murmuring, holding up lighters, taking pictures with their cell phones, laughing, leaving the hall ...) or their unexpected absence directly influence the experience and actions of the other spectators and the actors. »In this sense,« says Fischer-Lichte (2004: 59), »performances are generated and determined by a self-referential and ever-changing feedback loop.«⁹

These unique experiential qualities of performances sum up the term liveness.¹⁰ Most importantly, the fact that such events are transiently and essentially characterized by the interaction between audience and performer, and that they can be influenced at any time by mistakes or unforeseen events and therefore cannot be completely planned or exactly reproduced, provides suspense and elements of surprise, and thus creates an intensified experience of one's own presence (cf. Kolesch 2005: 188f.). *New York Times* critic Jon Pareles (1990) succinctly sums up the appeal of a live concert: »If I wanted flawlessness, I'd stay home with the album. The spontaneity, uncertainty and ensemble coordination ... are exactly what I go to concerts to see; the risk brings the suspense, and the sense of triumph, to live pop.«

8 Original: »Ereignis ..., das aus der Konfrontation und Interaktion zweier Gruppen von Personen hervorgeht, die sich an einem Ort zur selben Zeit versammeln, um in leiblicher Ko-Präsenz gemeinsam eine Situation zu durchleben« (Fischer-Lichte 2005a: 16).

9 Original: »In diesem Sinne läßt sich behaupten, daß die Aufführung von einer selbstbezüglichen und sich permanent verändernden feedback-Schleife hervorgebracht und gesteuert wird« (Fischer-Lichte 2004: 59).

10 Philip Auslander's theory (1999: 32-35, 50 & 85-94) on the peak period of music in television, which states that experiences of authentic liveness are no longer possible in our heavily »mediatized culture« because our perception of them is inevitably contaminated by our experience with technical media, does not seem particularly convincing to me in its claim to exclusivity in light of one's own concert experiences. Even if this were true, it does not change the principal interactivity of performances described by Fischer-Lichte—an aesthetic appeal that Auslander apparently overlooks (cf. *ibid.*: 54-58). For criticism of Auslander, also see Pattie (2007: 21-39).

Applied to the various dimensions of authenticity, the live performance offers the rare opportunity to encounter the musicians fairly close-up and in person and to be able to examine their promise of authenticity in a unique way:

- The *sociocultural authenticity* of the musicians and the sharing of common values can be manifested by the close proximity between the stars and the fans, the communication with the audience, the musicians' clothing, the ticket prices, and the song selection.
- The length of the concert, the narration, and the behavior of the musicians on the stage allow one to draw conclusions about their *personal authenticity*, for example, when it seems that they are enjoying performing and having fun interacting with the audience.
- The *authenticity of technical ability* is easier to assess when the musicians' performance can be observed directly, and the safety net and double floor of the studio production are eliminated (referring to Heavy Metal, see Diaz-Bone 2002: 409).
- And in the (relatively) close-up encounter with the musicians, one believes one can better assess the *emotional authenticity* than in stylized studio productions, for example by observing the voice, and the facial expressions and gestures.

Lawrence Grossberg is placing particular focus on the last two aspects when he emphasizes the importance of live concerts for the authentication of musicians:

The importance of live performances lies precisely in the fact that it is only here that one can see the actual production of the sound, and the emotional work carried in the voice. The demand for live performance has always expressed the desire for the visual mark (and proof) of authenticity (Grossberg 1992: 208).

Staging

Fischer-Lichte differentiates staging from performance as the conceptual planning process which must precede every performance:

Staging can be described ... as the process in which the strategies are gradually developed and tested, based on what, when, how long, where and how it should appear to the spectators. Staging can therefore ... be seen as a creation strategy. ... This also leads to the conclusion that one absolutely must differentiate between staging and performance. It is only the audience's perception and their reaction to what they have perceived that constitutes a performance.

Therefore, what is planned and defined in the staging process will by no means be repeated exactly the same way every evening.¹¹

That staging is essential »anywhere where a performance is to take place«¹² (ibid.), because performances involving multiple actors must be carefully prepared and rehearsed, does not mean, however, that all performances are equally as predetermined by the planning process. It may be precisely the aim of stagings to create moments of indeterminacy, so that »the unplanned, the un-staged, and the unpredictable in the performance can occur during the performance, even if some ... staging will attempt to minimize that experimental space as far as possible«¹³.

When this determination is transferred from the theater stage – the aspect Fischer-Lichte is discussing – to music performances, one must bear in mind that the required rehearsals and creation strategies do not necessarily have to extend to the visual sector, as Martin Seel pointed out. Therefore, in the case of a music performance, the term ›staged‹ should only be used »if its performance is linked to visual movement that is relevant to its character as music – as is nearly always the case in popular music, and frequently the case in avant-garde music.«¹⁴ In addition to the stage design, movements, poses, and gestures of the musicians, the lighting, clothing or even costumes, video recordings, props and choreography can be seen and interpreted as meaningful. However, in order to determine when this visual layer is staged, and based on creation strategies, one must take into account that not all visible elements are necessarily a part of a conscious strategy, as is ultimately also the case with the theater stage, which Seel points out in his definition of staging: »Stagings are affected, artificial behavior and occurrences that

11 Original: »Inszenierung lässt sich ... als der Prozess beschreiben, in dem allmählich die Strategien entwickelt und erprobt werden, nach denen was, wann, wie lange, wo und wie vor den Zuschauern in Erscheinung treten soll. Inszenierung lässt sich entsprechend ... als Erzeugungsstrategie bestimmen. ... Daraus folgt auch, dass zwischen Inszenierung und Aufführung unbedingt zu unterscheiden ist. Es sind erst die Wahrnehmung der Zuschauer und deren Reaktion auf das Wahrgenommene, welche die Aufführung entstehen lassen. Das, was im Prozess der Inszenierung geplant und festgelegt ist, wird sich daher keineswegs allabendlich genau gleich wiederholen« (Fischer-Lichte 2005b: 148).

12 Original: »überall da gegeben [ist], wo eine Aufführung stattfinden soll«.

13 Original: »Nicht-Geplantes, Nicht-Inszeniertes, Nicht-Vorhersagbares in der Aufführung ereignen kann, auch wenn manche ... Inszenierung versuchen mag, diese Frei- und Spielräume so weit wie möglich einzuschränken« (Fischer-Lichte 2004: 327).

14 Original: »wenn ihre Aufführung mit einer für ihren Charakter als Musik relevanten szenischen Bewegung verbunden ist–wie es in er populären Musik fast immer, in der Avantgarde-Musik nicht selten der Fall ist« (Seel 2007: 79).

differ as such from merely contingent, merely conventional, or merely functional executions«¹⁵ (ibid.: 71).

In terms of concerts, for example, the layout and the movement radius of the musicians on the stage may be seen as less of a factor in the visual staging concept, and more as being necessary to the *functionality*, as they have to be able to see, hear and communicate with each other. Therefore, instruments, clothing, amplifiers, monitor boxes, etc. can only be partially seen as strategically staged props. Stage behaviors and designs which are so commonplace that they can hardly be seen or interpreted as deliberate staging, or that become conspicuous as such only when consciously abandoned – such as bowing and thanking for applause, the separation of the encore from the main show, typical audience animation gestures, the spotlight on singers or soloists – can be established by *convention*. And the audience can only decide whether a performance was influenced by *coincidence* if it has seen several performances (a fact that is made relative in the age of YouTube).

This variety of interpretive possibilities means that – as with everyday life – it can never be definitively determined whether and to what degree one is dealing with a staged event (cf. ibid.: 81). Conversely, this means that even the actors on the stage cannot be certain as to whether and to what extent the performance is perceived as a staged production. This has two very important consequences: first, the actors have the option of staging in such a way that the creation strategy is not obvious to the audience, that is, that all the actions on stage are perceived as spontaneous and natural. Especially in terms of the authenticity structure, the most effective stagings are certainly those that are not obvious as such. And second: even if the musicians make an effort not to stage anything and behave as spontaneously and naturally as possible on stage, this does not guarantee that the audience does not perceive the activity as a staging. Therefore, even the most precise definition of staging does not help with discerning whether and to what extent a specific case was staged. That remains a matter of interpretation.

When the ideals of authenticity and liveness coincide with strategies of staging in a pop concert, a conflict inevitably arises: the demand for authenticity infers the liveness ideals of spontaneity, uniqueness and immediacy. In contrast, staging generally involves planning instead of spontaneity, reproducibility instead of uniqueness, and a conceptual strategy that stands between the actors and the audience rather than immediacy. Consequently, staging is

15 Original: »Inszenierungen sind ein künstliches, ein artifizielles Verhalten und Geschehen, das sich als ein solches, von bloß kontingenten, bloß konventionellen oder bloß funktionalen Vollzügen unterscheidet.«

often viewed as something negative. It is critically evaluated as audience manipulation, as trickery, and as a visual distraction from music, or, as Fischer-Lichte overstates for purposes of argumentation, as the production of a mere illusion, »of deception, lies and deceit«. ¹⁶

When it comes to the ideals of personal, sociocultural and emotional authenticity in a concert, to the ability to identify with the people on stage, to the feeling of being represented by them and learning something truthful about life from them, one does not want to encounter actors, but instead »real people«, because one does not identify with actors to the same degree. In this respect, musicians would have to avoid all possibilities of staging anything on stage – which, as mentioned before, does not protect against the fact that even this can be interpreted as a statement, or as a strategy. Even understatement is still a statement.

On the other hand, the medium of the stage offers not only the opportunity to present an »illusion«, but also »reality.« Staging does not necessarily involve »feigning,« it also offers the possibility of revealing an actual, true state of feeling, unadorned, slightly filtered or even striking, i.e. »allowing authenticity to appear« ¹⁷. Staging can help—or even be necessary—to demonstrate true existing qualities, to establish a framework on stage in order to present one's best side to the world, in the best light—and to hide the other side in the stage darkness.

The following shows several examples of how musicians deal with this conflict—or challenge—on stage. Which staging strategies can be identified, which markers are used, to simulate or express authenticity—depending on the interpretation?

II. Staging of authenticity

As indicated, the most widespread strategy is to stage in such a way that authenticity effects are created without the staging character being conspicuous, so that the events on stage appear as natural and spontaneous as possible. An excellent example of this is the staging of the Metallica World Tour of 1996/7, documented in the concert film *Cunning Stunts*, for which director Wayne Isham used the recordings of two performances in Fort Worth, Texas.

Since 1983, Metallica concerts have generally begun with a recording of the Ennio Morricone piece »Ecstasy of Gold« from the Western *The Good, the Bad and the Ugly*, which builds dynamically throughout. At the climax, the

16 Original: »von Täuschung, Lug und Trug« (Fischer-Lichte 2005b: 151).

17 Original: »Authentizität zur Erscheinung zu bringen« (Fischer-Lichte 2000: 40).

band would walk unnoticed onto the still dark stage and—generally without any further announcement—start playing a hit, often accompanied by pyrotechnic effects and a light show. Not so on this tour: without any audible or visual announcement and without turning off the house lights, the band members walk through the security pit between the stage and the audience and clap the outstretched hands of their fans. In the concert film, drummer Lars Ulrich drinks from a plastic cup, spits his drink at the fans several times and then passes the cup to the audience. This demonstrates a closeness to the fans and shows that the band has no fear of close contact. Food-sharing can be seen as a symbol of an intimate community, the spitting signifies the band's and the fans' mutual rejection of civic or parental control conventions. Arriving on the stage, the musicians hang their instruments over their shoulder and tap their fists in a friendly manner, apparently to wish each other good luck, which makes it clear that they are not behaving coolly professional, but rather, that they are also anticipating something exciting. Their clothing does not reveal the fact that the musicians are multi-millionaires. Quite the opposite: the bassist wears a tour T-shirt of the band, as does most of the audience; Ulrich in boxer shorts and undershirt, and later bare-chested, portrays an intimacy throughout the entire concert, as if among close friends. This outfit appears to be purely functional and proclaims the anticipated physical exertion. The musicians seem open and unpretentious, do not stand out as stars—and thus convey personal and sociocultural authenticity. Ulrich throws drumsticks at the crowd before the band starts to jam for about 90 seconds. Once again, Ulrich steps away from his drum set in order to have contact with the audience. Front man James Hetfield then starts the song »So What«, a B-side of the British punk band Anti-Nowhere League from 1981, which Metallica had also released only as a single back in 1993—a gesture for the »real« connoisseur, not for the casual fans. Not until well into the piece is the house lighting turned down and the light show begins. The stage is at the center of the hall and is visible from all sides. Even backstage activities can be observed by the audience, which is intended to demonstrate the authenticity of their technical abilities; the band has nothing to hide, there is no synthesizer, no extra musician or playback devices hidden anywhere.

Overall, this opening is characterized by understatement and an effort to appear natural and spontaneous. It is to be understood as a demonstrative rejection of the convention of overwhelming the audience right from the start with a carefully staged surprise, spectacular light effects and a big hit. Instead, there is an attempt to clearly indicate that no distracting show is to be expected, just »the real thing« (which, however, will prove to be inaccurate). Everything is supposed to appear as unstaged as possible — and this

clearly follows a staging strategy, which is to be understood within the context of the commercialization allegations with which the band was repeatedly confronted in the face of great mainstream success and the corresponding stylistic evolution in the 1990s.

