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Examining the Affective Meanings of Interaction Settings in the Jamband Music Subculture

Pamela M. Hunt
University of West Georgia, phunt@westga.edu

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Cover Page Footnote

Direct correspondence to Pamela M. Hunt, University of West Georgia, Department of Sociology, Carrollton, Georgia 30118; phunt@westga.edu. I presented portions of the paper at the 2009 annual meetings of the Southern Sociological Society held in New Orleans, LA.

The meanings associated with an interaction environment, as part of the definition of the situation, often influence the type of interaction that occurs there, including our impressions of the actors involved, the type of behaviors that actors in the situation are expected to enact, and the emotions that are deemed appropriate (Goffman 1959; Smith-Lovin 1979; 1987b). As with any culture, members of subcultures share meanings for identities, behaviors, emotions, interaction settings, and other elements relevant to the group. These meanings are typically quite different from the meanings that the larger (mainstream) culture give to the same social elements. For example, members of the online gamer subculture might define the word/interaction setting "platform" much differently than a politician. In this study, I explore the extent to which members of a subculture give distinct meanings to interaction settings that are central to their value system. I do this using data collected in the jamband subculture, a modern version of the group that followed the Grateful Dead rock music band.

This study is rooted in the principles of affect control theory (ACT). ACT posits that individuals within a culture share affective meanings for most social concepts (Heise 1979). That is, all social elements (e.g., roles, objects, or behaviors) have relatively fixed and shared affective meanings among individuals within a culture. It is this generalized agreement that allows us to effectively communicate with members of our own culture. The theory utilizes a dimensional system of affective meaning to which all social elements can be mapped. Meanings are operationalized with the three universal dimensions of meaning: evaluation, potency, and activity (EPA). ACT researchers have collected EPA profiles for thousands of concepts, including role identities, behaviors, settings, and emotions and have found that most social concepts evoke affective meaning along these three dimensions.

THE JAMBAND SUBCULTURE

The jamband music subculture consists of fans of improvisational live concert events. A jamband is one that performs improvisational live music without a predetermined set list, similar to the styling of the versatile rock music band The Grateful Dead. Jambands come from literally every genre of music. They are known today for reviving the weekend-long music festivals from the 1960s Woodstock era, and they also play one-to-three night concert events on tour each year.

This subculture grew out of the Grateful Dead scene in the mid-1990s. Bands like Phish, Widespread Panic, Moe., and the String Cheese Incident have inspired a similar fan following to that of the Deadheads. This colorful, lively, traveling music scene is similar to other music scenes in that there are several levels of involvement. There exists a core group of fans who follow one (or more) of the bands on the length of a tour. Along the way, these core group members, along with fans who attend only shows local to them, engage in building community. That is, fans create an ephemeral, portable community that gathers before, during, and after the concert event. It is packed with independent vendors who sell handmade (and sometimes imported) items such as food, clothing, and jewelry to sustain their traveling lifestyle. Beginning with the Grateful Dead in the 1970s and still existing today, this ephemeral community consists of individuals with a common knowledge base and shared artifacts (Author 2008, 2010; Sardiello 1998). This subculture, much like the Grateful Dead subculture, is often characterized by compassion and tolerance, and the group is quite permeable to those who live by these values

(Pearson 1987). Much of the value system is derived from the hippie counterculture of the 1960s emphasizing kindness, equality, acceptance, and distrust of authorities.

Jamband subculture members also value an alternative, anti-capitalistic economic system. For example, it is commonplace in the jamband community to practice bartering and trading rather than selling for profit. A specific example is the practice of trading, but never selling, music to one another. It has been suggested that his value was perhaps transferred by the bands' allowance of members to freely trade and tape live music in return for members' continued dedication to the live music scene. The reciprocal nature of this relationship cultivates a culture of nurturing, sharing, and caring.

Many members claim that these prosocial values and behaviors such as bartering, trading, and living in community allow them to lead more meaningful lives. In fact, there are crews who travel and live in community for purposes of watching out for other members (Shenk and Silberman, 1994). These teams ride in buses together, and most often live communally when not on tour. They help injured or intoxicated fans at shows by giving simple care and attention. Members also strive to protect the environment by promoting sustainable products and developing effective recycling and reusing habits. Additionally, members tend to buy others' handmade goods or only buy from the jamband community (rather than from corporate American retailers) to keep the scene alive and the people thriving.

