

Dialogue

Commodified Grooves

SF: Why compare polka and blues? Does that comparison help construct the legitimacy of the rubric "people's music"?

CK: Partially. Those were the two musics I had spent the most time studying here in the USA, and suddenly the parallels began to emerge for me. I began to hear Walt Solek as the T. Bone Walker of polkas, Bobby Blue Bland as the Marion Lush of blues. There were so many deep parallels that I couldn't avoid the comparisons.

SF: Is the underlying point that the driving force in musical style is class?

CK: Yes, at least in the 20th century.

SF: In the pieces on style in first part of the book, you discuss process, then texture. Now, moving into the commodified dimensions of musical experience, you position class as the driving force, asserting that one cannot just talk about style apart from class. What's going on?

CK: It seems to me that just when high culture collapses, at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th, and as there is no longer any forward momentum in composing music, in the syntactic games, then the jazz, blues, and gospel processes all begin to emerge in the context of radio and records—the context of mediation, massive mediation. They are emerging in a 20th century which has not panned out in the Marxist vision of the proletariat becoming conscious of itself and seizing the tools of production. But all the time I was writing this piece for *Dialectical Anthropology*, Stanley Diamond's journal,¹ I was thinking that those musical styles validated the Marxian premise that the working class is conscious, if not of its destiny, at least of its on-going existence and its need to recreate itself weekend after weekend, *vis-à-vis* alienation, at a deep, aesthetic, stylistic, and musical level. Despite the fact that the two styles are disparate and different, they share a large number of common denominators. There is such a precise history of when the musics make their move, or when they emerge as powers to define identity and style, that when you see the parallels between blues and polka, like simple syntax and compelling grooves, it becomes persuasive that class forces are doing this, and not some ethnic essence. What else could it be?

SF: How about the record companies?

CK: Well, the media are the mediation of this class awareness. It is like putting yourself in public space via a sound, or a style. Blues and polka are both acceptances of dominant culture stereotypes in the media, on radio and records. I do say in here that style is always and everywhere a product of class forces, but I am trying to relate it back to the "lift-up-over sounding" and your whole take on style in Kaluliland. In the last chapter of *Tiv Song* I try to take Armstrong and stand him right side up; you take Armstrong and make the trope idea work for the Kaluli, so

we are both saying that there is one style in a classless society that has everything to do with environment and ecology, and that when the class forces arrive, that is when people become unhooked from environment, ecology, and neighbors, and something else is going to shape the music. Class relations are going to shape this music. I think that is what you are going to witness during the coming years in Kaluliland, class forces grabbing hold of the Kaluli and reshaping their music.

SF: Do you think we are idealizing class, or idealizing style in relation to class, in terms of its coherence?

CK: We didn't get a proletarian revolution. I think the only thing we did get was style.

SF: So you're using style synonymously with the notion of identity here?

CK: I think that is what it's about. It tells you who your home folks are, and gives you that rock solid reference point. Whatever the hell else is going on out there, I know that I am a polka person, a blues person, or a jazz person. The music is a deep, subconscious reference point that will confirm identity under all circumstances, and the people's response in 1927 and 1928 was to accept the stereotype and celebrate it, rather than to disappear. I think it is a very powerful statement of just how important music is. It really does anchor people's reality in a way that nothing else can.

SF: Do you think that is happening in jazz? Last night we were watching the Louis Armstrong video and saw Louis singing "Shine" while wearing a leopard-skin suit, standing up to his ass in soap suds. And we heard Louis citing that Joe Glazer

quote, that Joe turned him onto the notion that you got to be some white man's nigger; that's when Louis said, "I'm your man." It reminded me of John Lomax and Leadbelly....²

CK: ...or Muddy Waters and Leonard Chess, or Miles Davis and Clive Davis. I don't know how all those plantation scenarios worked themselves out...

SF: ...are they all about accepting stereotypes in order to transcend them?