Other strategies for demonstrating authenticity can be found in the example of the German punk-now-mainstream band, Die Toten Hosen. In keeping with the old punk tradition, singer Campino does some stage diving at every concert, and sometimes also the bass player—with his instrument. The bath in the crowd suggests that there is a desire for immediate physical contact and communication with the fans. It also creates a moment of spontaneity, as it is unpredictable when, where, and in what condition the audience will release the singer back onto the stage. This is even more pronounced if this activity is preceded by a risky jump from the top of the stage construction, showing that the singer trusts that the audience will catch him safely. Campino is well aware of the symbolic character of stage diving in terms of sociocultural authenticity:

I think that is exactly what they like about *us*. I mean...they really appreciate it when you don't see yourself as too good for something, right? And we give them this unconditional commitment. What else could it mean, when you throw yourself into the audience from the stage! What else could it be about? It's just a gesture, a helpless gesture to show people: despite this barrier and the pit, somewhere we are on equal footing.¹⁸

In this sense, the relatively moderate ticket prices of Die Toten Hosen, which are not scaled according to their location quality, can be seen as a gesture of sociocultural authenticity toward the fans.¹⁹

Mistakes or forgotten lyrics are not ignored at their concerts, but instead deliberately exposed and commentated. For example, the band interrupts the song »Paradies« on 7/3/2009 in Berlin at the beginning of the second verse: »I have to admit that you all know the lyrics better than I do. I think the rest of the audience deserves a proper version! Who knows the second

18 Original: »Ich glaub, das is auch das, was die an uns gut finden. Also... die schätzen das sehr, wenn man sich nich für irgendwas zu schade ist, ja? Und diesen bedingungslosen Einsatz, den liefern wir denen ja auch. Was soll denn das anderes sein, wenn man sich ins Publikum schmeißt von der Bühne! Was soll das sein? Das ist doch nur 'ne Geste, 'ne hilflose Geste, um den Leuten zu zeigen: trotz dieser Barriere und dem Graben sind wir irgendwo auf Augenhöhe mit euch« (in Kablitz-Post 2009 bei 19:00).

19 Die Toten Hosen set a uniform price of about 40 Euros in 2012, while a Herbert Grönemeyer concert cost 60 Euros, and Westernhagen charged 71 to 95 Euros (research at eventim.de and ticketmaster.de on 8/21/2012).

verse? Give it a try, come on stage!«²⁰ A fan is brought up onto the stage and introduced, and the band starts again, laughing and letting him sing the song. That clearly demonstrates a liveness character, the failure even proves the authenticity of technical ability, and it all appears to be open, sincere and spontaneous. But it isn't: as a short YouTube search revealed, during the tour concerts in Langenselbold, Losheim, Ludwigsburg, etc., there was also an interruption at precisely the same moment with the exact same activity. Nonetheless, this type of staging creates an opportunity for unpredictable interactions and emphasizes that the band and the fans are less interested in a perfect performance than they are in a unique, shared experience. For the same purpose, items thrown on the stage are commented immediately, songs are played on demand or dedicated to specific members of the audience. Another indication of authenticity is the extreme physical exertion of the musicians: sweat—as with Metallica on bare chests—does not lie; it signals that the musicians are not taking it easy and are working hard for their audience with extreme physical effort, instead of just carrying out some compulsory assignment. If necessary, two-hour performances are also endured with a freshly torn cruciate ligament (at Rock am Ring 2000) or with a foot in a cast and crutches—without canceling the jump from the stage into the audience for that reason (at Rock am Ring 2008, see Die Toten Hosen 2008).

As a substantiation of personal authenticity, expressions of enjoyment and fun are conveyed on stage, which the musicians can signalize with gestures and communication among themselves. It seems particularly authentic when the fans are given the impression that the band is playing extra long, regardless of the pay (only this evening!), because they are having so much fun. With his announcements, which are localized autobiographically, Campino attempts to convey that songs which have been played every night for many years still mean something personal to the band. Cover songs are not so much reminiscent of the early days, but rather portray the band as fans and connoisseurs who are willing to pay homage to their idols. In addition, cover versions place the group within a specific tradition. For example, Die Toten Hosen frequently play songs by The Clash and the Ramones, which places them within the punk tradition, or more recently by Hannes Wader, to establish a connection with the sociocritical left-wing songwriter tradition (as with Rock am Ring 2012).

20 Original: »Ich muss zugeben, dass ihr die Texte allemale besser drauf habt als ich. Ich finde, der Rest des Publikums hat eine ordentliche Version verdient! Wer hat die zweite Strophe drauf? Probier's, komm rauf!« (see Die Toten Hosen 2009).

Reduction strategies

As popularity increases, the stages and auditoriums become larger, and the performers must go to greater lengths to performatively establish a liveness character and give the impression of closeness. The large screens that are commonly used for this purpose do succeed at making even the smallest gesture visible in the last row, but the experience threatens to feel more like passively watching television than actually being there live. In order to provide a visual spectacle to the fans in the rear sections of a 60,000-seat stadium, special light configurations, pyrotechnics, inflatable puppets, etc. are used, which are controlled by computer programs and thereby hinder spontaneity in the order of the concert program or during the songs. The stage height requirement and the large distance between the audience and the stage for security reasons severely limit the possibilities of interaction between the performers and the spectators. Since the 1990s, two further concepts for staging liveness and authenticity have been observed, which are intended to counteract this development: on the one hand, the paradoxical MTV Unplugged scenario, which promises a »more authentic« live experience in front of the television than can be provided in a stadium concert (see Auslander 1999: 96-111). The idea is to downsize the stage and the auditorium—still recorded by countless cameras, illuminated by a myriad of spotlights, and using no fewer wires and plugs than any other concert—in order to create closeness and intimacy. In addition to the »more intimate« framework of a television studio, there are three strategies used for simulation with respect to the presentation of authenticity in the unplugged scenario. First, the visual spectacle aspect of the stadium concert can be omitted; sometimes even the light show is »unplugged« if one wishes to interpret the use of candles on stage in this way. Without visual distractions, the band has to impress the audience with their musical abilities alone. Secondly, the supposed omission of electronically processed and amplified instruments should also make the music seem more straightforward, and »more sincere« in terms of emotional authenticity. By allegedly eliminating technical aids, the »true core« is supposed to reveal itself in »handmade« music, and the authenticity of the technical ability can also be better demonstrated. Thirdly, the repertoire of the unplugged concerts is largely made up of quiet ballads, which are supposedly more suitable for highlighting emotional authenticity than loud and fast pieces, especially since there is a belief that emotional expression can be conveyed unobstructed, or more intensely and more genuinely without technical aids.

The second staging concept for enhancing the liveness character of concerts in the age of large-scale stadium events is the B-stage: a much smaller, fully surrounded stage in the middle of the stadium, which the band reaches about two thirds into the concert—by walking a catwalk while shaking hands, to continue the concert for the next three pieces with a reduced light show from there. This stage space reduction is often combined with the unplugged concept, and ballads with acoustic guitars are performed from there (see Coldplay 2009). Alternatively, the B-Stage can also be used to demonstrate that the band has remained true to their roots and has not changed in their core, despite their great success: the first hits or—as if back in the garage—cover versions are played (not infrequently done by the Rolling Stones).

Metallica also used a perfidiously staged version of the B-Stage on the tour described above: at the end of the song »Enter Sandman«, a lighting fixture in the upper stage construction seems to suddenly lose its hold during a pyro effect, swings upside down on a safety rope above the stage, and then crashes. Numerous other explosions occur, apparently unplanned. Security personnel rush onto the stage, the singer has apparently been hit by an object, holds his head and falls to the ground. The band stops playing, the PA hisses and hums chaotically, more lights fall from above, a roadie runs across the stage in flames. First there is an ambulance, fire extinguishers, flashlights, revival attempts, twinkling headlights and the collapse of part of the stage construction, then smoke covers the view. Shortly thereafter, the band members return to the stage and pretend to be surprised (»What the fuck happened?«). Small combo amplifiers are carried on stage seemingly spontaneously, exposed light bulbs lowered from the ceiling provide minimal illumination in place of the destroyed lighting system. After briefly testing the new equipment with a jam, the band plays a cover version and a song from their debut album in this reduced setting—in accordance with the B-Stage convention. In this way they build on their various attempts to portray themselves as a simple garage band despite the millions in revenue (for example, on the B-side of the maxi single *Creeping Death* (1984), titled »Garage Days Revisited«, the EP *The \$5.98 E.P.: Garage Days Re-Revisited* (1987) and the double CD *Garage Inc.* (1998), all of which contain cover versions only). As revealed in the »Making-Of« of the *Cunning Stunts* DVD, this process was meticulously planned, thoroughly rehearsed, and repeated every night. Still, most viewers in the live situation were convinced the staged accident was real, and local radio stations reported the injuries the next day. At least the extent of the staging remained unclear, as some participants actually were seriously injured on individual evenings.

For those who feel the unplugged staging scenario seems too clichéd, they should refer to National Public Radio, where—as a part of the »Tiny Desk Concerts« series (<http://www.npr.org/series/tiny-desk-concerts>)—bands are regularly invited to the editorial office to demonstrate their live qualities without a stage, in front of the crew and two cameras, though not unplugged, but without the aid of any kind of stage machinery. There is no room for a drum set there, so (as in the case of the Wilco performance) ordinary desk utensils must also serve as percussion instruments. And even more extreme: for the English series »Black Cab Sessions« (<http://www.blackcabsessions.com>), musicians are asked to play a song during a taxi ride through London. It's not possible to limit the stage space more than that, which also unfortunately reduces the live audience to the taxi driver and the cameraman. These two formats are also stagings in this sense, because conditions are deliberately being created under which a real feeling rather than a deceptive feigning should be exposed, where the musicians can actually show how much of their appeal remains intact when they only have two cubic meters, a tambourine and an acoustic guitar at their disposal. These performances are published on the Internet and thus serve mostly musicians from the »independent« sector as particularly credible promotional instruments. How many failed takes it took to make the published clip is naturally something the audience never finds out.

Die Toten Hosen have also developed their own version of a reduction strategy. Apart from major tours, even after 15 million albums sold, they occasionally appear— »like they used to« —in the living rooms or party cellars of fans who can apply to host such concerts. The band forgoes their fee on these occasions, plays for food and lodging at the host and pays for the travel themselves. In 2012, for their 30th anniversary on the stage, they undertook a tour with sixteen such performances. For all of these events, several cameras filmed before, during, and after the shows, so that every phase—including images of the musicians just waking up on the floor of an unfamiliar shared apartment with disheveled hair—is documented on the homepage (see Die Toten Hosen 2012). Everyone can convince themselves of the musicians' personal, sociocultural and technical authenticity, and, at the same time, the band can effectively promote the new album in the media—a marketing gimmick that the band carries out »so warmly that it does not stand out in a negative way,«²¹ as reported by the *Süddeutsche Zeitung*. Even ZDF (Second German Television station) is convinced: »You can feel it at every moment

21 Original: »so herzlich, dass es nicht negativ auffällt« (Arnu 2012: 9).

that this tour is not a demonstration of their fan loyalty, but still just boys really having fun.«²²

The staging of authentic inauthenticity

In addition to all of these sometimes more, sometimes less obvious efforts to make the staging of authenticity inconspicuous, there has been a counter-offensive since the early 1970s: an attempt to offer such an obviously staged show that no one would even think of coming here to learn something private or undisguised about the musicians. This postmodern tradition spans broadly to include David Bowie's theatrical Ziggy Stardust tour (see Jooss-Bernau 2010: 240ff.), Roxy Music, which parodied the rock authenticity of its time in 1972 with effusive costumes, a sarcastic stage show, and exaggerated artificiality (see Pattie 2007: 84f., and Roxy Music 1972 and 1973), the Pet Shop Boys, and U2 (Zoo TV or Zooropa and Popmart tours, see Jost 2011), as well as Madonna and Lady Gaga. They all demonstratively emphasized the staging character of their concerts and at the same time rejected the conventional methods of the staging of authenticity.

As an example, I would like to point out the Pet Shop Boys, who were founded in 1981 but did not go on tour until 1989. (»It's kinda macho nowadays to prove you can cut it live. I quite like proving we can't cut it live. We're a pop group, not a rock and roll group,« according to Neil Tennant in Goodwin 1988: 44). When they finally did appear live, they reversed all the previously established markers of authenticity. What is played live at their concerts and what is pre-programmed remains unclear: Chris Lowe apparently plays some of the melodies and chords on his keyboards, but the majority of the backing tracks are played by various MIDI-controlled sequencers (»Call it performance / Call it art / I call it disaster / If the tapes don't start« are the sarcastic lyrics of their song »Electricity«). Improvised moments or spontaneous variations are neither possible nor intended. One will not see emotional gestures, jamming, stage-diving, schmoozing with the audience, or sweaty and bare chests, but instead, there are many synchronized video sequences and elaborate choreographed moves with several dancers. At the start of their *Pandemonium* tour concerts (2009/10), the heads of the musicians were masked in white cubes, and as the concert progressed, they wore dark suits with bowler hats, military winter coats, ski jackets and purple fur caps or king's crowns, while the dancers appeared in Christmas tree or skyscraper costumes. Absolutely

22 Original: »Dass diese Tour keine Beweisshow ihrer Fantreue ist, sondern immer noch echter Jungens-Spaß, das spürt man in jedem Moment« (ZDF Aspekte 2012 at 6:40).

nothing in this carefully staged show attempts to suggest personal, sociocultural, or emotional authenticity, or authenticity of technical ability. Instead of the usual downplaying of the creative division of labor, the band does not even claim the authorship of all of the visual aspects of the show: »Quite honestly, things often just occur, without us really making any contribution«²³.

The term »authentic inauthenticity,« coined by Grossberg (1992: 226), attempts to express that musicians like the Pet Shop Boys can be seen as all the more authentic by their demonstrative rejection of any effort to portray authenticity. Their performance is seen as an ideologically critical refutation of the pervasive staging of authenticity. This even applies to the disallowance of emotional authenticity: »In [Tennant's] flat, regular delivery, especially when this is combined with his generally static posture, the refusal of emotional involvement he conveys is widely perceived as a refusal to ›cheat‹ the listener« (Moore 2002: 214). Therefore, authenticity remains an important criterion in this case as well: the Pet Shop Boys are certainly not considered inauthentic by their fans because they adopt a clear position that they consistently uphold, and because they convey a realistic rather than a romanticized worldview. In the conservative critics' canon, as is, for example, effectively represented by the *Rolling Stone*, the bands with this attitude have not yet truly made it to this day (see Appen/Doehring 2006).

While there is still recognizable criticism of the authenticity ideology among the authentically-inauthentic musicians mentioned above, there are and have always been musicians and musical genres whose fans care little or nothing about emphasizing authenticity and liveness on stage. For example, the Black Eyed Peas (2011) or Kanye West (2012) can perform on stage without any instruments, using Auto-Tune for voice disguising without alienating their audiences. Katy Perry does six costume changes in four minutes during her song »Hot N Cold« as part of the California Dreams tour (see Perry 2011). Her fans by no means criticized the highly choreographed show, in which every movement on the stage is predetermined, as being over-staged and inauthentic: in 2011, Perry was awarded »Best Live Act« at the Teen Choice Awards and MTV Europe Music Awards.