I use this group to investigate the affective meanings of interaction settings because socialization into the jamband subculture seems to powerfully influence the sentiments of its members (Author 2008). By examining the sentiments of subgroups, scholars can determine whether these sentiments are distinct from the mainstream (or from specific outgroups). This will also allow researchers to investigate the extent to which distinct meanings for interactions settings can transform the definition of the situation

THE JAMBAND SUBCULTURE AND AFFECTIVE MEANINGS

In this study, I investigate the meanings of eleven interaction settings significant to the jamband subculture.[1] These particular settings were chosen as a result of some qualitative data I collected (observations and semi-structured interviews) with 23 members of the jamband subculture. This data collection took place over nearly a decade in many different locales. Most of it occurred in the eastern portion of the United States, spanning Ohio, Indiana, Kentucky, Tennessee, North Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Virginia, West Virginia, and New York state, although some of it also occurred in Kansas and California. I used classic ethnographic research methods of observation and semi-structured, open-ended interviews. The interviews were conducted both onsite at concerts and festivals and online. I used a snowball sampling technique

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[1] I chose these particular settings based on my own and others' observations and interviews that revealed the centrality of each setting within the subculture (Author 2002; Niman 1997; Ritzer 2000; Shenk and Silberman 1994). While other kynd and unkynd settings could be introduced, I purposefully chose these eleven settings as a sample to represent the interests and values of the subculture. In particular, I chose the unkynd settings to be able to match those collected in the mainstream by ACT researchers. In other words, I did so in order to compare and contrast subculture member ratings with mainstream ratings (from those ratings collected by ACT researchers at American universities in the recent past). Incidentally, those mainstream meanings are very similar to the nonmember meanings that I have collected and reported here.

and other nonrandom sampling. Once I was in with a few vendors, I asked for their suggestions for future interviews. I interviewed eleven men and twelve women with aging range from 19 to 58 years old (with a mean of 27 years of age). Interview subjects spent an average of ten years in the subculture and are 99 percent non-Hispanic white.

I separate the eleven settings into two categories: kynd and unkynd.[2] Jamband subculture members use the terms kynd and unkynd to contrast individuals, objects, behaviors, and environments that support the norms and values of the scene from those that do not, respectively (Author 2008, 2010; Ritzer 2000; Shenk and Silberman 1994). There are kynd people, kynd burritos (vegetarian), and kynd, safe settings such as a concert or a campground. Unkynd people and unkynd scenes are those who/that, in some fashion, threaten the scene or the people in it. For instance, unkynd people are the type who might scalp tickets or start Fights (Ritzer 2000; Shank and Simon 2000; Sutton 2000). Specific to settings, those that impose power, such as authority settings (e.g., a Police Station) threaten the adventurous nature of the scene are considered unkynd.

Generally, jamband subculture members do not like altercations, nor do they favor official, institutional settings such as a government office or potentially threatening places such as a police station (Paterline 2000). Whereas authorities might represent safety and security to the mainstream, the legal power of authorities and authoritative settings threaten the freedom and the open values of this subculture. In the next section, I use a kynd/unkynd categorization to develop my hypotheses about the distinctive meanings jamband subculture members give to interaction settings that are significant to their belief system. Below I highlight the settings that I investigate in italics.

KYND SETTINGS

The adventurous nature of the jamband subculture provides its members with some very colorful interaction experiences. To give the reader an idea of the places in which these interactions take place, I include several kynd settings here. Again, this is only a sample of the kynd settings one would find in the subculture.

Although it may seem as though the definition of concert and festival are fairly straightforward and simple, it is important to distinguish between these two interaction settings for the purposes of this study. I define a jamband *concert* as a one night, multi-set performance of a jamband's music. Concerts within the Jamband Scene are typically one to three night events of a jamband's performances. They differ from a jamband *festival* in a few ways. First, there are typically more stringent rules at the concert events. They are held at large, corporate owned amphitheaters and arenas, and as a result, the parking lots (where the temporary community gathers) are under the rules and regulations of the owners, and often, the community police force. Second, fans cannot camp and commune in the parking lot scene of concerts. Without the camping experience, which is one of the key components of a Festival, time in community is

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[2] This word is spelled both distinctly ("kynd") and traditionally ("kind") within the subculture as are other words such as "phans" (to indicate a fan of the band Phish). I use the distinctive (kynd) spelling.

shortened and precipitated until the next night of the show. Third, because of the abrupt end each night of the community atmosphere, fans are unable enjoy fully what the Festival allows them: time together to chat about the music, the art, and their together time.

A jamband music *festival* generally consists of music, art, and camping at a specific geographic location. These festivals last for more than one night; rather, they typically last between two to four days and nights. The music, art, and information displays at jamband festivals typically represent messages that coincide with the jamband subculture value belief system: equality; tolerance; political, spiritual, and environmental consciousness; and acceptance (Baiano Berman 2002).

For this study, I make a distinction between the parking lot environment and the people who engage in that environment. Therefore, I use the term *Community* to refer to the physical environment that is created at each concert event and festival. *Jamband Community* refers to the group of people who constitute the members of subculture when in community as well as in their outside everyday (out of community) lives.