CK: I don't think that they are *all* about that, but I think you get left with a deep, deep message about the triumph of the voice and of sound over all the ugly social realities. Louis Armstrong, when he is up to his ass in soap suds, wearing a leopard skin, and singing "Shine," is nevertheless, as both Lester Bowie and Wynton Marsalis want to insist, a revolutionary figure. That is the juxtaposition made in the film. And I think it's true. Louis Armstrong is a revolutionary figure even when he is up to his ass in soap suds because the power of his voice, the power of his trumpet, and the power of his presence, his affecting presence, cut right through all that. Nothing they can do to Louis is so absurd that it will obstruct the power of his voice and his trumpet.

SF: Louis singing in his leopard skins reminded me of Leadbelly on stage in his prison stripes. That was from his time with Lomax. There is a wonderful quote from Pete Seeger that I've seen in a few places like the Rolling Stone issue when Leadbelly was inducted into the rock and roll hall of fame. Seeger reminisces about being a scruffy Harvard kid wearing torn up dungarees, tee shirts and loafers, idolizing Leadbelly as a "true" "folk" singer, then realizing that Leadbelly always

wore a fresh laundered shirt, pressed suit, new bow tie, shined shoes; he dressed sharp and proud.

CK: This is the class issue again. The big jive played on all Americans is that they go past each other stylistically in this fashion sense of style: rich kids from the suburbs get dressed up in ripped jeans and pretend they are working class, poor, or lumpen, while all the blacks and Puerto Ricans are dressing to the teeth, going to the disco and pretending that they are part of the jet set. The equivalent of that has been going on throughout minstrelsy, during the whole 19th and into the 20th century, in which Americans were pretending to be each other of different classes and regions.³

SF: But to go back to the leopard skins or the prison stripes, is this just some massive, Bakhtinian, carnivalesque set of reversals?⁴ The suburban upper-middle class kids at the mall buying high-priced torn jeans and lower and working class African-Americans going to church in beautiful clothing, and proud, with color, with hats, with well-polished cars?

CK: I would say that it is all testimony to the pain of class hurts on both sides of the class divide, the hidden and not so hidden injuries of class, being assuaged by style.⁵ But I think that in the style and stereotype here, I am after something a little bit deeper in the way of style, just as you are with the "lift-up-over" thing...

SF: ...the relationship between expressive ideology, identity, value...

CK: ...and in some incorruptible way. I think that is why you think of it as maybe essentialist or putting too much romantic load on style here.

SF: I keep coming back to that phrase of Gregory Bateson's that I ended with in the "lift-up-over sounding" discussion of style. What does Bateson mean when he says that style is the "algorithm of the heart"? There's something about it that does have a driving, predictable, mechanized property, but at the same time it feels like he means something like what you mean when you talk about strong identity, feelings of community-based identity...

CK: ...something so intensely collective, not planned or intended, that it is organic. I really think that style is an organic phenomenon in the sense of having seeds, growth, florescence, decay. There is something very clear in my mind about jazz fizzling as a coherent style⁶ in the late 1960s, just as classical, through-composed music fizzled in the early 1900s. You can hear styles come and go, like this whole fifties phenomenon of blues stereotypes being revived, Muddy Waters, Howlin' Wolf, and having to have those persona in the 1950s.

SF: Is mediation a rite of intensification? Once people get the opportunity to put out their music on record, is there a desire, from the performers, producers and record companies, not just to crystalize and perfect, but to push further? Is that what you are talking about with these forms of getting wilder, racier at these polka parties, more drunk on style and happiness....

CK: ...I hint at the relationship between Apollonian recorded versions and the live Dionysian versions in this article, but I think that is something to be explored in all the styles in the world that have been recorded for decades. A standard develops of what something is supposed to sound like on records, and performers then work

against or with that standard in their on-stage performances. I keep thinking of T. Bone Walker and Walt Solek, controlled on records and wild in person.

SF: So in the relationship between what you call the hegemonic thrust and class, can you see mediation as a series of techno-rituals of intensification whose outcome is the present discourse on authenticity? For example, once Ravi Shankar started recording live in front of American audiences, like at UCLA, he was criticized for being too jazzy, for playing to the Western audience. The authenticity of the performances were questioned by Indian music aficionados.

