

The Oxford Handbook of Community Singing

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<https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780197612460.001.0001>

Published: 2024

Online ISBN: 9780197612491

Print ISBN: 9780197612460

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CHAPTER

1 Mediated Community Singing

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<https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780197612460.013.1> Pages 8–28

Published: 22 May 2024

Abstract

Audiovisual and broadcast media have been used to facilitate participatory singing since the early 20th century. In the 21st century—and especially since the onset of the COVID-19 pandemic—they have become increasingly integral to a wide array of participatory singing practices. Any form of community singing that relies on audiovisual or broadcast media can be described as “mediated community singing.” In most cases, mediation separates participants from one another in time and space, and immersion in the experience requires participants to imagine one another and the singing community. A distinction can be drawn between in-person communities that employ media to facilitate their singing activities and dispersed communities that can only convene via mediation. Chapters in this section consider a range of mediated singing experiences spanning two centuries.

Keywords: [mediated participation](#), [music and film](#), [music and advertising](#), [virtual choirs](#), [music and wellbeing](#), [COVID-19](#), [imagined community](#), [accessibility](#)

Subject: [Music Education and Pedagogy](#), [Music Theory and Analysis](#), [Music](#)

Series: [Oxford Handbooks](#)

Collection: [Oxford Handbooks Online](#)

Introduction

Community singing is usually assumed to rely on bodily co-presence.¹ For thousands of years, co-presence was indeed a prerequisite, and it continues to be an important element of most community singing practices. Beginning in the late 19th century, however, technological developments opened the door to community singing practices in which the participants were separated by space and even time, and by the 1920s such practices were becoming common. In this chapter, I will propose an approach to the study of what I term *mediated community singing*, meaning community singing that is facilitated by audiovisual or communications media. After delineating the subject under investigation, taxonomizing the various synchronous and asynchronous practices, and surveying the considerations that a study of mediated community singing must take into account, I will expand my model using two case studies: a 1960s-era sing-along television program and various virtual singing practices developed and put to use in 2020. In these case studies, I consider the concepts of *intermediality* and *compounded mediation*.²

What Is Mediated Community Singing?

First: What is community singing? Without claiming to offer a universal definition, I understand community singing to be a largely participatory activity in which the act of singing with others is itself the primary objective. The “community” in community singing can be transient, such as a theater audience, or persistent, such as a group of neighbors who gather on a weekly basis. It can be facilitated by a presentational songleader or musical group, and it can even culminate in a performance, but the participatory experience is prioritized. In this respect, “community singing” is as much a method as an object of study: It should train our focus on the participatory experience.

p. 9 When considering in-person practices, it is usually easy to determine whether or not community singing is taking place. Are people gathered together, and are they singing for the sake of singing? If so, you’ve got a case of community singing. (There are grey areas, of course: How many people are required to constitute a communal gathering? Where is the line between performance and participation?) Once we accept the possibility that community singing can occur without physical co-presence, however, determining “what counts” becomes difficult.

Let’s briefly consider an example: the *Disney Family Singalong* that aired on ABC in April 2020 (also discussed in Camp, this volume). I argue that people who sang along with the broadcast were participating in mediated community singing; however, I am immediately faced with complications. There are many people who watched but did *not* sing along—how does that destabilize the example? What about people who sang along, but did so later, using the YouTube videos, instead of during the original broadcast? If engagement with the Disney Sing-Along YouTube videos “counts” as participation in mediated community singing, what about other Disney sing-along products, which are consumed exclusively in private settings, without the communal implications of a broadcast? If we are going to consider the possibility that a sing-along version of *Frozen* (there are many) can facilitate mediated community singing, then what about the printed *Frozen* songbook? What about the film itself (2013), which can inspire participatory singing with or without the prodding of on-screen lyrics? At the bottom of this slippery slope, we might find ourselves wondering if almost *all* singing is community singing.

I suggest that the practice of mediated community singing requires three things: (1) mediation, (2) participation, and (3) imagination. If all three of these are present, you’ve got a case of community singing. However, this determination cannot be made based on the media itself. Because the practice of mediated community singing requires imaginative participation, we must consider the participants; a study of sing-

along media might be interesting for its own sake, but it does not constitute a study of mediated community singing.³

Mediation refers to the role of media in interfacing between participants. Mediated community singing can be facilitated by any medium; consequently, my model must account for the full range of historical, existing, and evolving media types. Media scholars have been categorizing and debating media types and their functions for half a century, and I draw from their ideas and terminology. Examples of fixed media that can facilitate mediated community singing include printed music, sing-along audio and video recordings (which might be embodied in various historical media, such as film, LP, or VHS, or made available online), and karaoke machines. Community singing can also be facilitated by broadcast media, including both traditional outlets (radio, television) and what Robert Logan has termed “new media” (2010, 27). The proliferation of new media, which Francis Ward has described as “those forms which are digital, interactive, accessed and experienced on an individual level, and which allow both the reception and production of content and information,” has had a profound and transformative impact on the practice of mediated community singing (Ward 2016, 53). Examples include sing-alongs that are live-streamed over YouTube and Facebook, for which participants are able to provide feedback in real time and/or join in asynchronously, and participatory music-making apps, such as Sing! Karaoke, Autorap, and TikTok (discussed in McDaniel, this volume). Finally, this model accounts for the use of digital communications technology (e.g., video conferencing and low-latency audio transmission platforms such as Jamulus), even though these tools do not yet allow for the seamless facilitation of mediated community singing.

Issues of “liveness” immediately arise in the study of mediated participation. The introduction of delay (whether milliseconds or decades), the incorporation of pre-recorded elements, and the “revisitability” of participatory media (as in the Disney example) all throw the “liveness” of the participatory experience into question. Paul Sanden addresses all these considerations in his work on “liveness” in modern music performance, which he determines can no longer be reduced to a binary proposition (2013, 3–5). David Borgo reaches the same conclusion in his discussion of “transmusicking,” a term he proposes to describe “approaches that explore the unique affordances of digital and network technologies” (2013, 322). Both ground their thinking in the work of Philip Auslander (2008), who has argued for a convergence between the “live” and the “mediated” in modern culture. We might also consider Jason Stanyek and Benjamin Piekut’s related formulation of “deadness,” which they explore in the context of studio-crafted duets between living and deceased singers. Stanyek and Piekut ask, “how are these ‘collaborations’ when the dead cannot respond, cannot change or adapt to their living counterparts?” (2010, 17–18). We might similarly question what participation means when one party is interactively “dead,” either due to literal decease or the fixing of their contribution in recorded media.