Finally, I make one more distinction with regard to terminology. Whereas some may use the terms scene and community interchangeably, I distinguish the two for the purpose of this study. The temporary parking lot community of independent vendors mentioned above (what I refer to as the Community) was central to the *Grateful Dead Scene*, and it has continued to be important to the *Jamband Scene* (Adams 2000; Author 2008). The term *Jamband Scene* is typically used synonymously by members with "jamband subculture." Therefore, in this study, jamband scene is defined as the entire scene of people, rituals, artifacts, and events. The final kynd interaction setting that I consider is that of a *Crowd*. Jamband subculture members are quite acquainted with crowds and, in fact, the core group of travelers likely live most of their days and nights in a crowd situation, whether it be within the concert music performance or in the parking lot community.

UNKYND SETTINGS

There are two types of unkynd settings that I will discuss. The first type is associated with authority figures. Due to the illegality of many of its activities, members of this community have an untenable historical relationship with authority figures. Subculture members have very different definitions for activities that are shunned in the mainstream. For example, members disregard mainstream society's definition of drugs as bad and bartering as communistic. In the scene, members openly sell and use drugs as well as illegally vend (i.e., without a license) (Paterline 2000). A common belief among members of the subculture is that harsh penalties against the sale and use of drugs, particularly marijuana, should be eradicated (Author 2002; Ritzer 2000). While some individuals use drugs for spiritual purposes or to better enjoy the music, members of the jamband subculture, might use drugs to stand together in resistance to the dominant society (Author 2002; Ritzer 2000). As a result of widespread use of drugs within the subculture, many arrests have been made over time (Paterline 2000). Given that numerous studies have shown that individuals in this subculture generally oppose status and authority (Lehman 2000; Paterline 2000; Sardiello 1994; Wilgoren 1999), a *Police Station* and a *Government Office* might be a very uncomfortable and unkynd place for a member of this

subculture. Again, these unkynd behaviors were chosen for two reasons: (1) they represent the types of settings that members have told me are inconsistent with the jamband value system and (2) mainstream meanings for these concepts have been collected by ACT researchers previously, making it simpler for me to make comparisons in future research.

The second type of unkynd setting I use in this study is that which is associated with the notion that jamband subculture values discourage negative social actions and interactions. Similar to the related Deadhead subculture, jamband subculture members are generally dedicated to communal, self-transcendent values and power equality that encourage prosocial actions (Pearson 1987; Ritzer 2000; Shenk and Silberman 1994). Deadheads and jamband subculture members tend to believe in the notion of karma (Adams 2000). Therefore, an interaction such as a *Fight* would contradict with the values of this subculture. Harming other individuals in this subculture is not tolerated.

Next, I investigate whether jamband subculture members hold distinct meanings for interaction settings significant to their belief system. I hypothesize how subculture members' meanings for these interaction settings will be distinct from meanings collected from nonmembers.

HYPOTHESES

EVALUATION

KYND SETTINGS. Settings that are familiar and produce positive interactions are generally considered good (Smith-Lovin 1987b). Since jamband subculture members spend most of their time in community, living with others in temporary settings like Campgrounds and Festivals, and consider these settings "kynd" (Author 2002, 2010; Sheptoski 2000), I expect members to rate kynd settings higher in evaluation relative to nonmembers.[3]

UNKYND SETTINGS. In contrast, most individuals (whether members of this subculture or not) spend little time in places such as a Fight (since members believe in peaceful interactions), Police Station, and a Government Office. And, although it is commonplace for a fight to produce negative interactions for most people, jamband subculture members are particularly likely to have negative interactions in a police station or a government office (Lehman 2000; Paterline 2000). Therefore, I expect members to rate unkynd settings lower in evaluation than nonmembers.

POTENCY

KYND SETTINGS. Three attributes contribute to the potency of a setting: the impact of the space, the power differential of occupants, and the setting's level of permeability (Smith-Lovin

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[3]

Throughout my field research, I have found that strongly integrated members typically live most of the year on the road. These individuals fund their travels by selling items and/or live off of their parents income. A discussion of this broad continuum of funding might be better suited for another study.

1987b). First, the potency dimension of settings seems to reflect the "impact" of the setting on respondents. It is likely that kynd settings have a great impact on the subculture since members appreciate their community so much and are dependent on concerts, Festivals, Campgrounds, and community to help their scene persist (Author 2002).

The second attribute contributing to the potency of a setting is the power differential among setting occupants (Smith-Lovin 1987b). Areas with a high concentration of power in the hands of a few tend to be rated as powerful. In other words, settings may be considered powerful when some inhabitants have the potential for coercive power over others. In contrast, when power is equally distributed, the potency of the setting tends to be low. Most of the kynd settings in this study provide the opportunity for power equality among inhabitants.