CK: This may be the inverse of why polkas and blues were never recorded live for 40 years. In theory, there were all these opportunities to record polka live from the 1920s on. And nobody ever did it. Lil' Wally did two albums at the Club Baby Doll, and those were the only live in-person polka recordings out of thousands and thousands of recordings. And the same thing with blues. B.B. King *Live at the Regal* in '63 or whenever that came out, was the first live in-person blues recording with an audible audience responding, and all of a sudden you could hear who "Lucille" [his guitar] was talking to all those years. All the Crown recordings, all the B. B. King recordings for twenty years prior to that, none of them were live, so you never heard the response to his calls. But that is not an intensification, if you see what I mean. To record it live would intensify it, would up the ante. Then the question becomes, can B. B. King do it as well live when we see him at the Regal next time? Some recorded standard then is going to be held up against his live performances. So I think the polka and blues people, out of some kind of proletarian awareness, kept their recorded thing separate from their live and in-person thing. So it is not an intensification, as much as a kind of distillation, a clarification, maybe, the cleanest version you can do. I think some of these styles or traditions have autonomy or

authenticity in their play place or work place or neighborhoods or localities. There, they have their own integrity, and then the recorded thing is just a memory device.

SF: How do you see this in relation to live jazz recordings?

CK: Have you read that book by Roger Taylor, *Art: An Enemy of the People*? He has an analysis of jazz in there that opened my eyes. He said that by the 1920's, there were already eight or nine definitions of jazz and that four or five of those definitions had to do with it being art music, or at least removed from some essence of Afro-American music. Where is the real jazz? On records? In the uptown clubs? Downtown? Is it in after-hours sessions, when they are not playing in the club? Taylor convinced me that it was being simultaneously artified and commodified much earlier, that the hegemonic forces of high culture wanted jazz at some level, and the recording industry wanted jazz, and poor old jazz had to kind of walk the tightrope between commodification and artification from the git-go. Those piano "professors" were playing in bordellos with impressionist paintings on the wall in 1911. It already had this exotica, erotica, artistica thing going early on.

SF: I wonder if both of us aren't idealizing style. You pin it to Sapir's genuine culture,⁷ and that puts it into a whole bunch of resonances about how authenticity only emerges when it is counter to some forces that are trying to screw it up, transform it, dominate it, mess with it...

CK: ...if we are going to use "style" as the central variable, and talk about it in class society or non-class society, then I would say that there is a whole lot more of it in classless society. It suffuses everyday life. But style shrinks as you move to class society, where it becomes more distilled, or more tenuous, or something that may or

may not be there. I think there are a whole lot of people in this world who are styleless in some fundamental way, or they have to--like in *My Music* interviews⁸--construct an idiocultural style for themselves out of the bits and pieces of mediated stuff that they get. That is the thread that they hang onto in terms of a personal identity or a self.

SF: Don't get me wrong, I don't want style to be synonymous with shared culture. I am just saying that I know it's tempting to make class a singular divide on the term style, because in your stuff or Chris' (Waterman) or (David) Coplan's or (Tom) Turino's for one side, or Marina's (Roseman) , mine or Tony's (Seeger) on the other, it's clear that history, style is the place where people are working out the politics and poetics of expression.⁹ And it is expression which is our path into exploring what identity means. How do people work out their version of the changing same? How does innovation get worked into that sort of world?...

CK: ...That's a really interesting puzzle, isn't it?...

SF: ...how does an Ulahi emerge in Bosavi? How does someone who has composed 200 songs in the last fifteen years emerge in a culture like that and how do other Kaluli find her different?...

CK: ...same thing in Tivland. People are still singing Bam Gindi's songs thirty years after he died, and saying they have a special take on what it means to be Tiv. Or Kuji Iyum's short powerful songs satirizing his girlfriend of fifteen years before. They were together six weeks, and he composed songs about it which have a phenomenal staying power in the Tiv imagination. I guess that what you are persuading me of is that there is more of a continuum here between classless and

class, or between all peoples, and that style as a key variable is telling us different things in these different contexts. But it is also telling us the same thing: that people insist on ordering their emotional and cognitive identity. What we are on the planet for is to shape that identity.