In recent decades, scholars of media and mass communication have likewise suggested that the boundaries between media types are poorly defined. Ithiel de Sola Pool considered the nature of media itself, the formerly distinct types of which he observed to be converging at a unified electric horizon (1983, 27). Marshall McLuhan famously posited that “the ‘content’ of any medium is always another medium” (1994, 8), thereby suggesting the salience of media types lies not in their differences but in their capacity to reproduce one another. Jay David Bolter and Richard Grusin have explored the nuances of this process, which they term *remediation*. They have concluded that seemingly dissimilar media types are in fact largely analogous, although they draw attention to what they describe as “a double logic of remediation” that is characterized by the tension between *hypermedia*, which seek to “import earlier media into digital space in order to critique and refashion them,” and *transparent media*, which seek a level of realism at which the medium itself seems to vanish (1999, 53).

All these theories inform the analysis of mediated community singing. As the case studies will reveal, it quickly becomes difficult to differentiate between media types, especially as fixed media migrate to digital platforms. The process of remediation is particularly visible in many of the practices under consideration,

although it does not always work the same way. A virtual choir remediates an in-person choir, while a broadcast sing-along remediates an in-person sing-along. The Fleischer brothers' two series of sing-along cartoons, *Song Car-Tunes* (1924–1927) and *Screen Songs* (1929–1938) (discussed in Cook, this volume), however, remediate both the theater sing-along and the song slides used to facilitate it, and they do so in a way that reflects the practices of *hypermedia*; to paraphrase a refrain from Bolter and Grusin, it is a “sing-along only better” (1999, 9). Virtual choirs (discussed in Bendall, this volume) can emerge both as *hypermedia* (“choir only better”) and transparent media (an attempt to recreate the experience in a way so lifelike as to erase the media). Notably, these valuations describe the experience of the viewer, not the singers who contribute to virtual choir projects.

p. 11 Scholars of virtual reality (VR) have also addressed the issue of transparency, or the degree to which a given VR system grants the user access to a “lifelike” experience. VR systems encompass a variety of formats and technologies, ranging from two-dimensional desktop applications to fully immersive devices (Fancourt and Steptoe 2019). However, Bowman and McMahan have argued that the degree of immersion, which is a characteristic of the system itself, does not correlate with the sense of presence⁴ experienced by the user, which varies widely on an individual basis (2007, 8). Likewise, Gilbert has argued that the “perceived realism” of an experience is based on user expectations and intentions, not the system (2016, 322). This endorses my proposition that imagination plays a crucial role in individual experiences of mediated community singing, the impact of which cannot be predicted based on the characteristics of the medium.

The categories of participation and imagination both concern the ways in which individuals engage with media. In describing the organization of social spaces to facilitate various types and degrees of participatory activity, Thomas Turino reminds us that participation is not a binary state (participation vs. non-participation) but rather a spectrum (Turino 2008, 185–186). Byrd McDaniel (this volume) argues that lip-synching is a participatory activity and therefore counts as “community singing,” even though it produces no sound. Participation is certainly an open field.

From my perspective, the essential factor is *how* the individual imagines their own participation. If one sings along with the Disney broadcast, for example, but gives no thought to the fact that they are participating in a mass-mediated event, does not imagine others singing, and regards the experience purely as domestic entertainment, then they are not participating in mediated community singing. (The same standard might be applied to in-person community singing.) My thinking is rooted in the work of Benedict Anderson, whose *Imagined Communities* considers the power of mass media to make the nation real in the imagination of consumers. Although community singing was not Anderson's focus, he did address it—and his ideas have significant implications for a theory of mediated community singing. Anderson proposed the term “unisonality” to describe “the echoed physical realizations of the imagined community” that characterize the singing of national songs and anthems. To him, the knowledge “that others are singing these songs precisely when and as we are” is central to the songs' power (2006, 145). Although we cannot see, hear, or know our co-participants, our awareness that they exist and are singing with us makes the nation real.⁵

Imagination is rooted in memory, and one of the most important ingredients that the participant brings to the mediated community sing is the memory of in-person community singing. This applies, more or less, to every case of mediated community singing activity of which I am aware. In some instances, it is the defining feature, while in others it is merely a factor that needs to be accounted for—but the participant's memory of past experiences always shapes their engagement with mediated singing. In this sense, mediated community singing—at least up to this point in history—has been predisposed to be a nostalgic activity, for it encourages us to relive past in-person experiences (Cook, this volume). Radio sing-alongs of the 1930s, which remediated the practices of the previous decade, were framed as nostalgic callbacks to an earlier era, as were the film series of the 1940s, including Columbia's *Community Sing* (1937–1949) and Warner

Brothers' *Let's Sing* (1947–1948) (Morgan–Ellis 2018, 226). Each of these media asked the participant to recall both the old songs and—more importantly—the experience of singing them in a group setting.

p. 12 Finally, we must consider the role of material culture. Tim Dant has written about “the awareness of the community of users” that is attached to material objects (Dant, 1999, 95). If a sing-along Disney film sits on my shelf, I am aware that the same film also sits on shelves in countless other homes, and that other individuals have joined in with the same songs. When I sing from a hymnal, I am aware both of the expansive communities of Christians who sing from identical copies of that book and, perhaps, individuals in my own life (congregants, ancestors, friends) who have used that specific physical volume. For this reason, I am willing to argue that singing from a hymnal can constitute community singing even if the singer is spatially and temporally isolated—if the singer imagines themselves joining a timeless chorus. The model I present below excludes print media, but it will return in the first case study.

In practice, characteristics of the media itself provide us with a good idea about whether or not individuals who engage with it are (1) likely to participate at all, and (2) likely to do so with the awareness that they are part of a dispersed singing community. For example, Josh Groban opened his appearance on *The Disney Family Singalong* by signaling imaginative participation with the invitation, “Alright America, I want to hear you sing at the top of your lungs with me” (ABC 2020). His reference to America immediately conjures up a vast singing community, while the suggestion that he wants to “hear” participants (obviously an impossibility) opens the door to an imaginative experience—and suggests that perhaps we can “hear” one another as well. These techniques have been in use since the earliest broadcast sing-alongs (Morgan–Ellis 2023, 77–78; Gale 2014, 159). The fact that Groban’s invitation is followed by the appearance of the “bouncing ball” onscreen confirms that this is a participatory occasion.