Finally, permeability is a determining factor when considering the potency rating of a setting (Smith-Lovin 1987b). Settings that are impermeable, and that are considered potent, include those where legitimate authorities use their power to keep members in and nonmembers out. Kynd settings in the jamband subculture tend to be permeable, although one may not realize this easy access until they become a member.

Because kynd settings have a great impact on members, I might expect members to rate these settings higher in potency relative to nonmembers. However, if permeability and power distribution is the most relevant attribute contributing to potency ratings, I might expect the opposite to hold: that members will rate kynd settings lower in potency relative to nonmembers due to power equality. Due to the conflicting information provided regarding potency dynamics within the subculture, I do not advance potency hypotheses. I will, however, explore the relationship between membership status and the potency of kynd settings.

Unkynd Settings. Recall that subculture members view authorities and authoritative settings as suspicious. Generally, members believe that authorities wield social and political power over citizens (Paterline 2000). Therefore, members of the subculture may rate authoritative settings high in potency due to the imbalance of power in these settings. Also, a Fight may be considered a potent interaction setting, since power is often unequally distributed. In addition, a Government Office, a Police Station, and a Fight seem impermeable for members of the jamband subculture. For these reasons, I hypothesize that members will rate unkynd settings higher in potency than nonmembers.

ACTIVITY

KYND SETTINGS. There are two attributes to the activity dimension of settings (Smith-Lovin 1987b). One of the most obvious attributes is that of pace or tempo. It is important to note that the tempo of a setting is normative in nature. That is, when an individual engages in behavior that does not coincide with the pace or tempo of an interaction, that individual is labeled deviant. Consider an individual within this subculture who is not lively or refuses to dance in such active atmospheres as a Crowd or a concert: this person may seem odd to the more physically active members of the group. The second attribute is tolerance of expressivity, or the permissiveness of a variety of behaviors permitted within the setting. In very active settings for example, individuals are allowed to engage in a variety of behaviors and are permitted to gesture in a number of ways also (Smith-Lovin 1987b).

The jamband subculture community exists ephemerally in settings such as a Campground, a concert, a Festival, a community, and a Crowd. This evokes a high energy atmosphere as members eagerly reunite at events. These settings are also lively because members engage in rituals of dancing and socializing within them (Author 2002; Sutton 2000). In addition to the high tempo, kynd settings in this study are also locales where people are permitted a considerable range of behaviors. These settings are likely considered more active to members than to nonmembers, due to the impact these settings have on members' lives. Therefore, I expect subculture members will rate kynd settings higher in activity relative to nonmembers.

UNKYND SETTINGS. Unkynd settings in this study vary with regard to tempo. A Police Station and a Government Office are arguably places that are fairly slow and quiet most times. The professional, reserved atmosphere in these settings precludes high tempo behaviors, especially those of the officers and officials. However, a Fight is typically a very active setting. So, the findings on unkynd behavior activity will likely be varied.

One attribute all unkynd settings in this study share in common is behavioral tolerance. The behaviors tolerated within an official site such as a Police Station or an institution such as a Government Office are quite limited. Similarly, a Fight permits very little variation in behavior; usually, it is active behavior. Due to the conflicting expectations with regard to the categorization of unkynd behaviors, I will not propose hypotheses for the activity of unkynd behaviors as a category. Rather, I will explore each one individually.

> *Hypothesis 1*: Jamband subculture members will rate *kynd* settings *higher in evaluation* than will nonmembers.
> *Hypothesis 2*: Jamband subculture members will rate *unkynd* settings *lower in evaluation* than will nonmembers.
> *Hypothesis 3*: Jamband subculture members will rate *unkynd* settings *higher in potency* than will nonmembers.
> *Hypothesis 4*: Jamband subculture members will rate *kynd* settings *higher in activity* than will nonmembers.

METHODS

DATA COLLECTION AND SAMPLE

Data were collected with a self-administered survey. Over a period of 6 months, data were collected both in person and online. I first distributed the survey instrument online and at jamband events in the following regions of the United States: the Midwest (five events), the Southeast (one event), and the Northeast (two events).[4] Next, in order to obtain non-member

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[4]

 I collected data at the following events: a String Cheese Incident concert, a Dark Star Orchestra concert, a Rusted Root concert, a Government Mule concert, a Moe concert, a Ratdog concert, a Widespread Panic concert, and Bonnaroo Music Festival.

data, I distributed the survey to undergraduate students in introductory sociology courses at a large midwestern university.