However, if you look at the lists of the most commercially successful tours of 2010 and 2011 as compiled by Billboard and Pollstar, they are dominated by Bon Jovi, AC/DC, U2, Taylor Swift, Metallica and James Taylor & Carol King, musicians who continue to rely on the established markers of authen-

23 Original: »Ehrlich gesagt, entstehen Dinge oft, ohne dass wir selbst wirklich etwas dazu beitragen« (Tennant in Bönisch 2009: 9).

ticity (cf. Reinartz 2010, Smith 2011, Billboard 2010 and 2011). At least for the affluent and presumably somewhat older public there is obviously still an unabated desire for this form of authenticity.

Adele live

Finally, I would like to reinforce the assessment that the general appreciation of authenticity in the 21st century is by no means passé or just a matter of male-dominated rock aesthetics, by taking a look at the staging of Adele, one of the world's most commercially successful musicians in the early 21st century.

On her Adele Live tour (2011), even the stage decoration suggests intimacy and a rejection of conventional hi-tech show staging. The ordinary lamp shades, in whose illumination she performs, the floral arrangements, and the lack of a video screen are intended to evoke a private living room atmosphere, as if the singer had invited her audience to her home. This downplaying of the distance between the star and the audience is a central element of her performance; time and again she strives to create the impression that she is a best friend or »the girl next door«, and not a multimillionaire. In the ›Making-Of‹ of her *Live at the Royal Albert Hall* DVD, on the morning of the concert, that is exactly how she presents herself: down to earth, in the kitchen of her own apartment, where she – utterly unlike a star – makes an instant tea in a bathrobe and curlers in the company of her dachshund. »I wanna make them feel like they *know* me. They *do* know me, but I want 'em to feel like we're just here and that we're just having a cup of tea and a take-away or something like that on a Saturday night,« she explains as the camera sweeps across her bed and bookshelves (0:20-0:30). Later, in the make-up room before the concert, she makes it clear that nothing about her is made up: »It's not a persona because it's completely me but it's like ... I'm a bit more of, like, kind of *to myself* and *shy* in a way, like *normally*. I don't know what possesses me to chat so much *shit* on stage, I really don't« (2:47-3:06). In fact, she does: on stage she behaves so candidly, as if she knew everyone in the audience personally and was talking to them in a pub. She laughs loudly at her own jokes, snorts into the microphone and calls herself a »chatterbox«. She does not try to hide her nervousness at the beginning of the concert, but rather reveals it to the audience:

I'm still shitting myself. I haven't settled down yet. I'm not sure if I'm gonna, actually. I'll probably go home, going home on my own to my empty flat, I'll probably always be buzzing [unintelligible mumbling] and I don't know what to do with myself (Adele: *Live at the Royal Albert Hall*, 25:53).

Adele speaks in broad Cockney about how she admired the Spice Girls in the Royal Albert Hall as a fan and comments on the ambiance with the eyes of an enthusiastic fan: »It's so posh here, isn't it?« (1:07:12). Between songs she drinks honey-milk from a mug with a dachshund motif, waves repeatedly to the audience, outs herself as a »Sex and the City« viewer and chats about her visit to the hairdresser the day before, not without recommending an article she read there in a magazine to all those present. She greets her friends in the audience and tells detailed stories from their shared private life, which they confirm with a nod and a smile, captured by the audience cameras (31:32).

More importantly, however, Adele uses her announcements to pinpoint the origin of her songs in autobiographical experiences. Time and again she talks of the relationship upon which almost all the songs of the current album *21* were based after its painful failure, and asserts that she still thinks of those experiences at every performance: »When I'm singin' my songs I vision the person, I vision my ex who this song is about – like all the other songs – and I vision him and I sing them out to him« (52:19). By doing so, she slips in the fact that she wrote the songs herself, although her actual role is not entirely clear, as the liner notes name various other composers. Completely in line with the McCarthy quote on emotional authenticity (see pp. 6), Adele explains that she only recognizes herself in her songs:

This song just sort of came out of me and I was really surprised [about], you know, the contents of this song 'cause I never know how I feel, I never let myself know how I feel. I kinda put it to the back of my mind and I only find out what I'm thinking and what I'm feeling in my songs, but I didn't realize I was feeling like this (37:00).

She conveys that her songs move her personally, and not only through her announcements (»Always makes me sad that one, doesn't matter where or when I sing it«, 42:46): for »Someone Like You,« intimacy is portrayed by dimming the lights and having all of the other musicians stay backstage except for the pianist. There is no distracting show, only total concentration on the singing, with many melismas and rubato passages, which she performs with a solemn expression or closed eyes. She deliberately starts several phrases prematurely, lingers on many long notes, phrases each line individually and strives to assume the most intensely emotional expressions as possible with her face and gestures. At the end of the piece, she bursts into tears, overwhelmed by her own song and the standing ovation of the audience, in which the cameras also find tearful faces. Adele has a handkerchief quickly at hand, does not turn away, but immediately reiterates her feelings on the

subject: »That song makes me sad anyway and it takes my breath when you sing it like that back to me ... it's all a bit much« (1:32:32).

As the encore section approaches, she uses this again for a rejection of show conventions and to demonstrate her sincerity:

This next one that I'm gonna do for you is gonna be my last song tonight [boo-ing]. I'm joking! I'm adding some drama to my show! I don't dance, ain't no fire, ain't no greased up men nowhere Anyway, now I'm just gonna pop offstage and pretend that I'm not coming back. But I will! I won't be gone very long, I normally just gonna take my shoes off and take a sip of water, then [unintelligible] back on. ... I really don't enjoy encores, by the way. I think unless you're Dylan, or Paul Simon or Madonna or something like that, you should stay on the fucking stage [laughter]. I don't have a catalogue of music yet. When I do, I'll keep you waiting for sure (1:16:00-1:16:40 and 1:23:15).

Less surprisingly, Adele's concerts also have a reduced »unplugged« part including a cover song, for which the musicians gather in a semicircle in the middle of the stage. And even a false start—affirming the liveness and technical authenticity—was deliberately not cut out of the concert film (»That was a shit note, let's start again«, 38:40).

The audience is convinced and inspired by Adele's openness, sincerity and genuineness, as the short fan-statements in the »Making-Of« should clearly demonstrate:

»It touches a part in you, doesn't it? It's honest and it's credible« (2:14).

»Beautiful love songs, right from the heart« (6:54).

»She talks the way she wants to talk, she says the things she wants to say« (6:58).

In addition to the regular concerts, Adele visited numerous radio stations to promote the *21* album (usually with cameras in tow), including NPR's Tiny Desk Concerts, where she sang live with minimal instrumentation to show that she needs no visual staging and no technical equipment, that her voice is »real« and can impress audiences in any situation. By placing this emphasis on the authenticity of her technical ability and the downplayed visual stagings, she sets herself apart from costumed and highly eroticized rivals, as she points out in a *Rolling Stone* interview:

Even if I had a really good figure, I don't think I'd get my tits and ass out for no one. I love seeing Lady Gaga's boobs and bum. I love seeing Katy Perry's

boobs and bum. Love it. But that's not what my music is about. I don't make music for eyes, I make music for ears (in Touré 2011).²⁴

Framework

Authenticity is currently being extensively discussed in nearly all fields of the humanities; the spectrum of relevant fields include politics, religion, history, teaching foreign languages, advertising, tourism, food, fashion, pornography, the fine arts, theater, film, reality TV, literature, and, of course, music (in summary: Funk/Krämer 2011, Vannini/Williams 2009, Amrein 2009, Lindholm 2008). Although scientists have been attempting its deconstruction for some time (e.g., Frith 1987, Weinstein 1999), Michael Rössner and Heidemarie Uhl (2012) are observing a »renaissance of authenticity« and Charles Taylor (2007: 473) characterizes our age as the »age of authenticity.«

There can be no doubt that the ubiquitous search for authenticity represents a key desire of our time. This heightened need for the genuine, the down to earth, the immediate, the credible, is often explained with a reference to profound societal, economic and technological processes of change which, with the blurry label of postmodernism, can be more likely characterized as helpless and unfocussed rather than actually enlightening. In conclusion, I would like to point out three theoretical starting points that can stimulate further reflection on the background of the desire for authenticity:

1. Self-fulfillment and personal authenticity have been essential values of Western culture since the Age of Enlightenment and particularly the Age of Romanticism; however, according to Christoph Menke (2005: 309), they experienced a boom as an »ideal of a radically individualized way of life,«²⁵ starting with the youth and student movements of 1968 and »with its depoliticization into a culture of individualistic hedonism.«²⁶ However, the desire not to have to conform and to lead a self-determined life can only actually be realized by a very select few. Freelance artists, especially successful musicians today, serve as enviable role models and as an object of projection for the ideal of a non-alienated, »authentic life«—because they do their ut-

24 By the way, this authenticating understatement already revealed itself in the naming of her albums *19* and *21* (which correspond to her age at the time of the recordings) and her tours, which were titled »Adele live« and »An Evening with Adele.« Adele is also her real first name, which in turn portrays her genuineness and openness—in contrast to, say, Lady Gaga.

25 Original: »Ideal einer radikal individualisierten Lebensführung«.

26 Original: »mit deren Entpolitisierung zu einer Kultur des individualistischen Hedonismus«.

most to convey to the music and tabloid press and (auto-)biographical releases that they lead such a life. Although they know better, many do not want to let go of the belief that, despite the predominant logic of capital, it is still possible to lead a self-determining life that rejects the rules of economics (cf. Chiapello 2010: 38f.). The perfidious thing about it: the arts and entertainment industry is happy to promote this belief, because authenticity creates revenue.

2. Music serves the identity-seeking process and social distinction, and shows us and others what kind of people we are (cf. Kotarba 2009). The more music fulfills these sociopsychological functions, the more important the criterion of authenticity becomes for its evaluation. Any person who identifies themselves through their taste in music will thoroughly examine whether the musicians really represent the community values they claim to stand for, and whether their commitment to them is really likely to be worthy of distinction—otherwise such a person may suffer embarrassment and the unsettling questioning of their own position. Music primarily fulfills these functions in a developmental nature during adolescence, but also in subcultures that do not identify with the majority culture due to their ethnicity, sexual orientation or political convictions.

Many sociologists and psychologists concur that working on a stable identity has become more and more of a challenge over the last several decades. »Identity, it seems, is becoming an ongoing topic in everyday life and science, because the traditional social and cultural foundations for stable social positioning and the integration of people are steadily deteriorating,« claim Rolf Eickelpasch and Claudia Rademacher²⁷.

The increase in the number of choices and options for shaping one's ›own life‹ is offset by a diminished sense of collective security and sense of belonging. The societal demand to construct one's own biography and one's own identity out of prefabricated fragments and set elements presents an exhausting, delicate and risky undertaking for the individual²⁸.

27 Original: »Identität, so scheint es, wird in Alltag und Wissenschaft zum Dauerthema, weil die tradierten gesellschaftlichen und kulturellen Grundlagen für eine stabile soziale Verortung und Einbindung der Menschen zunehmend wegbrechen« (2004: 5).

28 Original: »Dem Gewinn an Wahlmöglichkeiten und Optionsspielräumen für die Ausgestaltung des ›eigenen Lebens‹ steht ein Verlust kollektiver Sicherheit und Zugehörigkeit gegenüber. Die gesellschaftliche Forderung, sich aus vorgefertigten Fragmenten und Versatzstücken eine eigene Biografie und eine eigene Identität zu konstruieren, stellt für den Einzelnen ein anstrengendes, störungsanfälliges, riskantes Unterfangen dar« (ibid.: 7).

This postmodern identity-crafting can be perceived as liberating and can be celebrated with appropriately selected music. However, those who find it fundamentally unsettling are probably searching for reliable identification options, at least in terms of culture:

Individuals celebrate authenticity in order to balance the extreme dislocation that characterizes life in the postmodern world, in which traditional concepts of self, community and space have collapsed. This collapse has led to a widespread internalization of doubt and an obsession with distinguishing the real from the fake (Lewin/Williams 2009: 66).

3. Since the introduction of realistic audio-visual recording and transmission media, and especially since the comprehensive expansion of the Internet, our way of relating to the world is increasingly impacted by media and virtualization. The desire for liveness and technical and emotional authenticity is a reaction to this development. It grows in proportion to the rarity with which one can still encounter an immediate experience today. It is significant that specifically television and Internet, the symbols of this development, now hold the greatest potential for authenticity—experiencing something live, being up close, getting a voyeuristic peek behind the scenes. As the number of such processes increases, it not only becomes more difficult, but virtually impossible to find anything »real«. Today, anyone wanting to show that they have something authentic to offer must go to great lengths to stage it for the media, in order to even be noticed.