SF: Well, style is about the constructedness and the expressiveness of identity, and that is where the politics and the poetics are fused, the way I see it. I would insist on that equally as a basis for looking at class or classless societies...

CK: ...but when we say identity, two things are happening in my mind. Separate identity--different. Every signature, every dance, every person who dances does so differently. So a different identity, a different style, can be on the individual or idiocultural level. Then there is subcultural style and so forth, all these kinds of identities. But there is also identity in the sense of Arne Naess's deep ecology, deep identification, an identity with the natural world, natural forces, with your totem.¹⁰ And that is why I see a class/classless divide. I don't think we have that kind of identity. When Ulahi achieves her identity as a composer of songs in Kaluliland, it is with the waterfall and the natural world. The identities of most artists in the class world are not the same. It is not identification *with*. Isn't that a crucial difference? I keep wanting to extract a moral message or mission from us *vis-à-vis* our Western context, to say that we need more style, more of the identity *with* and participation *in* the natural forces. I think that is what your *Voices of the Rainforest* outreach is about. It 's about identification, right? Getting identified with the rainforest as not just an abstract place with a lot of species, but here is how they sound, here is how they feel, here is an inkling of what Kaluli experience is like 24 hours a day.

SF: OK, but play that with your notion that a vital style always has aspects competing for primacy; what drives that? The relationship between men and women? Age? Gender? The community, and segmentation within the community? What are the classless forces that form dimensions of difference within a society so as to drive the way vital styles always have aspects competing for primacy?

CK: For sure in Tivland, it is men's and women's dances. Each has their own dynamic. Men are supposed to be displaying, acrobatic, and doing odd contortions. The men are angular as hell, pushing the absurd in order to keep the interest. The women are playing with angles in more graceful undulating ways.

SF: Kaluli men, creating that huge spotlight and fuss around themselves with their ceremonies. Kaluli women, funerary weeping.

CK: Deep, deep differences. I don't know how it is for the Kaluli, but in Tivland, it is intensely competitive, those dance displays in the marketplace.

SF: This is not as competitive, but what is so interesting is that Kaluli men and women are doing such *different* things, like ceremonial song versus ritual wailing, but they do them in the *same way* stylistically. Both are "lift-up-over sounding", but one is with the costumes and the ceremonial spotlight, while in the other, people die and suddenly, women are improvising sung-wept-poetry. So what exactly is competing for primacy? The more natural versus the more cultural? The more theatrical? The more highly ritualized? Principles of maleness versus principles of femaleness? Principles of being calm, smooth, in control when people die, versus principles of getting charged up to put on an all night long show that can't be

controlled because of the intense sadness and anger it provokes? What is the sexual and gendered charge which drives these styles? Women singing with water and men whooping while cutting trees? What could be more different? You certainly hear that difference on *Voices of the Rainforest*.

CK: This is what is *beneath* the Apollonian/Dionysian distinction. You have to remember that Apollo and Dionysus are projected gods in a post-classless, post-egalitarian, post-animist society. These are gods and goddesses taking on what had been animist forces. What is probably represented in Apollo and Dionysus as formulations is a sublimation and projection of male/female things.¹¹

SF: As egalitarian as it might be seen at certain quotidian levels, Kaluli society still has numerous tensions, and these tensions are what drives style. There is an image of Kaluli female weeping within the production of male song, audible when the song turns into crying. But there is also an image of male ceremonial song within female weeping, because the weeping turns into a kind of song. The tighter, more coherent, more polished, and more powerful the weeping is, the more song-like it is, because the improvised text has more elaborate maps like the ones found in song poetry. But the more elaborate the songs are, the tighter and more powerful their maps, the more they can potentially produce crying. There is a politics of expression here, which is fused with this poetics, and which drives, reproduces, maintains much male and female difference in this society. Opposition as complementarity. It also reproduces much of the dominant stereotypy of male and female: that the women are more controlled, more calm, more capable of taking care of business. All that is evinced in their ability to do this improvised wailing under such emotionally charged circumstances, and their ability to pull it off in such a together way. Meanwhile, the guys might be flailing around out of control at the

ceremonies, even though the ceremonies themselves are expressions of massive amounts of control, with all the elaborate costuming and staging. But then when the men start crying, and the crying turns into anger, they want to burn somebody in response to the song; it can turn into a fight. That is how ceremonies often end; guys can't keep it together because they are so overcome by their grief. The ceremonies start out as expressions about male control, but they can turn into struggles about ritualized male chaos.¹²