For the jamband event survey distribution, any event participant was eligible to complete the survey. I used four data collection procedures. First, I created two types of correspondence (business cards and a large banner) that listed my name, the name of the study, and the website where the on-line version of my survey was based. I distributed 500 business cards and displayed the banner at jamband events. Second, individuals were offered the chance to complete a paper version of the survey onsite. When this option was chosen, participants placed the completed surveys in a secured drop box at two vendors' booths. Third, individuals were given the option to complete the paper version of the survey and return it a self-addressed stamped envelope that I provided.[5] Finally, in a collection method that provided the most responses, the link to the survey was posted on jambands.com, several jamband related message boards, and a Dave Matthews Band fan message board.[6] [7]

Jamband member respondents range in age from 18 to 64, with a mean of 28.5 years and a median of 27 years (N = 471). Sixty-five percent of member respondents are male and 35% are female (N = 469). Respondents attend between 1 and 200 jamband related events per year, with an average of 20 events per year attended (median is 11 shows per year). Respondents attended their first jamband related event between 1 and 37 years ago, spending on average 10.7 years in the subculture (median is 10). The sample is 99.7% white (N = 386) and 94% non-Hispanic (N = 111). Sixty-four percent of the respondents hold a bachelor's degree or higher level of education. Table 1 displays demographic characteristics of members and nonmembers.

Nonmember respondents range in age from 18 to 55, with a mean of 19.72 and a median of 19 years. (N = 153). Sixty-nine percent of nonmember respondents are female and 31% are male (N = 155). Data on number of jamband events per year and length of time in the subculture were not collected from nonmembers. The nonmember sample is 88.1% white and 14.9% Black or African American (N =148). Respondents are 97.4% non-Hispanic (N = 152). Eighty-eight percent of this sample are full-time university students (N = 159) and are mostly in their freshman (65%) or sophomore (20.8%) year in college (N = 159).

TABLE 1 ABOUT HERE

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[5] Only one participant completed the paper-based version. Therefore, there is no assessment of whether those who completed the online version systematically differed from those who might have completed the paper based version. I can, however, distinguish those who were solicited at concerts to complete the online version from those who were solicited at concerts to complete the online version. Specifically, those solicited online were more likely to be male, older, and have a longer tenure of involvement than those who were solicited at concerts. However, those solicited online did not differ systematically from those solicited at concerts with respect to the evaluation, potency, and activity ratings of the interaction settings.

[6] Budnick (2003) suggests that there are overlapping fans between The Dave Matthews Band (DMB) scene and the jamband scene.

[7] After several months of low response rates, an incentive was offered to respondents for completing the survey. Respondents were given the option to enter their contact information for a chance to win a ticket to a popular jamband festival. The winner was randomly selected and contacted at the end of data collection.

MEASUREMENT OF AFFECTIVE MEANINGS

Affective meanings are the evaluation, potency, and activity of interaction settings significant to the jamband subculture belief system. Evaluation, potency, and activity are the universal dimensions of meaning that Osgood and his colleagues found in their cross-cultural research (Osgood, May, and Miron 1975; Osgood, Suci, and Tannenbaum 1957).

I used a nine point semantic differential scale (ranging from -4 to +4) to measure setting meaning along the three dimensions: evaluation-potency-activity. Each dimension is anchored with bipolar adjective pairs: evaluation with "good, nice" and "bad, awful"; potency with "powerful, big" and "powerless, little"; and activity with "fast, noisy, young" and "slow, quiet, old." The midpoint of each dimension is marked "neutral," while the points leading from the midpoint to the end of each scale are marked slightly, quite, extremely, and infinitely. These points are coded so that -4 is infinitely bad/powerless/quiet; -3 is extremely bad/powerless/quiet; -2 is quite bad/powerless/quiet; -1 is slightly bad/powerless/quiet; 0 is neutral (neither good nor bad/powerful nor powerless; slow nor active); +1 is slightly good/powerful/active; +2 is quite good/ powerful/active; +3.0 is extremely good/powerful/active; +4.0 is infinitely good/powerful/active. Figure 1 below features an example of how the scale appears below a stimulus (an interaction setting) on the survey instrument.

FIGURE 1 ABOUT HERE

Mean evaluation-potency-activity ratings for the interaction settings are displayed in Table 2. The instructions read as follows:

Please read carefully:

The lines with circles below are like a ruler for measuring how you feel about each setting. On each row, mark off how close each one is to the description at one end of the ruler or the other. If you feel that the setting listed is not close to either description, put a mark in the middle (for neutral). Note that the direction and order of the descriptions on the ruler change throughout this section.

Be sure to mark on every row of circles.