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HOMEGROWN — LOKALE INSTITUTIONEN ALS WEGBEREITER FÜR JAMAIKAS REGGAE REVIVAL BEWEGUNG

Luis Keppler

Einleitung

Wer einen Blick auf das Line-Up populärer Festivals der letzten Jahre wirft, beispielsweise des Coachella Festivals in Kalifornien, des Sziget Festivals in Ungarn oder des Glastonbury Festivals in England, wird sie zwischen Pop- und Rockgrößen entdecken: Eine Reihe Jamaikanischer Reggae ›artistes‹¹ wie Chronixx, Protoje, Jah9, Koffee oder Raging Fyah hat sich in den vergangenen rund zehn Jahren an die Spitze der Charts und bis zu den Grammys nach Los Angeles gespielt. Die in der medialen Rezeption als »Reggae Revival« betitelte, informelle Bewegung setzt sich zusammen aus »young musicians, artists, and writers who have returned to the ›roots‹ sound and who have embraced Rasta as the spiritual center of their art« (Page 2017: 2). Auch wenn der Begriff »Revival« in diesem Kontext in Literatur und Gesellschaft umstritten scheint, steht es außer Zweifel, dass das Wirken, die Musik und das Auftreten dieser artistes nicht unbeobachtet blieb bzw. bleibt. Der Anspruch Reggae aus Jamaika zu weltweitem Aufschwung zu verhelfen, gesellschaftlich relevante Botschaften in Songs sowie dem öffentlichen Auftreten zu verbreiten und die Demonstration von Gemeinschaft gegenüber individueller Hervorhebung, können als wesentliche Elemente des Reggae Revivals genannt werden. Interessant ist dabei der Aspekt, dass sich die artistes vornehmlich auf internationalem Terrain bewegen, ausgiebige Tourneen außerhalb ihres Heimatlands spielen und sich auf die globale Rezeption ihres Schaffens ausrich-

1 Ein im Sprachgebrauch des jamaikanischen Patois gebräuchlicher Szenebegriff für öffentlich auftretende Künstler*innen/Sänger*innen. Diese Schreibweise wird im vorliegenden Beitrag dem deutschen ›Künstler*in‹ vorgezogen, da sie der untersuchten Musikkultur entspricht.

ten. Zugleich lässt sich die Reggae Revival-Bewegung aufgrund der beteiligten Akteure, Inhalte und Identifikationsmerkmale sowie der lokalen Verbundenheit als eine »homegrown«² Bewegung aus Jamaika definieren.

Doch wie gestaltet sich der Bezug zum Lokalen und wie wird zugleich die Brücke zum internationalen Markt geschlagen? In diesem Beitrag wird den Fragen nachgegangen, inwiefern lokale – homegrown – Institutionen und Infrastrukturen eine Rolle für die Entstehung und Entwicklung des Reggae Revivals spiel(t)en und wie diese der Bewegung einen Zugang zum internationalen Markt ermöglich(t)en. Als Basis zur Beantwortung dieser Fragen dient eine im Frühjahr 2018 durchgeführte und vom Deutschen Akademischen Austauschdienst (DAAD) teilgeförderte Feldforschung auf Jamaika und in Deutschland, welche sich methodisch aus teilnehmender Beobachtung, Interviews, einer online durchgeführten quantitativen Erhebung in Deutschland sowie der Analyse medialer Inhalte zusammensetzt. Zunächst wird der Begriff »Institution« für den Kontext dieses Artikels genauer definiert, bevor ein kurzer Überblick über die Rollen von Institutionen in musikalischen Revivals folgt. Im Anschluss daran stehen konkrete lokale Institutionen und deren Beziehung zu Jamaikas Reggae Revival-Bewegung im Fokus.

Institutionen und musikalische Revivals

Während der Begriff Institution gemeinhin auf eine staatlich legitimierte Einrichtung, eine Organisation in staatlicher oder privater Trägerschaft oder ein Verwaltungsorgan angewandt wird, soll das Verständnis dieses Begriffs für den vorliegenden Beitrag weiter gefasst werden. Konkret dient die von Raymond Williams (1983) abgeleitete Definition Simon Keegan-Phipps' (2007) als Grundlage für das Verständnis von Institution. Keegan-Phipps definierte den Begriff für seine Forschung zur Institutionalisierung in der zeitgenössischen englischen Folk-Musik wie folgt: »[A]n institution is such if it is recognized as an »organized element« by the members of its own culture« (Keegan-Phipps 2007: 85). Dieses Verständnis des Begriffs wird im Folgenden zugrunde gelegt, da hier die Sichtweise aus der betreffenden Kultur heraus betont und eine breite Interpretation dessen erlaubt wird, was als Institution bezeichnet werden kann. Die Elemente, die für das Reggae Revival konkret als Institution benannt und in das Verständnis dieser Begrifflichkeit integriert werden, werden im weiteren Verlauf erläutert.

2 Englisch für »heimisch«, »selbst gezogen«. Meint hier, dass etwas lokal entstanden und gewachsen ist.

Institutionen finden sich in einigen musikalischen Revivals als wichtige Elemente und in unterschiedlichen Funktionen wieder. Sie fördern zunächst das Selbstverständnis und die Wahrnehmung als Gemeinschaft: »[R]evivalist magazines, journals, recordings and radio stations help to bring people separated by geographical space together, while festivals and competitions bring people physically together« (Livingston 1999: 73). Andererseits fungieren Revivals häufig selbst als Motiv zur Gründung neuer Institutionen wie Ausbildungsstätten, Wettbewerbe, Organisationen oder weitere Einrichtungen in der Musikindustrie. Sie kreieren neue Infrastrukturen, um ihre Musikkultur zu vermitteln, zu verbreiten und zu vermarkten (vgl. Hill/Bithell 2014: 4). Eine bereits vorhandene Musikindustrie wächst und wird ergänzt; Kultur- und Musikindustrien als Institutionen stehen somit in einem Partnerschaftsverhältnis zu musikalischen Revival-Bewegungen (vgl. Hill/Bithell 2014: 26 und Livingston 1999: 80). Institutionen im Verständnis staatlicher Einrichtungen üben gerade in Ausbildungsbereichen nicht unerhebliche Einflüsse auf Musikkulturen, musikalische Strukturen und Musiker*innen³ aus. Dies zeigt sich vornehmlich anhand von traditionellen und/oder Folk-Musikformen: Sie wurden meist nicht formell unterrichtet und erlernt, in der Ausbildung jedoch zunehmend institutionalisiert, wie es Keegan-Phipps (2007) und Hill (2009) darlegen. Jedoch wird sich am Beispiel des Reggae Revivals zeigen, dass sich ähnliche Einflüsse auch in Populärmusik-Kulturen wiederfinden lassen. Institutionalisierung im Rahmen von Ausbildungsprogrammen kann etwa zu einer gewissen Standardisierung und Formalisierung des Repertoires und der Spielweise führen (vgl. Keegan-Phipps 2007: 84). Dieses Phänomen ist durch die Schaffung von Institutionen und daraus resultierenden Gegebenheiten jedoch nicht gänzlich zu verhindern (vgl. Hill 2009: 215). Solche Prozesse sind Teil dessen, worauf sich Hill (2009), Nettl (1985) und Stock (2004) im Hinblick auf die Auswirkung sog. »westlicher«⁴ Studienprogramme und Konservatorien in »nicht-westlichen« Ländern beziehen: Aufbau und Etablierung solcher Hochschulen in »nicht-westlichen« Ländern hatten häufig Einfluss auf Inhalte, Lehrmethoden und die Wahrnehmung traditioneller Musikformen. Konservatorien wurden vor allem dazu etabliert, die Vermittlung »westlicher« Musik in »nicht-westlichen« Ländern voranzutreiben (vgl. Hill 2009: 212). Die Auswirkungen sind unter anderem die Etablierung eines gewissen Standardrepertoires, Konzert- und Aufführungspraxis nach »westlicher« Art sowie die Herausbildung

3 Mit Bezugnahme auf die hierbei untersuchte Musikkultur ist der Begriff »Musiker*in« mit dem Wort Instrumentalist*in gleichzusetzen und unterscheidet sich demnach vom Begriff »artistes« (Künstler*in/Sänger*in; siehe auch Fußnote 1).

4 Bezugnehmend auf die hierbei verwendete Literatur ist mit dem Begriff »westlich« eine europäische beziehungsweise nordamerikanische Sichtweise gemeint. Um den Terminus vom geographischen Westen abzugrenzen, wird er hier mit Anführungszeichen versehen.

einer »musical elite«, die in medialen und bildungsverbundenen Kontexten vorherrscht (vgl. Nettl 1985: 72-75 und Stock 2004: 31f.). Diese Punkte werden im weiteren Verlauf am Beispiel des Edna Manley College of the Visual and Performing Arts (im Folgenden EMC abgekürzt) in Kingston, Jamaika deutlich.

Die Rolle von Ausbildungsstätten im Reggae Revival

Ein ähnliches Verständnis von Institutionen wie bei Keegan-Phipps findet sich bei Wallis und Malm (1984), wonach Institutionen »phonogram companies, radio and television, the press, music colleges etc.« sein können (Wallis/Malm 1984: 20). Auf das Reggae Revival bezogen, werden in diesem Beitrag folgende als Institutionen betrachtet: Universitäten und Hochschulen, Veranstaltungsorte, Clubs und Festivals, Tonstudios, Plattenlabels, Künstler*innen-Kollektive, Radiostationen, Institute sowie jegliche weitere Organisationsformen. Im Rahmen der durchgeführten Feldforschung stachen in erster Linie Ausbildungsstätten und Veranstaltungsorte als zentrale Institutionen für das Reggae Revival heraus, weshalb diese im vorliegenden Artikel besondere Beachtung erfahren.

In Interviews sowie beim Blick auf Bandbesetzungen, Produzent*innen und weitere Protagonist*innen offenbarten sich Institutionen wie die University of the West Indies (UWI) und besonders das Edna Manley College of the Visual and Performing Arts (EMCVPA) als zentrale Institutionen, die eng mit dem Reggae Revival verknüpft sind. Das EMC in Kingston ist ein Zusammenschluss verschiedener Schulen. Dazu zählen heute unter anderem die School of Dance, School of Music, School of Visual Arts und School of Arts Management & Humanities. 1995 wurden alle Einrichtungen zusammengefasst und auf den Namen Edna Manley College Of The Visual And Performing Arts getauft (vgl. EMC 2019a). Die School of Music entstand 1961 und wurde hauptsächlich von Lehrkräften und Bediensteten aus der ehemaligen Kolonialmacht Großbritannien geführt. Das Studienprogramm sah daher vornehmlich klassisch-europäischen Instrumental- und Vokalunterricht vor, welcher der Vorbereitung auf britische Konservatorien diente (vgl. EMC 2019b). Innerhalb der darauffolgenden knapp 15 Jahre folgten unter anderem jedoch ein Folk Research Department, Programme für Populärmusik, Musikpädagogik und Jazz-Unterricht. Seit 2004 können an der Hochschule die akademischen Grade »Bachelor of Music in Performance« und »Bachelor of Music Education« sowie weitere Abschlüsse erlangt werden (vgl. ebd. 2017: 7-11.).

Die offensichtlichste Beziehung und Bedeutung des EMC für die Reggae-Revival-Bewegung zeigt sich in den Besetzungen der Bands, die mit den artistes auf Tour gehen, wie der EMC-Absolvent und Keyboarder von Protojes Backing-Band, Paris Lamont, ausführt:

[T]he majority of the musicians of the Reggae Revival now are Edna musicians. The majority of my band went to Edna, if not everybody went to Edna [...]. Chronixx' band: all Edna students. Jah9's band: couple of them went to Edna. Kabaka: all Edna students. Jesse Royal: some of them. Gong [Damian Marley]: some of them went to Edna. [...] Tarrus Riley's band: same thing. Edna produces him, ex-Edna musicians (Paris Lamont, Interview am 20.3.2018, Kingston).

So stellt sich das EMC in einer ersten Instanz als wichtige Institution für die musikalische Ausbildung der Musiker*innen heraus, die mit den artistes des Reggae Revivals arbeiten. Das EMC wird von den artistes als zentrale Anlaufstelle für qualifizierte Musiker*innen betrachtet, welche herangezogen werden, um weltweite Tourneen zu spielen: »You know, these artists coming up now they want competent musicians and the first place somebody can think of to find competent musicians is Edna« (Paris Lamont, Interview am 20.3.2018, Kingston). Die Nachfrage an »competent musicians« hängt unweigerlich mit dem Live-Musik-Charakter und dem Touren mit eigenen Bands zusammen, wie sich in der Aussage Protojes manifestiert: »The youths that you see here touring with me, touring with Chronixx, touring with Kabaka Pyramid [...], we started to form our own bands, we needed the musicians and when we need own musicians we turn to Edna Manley« (Protoje, Interview am 28.10.2018, Mannheim).

Die Konzentration auf das EMC bei der Suche nach Musiker*innen ist mitunter auf die Etablierung der Bachelorstudiengänge zurückzuführen. So stammen beispielsweise einzelne Bandmitglieder der Indignation – jener Band, die Protoje begleitet – aus den ersten Abschlussjahrgängen (vgl. Reggaeville 2013: 03:10-03:20 Min.). Geht man weiter zurück in der Zeit, lange vor dem Aufkommen des Reggae Revivals, war vor allem die Alpha Boys School (ABS) zentraler Ausbildungsort für (männliche) Musiker (vgl. Cyrus 2014: 40). Einrichtungen wie die ABS waren in den Anfängen der Aufnahmeindustrie auch der Ort, wo neben der musikalischen Ausbildung persönliches Netzwerken zwischen Studiomusikern stattfand (vgl. ebd: 38). Auch dieses Phänomen tritt im Fall des EMC und des Reggae Revivals erneut in Erscheinung:

A lot of [the Edna musicians] are good before they go to Edna. But it's in being in that environment that changes you [...]. [B]eing around there [...] will definitely have an effect on you. You know, as a unit like ... in a place like Edna

where you hear so much you start to incorporate all of these extra things into yourself (Paris Lamont, Interview am 20.3.2018, Kingston).

Demnach stellt das EMC in einer zweiten Instanz einen wichtigen Treffpunkt und Ort dar, dessen Atmosphäre und Umfeld prägend und als wichtiger Bestandteil der Ausbildung betrachtet werden. Auch die UWI als größte Universität Jamaikas spielt hierbei eine Rolle, da der dortige Campus ein Ort ist, an dem viele junge Menschen zusammentreffen, wie es die artiste Lila Iké im Interview beschreibt:

[E]specially on campus here there're so many talented young musicians. [...] The guy who first introduced me to playing the guitar [...], his bredda next door [...] has like a likkle studio set up in his room. That was like the spot weh you could go and jus book up random musicians and we all were jus come together and vibe and jus mek music. And I'm thinking that is exactly what happened back in the day with Protoje and Jah9 then because they used to hang out here too what already was home. A space pon campus weh dem call di ›fyahground‹ weh dem jus go and light up a fyah and instruments all around and they were jus freestylin' for hours! (Lila Iké, Interview am 26.3.2018, UWI).