CK: Do you have the same sense I do that grief is not dealt with in our culture? What I think of often is when somebody dies among the Mbuti pygmies, they spend several weeks going from dawn to dusk singing to wake up the forest. A month-long wake for one person. And here we are dealing with the Holocaust, Biafra, southern Sudan, Kurdish kids dying on the hillsides. We see massive amounts of unnecessary deaths that enter our consciousness (and our consciences too, because of the injustice of it) and we should be singing dusk to dawn against all the murder and mayhem on the planet that is coming from capitalism. We aren't dealing with the grief that we all must be feeling. Things like anorexia nervosa, all the eating disorders, may be a function of not coping with world famines, not dealing with death and the inequality of death. Or the deaths close to home. Wakes are disappearing in the ethnic groups in America. It has been sanitized and that is related to style. There's more style in Tiv and Kaluli because they feel more loss, and felt anger over that loss. We are not angry over all this unjust death. We just let it happen.

Then we struggle to find style in our own lives but we can't invent it. Style builds up day by day, it has aura. You can't just flick a light switch. You have to build aura, or patina, or style with rites. I'm thinking about all-night waking, and the pun of that, waking ourselves up to style. Am I getting too poetic here? We need to learn

something from the peoples who have styles that will help us create it more emphatically in our own lives...

SF: ...locating style in pain, and pain in style: we're back to Louis Armstrong singing "Shine." And this is one of the things that your piece touches on which links to the Aretha correspondence too. Isn't your notion about accepting stereotypes of the dominant culture in order to transcend them closely tied to ways of dealing with pain?

CK: Yeah, for sure, but I have been uneasy with the term "transcendence" these past few years because it always seems to stray too close to the wisdom-through-suffering theme, that transcendent art somehow redeems all the insults and injustices. Yes, we are agreeing on the power of the voice and the presence to simply push through the pain. But I'd love to be able to phrase it in terms of immanence, that it is inside Louis and his voice and his energy. Coming from within, not floating above. The term transcendence seems to push it out there into the Platonic stratosphere...

SF: One last question about People's Music Comparatively: do you think you might be too negative in your take on mass media? You see them as such a neutralizing, vitiating, homogenizing, culture-crushing force; instead of analyzing what people are doing with the media, you slip into that culture critic view that the media just messes the music up.

CK: I am amazed that I do as well as I do with considering mediation in this piece, or in the mediated and live in Japan piece. I can be sympathetic in analyzing what the Japanese do with media, or in seeing what it has done for polka and blues. But

bottom-line, I feel like schizophonia, splitting sounds from their sources, is a disaster, a crime. As you know, I have never been able to put out a record of Tiv music.

SF: Why can't you deal with putting Tiv music out there? I've read *Tiv Song* five times; why can't I hear Tiv music!!

CK: Well, if you ask me for a tape, I'll give you a tape! A lot of people have read *Tiv Song*, and only a few people have asked for a tape. It is as though if you don't put the music out there, nobody really wants it much...

SF:I don't know about that. Look at the demand for and sales of world music in the stores...

CK: ...I started to put together a Tiv LP fifteen years ago, and I go back to it every once in awhile. I have one about 90 percent done, but I can't bring myself to release it. I'm going to send it to the Archives of Traditional Music at Indiana, and maybe some graduate student will put out the notes and the album. I can't bring myself to do it myself because I feel like I'm complicit in commodification and culture-crushing...

SF: ...is *Tiv Song* a lesser form of culture-crushing? Is The University of Chicago Press cleaner than any major record company on the planet?