TABLE 2 ABOUT HERE

RESULTS

AFFECTIVE MEANINGS OF INTERACTION SETTINGS CENTRAL TO THE JAMBAND SUBCULTURE

In order to evaluate the hypotheses, I conducted independent samples t-tests by membership status on each dimension (evaluation-potency-activity) for each interaction setting. Below, I explain the results of these analyses.

Hypothesis 1. Recall that familiar settings tend to be evaluated highly. Occupancy time and population are two determinants of familiarity with a setting (Smith-Lovin 1987b). These two factors may explain the distinction between members and nonmembers' evaluation of kynd settings. Consistent with Hypothesis 1, jamband subculture members feel positively about such subculturally relevant settings as a Campground and a Concert. Specifically, subculture members rate four of the eight kynd settings significantly higher in evaluation than nonmembers: a Concert (members: 2.67 vs. nonmembers: 2.13), the Grateful Dead Scene (1.99 vs. .29), a Jamband Scene (1.25 vs. .44), and a Jamband Community (2.53 vs. .76). These findings suggest that these four settings produce positive interactions for members of the scene. In contrast, nonmembers rates these settings, in which the general population spends little time, lower in evaluation than the members of the subculture (who tend to spend considerable time in them). However, nonmembers evaluate one setting - a community - significantly higher (1.82) than members of the jamband subculture (1.42). This may be due the generality of the term as listed on the survey instrument. If nonmembers think of a community generally, as in the community they spend their lives in, they would naturally rate a Community positively.

Hypothesis 2. Recall that unkynd settings are those that generally do not produce positive interactions within the subculture. Consistent with Hypothesis 2, members rate all three unkynd subculture settings significantly lower in evaluation than nonmembers. For instance, a Fight is viewed as quite bad by nonmembers (-2.40), but extremely bad by members (-3.32). Also, whereas nonmembers neutrally evaluate a Police Station and a Government Office, members find them both to be slightly bad interaction settings (-1.51 and -1.11, respectively).

Hypothesis 3. The information regarding the potency of kynd settings was rife with contradictions; therefore, I did not advance potency hypotheses. I did, however, explore this relationship and found that subculture members consider five of the eight kynd settings to be significantly higher in potency than nonmembers. Subculture members rate a Festival (1.75) and the Grateful Dead Scene as quite potent (1.55) whereas nonmembers rate these settings slightly potent (.89 and .90, respectively). Members consider the Jamband Community and a Jamband Scene to slightly potent (1.45 and .57, respectively), while nonmembers find both of these settings neutral in potency (-.07 and -.11). And, while members rate a Campground neutral in potency (.14), nonmembers rate a Campground as slightly impotent (-.48). Subculture members did not consider any of the kynd settings to be impotent, leading me to interpret kynd settings in the subculture as possessing one or several of the following elements of potency: being egalitarian, seemingly impermeable, and having a high degree of impact on members. Remember, not all of these characteristics are necessary for a high potency rating. However, there are indications that suggest that the scene might be impermeable to those who disrupt it. For instance, some members discuss a 'holier than thou' attitude from some Deadheads (Shenk and Silberman 1994). This, in addition to the scene being egalitarian and having a great impact on members, explains the high potency level for kynd settings reported by members.

Inconsistent with Hypothesis 3, subculture members consider all unkynd settings to be *less* potent than do nonmembers, and two of the three significantly so. Whereas members consider a Fight to be a slightly impotent (-.99) situation, nonmembers feel that a Fight is quite potent (1.55). Also, although both members and nonmembers rate a Government Office qualitatively the same - as quite potent (1.79 members, 2.31 nonmembers), there is a significant

quantitative difference. Considering that typically a Government Office and a Police Station are places where the power differential is clearly high, that have a high impact, and are impermeable, the fact that subculture members consider them to be less potent places than nonmembers is surprising. One might expect that anti-authority groups would consider these places as especially potent given these characteristics. Given this finding, there may be an unknown additional factor contributing to the potency of settings for some subcultures.

Hypothesis 4. Inconsistent with Hypothesis 4, members consider most kynd settings less lively than do nonmembers. Three of the eight kynd settings are significantly different in activity meaning between the two membership groups. For instance, members rate a concert as slightly active (1.44), while nonmembers consider a concert extremely active (2.95). Two other kynd settings show marginal significance when comparing the two samples. Nonmembers feel that a Crowd and a Jamband Community are quite active (1.61, 1.52 respectively), whereas members rate these settings as slightly active. Perhaps jamband subculture members, having spent as many as 200 evenings per year in a concert or in a Crowd, may have become so adapted to these settings that they consider the active nature of the settings to be normative, and therefore rate them lower in activity relative to nonmembers.