I believe, therefore, that it is possible to embark on media-based studies of mediated community singing practices as long as we keep our focus on the participants and the experiences they are likely to have. We might also (and perhaps preferably) study participants directly. I pursue both approaches in my case studies. First, however, I will outline my model for the study of mediated community singing across media types.

A Model for Mediated Community Singing

I define *mediated community singing* as any community singing practice in which the participants are knowingly engaging in a communal activity that can only take place with mediation. The purpose of this model is to taxonomize the various possible arrangements of actors and their relationships to one another based on considerations of directionality and synchronization—what Denis Mcquail and Sven Windahl have described as a “functional” model (1994). The structure of my model bears resemblances to social network theory, in which a set of actors are connected by a set of ties. These ties can be unidirectional, meaning that information or influence flows from one actor to another, or bidirectional, meaning that the actors engage in mutual exchange (Goodyear and Carvalho 2014, 8).

p. 13 Parts of this model also borrow from theories of mass communication—in particular, the work of Mcquail and Windahl (1994). It will employ the terms *sender*, *channel*, and *receiver*, which are already familiar in the mass-communications literature, to designate the individual(s) who produce sound for the purpose of facilitating a sing-along, the means by which that sound is disseminated to participant(s), and the participant(s) themselves. Receivers, of course, seldom merely “receive.” Instead, they (1) influence the sender by providing *feedback* and (2) “selectively perceive, interpret and retain messages” in a process that includes the act of individually *decoding* the sender’s message (Mcquail and Windahl 1994). In the context of mediated community singing, it is often more meaningful to refer to receivers as “participants,” and I will use both terms.

Because the analysis of mediated community singing must revolve around specific interactions, a single media example might be placed in various categories based on the perspective of the participant. Therefore, we cannot speak about what “type” of mediated community singing an LP or a broadcast objectively *is*—we can only speak about how it is consumed in a given instance.⁶

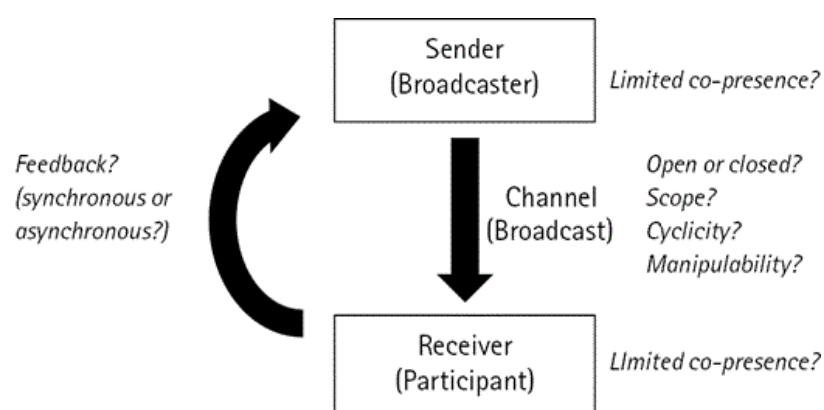
Synchronous Mediated Community Singing

In synchronous practices, participants sing at the same time (disregarding any delay inherent in the broadcast medium).⁷ However, there are various significant subcategories to consider. These depend largely on whether the medium used for communication is unidirectional (such as a radio broadcast) or multidirectional (such as a conference call).

Broadcast Community Singing

I describe all community singing activity facilitated by synchronous unidirectional media as *broadcast community singing*. In this model, an individual or ensemble leads the singing by broadcasting. All participants can hear the songleader(s), but they cannot hear one another and the songleader(s) cannot hear non-present participants. However, there are important distinctions to be made at each of the three sites in this process: the sender, the channel, and the receiver (Figure 1.1).

Figure 1.1



Key structural elements of broadcast community singing, paired with questions that must be asked about each element.

At the sender locus, the songleader(s) may or may not be joined by participants, resulting in *limited co-presence*. This factor is significant, for it impacts the experience of both the songleader(s), who either experiences in-person community singing or does not, and the receiver, who either hears the sounds of community singing or does not. American community singing broadcasters of the 1920s and 1930s pursued both of these models, although not with equal success: broadcasts that included the sounds of a participating studio audience attracted the most listeners (Morgan-Ellis 2023, 65).

The broadcast (or channel) itself can either be limited to a predetermined set of participants (say, as an unlisted YouTube Live video) or—much more likely—made freely available to a limitless audience of unknowable participants. The latter is nearly always the case, but the distinction is vital. An *open* broadcast gives the receiver’s (and sender’s) imagination free reign, although cues from the source usually encourage the receiver to picture co-participants of specific types in specific locations. A *closed* broadcast, in which known limitations are placed on the community of receivers, will similarly limit the imagination of each individual receiver. To this end, we must also consider the scope of the broadcast. Is it city-wide? National?

Global? If known by the receiver, this likewise will impact the imaginative experience, as evidenced by the broadcasters' habit of naming the locations of imagined participants (Morgan-Ellis 2023, 78).

We must also consider the cyclicity of the broadcast. Shaun Moores has argued that the predictable and recursive nature of radio and television programming is central to the role such media play in the reproduction and stabilization of social networks (2005, 9). Moores also notes the capacity of consumers to "disrupt" these routines by recording programs for later consumption or time-manipulating recorded content, although he is skeptical that such tactics fundamentally alter the social impact of the media (2005, 24–25). Where broadcast community singing is concerned, therefore, we must assess each example both from a structural and a consumer-based perspective. Is the broadcast periodic or one-off? Are consumers capable of delaying or otherwise time-manipulating their engagement with it? If they do so, does it become an example of *asynchronous mediated community singing* (see below) or not? The answer to this final question might not always be clear, and it will probably not always be the same.