Protoje benennt das EMC zudem als Institution, die Möglichkeiten für junge Menschen schafft:

So, it is important that the youths in Jamaica have a ..., they can go to school and see that ›look, you know what: I can go to school and be a keyboard player, I can practice to be a bass player and I can have a future, I can go on tour with Lila, I can get a job with Koffee‹ - 'Cause Koffee is gonna starting to tour soon, she's gonna need a band. And people can start to think ›yeah, I want to play with that artiste‹ (Protoje, Interview am 28.10.2018, Mannheim).

Aus dieser Aussage von Protoje lassen sich zwei weitere Folgerungen in Bezug auf das Reggae Revival ableiten: Einerseits eine enge Verbindung und Vorbildfunktion der Bewegung mit und für Jugendliche in Jamaika sowie die beruflichen Perspektiven, die eine Institution wie das EMC bieten kann. Andererseits spielen Instrumentalist*innen und Bands im Zuge des Reggae Revivals wieder eine größere Rolle als etwa in den 1980er Jahren zur Zeit des Dancehalls, als vor allem am Computer erzeugte riddims⁵ gefragt waren: »The evolution of JPM continued, but the session musicians were no longer the creative force nor were they the only option for the accompaniment of singers« (Cyrus 2014: 51). Mit der professionalisierten Ausbildung von Musiker*innen und dem vermehrten Aufkommen von Bands im Zuge des Reggae Revivals geht so auch wieder eine Erhöhung des Status von Instrumentalist*innen sowie ein

5 Als riddim wird im Kontext jamaikanischer Populärmusik-Formen ein Instrumental-Stück bezeichnet.

gesteigertes Interesse an einer Instrumentalausbildung einher. Dies ist insofern hervorzuheben, als dass die meisten jungen, musikinteressierten Menschen in Jamaika bislang eher Sänger*innen werden woll(t)en und artistes als Vorbilder ansehen. Dieser Umstand ist jedoch auch mit dem erhöhten materiellen Aufwand zu erklären, der mit der Anschaffung von Instrumenten und der Bezahlung von Unterricht einhergeht (informelles Gespräch mit Inilek Wilmot am 10.03.2018, Bull Bay; vgl. auch Bradley 2001: 18f.). Von artistes und Musiker*innen wird das EMC mittlerweile als repräsentative Institution für qualifizierte Musiker*innen und Produzent*innen aus Jamaika gesehen, auch wenn sich dies erst nach und nach entwickelte:

»I guess nowadays they're getting better lecturers or getting lecturers that can do more. [...] Little things like [Software, e.g. Mainstage and Ableton] are very much needed today in these days and ages. Especially if we want to be producing world class musicians from Edna to represent Jamaica through the [Reggae] Revival« (Paris Lamont, Interview am 20.3.2018, Kingston).

Die Ausbildung qualifizierter Studiomusiker*innen, ein einfacher Zugang zu Übungsräumen und Studios sowie informelles Lernen waren bereits in früheren Jahren ein Grund zur Steigerung von Produktivität und Kreativität in Jamaika (vgl. Cyrus 2014: 53). Damit einher gingen die Befriedigung von Bedürfnissen einer entstehenden Aufnahme-Industrie und das Schaffen von »music of a sufficiently high quality« (ebd.).

Die School of Music am EMC hat sich seit ihrer Gründung zunehmend auf karibisch- und speziell jamaikanisch-orientierte Inhalte konzentriert, wie der Blick in aktuelle Studienprogramme zeigt (vgl. EMC 2017). Dennoch kann hier Bezug darauf genommen werden, wie sich die Einflüsse »westlicher« Studienprogramme bemerkbar machen. Dabei sticht vor allem das Entstehen einer »musical elite« hervor. Wie zuvor dargelegt, wird das EMC von jamaikanischen artistes als Referenz für qualifizierte Musiker*innen und Produzent*innen nach internationalem Standard angesehen; *die* Institution, an die sich artistes wenden, um Bandmitglieder anzuwerben. Das Erlernen von Instrumenten in einem formellen Rahmen am EMC scheint für artistes der Reggae-Revival-Bewegung somit ein wichtiges Kriterium bei der Auswahl von Musiker*innen zu sein, wenn man die Besetzungen der Bands betrachtet.

Dadurch, dass diese artistes vornehmlich außerhalb Jamaikas, wie etwa in Europa und Amerika, Tourneen spielen, geht auch eine Anpassung an die dortige Aufführungspraxis einher: Während in Europa und den USA beispielsweise in der Regel ein- bis zweistündige Konzerte üblich sind, sind auf Jamaika kurze Auftritte vieler verschiedener artistes an einem Abend gängig, wie sich im Gespräch mit Inilek Wilmot (10.03.2018, Bull Bay) sowie eigenen

Beobachtungen bei Konzerten vor Ort herausstellte. Gerade hier wird eine deutliche Orientierung am globalen Markt und dessen Erfordernisse ersichtlich. Ein weiterer Aspekt, der eine Orientierung sowie den Zusammenhang zwischen lokalen Institutionen wie dem EMC und den Bedürfnissen des globalen Marktes aufzeigt, geht aus einer von mir online in Deutschland durchgeführten quantitativen Erhebung unter Reggae-verbundenen Rezipient*innen, Musiker*innen und/oder Veranstalter*innen hervor: Konzerte mit Live-Bands im Gegensatz zu Sound-System-Shows, bzw. Veranstaltungen ohne Live-Bands, sind in Deutschland weitaus höher geschätzt und stärker gewünscht. Insgesamt mehr als drei Viertel der 151 Befragten (79 %) gaben an, dass sie im Bereich Reggae Live-Konzerte mit Bands gegenüber Veranstaltungen ohne Live-Bands präferieren (siehe Anhang A, Q7).

Hochschulen stellen somit Institutionen dar, die eng mit dem Reggae Revival in Verbindung stehen und diesem den Zugang zum internationalen Markt mitermöglich(t)en. Dies betrifft nach Auffassung der artistes die Ausbildung qualifizierter Musiker*innen und Produzent*innen nach einem Standard, der eine global erfolgreiche Repräsentation des Reggae Revivals leistet. Doch auch die Umgebung dieser Hochschulen spielt eine wichtige Rolle: Sie sind Treffpunkte, Orte der Vernetzung und Kontaktaufnahme zwischen Musiker*innen und artistes und bieten so die Möglichkeit zur Etablierung einer Szene. Die Reputation einer Institution wie des EMC wirkt sich zudem auf den Status von Instrumentalist*innen und die Bedeutung von Live-Bands aus, die als wesentliches Merkmal des Reggae Revivals gelten. Ebenso bietet das Zusammenspiel einer Institution wie dem EMC mit der Reggae-Revival-Bewegung Perspektiven für junge Menschen in Jamaika, was die Verbundenheit der Bewegung mit der Jugend Jamaikas aufzeigt. In meiner Forschung sowie der vorliegenden Arbeit nicht näher ausgeführt wurde die Signifikanz von Visual Artists und Manager*innen, die am EMC oder der UWI studier(t)en. Absolvent*innen aus diesen Bereichen stellen in Form von Kreativdirektor*innen, Videoproduzent*innen oder Band-/Tour-Manager*innen jedoch wichtige Funktionen im Umfeld des Reggae Revivals dar, wie sich in sämtlichen Formen visueller Inhalte wie Coverdesign, Videoproduktion und Promo-Material zeigt (vgl. Paris Lamont, Interview am 20.3.2018, Kingston; Stone 2014). Die Institution Hochschule steht somit auf unterschiedlichen Ebenen wechselseitig mit dem Reggae Revival in Beziehung und wirkt wesentlich bei der Ausrichtung am internationalen Markt mit.

Lokale Veranstaltungsorte und neue Infrastrukturen

Als weitere wichtige Institutionen für das Reggae Revival sind Veranstaltungsorte zu nennen. Clubs, Festivals und andere Bühnen sind für musikalische Revivals wichtige Orte, da sie durch das Aufeinandertreffen von Nachwuchskünstler*innen mit bereits etablierten Künstler*innen und Vorbildern zum Kontakteknüpfen und dem Herausbilden von Communities einladen (vgl. Hill/Bithell 2014: 26). Besonders über Festivals lässt sich eine große und diverse Gruppe von Menschen erreichen: »Festivals also offer unprecedented opportunities for artists and promoters to showcase their products, and have been especially significant in bringing revived repertoires to the attention of ever more diverse audiences, including tourists« (ebd.). Mit dem Aufkommen des Reggae Revivals ging in Jamaika ein Wiederaufleben von Live-Musik einher, was sich an zahlreichen Veranstaltungen und deren Popularität vor Ort zeigt(e). Ursächlich dafür sind auch die Etablierung von Orten und Events wie Smokin Jacket, Plug 'n' Play oder dem Jamnesia, wo u.a. Jamsessions stattfinden (vgl. Walters 2011). Darüber hinaus sind auch die als Reggae Mountain bezeichneten nördlichen Zipfel von Kingston zu nennen, die sich über die Ausläufer der Blue Mountains erstrecken (siehe dazu auch Page 2017: 6). Dort befindet sich der Kingston Dub Club, wo jeden Sonntag Reggae und Dub aufgelegt werden und der sich als ein Zentrum für Reggae etabliert hat. Neben Sound-System-Shows finden hier gelegentlich Auftritte von Roots Reggae- als auch Reggae Revival artistes statt, was für letztere auch als Gelegenheit sich zu etablieren gesehen werden kann: »For the past seven years, [...] Skyline Drive home has been the go-to spot for emerging artistes, music producers and booking agents seeking potential acts on shows in Europe, Japan and North America« (Campbell 2018). Mit Skyline Levels findet sich unweit davon eine weitere populäre Veranstaltungslokation inklusive Studios für Live-Konzerte und Sessions. Jamsessions und kleine Festivals finden sich jedoch im ganzen Land wieder, während dies in Kingston meist auf den Reggae Mountain beschränkt ist: »»Dub Club is really what kick-started it, [...] sunday at Dub Club on the hill is great, but there needs to be something in Kingston City that people can go to,« Protoje told The Gleaner« (Small 2018). Gab es bereits vor dem Reggae Revival Orte, wo Live-Musik einen Platz hatte, so hat sich die Anzahl der Möglichkeiten für Musiker*innen und artistes aufgrund einer »undeniable groundswell of new roots musicians and fans« in den letzten Jahren gesteigert (Gaddis 2015). Jah9 betont die Signifikanz dessen speziell für Reg-

gae: »It's so heartwarming to see how many spaces now are available where it's just Reggae, Dub. It's not Dancehall at all, it's just Reggae, it's just Roots music« (Brahms 2015: 06:56-07:09 Min.).

Die gestiegene Anzahl an Veranstaltungsorten ermutigt mehr junge Musiker*innen sich aktiv in der Musikszene zu beteiligen und bereitet der lokalen Musikindustrie einen Aufschwung, was sich aus einem Interview mit Protoje, Gesprächen im Jamnesia und Stimmen lokaler Medien entnehmen lässt: »[Lloyd] Laing said he wants the movement to grow so that aspiring musicians will realise that they can make a living from the industry« (Brooks 2010). Die Förderung von Veranstaltungsorten für Reggae durch das Reggae Revival selbst ist auch auf die Frustration der Bewegung gegenüber staatlicher Institutionen zurückzuführen, welche die artistes als Botschafter*innen für jamaikanische Kultur ausrufen würden, jedoch ihrerseits keinerlei Möglichkeiten böten, wie die Aussage Protojes im Interview mit S. Cooper zeigt :

[T]he government can be doing way more for local music. And local artists. If I go home and I have my CDs, they're charging me duty. And I am an ambassador for Jamaica. And I am not treated as such a lot of times. So when [the government] says, »Oh, you need to do this, you need to do that«, what are you doing to help us to do these things? [...] Where are you giving us free venues to perform? Where [are] you giving us [assistance] to bring down our keyboards, our equipment, and all of these things? (Cooper 2018).

Die Jamsessions im Jamnesia zählen nach Aussagen von Interviewpartner*innen, Gesprächen und Beobachtungen sowie Presseartikeln zu den wichtigsten Institutionen für das Reggae Revival: »I would say that's definitely Ground Zero, that's definitely where we had to go; there were no other stages for us to go, there were no other live music all around the city like you've seen« (Protoje, Interview am 28.10.2018, Mannheim). Gemeinsam mit dem EMC wird das Jamnesia als Hauptort für die Entstehung des Reggae Revivals betrachtet: »I can't think of any venue that's more appropriate, [...] I would just say the birth place of the Reggae Revival was Jamnesia and Edna Manley« (Paris Lamont, Interview am 20.3.2018, Kingston). Jamnesia ist auch ein Surf-Camp und Hostel in Bull Bay, einige Kilometer vom Zentrum Kingstons entfernt, das von einer lokal bekannten Surfer-Familie betrieben wird, geleitet von Billy »Mystic« Wilmot, der einst Frontsänger der Roots-Reggae-Band Mystic Revealers war. Jeden zweiten Samstag finden Jamsessions statt, die von den Söhnen Billy Wilmots organisiert werden, die auch selbst als Begleitband auf der Bühne stehen und gelegentlich mit artistes des Reggae Revivals auftreten (vgl. Protoje 2011b). Im Rahmen der Feldforschung bot sich mehrmals die Gelegenheit, während der Jamsessions eine teilnehmende Beobachtung durchzuführen und selbst mit der Band und verschiedenen artistes zu

musizieren. Die Zuhörer*innen setz(t)en sich aus Besucher*innen der umliegenden Gegend und Kingston, Bekannten der artistes und Touristen zusammen. Im Sinne einer Jamsession steht es allen frei, auch selbst die Bühne zu betreten. Eine Gegebenheit, die sich – ebenso wie ein offenes, geduldiges und gemischtes Publikum – in dieser Form selten anderswo im Land wiederfindet:

And the thing with Jamnesia crowd too: yaw not seeking to please dem because they're there because this is the vibe that they want. So, you nuh have a ... done a extra aerobics or nuttin. You're jus getting yourself and getting the vibe. And nuff live music, man. Sum a dem [other live venues] have time constraints, they have to be done by 1am and it's not that open. [At Jamnesia] you can jus pop up and get on the stage (Lila Iké, Interview am 26.3.2018, UWI).