Though I did not propose hypotheses regarding the activity of unkynd settings, I explored the relationship between membership status and activity ratings for these settings. Similar to the activity ratings of kynd settings, all three unkynd settings are considered livelier by nonmembers than by members. Nonmembers feel that a Fight is extremely active (2.76), while members consider a Fight to be quite active (2.26). Also, nonmembers rate a Government Office neutral in activity (-.19) while members consider it significantly more slow paced (-1.36). Finally, both members and nonmembers feel that a Police Station is neutral on the activity dimension (-.140 and .403, respectively).

In sum, I find general support for Hypotheses 1 and 2, but not for Hypotheses 3 or 4. Specifically, jamband subculture members tend to feel that kynd settings are higher in evaluation and potency, but not activity, than do nonmembers. Further, members consider unkynd settings to be lower in both evaluation and potency than do nonmembers. Finally, nonmembers feel that all of the unkynd settings are more lively than do members.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Subcultures are places of segregated ideals from the larger culture. As a result, members of subcultures often feel distinctly about the objects in their social environment. As with any culture, social events within subcultures create and maintain meanings that are unique to the group. In this study, I found that members of the jamband music subculture hold distinct affective meanings for settings are relevant to their value system. Using the theoretical and methodological rigor of affect control theory, I was able to identify specific subculture meaning structures.

Jamband subculture members hold intense sentiments for some of their identities and interaction settings. These extreme sentiments are uncommon in Affect Control Theory studies. Of course, scholars have found that subgroups create distinct meanings for social elements that are significant to groups' belief systems. However, typically these sentiments do not extend to

the immoderation that I have found here. Additional studies of the meaning structures in other cultural niches such as Tea Party Republicans, the LGBT Community, or racial minorities would help clarify whether the jamband music subculture is unique in its intense sentiment structure. Examining other groups would also illuminate the extent to which subgroups are in consensus with the greater American culture on important social elements such as role identities. If we know, for example, that Native Americans feel relatively estranged from U.S. medical doctors when compared to Asian Americans, we are better equipped to understand the implications of that strained relationship. Therefore, I suggest that future studies examine the whether such extreme sentiments can be found in other subgroups. That is, to understand how and why members of cultural enclaves interact in the ways they do, it is necessary to investigate how they perceive the role identities, behaviors, and social settings that are relevant to their lives.

LIMITATIONS

Although this study makes contributions to the literature on subcultures and social psychology, there are limitations to be considered. First, using an online survey creates a unique set of issues to be addressed. For example, research suggests that respondents who self-select to complete the online version of the survey may be more internet savvy, younger, and better educated than those who choose to complete the paper survey (Hardre et al. 2007; Zhang 1999). However, my respondent base was a similar age range and education level as samples in studies of the Deadhead subculture (Adams 2003; Lehman 2000). Second, the response rate is unknown. Scholars have noted the difficulty in obtaining any clear probability sample within subcultures as they generally lack a clearly defined population (Andes 1998; Haenfler 2004). However, in the future, researchers might better approximate a probability sample by conducting systematic random sampling of individuals at one subculture event.

DIRECTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

In future studies, I plan to investigate consensus within the jamband subculture with regard to race, class, and gender. In other words, I am interested in examining whether the extreme sentiments expressed by the average subculture member are shared by individual members based on demographic characteristics. Also, I would like to investigate the effect that events have on the affective meaning of the interaction setting. For example, when a mugger and a victim are interacting in a campground - a setting rated as nice and lively - how does this affect our impression of the setting? Do we cognitively reassign the setting as more of a deviant place (i.e., now we think of it as a crime scene rather than a campground)?

With the use of affect control theory, in future studies I will use the theory's online simulation program to answer these questions. The theory contains a set of impression formation equations that detail specifically how events transform meanings. Drawing on Gollob's (1968) work in the psychology of impression formation, Heise (1979) developed impression formation equations to predict how fundamental sentiments are transformed by social events where two or more social elements (identities, emotions, actions, objects) interact. These equations are programmed into the *Interact* simulation program

(http://www.indiana.edu/~socpsy/ACT/interact.htm). Future studies might focus on this question by running interaction simulations in program *Interact*. Using the assumption that actors behave in ways that create the smallest amount of deflection possible, the program can predict which behaviors are likely (i.e., those produce the smallest amount of deflection) for a given actor in a given situation.

Additionally, researchers are able to run simulations using either evaluation-potency-activity ratings from nonmembers (held in the online dictionary or from researchers who collect their own data and import) or EPA ratings that have been collected from a particular subgroup or subculture. For instance, I can enter and use EPA ratings I collect from the jamband subculture to simulate interactions. In future research, I plan to conduct simulations using program *Interact* to investigate how differences between nonmember and jamband subculture member meanings for interaction settings affect the behavior predicted in that setting.