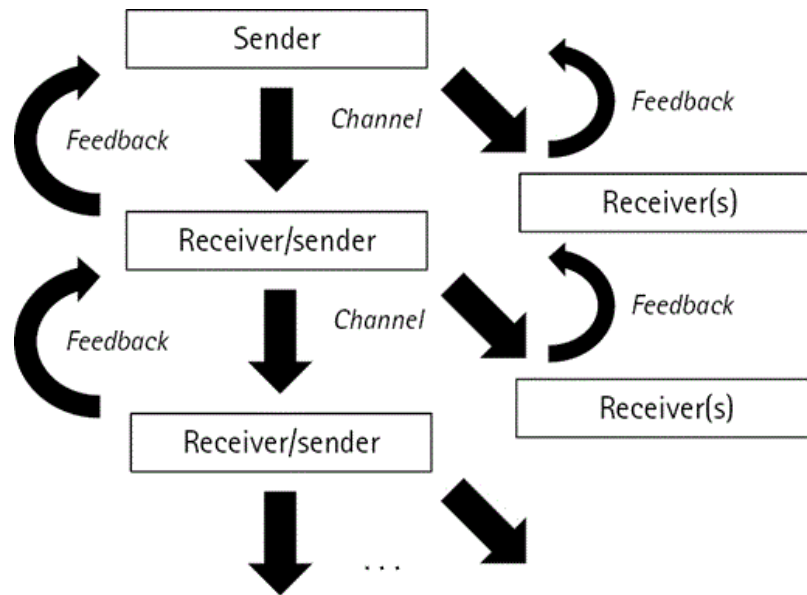
Finally, we must consider the conditions in which the broadcast is received. The receiver, after all, might be alone or in the company of others. *Limited co-presence* at the receiver end will produce a hybrid experience, in which localized, in-person singing community is imaginatively connected with a non-local community through the broadcast experience. In most cases, of course, it is impossible to know the specific conditions under which a receiver consumes a broadcast—or even who the receivers might be. We can often only access general information about quantity, location, demographics, and typical listening habits. All of these, however, can be applied to a meaningful analysis.

Once the sender–channel–receiver model is in place, we must consider the system's capacity to facilitate feedback from the receiver to the source, and also the ability of the receiver to shape the participatory experience. Feedback can happen synchronously (say, via comments on a Facebook Live stream) or asynchronously (when participants write letters, for example). Whether or not a receiver can make requests or pass judgment will have an impact on how they imagine the community and perceive their role in it. The means by which feedback is issued and incorporated can also shift the balance of power between sender and receiver; the nature of an event in which receivers select songs and/or influence delivery in the moment ("slower, please") is quite different from one in which they passively execute a prearranged program.

p. 15

All the considerations addressed so far have applied to broadcast community singing throughout the history of the practice. Recently, however, the capacity for *live overdubbing* ⁴ has added a further layer of complexity. It is now simple for a singer to broadcast their own live participation, either using the same medium (e.g., a chain of Facebook Live broadcasts) or a different medium (e.g., a Facebook Live broadcast of participation in the televised *Disney Family Singalong*). Chains of Facebook Live broadcasts were used widely by Sacred Harp singers to facilitate community singing during the COVID-19 pandemic (Morgan-Ellis 2021a, 2021d). Each chain must begin with a single broadcast. Typically, another participant broadcasts themselves singing along with the initial broadcast, and yet another participant broadcasts themselves singing along with the second broadcast—a process that can continue indefinitely, or at least until enough sound quality is lost to diminish the experience. However, any given participant can sing along with any broadcast in the chain and can choose to broadcast their participation or not, meaning that the "chain" can assume diverse structures. There is no definitive experience of the singing; different participants see and hear different things. Likewise, while every participant is aware of and can communicate with others singing along with the same broadcast, no participant can have knowledge of or interact with the entire singing community. Although the resulting structure can become very complex, the fundamental elements of the broadcast community singing model remain relevant (Figure 1.2).

Figure 1.2



Key structural elements of live overdubbing, a technique that allows receivers to become senders. With Facebook Live as the platform, the channel includes both video and audio, while the text-based feedback is essentially synchronous.

Sacred Harp singers also used another broadcast model during the pandemic. Although video-conferencing platforms allow for multidirectional communication, as of this writing they cannot be used to facilitate *multidirectional mediated community singing* (described below). “Lag” (the small delay incurred during transmission) makes synchronous activity impossible, while automatic volume adjustments that take place as the platform attempts to identify and amplify the principal “speaker” further prohibit collective activity. Various participatory music communities, however, have adapted video-conferencing platforms—principally Zoom—for broadcast use (Morgan-Ellis 2021a). In such cases, a leader “broadcasts” while participants join in, muted. In some respects, the experience is identical to singing with a traditional video broadcast: Participants can see and hear the leader, but they cannot hear one another. However, there are significant differences. First, the leader can see participants and participants can see one another—a dramatic contrast with, say, a televised sing-along. Second, participants can take turns leading, which decentralizes the broadcast community singing experience. In addition, Zoom singing can be restricted to those in the meeting or opened to the public by means of simultaneous broadcast over social media.

Finally, broadcast media—especially in recent decades—are often preserved for individualized, asynchronous consumption. I consider the division between synchronous and asynchronous participation to be of great importance: In synchronous community singing, the participant is aware that others are singing simultaneously and often has the opportunity to communicate or otherwise interact with community members in real time, while asynchronous activity implies relative isolation. All the same, a video that captures a live broadcast might facilitate a different participatory experience than a studio product. Likewise, the experience might differ based on whether or not the consumer participated in the live broadcast (e.g., a Sacred Harp singer who watches other videos in the chain after the live singing has come to an end).

Multidirectional Mediated Community Singing

Multidirectional mediated community singing is still developing, and technological limitations make such activity inaccessible to most. Currently, multidirectional mediated community singing is only possible by means of low-latency audio communication platforms, such as Jamulus, JamKazam, and SoundJack, which facilitate participatory music-making by minimizing lag. However, the bar for entry is high. Participants typically need specialized computer equipment, headphones, wired ethernet connections, high-speed internet, geographical proximity to other users, and considerable technical know-how; problems with lag and audio quality arise even under ideal circumstances (Howell 2020, 8–19).