Besonders für junge Nachwuchs-artistes, die eine »erste« Bühne suchen, um auf sich und ihre Musik aufmerksam zu machen und sich vor Publikum auszuprobieren, verkörpern die Jamsessions im Jamnesia aufgrund des konstanten Angebots einer Bühne für Live-Musik und als Treffpunkt eine wichtige Institution: »Throughout [the] years, the event has helped to grow what the music industry sees as the newest crop of local talent« (Henry 2011). Im Jamnesia fanden so die ersten öffentlichen Auftritte von Reggae Revival artistes wie den NoMaddz, Chronixx, Jah9 und Protoje statt (vgl. ebd.). Wie im obigen Wortlaut Protojes beschrieben, trafen sich er und Jah9 hier zum ersten Mal. Einen Bezugsort zu haben schien für die artistes und das Reggae Revival von großer Bedeutung: »[Jamnesia] was like where we could get to go to be around each other and when you're building something ... a home, a spot, a place that you can have ideas, share ideas; this is important, so I would say it was very essential« (Protoje, Interview am 28.10.2018, Mannheim).

Orte für Live-Musik, medial festgehaltene und verbreitete Sessions, Konzerte und Zusammenkünfte wie im Jamnesia, oder den Veranstaltungsorten am Reggae Mountain sind als wichtige Institutionen für die Reggae-Revival-Bewegung zu verstehen. Diese Institutionen können als eine Art Sprungbrett für junge artistes und Bands fungieren und bieten ihnen die Möglichkeit sich vor (neuem) Publikum auszuprobieren. Touristen haben durch derlei Institutionen einen Ort und direkten Bezugspunkt zum Reggae Revival und dessen artistes sowie andersherum, wodurch sich ebenfalls ein Zusammenhang und Zugang zum globalen Markt aufzeigt. Darüber hinaus dient auch diese Form der Institution als Treffpunkt und Ort des Kontakteknüpfens. Interessant ist dabei die gegenseitige Beeinflussung der Institutionen und der Reggae-Revival-Bewegung: Einerseits ebnet(e) eine erhöhte Anzahl von Live-Veranstaltungsorten den Weg für viele artistes des Reggae Revivals und Live-Musik,

andererseits schafft(e) die Bewegung selbst derlei Institutionen und etablierte Veranstaltungen wie Live-Sessions und Konzerte.

Studios, Labels und weitere Institutionen

Es gibt noch eine Reihe weiterer Akteure und Einrichtungen, die sich als relevante Institutionen für das Reggae Revival nennen lassen. Seit Aufkommen des Reggae Revivals hat sich beispielsweise der »Reggae Month« etabliert. 2008 wurde der Februar als Reggae Month in Anlehnung an den »Black History Month« in Nordamerika und Großbritannien offiziell ins Leben gerufen (vgl. Johnson 2018). Weitere Gründe für die Wahl sind außerdem die Geburtstage der Roots Reggae-artistes Dennis Brown und Bob Marley im Februar (vgl. DigJamaica 2019). Darüber hinaus wird als Intention des Reggae Months auch Folgendes genannt: »[A]ttract international acclaim for Jamaica as the reggae mecca of the world, enhance travel and tourism for the month of February, and provide an educational platform of entertainment for all ages« (Reggae Month Jamaica 2019). Die Art der Veranstaltungen reicht von Konzerten und Sessions über Filmpräsentationen bis hin zu Konferenzen, Podiumsdiskussionen und Lesungen (vgl. DigJamaica 2019). Die wachsende Popularität und die Absicht des Reggae Months, internationale Aufmerksamkeit auf sich zu ziehen, kommen auch den artistes des Reggae Revivals zugute. Dies zeigt sich an ausverkauften Konzerten von Protoje und Jesse Royal im Februar 2019, bei denen beinahe alle artistes des Revivals für gemeinsame Songs mit auf der Bühne standen (vgl. Lyew 2019). Jedoch fanden diese Konzerte nicht im offiziellen Rahmen des Reggae Months statt, was eine Diskrepanz zwischen der Reggae-Revival-Bewegung und staatlichen Institutionen – in diesem Fall dem Ministry of Culture – veranschaulicht:

Reggae artiste Protoje has described the Government, organisers of Reggae Month, as ›dinosaurs‹ who ignore booking trending conscious Artistes to the detriment of developing the music economy. Protoje indicated that neither himself nor other Artistes [...] were contacted to perform or give feedback at events. [...] How come nobody from Reggae Month come to a Protoje or Chronixx. We have the culture on tap. You cannot go around we (Anonym 2019).

Die hier angesprochene mangelnde Unterstützung für junge artistes seitens staatlicher Einrichtungen kann als Grund angesehen werden, weshalb andere, nicht-staatliche Institutionen für das Reggae Revival umso wichtiger sind und die Gründung eigener Institutionen vorangetrieben wird.

Hierzu können auch Labels gezählt werden. Mit Aufkommen des Reggae Revivals entstanden aus den Händen der artistes oder ihrer Produzent*innen im Laufe der Jahre unter anderem Overstand Entertainment (Protoje, Sevana, Mortimer), Bebble Rock Records (Kabaka Pyramid, Koro Fyah) oder Rorystonelove (Jah9, Samory I) (vgl. Protoje 2011, 2013, 2015, 2018a; Sevana 2016; Kabaka Pryamid 2011, 2013; Jah9 2013; Samory I 2017). Weitere lokale Labels, die Reggae Revival artistes unter Vertrag nehmen oder nahmen, sind das Ende der '90er Jahre von Ziggy, Damian und Julian Marley gegründete Label Ghetto Youths International und das 2002 ins Leben gerufen Label Don Corleon Records (vgl. Kabaka Pyramid 2018; Protoje 2011, 2013). Daneben ist das amerikanische Label VP Records von Bedeutung (vgl. Jah9 2016; Raging Fyah 2016; Tarrus Riley 2006). Trotz des Bestehens von Major Labels wie zuletzt genanntem oder Virgin EMI Records fällt auf, dass mit ihrem Aufkommen und ersten Erfolgen einige der artistes und Produzent*innen eigene Labels gründeten und ihre Musik auf diesem Weg veröffentlichten. Der Produzent Philip »Winta« James hält das für wichtig:

The big step was actually to form Overstand Entertainment und put out some music on my label which obviously gave you a certain control over what you really want to do. Especially the quality and dem kinda tings. So, it was in an effort to actually get out that outta me system that me really found my own label (Majestic/Heartical I.D 2016: 18:54–19:14 Min.).

Anhand der Etablierung eigener Labels wird abermals deutlich, wie aus der Reggae Revival-Bewegung selbst Institutionen geformt werden, um Vertriebswege und Plattformen für das Eigene zu schaffen. Zudem zeigt dieses Handeln, dass neben der Produktion auch die Distribution und Promotion der Musik seitens der artistes vorzugsweise innerhalb eines engen Kreises vonstattengeht. Aus der Entstehung eigener Labels kann außerdem schlussgefolgert werden, dass bereits vorhandene lokale Institutionen hier von der Reggae Revival Bewegung teilweise bewusst umgangen, oder als inadäquat für die eigene Form der Musik und Kultur betrachtet werden. Ursächlich dafür mag auch die Tatsache sein, dass Reggae Revival artistes mit ihrem internationalen Erfolg ein Stückweit erfüllen möchten, was ihren Eltern und vorangegangenen Generationen durch lokale Gegebenheiten und die Musikindustrie verwehrt blieb (vgl. Bucureci/Oraseanu 2018). Im Song »Mind of a King« spielt Protoje hierauf an:

I do this for my culture, for my heritage
 Gramps, Peetah Morgan and my relatives
 Oh, they robbed my mommy in the seventies
 Not a cent, no dollar, not a benefit (ayy) [...]

Look her right dead in her eye, tell her I will never make it slip

(Protoje 2018b).

Damit wird ein allgemeiner Aspekt musikalischer Revivals angerissen: »[M]any of those who are successful on the global music scene [...] are the children or grandchildren of those who were counted among the ›true‹ guardians and inheritors of the art form and rarely strayed far from home« (Hill/Bithell 2014: 16). Die Ablehnung bestehender Institutionen kann hingegen nicht anhand der von den Reggae Revival artistes genutzten Studios beobachtet werden. Zwar wurden einige Veröffentlichungen in kleineren lokalen Studios und den USA aufgenommen, jedoch ist auf lokaler Ebene allen voran das von Bob Marley 1965 gegründete Tuff Gong Studio in Kingston eine wichtige Anlaufstelle für die Reggae Revival artistes und deren Produzent*innen (vgl. Tuff Gong International 2019). So wurden hier die letzten beiden Studioalben von Protoje sowie die meisten Debutalben von Kabaka Pyramid und Jesse Royal eingespielt (vgl. Protoje 2015, 2018a; Kabaka Pyramid 2018; Jesse Royal 2017). Zudem finden hier, sowie im Big Yard Studio, regelmäßig Videoaufzeichnungen von Live-Sessions im Rahmen des BBC-Ablegers BBC Radio 1Xtra mit diversen artistes aus Reggae und Dancehall statt, darunter zahlreiche Reggae Revival artistes wie Chronixx, Koffee, Iba MaHr, Protoje oder Lila Iké (vgl. BBC Radio 1Xtra und Rodigan 2018: 303f.). Gespräche und Beobachtungen während der Feldforschung offenbarten, dass eine unter anderem durch die historische Relevanz hervorgerufene Reputation der Tuff Gong Studios Grund für das Schaffen hochwertiger Reggae-Produktionen an diesem Ort seit jeher war und ist. Hinzu kommen die internationale Popularität⁶ dieser Studios und Kollaborationen wie jene mit BBC Radio 1Xtra. Durch die Produktion in diesen Studios und den Bezug zur Reggae Revival Bewegung wird die Reputation der Studios auf die artistes des Reggae Revivals übertragen. Darüber hinaus verkörpern die Reichweite und Zielgruppe von Formaten wie BBC Radio 1Xtra und die internationale Popularität jener Institutionen eine unmittelbar sichtbare Verbindung des Reggae Revivals zum internationalen Markt. Daneben sind auch Radiostationen relevante Institutionen. Irie FM etwa war 1990 der erste Radiosender, der sich in einer von Gospel, Soul und Country dominierten Radiolandschaft rein auf Reggae konzentrierte und noch heute als wichtigster Reggaesender gilt (vgl. Manuel/Neely 2009: 18 und Bradley 2001: 527). Bis dato war es kaum möglich, Reggae über das Radio zu beziehen: »Protoje outlined how persons of his generation have had to search for reg-

6 Die Popularität zeigt sich auch anhand von Besichtigungsangeboten der Studios im Rahmen von Musik-Touren für Tourist*innen und darin, dass das Musiklabel Tuff Gong heute Vertriebspartner der beiden Major Labels Universal Music Group und Warner Music Group ist (vgl. Tuff Gong International 2019b).

gae, which was sparse on radio and stage shows when they were growing up« (Cooke 2013). Online sind bei Irie FM mittlerweile zahlreiche Interviews mit Revival artistes zu finden, die damit eine weitere lokale mediale Plattform bekommen haben (vgl. Irie FM 2019). Daneben ist noch Dutty Bookmans Sendung »Bookman on the Airwaves« beim in Florida ansässigen Sender WZPP zu nennen, die sich vor allem aufgrund von Bookmans persönlicher Beziehung – er prägte den Begriff »Reggae Revival« – zum Reggae Revival als überregionale Institution etabliert hat (vgl. WZZP Radio 2019).

Abschließend wird noch auf zwei weitere Beispiele für Institutionen verwiesen, die aus der Reggae Revival Bewegung heraus entstanden sind: Mit Dubwise Jamaica hat sich 2013 eine wöchentliche Veranstaltungsreihe mit Sound-System-Shows in Kingston entwickelt. Der deejay⁷ Yaadcore formte zusammen mit Protoje und einem weiteren Beteiligten jenes Format, dessen Konzept laut eigener Aussage Folgendes bewirken soll: »[t]o reintroduce authentic roots dub reggae music in spaces accessible to mainstream audiences« (Bookman 2016). Bei den Veranstaltungen treten regelmäßig Reggae Revival artistes auf und mittlerweile gibt es Ableger in Miami und Washington, D.C. (vgl. Small 2018). Somit lässt sich auch auf Ebene der Sound-Systems und Clubveranstaltungen eine Institution *aus* dem und *für* das Reggae Revival zeigen. Mit der jährlich stattfindenden INDIGGO-Konferenz hat sich zudem abseits musikalischer Veranstaltungen eine Institution aus der Reggae Revival Bewegung herausgebildet. Die Konferenz beinhaltet Podiumsdiskussionen, Workshops und Vorträge von artistes und weiteren Protagonist*innen der Kreativwirtschaft. Sie soll als Plattform zur Kontaktaufnahme und als Informationsquelle über Karrierechancen in der Kreativwirtschaft dienen (vgl. Loop News 2018). Die Konferenz verdeutlicht erneut, dass sich die artistes nicht nur als Musikschafter betrachten, sondern gleichzeitig Teil einer Bewegung sind, die insbesondere junge Menschen zu erreichen und Infrastrukturen zu generieren versucht. Diese Strukturen verbreiten letztlich Wissen und können den Eintritt in internationale Märkte ermöglichen. Hier spiegelt sich ein elementares Merkmal musikalischer Revivals wider: »[R]evivals may leave behind a foundation of infrastructures – financial, institutional, social, and knowledge-based – that serve as platforms for new post-revival artists entering careers in national institutions or global markets« (Hill und Bithell 2014: 30).

7 Der deejay bildet zusammen mit dem selectah ein Sound-System und kreiert dabei Sprechgesang über einen riddim (das sog. »toasting«). Der deejay entspricht damit in etwa dem MC im Hip-Hop und ist nicht mit einem DJ gleichzusetzen.