CK: I think there is a huge difference with a written version because it is such an abstraction away from the concrete sound. When you put the sounds out there, they are going to get sampled and who knows what. I feel like I am putting something out there that I can't be responsible for.

SF: You don't think there is as much plagiarism as there is sampling?

CK: Plagiarism of words? No.

SF: Charlie, the Tiv aren't James Brown! True, as soon as you put the stuff out there, you have no control over it. I am not contesting that at all. And I am not contesting the fact that people don't even bother to ask for permission to sample. They just use the stuff and mulch it for their own purposes. World Beat and everybody's drum machines and samplers have completely changed the world of musical access. But what concerns me is your politics of protectionism. It puts one more spin on this authenticity and style problem. Is your stance that since the blues and polka records are out there, it's ok to analyze them and talk about all those processes? But we can't do this with Tiv because they aren't already recorded...?

CK: ...it's not a stance, as much as it is a reluctance, a refusal to associate...

SF: ...but the reluctance speaks volumes in a world where *Tiv Song*, a book about the sociology of art in a classless society, a book which takes on Robert P. Armstrong, a book which has such a magnificent analysis of the circles and angles, is out there. We can see the pictures. We can see the dance steps. But how many people have seen Peggy Harper's Tiv dance film, and how many people have heard any Tiv songs?¹³

CK: Finally it comes down to not having the moxie, the conviction, of wanting to spread that to the world. The Tiv musical dance world is probably as rich as in any other culture in Africa. They have a profusion of styles which are not tied down to castes and craft guilds the way they are in Yorubaland. It is a profusion of creativity.

And I feel guilty now that I am not promoting that to the world in some responsible way. But I am just sufficiently ambivalent about the whole mediation process that I have never been able to make it a priority, or to take pride in doing it. For me its always a higher priority to help children learn how to dance and sing and drum for themselves.¹⁴

SF: Mickey Hart is the person who really turned my head around about high-tech in the bush. Why should Kaluli music be recorded with any less care or sophistication than Grateful Dead music? The symbolic statement he is making is about the potential to empower silent voices and cultures through the rock and roll recording and distribution mainstream.

CK: I think I agree with all of that. To me, it is an all or nothing thing situation. You should be getting your version of the other society, the classless society, to people in a persuasive, rhetorically convincing, auditorally delightful way. You really should be bringing pleasure and a sensuous feel for that culture to folks, which Colin Turnbull's *The Forest People* does as well as a book can do. And I have always thought that every anthropologist really has the obligation to try to write that way, to reach as many people as possible. I guess I have failed to see how to do that with Tiv songs. The quality of the recordings I have is not very good, and would they make that impact? If I believed I could really make that kind of impact, and reach lots of people, I would not have this hesitation about doing it. But it seems that if you don't put it out there in a big way, in a popular outreach way that really transforms consciousness for significant numbers of people, then the only people who *are* going to use it are the CIA.

SF: Believe me, Chuck, I would be delighted if the CIA tried to hack their way through "lift-up-over sounding!"

CK: No you wouldn't! But if you weren't reaching a whole lot of other people at the same time, would you be delighted?

SF: OK. I don't want to dismiss the reality of some ambivalence about putting it out there in such high quality; I'm sure drummers are out there sampling Bosavi crickets and having a lot of fun with *Voices of the Rainforest*.

CK: Why?

SF: Because it is full of sounds that percussionists get into. People will sample the birds and the crickets and the Kaluli drums. But I guess the problems with that are overshadowed by how truly delighted I am that so many people are going to get to hear this sound world almost as well as I've heard it, and almost as well as I think Kaluli are hearing it. I guess that I'm willing to trade off what people might do with the sounds in order to see Papua New Guinea and the Kaluli validated as a serious musical world to contend with.

When I walk into a great record store like Waterloo here in Austin and look at the amount of Asian, Latin, African product in the World Music section, I ask, how many languages are really being represented here? For the whole of Africa, how many languages and how many cultures are really being represented in those hundreds and hundreds of records? Twenty, thirty languages and styles if that. It's time to scrutinize product diversity in the stores in terms of the real facts and figures of global musical and cultural diversity. There are at least 800 languages and only three

and a half million people in Papua New Guinea, and *one* CD out there. But it is striking a blow for recognizing more of the world...