Multidirectional platforms aspire to transparency, and ultimately they can be expected to closely replicate in-person community singing. As of now, however, users adapt these platforms to suit their needs, often with interesting results. Again, we can consider the activities of Sacred Harp singers, many of whom used Jamulus to sing together during the pandemic. Because low-latency programs cannot typically support video, singers would simultaneously connect using the video-conferencing platform Zoom. While the visual in Zoom would not synchronize perfectly with the Jamulus audio, it helped to facilitate a communal experience. It also created the opportunity for other singers to join using only Zoom; because these participants could hear but not be heard, their experience can be categorized as being of the broadcast type (Morgan-Ellis 2021a).

Asynchronous Mediated Community Singing

As suggested above, discussions of *asynchronous mediated community singing* risk calling into question the very nature of community singing. As soon as we consider communities of participants who are not singing at the same time, we open the door to practices that would not typically fall under the category of community singing at all. Here, however, I will outline two types of asynchronous activity that typically meet the qualifications I have proposed for mediated community singing.

p. 17 Activity-Oriented Asynchronous Community Singing

In *activity-oriented asynchronous community singing*, participants engage with a media source in real time for the sake of the activity itself. Typical media sources include sing-along audio and video recordings and perhaps karaoke machines (Thibeault 2020, 40). When examining individual examples, we must again consider whether or not there is *limited co-presence* at either the sender or receiver end. This is typically easy to determine in the case of asynchronous senders, since they are fixed, while it continues to be difficult to generalize about the consumption practices of receivers.

Instances from other categories can easily convert into instances of activity-oriented asynchronous community singing. For example, a broadcast community sing, consumed in recorded form after the fact, might become activity-oriented asynchronous community singing. The same can be said of singing along with a virtual choir (described below), which can take place in both synchronous and asynchronous environments.

Assembly-Style Asynchronous Community Singing

In *assembly-style asynchronous community singing*, participants record themselves singing along with an audio or video guide track. Individual recordings are then assembled (either automatically or by an engineer) into a unified media object. Currently, these are of two types: *centralized*, as typified by the virtual choir, and *decentralized*, as facilitated by the social media platform TikTok (discussed in McDaniel, this volume). A virtual choir is usually coordinated by an individual who invites participants, provides the foundational recording, and either creates or contracts the creation of the final product (Bendall, this volume). Virtual choirs are typically closed projects: participation is usually restricted, and they terminate with the assembly of the contributed recordings (Armstrong 2012; Carvalho and Goodyear 2014; Fancourt and Steptoe 2019). Community singing on TikTok, on the other hand, is typically open: anyone can participate, and new participants can add their voices indefinitely. In this model, users film themselves singing along with other videos on the platform to create a composite video. As with chains of Facebook Live broadcasts, the process can generate a complex tree of related media instances.

Although there are significant differences between the centralized and decentralized forms of assembly-style singing, the experience of contributing is in each case nearly identical, as the participant records themselves singing along with a recording. Because the process is asynchronous, a participant might choose to practice before recording and/or might make several recording attempts. Again, *limited co-presence* at individual recording sites is a possibility. In some cases, the participant might get to hear other singers while they are recording—if, for example, they are following a guide track that includes voices, or adding to a TikTok that already has many other contributors. In other cases, they will have the opportunity to hear other participatory voices asynchronously—if, for example, the contributions to a virtual choir are made available in a shared folder, or other TikTok users have created independent “duets” with the same video. In almost all cases, however, the participant does not hear the complete singing community (if indeed there is such a thing) until after they have made their contribution. Finally, both forms of assembly-style community singing are often supported by text-based communication between participants, which might take the form of video comments, message board posts, or emails. These communications often help singers to imagine their membership in a participatory community, even though the act of contributing to that community can be isolating and performance-focused (Morgan-Ellis 2021c).

p. 18

Intermediality in Mitch Miller’s Sing-Along Project

How do media instances resonate with one another and with memories to facilitate communal participatory experiences? Can we draw clear lines between “community-singing media” and “not-community-singing media”? Here, I will consider these questions in the context of Mitch Miller’s sing-along project, which, beginning in 1958, deployed LPs, songbooks, and television broadcasts as part of what I lovingly refer to as “the Mitch Miller sing-along industrial complex.” These media, although interrelated, were of different participatory types: The broadcasts were synchronous (at least until they became available on DVDs and the internet) and the LPs were asynchronous, while songbooks are not included in my model at all. Because consumers were likely to carry experiences with one media type to their encounters with another, however, all must be considered as constituting an interrelated whole.

When Miller—head of Artists & Repertoire at Columbia Records—released his first sing-along LP in 1958, *Sing Along with Mitch* (Columbia), he was already a successful recording artist. His single “The Yellow Rose of Texas,” which topped the US charts in 1955, anticipated the aesthetic of the later sing-along albums: It featured a chorus singing a traditional song to the accompaniment of acoustic instruments and was free from any traces of rock ‘n’ roll, which Miller famously detested (Sanjek 2011, 114). The main difference between his sing-along albums—of which he released eighteen between 1958 and 1963—and his earlier

work was the invitation to join in with the “Gang” of twenty-five male singers, who were backed by guitars, banjo, accordion, harmonica, piano, bass, and drums. Miller emphasized the importance of choosing tempos and keys that would be comfortable for amateur singers, and he saw to it that his albums had an “informal” sound that would invite participation (Gardella 1960; Rosen 1996, 19, 22). Miller selected his repertoire—Tin Pan Alley classics, musical theater numbers, and songs from oral tradition—by “asking everyone I knew what were the songs that they [sang] at parties, at camp, at Lion’s and Rotary Club meetings” (Rosen 1996, 19).