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Figure 1. Example of a Nine-Point Semantic Differential Scale on Survey Instrument.

a crowd

	infinitely	extremely	quite	slightly	neutral	slightly	quite	extremely	infinitely	
Slow, quiet, old	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	Fast, noisy, young
Bad, awful	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	Good, nice
Powerful, big	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	Powerless, little
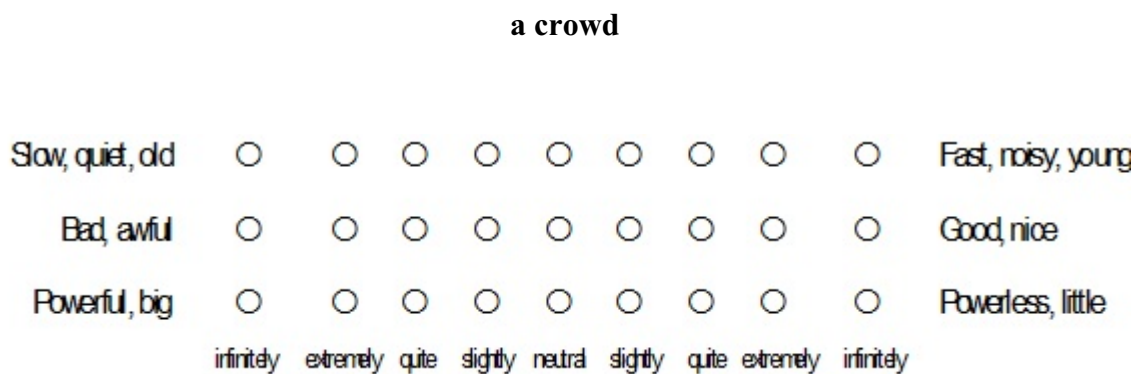
Table 1. Demographic Characteristics of Jamband Subculture Members and Nonmembers in Sample

	Members	Nonmembers
Female	34%	69%
Age	28	20
Education	50% bachelor's degree*	N/A
Class Standing		85% freshman or sophomore
Length of tenure in subculture	11 years	N/A
Race	99.3 White	88.1% White; 14.9% Black or African American; 4.1% Other
Ethnicity	90.9% not Hispanic or Latino	97.4% not Hispanic or Latino

Notes: Nonmembers were university undergraduates. Therefore, all reported "some college" rather than holding a bachelor's degree. Nonmembers were not asked how long they were in the jamband subculture because it was assumed that most were not a part of it. Race: "other" represents Asian, American Indian, and Hawaiian/Pacific Islander.
*When controlling for age, this percentage drops to 27%

Table 2. Mean Differences in the Evaluation, Potency, and Activity Ratings of Interaction Settings by Group (Member vs. Nonmember) (N = 532)

		Evaluation			Potency			Activity		
Group:	Member	Non		Member	Non		Member	Non	
Campground	1.715	1.823		.140	-.484	***	.304	-.646	***
	(.069)	(.219)		(.062)	(.196)		(.077)	(.257)	
Community	1.419	1.822	*	1.483	1.661		-.257	-.016	†
	(.065)	(.185)		(.071)	(.204)		(.049)	(.167)	
Concert	2.666	2.129	**	2.394	2.081		1.443	2.952	***
	(.060)	(.186)		(.068)	(.238)		(.074)	(.148)	
Crowd	.434	.258		1.283	1.145		1.298	1.612	†
	(.074)	(.181)		(.077)	(.249)		(.064)	(.197)	
Festival	1.857	2.145		1.753	.887	**	1.604	1.823	
	(.071)	(.174)		(.071)	(.227)		(.060)	(.213)	
Grateful Dead Scene	1.989	.290	***	1.553	.903	**	.581	1.677	***
	(.071)	(.295)		(.076)	(.266)		(.075)	(.249)	
Jamband Community	2.526	.758	***	1.451	-.065	***	1.200	1.516	†
	(.057)	(.271)		(.081)	(.239)		(.063)	(.194)	
Jamband Scene	1.247	.435	***	.568	-.113	**	1.687	1.694	
	(.071)	(.233)		(.074)	(.223)		(.060)	(.201)	
Fight	-3.318	-2.403	***	-.994	1.548	***	2.257	2.758	*
	(.057)	(.160)		(.121)	(.232)		(.075)	(.147)	
Government Office	-1.113	.195	***	1.794	2.306	*	-1.360	-.194	***
	(.072)	(.219)		(.083)	(.257)		(.081)	(.279)	
Police Station	-1.513	.435	***	1.874	1.968		-.140	.403	*
	(.086)	(.268)		(.090)	(.228)		(.082)	(.247)	

Notes: Standard errors are in parentheses. † $p < .10$; * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$ (two tailed tests).