Fazit

Zusammenfassend lassen sich vier Rollen benennen, die verschiedenste Institutionen im Reggae Revival einnehmen oder für dieses darstellen: (1: Ausbildung) Wie am Beispiel des EMC aufgezeigt, stellt die Ausbildung eine wichtige Funktion dar. Lokale Hochschulen, aber auch Veranstaltungsorte sind für die Ausbildung von Musiker*innen, Produzent*innen, Visual Artists und Managementberufen im Reggae Revival wichtige Institutionen. (2: Bildung von Netzwerken) Ebenso repräsentieren Hochschulen – und insbesondere Veranstaltungsorte – sowie Konferenzen und Informationsveranstaltungen Institutionen, die zum Knüpfen von Kontakten und zur Vernetzung förderlich sind, wodurch sie Szenen entstehen lassen. (3: Produktions- und Vermarktungsmöglichkeit) Die Gründung eigener Labels und Nutzung etablierter Studios und medialer Plattformen wie Radio und Internet stellen relevante Institutionen bezüglich Produktion und Promotion der eigenen Musik dar. (4: Repräsentation) Veranstaltungsorte, Orte zur Vernetzung, Hochschulen sowie die genannten Medien verkörpern Institutionen, die als wichtige lokale Plattformen für die Reggae Revival-Bewegung fungieren und somit die Repräsentation und Reputation des Reggae Revivals als musikalische Bewegung fördern.

Durch die Nutzung und den Ausbau einzelner bestehender Institutionen vermag es die Reggae Revival-Bewegung Knowhow und Fähigkeiten lokal zu erfassen und zu bündeln. Somit werden homegrown Infrastrukturen genutzt und kreiert, die der Musik und der Bewegung durch musikalische Qualität sowie ihren lokalen Bezug einen Zugang zu internationalen Märkten verschaffen. Zudem zeigt sich, wie Institutionen und Strukturen aus den durch die Reggae Revival-Bewegung in Gang gesetzten Dynamiken heraus entstehen, was allgemein ein zentrales Merkmal musikalischer Revivals ist. Ergänzend dazu zeigt das Beispiel des Reggae Revivals, wie popularmusikalische Revival-Bewegungen und Subkulturen durch die Etablierung eigener lokaler Infrastrukturen einer zu hohen externen Beeinflussung entgegenwirken. So wurde deutlich, wie die Unabhängigkeit – von staatlichen oder alteingesessenen Infrastrukturen und Institutionen – ein Bedürfnis seitens der Protagonist*innen in musikalischen Bewegungen ist und ein Mittel für den Erfolg auf globaler Ebene sein kann. Darüber hinaus zeigt die vorliegende Untersuchung, dass sich die von Keegan-Phipps (2007) und Hill (2009) dargestellten Erkenntnisse zu Institutionen und Institutionalisierung in Folk-Musikkulturen zum Teil auch in zeitgenössischen Populärmusik-Kulturen wiederfinden.

Die vorliegende Forschung liefert zudem Ansätze für weitere Untersuchungen. So bleibt etwa zu hinterfragen, inwiefern lokal tätige Musikschafter*innen und weitere Akteure wie Produzent*innen und Veranstalter*innen, die sich *nicht* als Teil der Reggae Revival Bewegung verstehen oder von außen nicht zu ihr gezählt werden, von den geschaffenen Strukturen und Institutionen profitieren, oder ob die Etablierung eigener Veranstaltungen und Veranstaltungsorte zu einer Abgrenzung und der Erhaltung eines bestimmten Kreises führt. Zudem kann die Frage aufgeworfen werden, ob die geschaffenen (Infra-)Strukturen allgemein betrachtet künftigen Generationen von Artistes, Musiker*innen und Bewegungen auf und aus Jamaika zugutekommen werden und ob sich weitere lokale Institutionen etablieren können: Was bewirkt das Reggae Revival langfristig für Jamaikas Kulturlandschaft und dortige Gegebenheiten und wie führt sich die Beziehung zwischen lokalen Institutionen und dem globalen Markt fort? Hierfür bedarf es anknüpfender ethnomusikologischer Forschungen.

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Diskographie

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Anhang

A) Interviews

Interviewte	Datum	Ort	Dauer
Lila Iké	26.3.2018	Campus der UWI Kingston, Jamaika	01:04h
Paris Lamont	20.3.2018	Zuhause bei Paris Lamont, Barbican/Kingston, Jamaika	01:01h
Protoje	28.10.2018	Alte Feuerwache, Mannheim, Deutschland	00:14h
Ray Hitchins	14.3.2018	Büro im ICS an der UWI Kingston, Jamaika	00:52h

B) Ergebnisse der quantitativen Erhebung (Auszug)

Die Daten wurden zwischen 12.12.2018 und 21.1.2019 in Deutschland online erhoben.

Q1 Wie alt bist Du?

ANTWORTOPTIONEN	BEANTWORTUNGEN	
15-25 Jahre	19,50%	31
25-35 Jahre	45,91%	73
35 Jahre und älter	34,59%	55

Q2 Bist Du...? (Mehrfachnennung möglich)

ANTWORTOPTIONEN	BEANTWORTUNGEN	
RezipientIn (HörerIn, KonzertgängerIn, FestivalbesucherIn)	94,34%	150
VeranstalterIn (Festivals, Konzerte, Club-Veranstaltungen etc.)	14,47%	23
MusikerIn/DJ	20,13%	32

Q7 Wie wichtig sind Dir als BesucherIn Live-Konzerte (mit Bands) im Zusammenhang mit Reggae-bezogenen Musikveranstaltungen gegenüber Soundsystem-Shows oder anderen Club-Veranstaltungen ohne Bands?

SEHR WICHTIG	EHER WICHTIG	EGAL	EHER UNWICHTIG	ÜBERHAUPT NICHT WICHTIG	GESAMT
41,72%	37,09%	13,91%	6,62%	0,66%	151
63	56	21	10	1	

BENJAMIN PIEKUT (2019). *HENRY COW: THE WORLD IS A PROBLEM.*

A Review by Lukas Proyer

The British rock band Henry Cow is a major example of how musical avant-gardism was practiced outside of European »art music« in the 1970s. Founded in 1968 at Cambridge University,¹ the group combined influences ranging from free jazz and free improvisation to classical composition techniques and European experimentalism with rock rhythms and rock instrumentation. Their musical design was constituted by mixtures of open improvisation and notated compositions as well as programmatic and performative concepts. Despite their attachments to different musical contexts Henry Cow consciously positioned themselves as a rock band in the then contemporary musical landscape. Yet, their story reads radically different from most rock groups of the time due to the band members' Marxist orientation and their aesthetic as well as political intentions, which resulted in a *modus operandi* that ran contrary to other bands' rock guitar heroics.

In *Henry Cow: The World is a Problem*, Benjamin Piekut has remarkably documented this story. Readers who expect a conventional band biography will be surprised, as the book aims for much more and is conceived as a »somewhat unusual, hybrid form combining collective biography and argument-driven cultural history« (xiii). Piekut's main research area is musical experimentalism and avant-gardism; he has published numerous articles on these subjects, including his first monograph *Experimentalism Otherwise*:

1 Henry Cow's founders, pianist Tim Hodgkinson and guitarist Fred Frith, were joined by bassist John Greaves in 1969 and drummer Chris Cutler in 1971 during their formative years. The group featured several further musicians throughout the 1970s and incorporated classical instruments into their sound with bassoonist and oboist Lindsay Cooper joining in 1974 and cellist Georgina Born joining in 1976.

The New York Avant-Garde and its Limits.² While his research is primarily located in historical musicology, he represents a perspective that should be of much interest for the field of popular music studies.

The author's study of Henry Cow is motivated by a desire to document avant-gardism that happens outside of art music institutions in the popular music sphere. While Henry Cow has mostly been associated with alternative forms of British progressive rock, Piekut places the band in relation to various forms of avant-gardism in European art music, jazz and free improvisation as well as experimental rock music. This makes for a novel approach compared to the considerable amount of literature that has been written on the—at times—rather generic category of progressive rock.³

Piekut's sustained contact with the band members proves crucial, as it led to a significant amount of interview material. He put great effort into capturing the opinions of most people directly involved in the band's 'machinery'; this includes roadies and sound engineers, who were treated equally by the musicians in Henry Cow and received the same salary from 1973 on in coherence with communist principles. Additionally, Piekut spoke with several people who worked in the music industry during this period, such as Virgin co-founder Simon Draper. Naturally, Piekut does not rely exclusively on this interview material; the band members have granted him access to their personal archives, which contain material such as unpublished private notebooks, setlists from the 1970s, and recordings of Henry Cow's band meetings. Older interviews with Henry Cow musicians referenced from other sources enable a comparison of the musicians' past perceptions with present ones. Piekut also uses journalistic music criticism to illustrate musical discourses of the 1970s as well as the reception of Henry Cow's music at the time.

The book is structured as a chronological unfolding of the band's career, starting from their beginnings at Cambridge in 1968 and ending with the group's dissolution in 1979. These eight chapters are framed by an introduction and an afterword, which contain most of Piekut's theorization, thus enabling easier access to Henry Cow's story for readers unconcerned with academic scholarship. The book closes with Piekut's theoretical concept of the

2 Benjamin Piekut (2011). *Experimentalism Otherwise: The New York Avant-Garde and its Limits*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

3 Kevin Holm-Hudson (ed.) (2002). *Progressive Rock Reconsidered*. New York: Routledge.

Edward Lawrence Macan (1997). *Rocking the Classics: English Progressive Rock and the Counterculture*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bill Martin (1998). *Listening to the Future: The Time of Progressive Rock*. Chicago: Open Court.

Paul Stump (2010). *The Music's All that Matters*. Chelmsford: Harbour.

»vernacular avant-garde« in the afterword chapter. I am not sure whether this concept built the foundation for his study of Henry Cow or resulted out of this research, but in any case it provides a thorough summation of multiple leads throughout the book while also feeding contextual theorization of Henry Cow's actions and their musical environment. As such, the book simultaneously serves several purposes and might therefore attract different kinds of readers: Henry Cow fans not involved in academic scholarship, for example, might be interested in Piekut's insight into the »behind the scenes« proceedings of Henry Cow's career. On the other hand, for some academic readers Piekut's observations regarding the band's musical and political environment may be of interest. These observations occur in different chapters, analogous to the chronological story of Henry Cow's development.

The primarily biographical sections in the book are written in a fairly straightforward narrative style but told in great detail and carefully researched. While grounded in many different sources, the band's history gets foremost enabled by the volume of interview material the author has assembled. He offers extensive background stories on everyone involved in Henry Cow as well as on numerous bands with whom the rock group collaborated throughout their career.

Henry Cow's experiences with media and the recording industry is an important topic throughout the book. Their entry point into the commercial music branch through a contract with Virgin as their future record company and concert agent is a key moment within their band history, one that would shape future career decisions as well as their later highly critical interpretation of the music industry. A large part of the second chapter offers insight into Virgin's emergence as a young record company that put many experimental rock bands under contract and masked their financial motivations under a quasi-hippie ideology. By investigating how record companies such as Virgin, Polydor or Hör zu Black Label were operating and by showcasing their reasons for contracting Henry Cow and other bands related to them, Piekut convincingly exhibits how musical experimentalism was both affected and enabled by the will of record companies to invest in such projects. His observations hereby contribute to a genealogical understanding of »progressive music« in the 1970s. Piekut also sheds light on the dynamics between music journalism and record companies in the second and third chapter, as he illustrates how record companies were making efforts to control how their bands were portrayed in the media (90, 119, 125); these observations contribute much to a critical examination of music journalism as a historical source.

Furthermore, Piekut discusses the influence of music journalism on the British music scene, and in particular how members of Henry Cow perceived

the role of music journalists back in the 1970s. Their opinions on this subject highlight their fight against an image of the band produced by some writers as being inaccessible and catering only to minority tastes (141f., 225). An overlying arc in Henry Cow's story can be found in how the experiences they made with the music industry and the media ultimately led them to pursue their own independent way of self-organisation in opposition to capitalist modes of major record companies and the marketing machinery of the media. The band would take political actions in collaboration with other left-wing rock bands such as for the Music for Socialism festival (Chapter 7) and for the Rock in Opposition network (chapter 8) as a result of their self-organising efforts. The description of such a development is by no means solely due to an overly teleological writing mode, but rather to Piekut's careful description of process transformations between different stages in Henry Cow's career. The author's decision to follow a historical chronology proves useful here, as the band's continuously changing approaches to musical creativity, the music industry and political action are rendered clearly visible for the reader.

Central to this book is Piekut's interpretation of Henry Cow's working methods. The book's subtitle *The World is a Problem* refers to Henry Cow's intention not to take given circumstances for granted, but instead to treat them as problems to be investigated in the pursuit of change. Certainties are rendered into uncertainties and are investigated through actions rather than careful consideration, thereby provoking a reaction of the environment in an experimental way. Improvisation thus is a way of questioning certainties and enabling a dialogue between the musicians as well as the group and the audiences. Henry Cow's »orientation toward the world that could be described as improvisational« (26), as a way of restoring »provisionality to the world by attacking its ideological veneer of certainty« (152), is successfully illustrated in regards to Henry Cow's musical explorations, career decisions, political agencies, experimentation with music technology, and recording studio. The band's highly unusual full merger with the group Slapp Happy in 1974 »indicates how willing the musicians were to experiment. Several such moments in the band's career should be interpreted in these improvisational terms: Henry Cow embraced opportunities to disturb equilibrium so that they could find new states of temporary stability that could not have been predicted in advance« (25).

Piekut's illustrations of Henry Cow's work in the recording studio showcases different forms of experimental approaches that likewise investigate uncertainty by taking action. They also display Henry Cow's emphasis on the collective instead of the individual. For the mixing of the album *Leg End* (1973), every musician was controlling their own fader at the same time

(102f.). This is problematic from a studio engineer's perspective but might be regarded as an innovative way of investigating what would happen if circumstances were able to be continuously manipulated. It also demonstrates the group's efforts to combine musical aesthetics with their social principles. As Piekut explains:

[T]he band had construed group work in a number of ways, including open improvisation, where a musical piece could emerge through collective decision making; spontaneous work on preorganized materials, ... co-composition, as when they wrote material together for *The Bacchae* or *Desperate Straights*; technologically enhanced collective exploration ... Occasionally, this collectivism produced strategies that seem misguided in retrospect, like that of the Cows arrayed around the Manor's mixing desk, each fader drawn by its own finger. But even the strangeness of this image communicates the extent to which they struggled to discover new forms of authorship and performance within the historical and material conditions of their time (350).