Miller immediately began lobbying for a television show based on his sing-along albums, and in May 1960 he landed a one-episode special on Ford *Startime*. The broadcast was so successful that NBC offered Miller his own series, which aired from January 1961 until April 1964. Each episode opened with a sing-along set led by Miller and his Gang and closed with a sing-along featuring the entire cast, which included several female soloists and dancers (Morgan-Ellis 2022, 50). Miller himself would conduct facing the camera, using an idiosyncratic style that was intended to be clear and inviting (Gale 2014, 177).

p. 19 Miller facilitated participation using a variety of tools. His albums were accompanied by lyric sheets, while his television broadcasts featured sing-along texts on the bottom of the screen. Although the technique by which this was accomplished was novel, it served to link the program in the minds of viewers with a previous mediated sing-along: the Fleischer brothers’ animated *Screen Songs* series (Paramount, 1929–1938). The association was so strong that many recalled Miller, like the Fleischers, using a bouncing ball to indicate the syllable being sung, although he never did (“Mitch Miller” 2004). Finally, Miller published songbooks to accompany each album. The songbooks are faithful transcriptions of the albums: each song, unless omitted, is presented in its correct order, and in the same key and arrangement as it was recorded. Some of the vocal harmonies are also indicated. Accompaniments (in editions for piano, organ, chording organ, guitar, ukulele, etc.) are provided, meaning that participants could use the books in conjunction with or independent of the albums. Purchasers of the books would have known about the albums, since messages such as “Recorded by Mitch Miller and the Gang on Columbia Records” were typically emblazoned on the cover. The entire complex was supported by ephemeral media, including print ads, record store display units, marketing booklets, and newspaper commentary, and amplified by live performances and radio broadcasts of the LPs.⁸

The participatory media types were interrelated in various ways. As sonic objects, the sing-along segments of the television program and the LPs were essentially identical. The broadcasts, of course, included a visual element that was not available to LP consumers, although both experiences were branded with Miller’s smiling, bearded face. The synchronous vs. asynchronous distinction, however, was more important. When participants consumed the LPs, they heard the sound of community singing and were invited to add their voices, perhaps as a localized community of family or neighbors. They also knew that countless others owned and sang along with the same albums, two of which had hit number one on the Billboard LP charts in 1958 alone (Rosen 1996, 19, 22). However, the participant was temporally isolated: Miller and his Gang had sung in the past, while other LP users participated according to their own schedules. When participants sang along with the television show, they knew that millions of others were doing the same thing at the same time. Miller himself encouraged viewers to imagine themselves as part of a singing community: “Let’s augment these 25 voices with 25 million of yours, the biggest chorus in history,” he encouraged viewers during the *Startime* special. “Tenors, loud and clear, and let’s hear those sopranos. And don’t you basses hold back, I need all two million of you. It’s a lovely evening wherever you are. Throw open a window and let’s hear a nation singing!” Later in the same segment he praised the fine singers of “Oregon, Nebraska, Maine” and criticized “a slightly flat second alto in Topeka”—tongue-in-cheek comments, of course, but significant. Although mediation prevented participants from hearing one another, Miller performed his own “hearing” of the community.

The Ford *Startime* special clearly remediated the LPs. This is evident in the set chosen for the closing sing-along, which featured larger-than-life, stylized reproductions of the album covers. Standing before these reproductions, the choristers are at first concealed in shadow, their faces revealed only when they begin to sing (Figure 1.3). Television could manifest voices that had previously been abstracted on vinyl, but the new medium did not at first seek to replace the old. Once serialized, however, the television show became an independent vehicle, although promotional materials often touted the success of the albums. The albums never assumed a remediative role: Their covers do not reference the television program and their contents are not correlated. Even the 1961 release *TV Sing Along with Mitch*, which names the other medium in its title, includes quite a few songs that had not been featured in a broadcast. The two media, of course, served different economic functions, even if they shared a consumer base: Sale of the LPs benefitted Columbia Records, while the television show aired on NBC and was backed by P. Ballantine and Sons brewing company.

Figure 1.3



Four sequential screen shots from the closing sing-along of Mitch Miller's Ford *Startime* special. Season 1, Episode 32. NBC. 24 May 1960. Held at the University of Illinois at Urbana Champaign.

The songbooks provided maximum agency to the user, who could decide on and order a “program” of entertainment—something that would be difficult with an LP and impossible with a television broadcast. All the same, the songbooks clearly remediated the LPs: They were secondary to and reliant upon the audio recordings, which constituted the authentic text. However, this is a description of intent, not practice, and there were surely consumers who used the songbooks without ever hearing one of Miller's recordings or watching a broadcast. But those who were deeply engaged with Miller's sing-along industrial complex must have heard echoes of the Gang even as they provided their own accompaniment and sang as soloists. Did they adopt Miller's tempos, entraining with imagined music? Did they detect the overtones of accordion and harmonica in their home pianos and organs? Did they remember singing with a television broadcast? No two consumers or experiences would be alike, but the intricate relationships between media greatly amplified the potential for these songbooks to facilitate a singing experience that felt genuinely communal.

Compounded Mediation in Pandemic-Era Community Singing

In early 2020, mediated community singing suddenly became very important. The imposition of quarantine and social distancing orders on a global scale brought almost all in-person community singing to a sudden halt. Some urban residents engaged in musical activities with their direct neighbors, such as the much-publicized “balcony sings” that took place in Italy. Most musical communities, however—whether large or small, professional or amateur, presentational or participatory—had to take their activities online.⁹ Here, I will examine the structure of two mediated singing communities, with a focus on the ways in which they combined media types in a process I call *compounded mediation*. I will describe each in terms of the model outlined above, revealing the complexities of analyzing real-world mediated community singing practices. I will also share my own reflections as a participant.

Online Sacred Harp Singing

Prior to the pandemic, the typical Sacred Harp singer attended a weekly local singing and occasionally traveled to participate in all-day singings and multi-day conventions hosted by Sacred Harp communities across the United States and abroad. Sacred Harp singers primarily dedicate themselves to the songbook from which their practice draws its name, *The Sacred Harp*, which has been in continuous use since its initial 1844 publication. Today, two revisions—known as the Cooper and the Denson—are in common use, often alongside other shape-note songbooks. The designation “shape-note” refers to the notation techniques employed in these volumes, although it also connotes characteristics of style and form. Sacred Harp singing is marked by a number of distinctive practices, including the hollow-square seating arrangement; the eschewing of all instruments (even to give starting pitches); members taking turns leading their chosen songs; the centralized publication of singing minutes; and the preference for a loud, energetic, and vibrato-less vocal sound. The history (Cobb 1978; Steel and Hulan 2010) and contemporary practices (Bealle 1997; Miller 2008; Clawson 2011) of Sacred Harp singing have been thoroughly documented, and I urge the uninitiated reader to consult a few video recordings (readily available on YouTube) before reading this case study.

Under quarantine, Sacred Harp singers developed and adopted virtual singing practices, including the production of virtual choirs, synchronous overdubbing using Facebook Live, and uses of Zoom and Jamulus. I have detailed these approaches elsewhere and reflected on the ways in which they have facilitated both continuity and disruption in the Sacred Harp community (Morgan-Ellis 2021a, 2021b, 2021d). Here, I will focus on the power of *compounded mediation* to collapse past and present, making the dispersed community tangible to isolated participants. My findings are based on extensive participant-observation (more than 150 hours) and unstructured interviews with 22 other singers, each lasting an average of 50 minutes.

p. 22 As described above, Zoom is essentially a broadcast platform when used to facilitate participatory singing. Although some Sacred Harp groups in which I participated chose to rely primarily on live-leading, for which participants take turns unmuting themselves to sing solo, most used Zoom to share published audio or video recordings for participants to sing along with. While these techniques might seem on the surface to accomplish the same end, they proved to embody distinct values and shape contrasting singing experiences.

While live-leading was praised by participants for its intimacy and the provision of opportunities for personal musical growth, videos elicited floods of memories and endorsed singers’ connections to individuals, places, and events that are significant to the community. This was possible because many live Sacred Harp annual singings and conventions are filmed, either by coordinators or participants, and individual songs are later posted to YouTube. In most singings, participants were invited to include a link if they had a preferred recording. In such cases, they would typically explain why they had chosen the video and what it meant to them. Perhaps they had been present, or had a personal connection with the leader, or

wanted to commemorate someone in the video who had died. When Zoom singing facilitators were tasked with finding videos, they often sought out those that had personal or community significance. Sometimes they would find a video in which the song was led by someone in the Zoom meeting, or even by the person who called it. Other times they would find a video from a singing they had attended and would share memories of the leader or participants. Following the singing of a song, it was typical for participants to comment verbally on the video, naming singers they had recognized or recalling their experiences at the singing.

Although these videos capture past events, they signify ongoing participation. The singers—unless they are deceased—are typically still active members of the community. The singings are annual events that have taken place for many years and will take place again. In this way, these videos are more “alive” than recordings of traditional concerts, which are easier to perceive as fixed events that took place in the past. Although singers know they are hearing and seeing echoes from the past, those echoes reverberate strongly with the present, inviting meaningful participation.

Such videos were used to facilitate mediated singings of all types. I personally encountered this practice in the context of weekly singings based in Salt Lake City and Toronto, monthly singings from Seattle and Portland, the Palo Alto Virtual “All-Day” Mid-Day Zinging (August 22, 2020), and the 37th Chicago Anniversary Singing (January 10, 2021). On a few occasions, however, singing facilitators assembled a virtual choir expressly for use in the context of a Zoom singing, thereby adding another layer of complexity to the participatory experience.

The 31st Minnesota State Sacred Harp Singing Convention was cancelled in-person but reimaged as a Zoom event, with several hours of singing on September 26, 2020. Typically, live events such as this are characterized by abundant hospitality, as the local community welcomes, feeds, and even houses visiting singers. In this online iteration, therefore, it was important to curate a sense of place-based identity. Even though the convention took place in the ether, it still “took place” in the Twin Cities. This was accomplished in part by means of a virtual choir rendition of the opening song, which is always chosen by the organizers and usually has significance to the community. In this case, the co-chairs appeared on-screen to sing two parts and the voices of two other local singers were added to complete the texture. The video was simple and created solely for use in the convention Zoom, but it served its purpose brilliantly: For just a few minutes, participants were able to sing with their hosts in a way that would not be possible without compounded mediation (in this case, types from the model above: assembly-style and broadcast).

The study of online Sacred Harp singing elicits many other questions about the nature of participatory singing. If singing along with recordings shared in a Zoom meeting is a communal activity, then can’t the same be said of singing along with recordings in private? When considering a repertoire that carries so many communal memories and interpersonal associations for individual singers, as my research revealed again and again, is it not true that a member of the singing community engages in a communal activity any time they sing from *The Sacred Harp*, even if they are in complete isolation? During quarantine, several singers developed the habit of broadcasting over Facebook Live, usually singing the tenor (melody) line of various songs. The intention was that receivers would sing along, and they often did, but the sender could never know for sure. Does the act of community singing lie in the belief that synchronous participation is taking place? Or perhaps in the communal nature of the songs?

The Bachfest Leipzig Sing-Along *Johannes-Passion*

Originally scheduled to take place between June 11 and 21, the 2020 Leipzig Bach Festival was one of countless large-scale music events to be cancelled in the face of COVID-19. The festival had promised to attract at least fifty Bach choirs from around the world, all united under the theme “BACH: We Are FAMILY,” with a program that boasted 153 events taking place throughout the city (Bachfest Leipzig 2020a, 11). One of the secondary events was to be a participatory performance of a chamber version of the *St. John Passion*, scheduled to take place on June 13 in Market Square, for which audience members were to be invited to sing the chorales (Bachfest Leipzig 2020a, 62).¹⁰

Following the cancellation of the Bach Festival, however, *Johannes-Passion à trois* (as it was originally billed) suddenly became the headline event. The chamber arrangement was perfectly suited to the new restrictions on social gatherings, and the timing—quarantine was imposed about one month before Good Friday—opened the door for a performance of *St. John*. The Passion was broadcast on April 10 from the St. Thomas Church, with the performers situated near Bach’s own tomb (Bach wrote *St. John*, which was first performed in 1724, during his first year as director of church music in Leipzig). The fact that the performance was always intended to be participatory created additional opportunities for the festival organizers. Director Michael Maul began to contact the choirs who had been slated to participate in the festival, with the invitation that they submit video recordings of the chorales. Naturally, these took the form of virtual choirs, given the impossibility of the singers gathering in one place (BACH 2020).

The live performance was broadcast on April 10, with the chorales either performed on-site by a chamber ensemble or by means of virtual choir. The videos were emotionally resonant, affirming the strength of the Bach Festival community: Dedicated musicians around the world were continuing to perform the music they loved, bearing their shared tradition aloft despite the pandemic.¹¹ At the same time, home participants were invited to join in the singing of the chorales, text and notation for which was included in the program (Bachfest Leipzig 2020b). The experience blended synchronous and asynchronous elements via compounded mediation to produce a sensation of global interconnectedness. The participants in the virtual choirs hailed from many countries, while multi-lingual comments on the live streams confirmed the active engagement of a diverse and widespread community. Although the voices in the virtual choirs echoed from the past, it was understood that the members’ participation continued into the present; perhaps they were indeed singing at the same moment that their voices were broadcast. I found that my own experience was strongly shaped by memories of singing Bach—of the people I had sung with and the places I had sung in. Although my own participation was asynchronous (I watched and sang several hours after the live broadcast), I thought about my friends whom I knew to have participated.