The author's excavation of Henry Cow's composition and production processes might be one of the most interesting facets of the book, because it explains in detail the complex conceptual strategies behind their album recordings. It also uncovers which members took the creative lead during different recordings.

Piekut also provides musical analyses to illustrate Henry Cow's musical strategies as well as examples of tonal and rhythmic organisation, showcasing the complexity of Henry Cow's music. While music analysis is sometimes accompanied by small transcription examples of the music, the investigation of musical texts takes a smaller part in the book compared to other topics. As melodic and harmonic modes are treated with lesser importance, musical analysis does not provide much insights into how Henry Cow's tonal organisation connected to melodic and harmonic practices common in jazz or rock music. Instead, Piekut focuses on the nature of their musical concepts and frequently discusses their approaches toward open improvisation, composition, and various in-between modes. In the sixth chapter, the band's emphasis on a collective musical identity is also discussed in relation to George Lewis' theoretical model of ›afrological‹ and ›eurological‹ modes of improvisation.⁴ Piekut analyses how Henry Cow's improvisational practices are connected to—but also differed from—broader Afro-American and European music tradi-

4 George E. Lewis (2004). »Improvised Music after 1950: Afrological and Eurological Perspectives.« In: *The Other Side of Nowhere: Jazz, Improvisation and Communities in Dialogue*. Ed. by Daniel Fischlin and Ajay Heble. Middleton, CT: Wesleyan University Press, pp. 131-62.

tions. Aside from the preface and the afterword, the sixth chapter is thereby the only one that encompasses musicological theory to a larger extent.

In the afterword, the author's research coalesces into his theoretical concept of the vernacular avant-garde, a term that attempts to capture the uneasy space between institutionalised art music and the commercial marketplace of popular music. The afterword makes clear that one aim of Piekut's research is to blur the line between ›high art‹ institutions and the popular music sphere. In doing so, he gracefully dismantles Peter Bürger's⁵ (and implicitly Theodor Adorno's)⁶ dismissive theorisations of popular culture on account of their lack of empirical knowledge concerning avant-gardistic and political activities in the field of popular music (395-397). The reviewed study of Henry Cow exactly provides such empirical evidence and brings much neglected activity in popular music history into the spotlight. Yet, as Piekut's motivations and knowledge interests are rendered visible in the afterword, it might be advisable to some readers to read the last chapter in advance.

Henry Cow: The World is a Problem tells us a lot about the band, more than any other publication has done before (this is the first published biography of the rock group). Yet equally, Piekut manages to shed light on Henry Cow's environment and wider context. His insight into the economic, socio-political, and musical processes surrounding the band, also applies to other avant-gardist musicians from that time period; his concept of the »vernacular avant-garde« therefore convincingly concludes his study. The author is able to critically investigate a wide range of different subjects, because Henry Cow makes for an extremely interesting study subject. The group's former members have a lot to say in voiced philosophies as well as in their non-conformist musical, socio-political, and music-industrial actions. Piekut has done a remarkable job in letting their voices be heard and their actions be communicated through the narration of their story.

Benjamin Piekut (2019). *Henry Cow: The World is a Problem*. Durham: Duke University Press (512 pp., Hardback and Paperback: \$119.95; \$29.95).

5 Peter Bürger (1984). *Theory of the Avant-Garde*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

6 Piekut does not quote Adorno directly, but he writes: »Given his Adornian foundation, it is not surprising that Bürger harbors the same weaknesses as the Frankfurt school elder« (395).

Ausgewählte Neuerscheinungen 2019

Selected Book Releases from 2019

Zusammengestellt von Steffen Peter

Compilation by Steffen Peter

- Allred, Kevin (2019). *Ain't I a Diva? Beyoncé and the Power of Pop Culture Pedagogy*. New York: Feminist Press at CUNY.
- Anastasiadis, Mario (2019). *Social-Pop-Media. Zur Mediatisierung von Popmusik und digitaler Musikpraxis in sozialen Medien*. Wiesbaden: Springer.
- Appen, Ralf von / Dunkel, Mario (Hg.) (2019). *(Dis-)Orienting Sounds. Machtkritische Perspektiven auf populäre Musik* (= Beiträge zur Populärmusikforschung 45). Bielefeld: transcript.
- Armstrong, Jacquese (2019). *Blues Legacy*. Detroit, MI: Broadside Lotus Press.
- Baker, Andrea (2019). *The Great Music City. Exploring Music, Space and Identity*. Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Baker, Sarah / Istvandy, Lauren / Nowak, Raphaël (2019). *Curating Pop. Exhibiting Popular Music in the Museum*. New York: Bloomsbury Academic.
- Balzer, Jens (2019). *Pop und Populismus. Über Verantwortung in der Musik*. Hamburg: Edition Körber.
- Baptiste, Bala J. (2019). *Race and Radio. Pioneering Black Broadcasters in New Orleans*. Jackson, MS: University Press of Mississippi.
- Barone, Stefano (2019). *Metal, Rap, and Electro in Post-Revolutionary Tunisia. A Fragile Underground*. Abingdon, UK et al.: Routledge.
- Barratt-Peacock, Ruth / Hagen, Ross (ed.) (2019). *Medievalism and Metal Music Studies. Throwing Down the Gauntlet*. Bingley, UK et al.: Emerald Publishing Limited.
- Beaven, Zuleika / O'Dair, Marcus / Osborne, Richard (ed.) (2019). *Mute Records. Artists, Business, History*. New York: Bloomsbury Academic.
- Bennett, Samantha (2019). *Modern Records, Maverick Methods. Technology and Process in Popular Music Record Production 1978-2000*. New York: Bloomsbury Academic.
- Birenbaum Quintero, Michael (2019). *Rites, Rights & Rhythms. A Genealogy of Musical Meaning in Colombia's Black Pacific*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Blüml, Jan / Kajanová, Yvetta / Ritter, Rüdiger (ed.) (2019). *Popular Music in Communist and Post-Communist Europe*. Berlin et al.: Peter Lang.
- Bourland, Ian (2019). *Blue Lines* (= 33 1/3). New York: Bloomsbury Academic.
- Braae, Nick / Hansen, Kai Arne (ed.) (2019). *On Popular Music and Its Unruly Entanglements*. Cham, CH: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Bratus, Alessandro (2019). *Mediatization in Popular Music Recorded Artifacts. Performance on Record and on Screen*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books.

- Brooks, Kinitra D. / Martin, Kameelah L. (ed.) (2019). *The Lemonade Reader*. Abingdon, UK et al.: Routledge.
- Browner, Tara / Riis, Thomas L./Crawford, Richard (ed.) (2019). *Rethinking American Music*. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press.
- Brüggemeyer, Maik (2019). *Pop. Eine Gebrauchsanweisung*. München: Penguin.
- Bruin-Molé, Megen de (2019). *Gothic Remixed. Monster Mashups and Frankenfictions in 21st-Century Culture*. London u. New York: Bloomsbury Academic.
- Burford, Mark (2019). *Mahalia Jackson and the Black Gospel Field*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Burns, Lori A. / Hawkins, Stan (ed.) (2019). *The Bloomsbury Handbook of Popular Music Video Analysis*. New York: Bloomsbury Academic.
- Burns, Mila (2019). *Dona Ivone Lara's Sorriso Negro* (= 33 1/3). London: Bloomsbury Academic.
- Cashman, David / Garrido, Waldo (2019). *Performing Popular Music. The Art of Creating Memorable and Successful Performances*. London: Routledge.
- Chapman, David (2019). *Jazz Italiano. A History of Italian Syncopated Music 1904-1946*. Newcastle upon Tyne, UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- Christopher, Roy (2019). *Dead Precedents. How Hip-Hop Defines the Future*. London: Repeater.
- Cockrell, Dale (2019). *Everybody's Doin' it. Sex, Music, and Dance in New York, 1840-1917*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company.
- Cohen, Aaron (2019). *Move on up. Chicago Soul Music and Black Cultural Power*. Chicago, IL et al.: University of Chicago Press.
- Coulter, Colin (ed.) (2019). *Working for the Clampdown. The Clash, the Dawn of Neoliberalism and the Political Promise of Punk*. Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press.
- Crowdus, Miranda (2019). *Hip Hop in Urban Borderlands. Music-Making, Identity, and Intercultural Dynamics on the Margins of the Jewish State* (= Jewish Music Studies 1). Berlin: Peter Lang.
- Cugny, Laurent (2019). *Analysis of Jazz. A Comprehensive Approach*. Jackson, MS: University Press of Mississippi.
- Daniel, Anna / Hillebrandt, Frank (Hg.) (2019). *Die Praxis der Popmusik. Soziologische Perspektiven*. Wiesbaden: Springer.
- Diallo, David (2019). *Collective Participation and Audience Engagement in Rap Music*. Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Dias, José (2019). *Jazz in Europe. Networking and Negotiating Identities*. New York: Bloomsbury Academic.
- Dowdall, Peter (2019). *Technology and the Stylistic Evolution of the Jazz Bass*. London: Routledge.
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- Dumnić Vilotijević, Marija / Medić, Ivana (ed.) (2019). *Contemporary Popular Music Studies. Proceedings of the International Association for the Study of Popular Music 2017*. Wiesbaden: Springer.
- Dunkel, Mario / Nitzsche, Sina A. (2018). *Popular Music and Public Diplomacy. Transnational and Transdisciplinary Perspectives*. Bielefeld: transcript.

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- Eriksson, Maria / Fleischer, Rasmus / Johansson, Anna / Snickars, Pelle / Vonderau, Patrick (ed.) (2019). *Spotify Teardown. Inside the Black Box of Streaming Music*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Evans, David (2019). *The Holy Bible* (= 33 1/3). New York: Bloomsbury Academic.
- Fairchild, Charles (2019). *Sounds, Screens, Speakers. An Introduction to Music and Media*. New York: Bloomsbury Academic.
- Fast, Susan / Jennex, Craig (ed.) (2019). *Hearing the Political in Popular Music. Queer and Feminist Interventions*. London: Routledge.
- Feldman, Heidi C. / Horn, David / Shepherd, John / Kielich, Gabrielle (ed.) (2019). *Bloomsbury Encyclopedia of Popular Music of the World. Sub-Saharan Africa*. Volume 12. London: Bloomsbury Academic.
- Fleischer, Laura P. / Heesch, Florian (Hg.) (2019). »Sounds like a real man to me.« *Populäre Kultur, Musik und Männlichkeit*. Wiesbaden: Springer.
- Fletcher, K. F. B. / Umurhan, Osman (ed.) (2019). *Classical Antiquity in Heavy Metal Music*. London: Bloomsbury Academic.
- Frith, Simon / Cloonan, Martin / Brennan, Matt / Webster, Emma (2019). *The History of Live Music in Britain. From Hyde Park to the Hacienda*. London: Routledge.
- Galuszka, Patryk (ed.) (2019). *Made in Poland. Studies in Popular Music*. New York: Routledge.
- Gardner, Abigail (2019). *Aging and Popular Music in Europe* (= Routledge Studies in Popular Music). London: Routledge.
- Gentry, Amy (2019). *Boys for Pele* (= 33 1/3). New York: Bloomsbury Academic.
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- Gregor, Neil / Irvine, Thomas (ed.) (2018). *Dreams of Germany. Music and Transnational Imaginaries in the Modern Era* (= Spektrum 18). New York: Berghahn Books.
- Guerra, Paula / Quintela, Pedro (ed.) (2019). *Punk, Fanzines and DIY Cultures in a Global World. Fast, Furious and Xerox*. Cham, CH: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Häberlen, Joachim C. / Keck-Szajbel, Mark / Mahoney, Kate (ed.) (2019). *The Politics of Authenticity. Countercultures and Radical Movements across the Iron Curtain, 1968-1989*. New York and Oxford, UK: Berghahn Books.
- Hamilton, Njelle W. (2019). *Phonographic Memories. Popular Music and the Contemporary Caribbean Novel*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.
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- Heiser, Jörg (2019). *Double Lives in Art and Pop Music* (Dissertation an der Humboldt-Universität Berlin, 2014). Berlin: Sternberg Press.
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- landoli, Kathy (2019). *God Save the Queens. The Essential History of Women in Hip-Hop*. New York: Harper Collins Publisher.
- Istvandity, Lauren / Baker, Sarah / Cantillon, Zelmarie (ed.) (2019). *Remembering Popular Music's Past. Memory – Heritage – History*. London: Anthem.
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- Jin, Dal Yong / Lee, Harkjoon (2019). *K-Pop Idols. Popular Culture and the Emergence of the Korean Music Industry*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books.
- Johnson, Bruce (2019). *Jazz Diaspora. Music and Globalisation*. New York: Routledge.
- Kaltmeier, Olaf / Raussert, Wilfried (ed.) (2019). *Sonic Politics. Music and Social Movements in the Americas*. Abingdon, UK et al.: Routledge.
- Karppinen, Anne (2019). *The Songs of Joni Mitchell. Gender, Performance and Agency*. London: Routledge.
- Keeling, Kara (2019). *Queer Times, Black Futures (= Sexual Cultures)*. New York: New York University Press.
- Kern, Isabel (2019). *Repräsentationen von Stille in Lyrik und Popmusik*. München: GRIN.
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- Kitts, Thomas M. / Baxter-Moore, Nicolas (ed.) (2019). *The Routledge Companion to Popular Music and Humor*. New York et al.: Routledge.
- Kronenburg, Robert (2019). *This Must be the Place. An Architectural History of Popular Music Performance Venues*. New York: Bloomsbury Academic.
- Lee, S. H. / Mehta, Monika / Ku, Robert J.-S. (ed.) (2019). *Pop Empires. Transnational and Diasporic Flows of India and Korea*. Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Li, Christopher (2019). *George Harrison und die Komplementarität von »Ost« und »West« . Ein biografischer Versuch*. Baden-Baden: Tectum.
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- Liebersohn, Harry (2019). *Music and the New Global Culture. From the Great Exhibitions to the Jazz Age*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Lifter, Rachel (2019). *Fashioning Indie. Popular Fashion, Music and Gender*. London: Bloomsbury Visual Arts.
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