Mediation was further compounded in a second broadcast on June 14. This presentation combined the live recording made on April 10 with additional videos that home participants had taken of themselves singing and playing along with the chorales during the first broadcast. These were added to the original virtual choirs, with the audio tracks of the new videos brought forward in the mix. The result was not always aesthetically polished, but it was certainly effective in illustrating and celebrating the participation that had taken place during the initial broadcast. It also emphasized the temporal layers of the participatory experience: June 14 participants were synchronously engaging with April 10 participants as they sang along with recordings made in March. My own experience was further transformed by the fact that, while I had consumed the first broadcast asynchronously, I caught the second live. Both experiences were communal, but the second—which I had eagerly anticipated and prepared for—was significantly more so. Although viewers were again encouraged to join in, I was far too preoccupied with the spectacle before me—a synchronous participatory extravaganza made immediate by a flood of real-time comments, yet resounding with sights and sounds of the past.

Conclusion

Participatory experiences are informed—even defined—by long-term experience. Although anyone could “sing along with Mitch” using a single broadcast or LP, thereby having a participatory experience (whether synchronous or asynchronous), only loyal fans could call upon their memories and associations to access communal participation through songbooks. If the home musician sings “When I Grow Too Old to Dream” out of *Sentimental Sing Along with Mitch* (1960) because they are a fan of Hammerstein’s lyrics and happen to have the volume at hand, it can be argued that they are not engaging in participatory music-making. But if they call upon memories of joining in with Mitch and his Gang on the 1960 Ford *Startime* special, or the 1961 “Dream” episode of *Sing Along with Mitch*, or the 1960 eponymous album, perhaps their experience can be described as communal. If a music appreciation student sings the melody of NEW BRITAIN (better known as “Amazing Grace”) while listening to an assigned Sacred Harp recording, their participatory experience is quite different from that of a Sacred Harp singer—who has sung the song at meaningful gatherings, associates it with specific individuals, and recognizes singers in the video—engaging in the same activity. The former act might be “participatory” in only the shallowest sense, while the later might more closely approximate in-person singing in power and significance. Finally, the Bachfest broadcasts were poised to facilitate a range of experiences depending on whether the participant watched live or after the fact; whether or not they had contributed to one of the virtual choirs (participation in which could constitute a sort of “double” experience); and whether or not they had *Johannes-Passion* memories to call upon.

The consideration of mediated participatory singing problematizes the very idea of community singing—and musical participation itself—in ways that are important. It blurs the boundary between participatory and non-participatory practices, invites questions about the nature of community, and opens the door to new avenues of investigation.

Notes

1. Thank you to Gregory Camp, Joshua Duchan, and Byrd McDaniel for providing feedback on a draft of this chapter. I incorporated many of their suggestions here and hope to pursue others in a future book manuscript. This project was supported by a Presidential Semester Incentive Award from the University of North Georgia (Bonita Jacobs, President). I am very grateful for President Jacobs’s support of my work.
2. Both intermediality and compounded mediation can be considered specific examples of *transmediation*, recently theorized by Lea Wierød Borčak in her work on transmediated community singing. While all of my case studies concern participatory activity “distributed across several different medialities” (Borčak 2021, 133), I specifically consider relationships between participatory media that are used independently of one another (intermediality) and way in which past and present are brought together when recorded media is broadcast (compounded mediation).
3. Borčak takes the same approach, arguing that participation “can be facilitated by several media and across media, since it is something that people, not technical media, do” (2021, 141).
4. Mel Slater defines “presence” as “the extent to which the unification of simulated sensory data and perceptual processing produces a coherent ‘place’ that you are ‘in’ and in which there may be the potential for you to act” (2003). VR researchers frequently distinguish further between “spatial presence” (the sense of being in an environment) and “social presence” (the sense of being connected to others).
5. Anderson goes on to observe that “such choruses are joinable in time” (Anderson 2006, 145). He does not seem to mean this literally. Instead, he is suggesting that we can form communal bonds with our cultural ancestors by engaging with national texts and songs. However, what if choruses really *are* “joinable in time”? What if there is, in fact, an ongoing sing-along of “The Star-Spangled Banner,” such that any time I sing this song I am engaging in the practice of community singing, joining my voice with countless singers who have come before me and will follow after? What if it is only possible *not* to engage in community singing by singing a song that has never been sung before?

6. Chad Eric Bergman takes this approach in his analysis of the Swedish sing-along *Allsång på Skansen*, which he describes as “(at least) two distinct events wrapped up in one[...] a live event for those in attendance and a mediated event for those who watch from a distance” (2010, 81).
7. As Gregory Camp pointed out in reviewing this chapter, “at the same time” is a problematic concept in a globally interconnected society. Even if participants are engaging ↪ synchronously, the fact that one is in Germany and another in Japan means that it is not “the same time” for each in the context of their daily routines.
8. Examples and records of these materials are preserved in Box 5, Folder 10 (Sing Along with Mitch – Promotional Materials, 1960–1963) and Box 37, Folder 3 (Photographs – Sing Along with Mitch, circa 1964) in the Mitch Miller papers, JPB 14-31, Music Division, The New York Public Library, New York City, NY.
9. For the most comprehensive account published to date of mediated musicking during the pandemic, see Hansen (2022).
10. The arrangement of the Passion for solo tenor (Benedikt Kristjánsson), percussion (Philipp Lamprecht), and harpsichord/organ (Elina Albach) had been premiered by the same trio in 2019 (“Preisträger 2019” 2020). The arrangement incorporated audience participation both out of necessity and as a nod to the performance practice of Bach’s time, when his congregation would likely have joined in with the chorales (“Benedikt Kristjánsson!” 2020). There is precedence for a performance such as this in the Netherlands, where *St. Matthew Passion* sing-alongs have been held during Lent for decades (Klomp 2021, 249).
11. #BachBeatsCorona was emblazoned on the cover of the program and used to tag social media posts connected with the project.

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