CK: ...and any step in that direction is a good step. I think I concur. The main thing that is a global negative is that mediations split the sounds from sources. You don't have to have the musicians. The Jayne Cortez poem -- "they want the oil, but they don't want the people" --she inflects that line a hundred different ways, recites it for ten minutes and never repeats herself. It's the same deal with the music. We want the music but we don't want the people. I think that bottom line is what has kept me from putting out a Tiv LP.¹⁵

SF: You asked me to write a piece on Aretha for the second issue of *Echology*, which was going to put together feminism and music, feminist perspectives, and music about women, by women, of women, addressed to women. And I copped out and laid every excuse on you that I could think of: "Chuck, I'm just a fan.... Chuck, I haven't done any fieldwork.... Chuck, I've never analyzed it..." and then you said, "Well, give me *that!*," which became a letter...

CK: ...with some very interesting thoughts about what is at stake in the reversal of the lyrics, or the multiple layers of meaning that "Respect" can have. I have been thinking about that one for a long time, and now I may finally have some answers. I didn't answer your letter, really: I just went off on my own autobiographical relationship to Aretha's music.

SF: When we were watching the movie last night, with Louis Armstrong singing "Shine," I was thinking of so many aspects of black performances, including Aretha in those puffed-up hairdos, sequined costumes...

CK: ... as a waitress in that film, *The Blues Brothers*, wasn't it? She has been exploited in a number of ways that are very similar to the Louis travesties. Your first question to me was, how does Aretha's emergence on the soul scene involve the extension, ambiguation, transformation of soul music, and all the male messages? And it certainly does involve all of that. I think you are asking, how does she *do* all that, and how do we understand the politics of her repertoire, her performance choices? My best answer is that I think she is operating by the spirit, that in some way she has not left the gospel world.

SF: When did you interview her?

CK: In 1963 or 1964 at the Regal Theater, backstage between shows. The same place I interviewed B. B. King for the interview that is in *Urban Blues*. It wasn't a very satisfying interview with Aretha. She was kind of withdrawn. I hardly remember it. I don't think I taped it. At any rate, the notion I have of how she made those performance and repertoire choices is that it was very much by feel, intuition, the way the spirit moved her to find things that resonated or felt good. So yes to the style and stereotype connections that you were making as regards accepting the dominant culture's definitions. The transformative power of her taking the Otis Redding lyric of "Respect" or "Think" or any of those anthems of the late 1960s...

SF: ...subverts the lyrics so that they have not only re-resonated male/female readings, but re-resonated civil rights and conjugal rights meanings as well. Just like

what Ray Charles did with "You Don't Know Me," blurring the personal "me" and creating the allegorical "us"-- locating the song at a moment of intense civil rights struggle.

CK: I think that is a heightened example of all black music: in R & B lyrics, or with B. B. King to "Lucille", the call and the response. All of that stuff goes in two directions. It goes toward the physical: first, the call and response is push and pull, the sexual, an even deeper body-breath-heartbeat dialectic underneath that, and then there are music/lyric and sound/sentiment relationships at a parallel level to those physical, body, sexual relationships. And second, there is a public discourse of white/black implicit in every one of those blues and soul lyrics. Those lyrics play with white/black, love/hate relationships in the USA, and they become highly dramatic with the queen of soul. When Aretha does it, you really *think* about "Think." It can be made into public discourse in a moment like the late 1960s because there's a public arena for these anthemic musics to resonate in. A lot of lyrics since then have not had a movement, a civil rights movement or a feminist movement, sufficiently mobilized and public to pick up those songs and use them. Remember the Pointer Sisters' "We Are Family"? The Pittsburgh Pirates used it as an anthem awhile ago. It is as if songs have an anthem quality and can represent great big social forces at work when there are some social forces to relate them to. Aretha's power in those lyrics is coming from social and historical moments that the lyrics resonate into.

This may sound crazy, but if you take this music/lyric relationship and say it is sexual over here, and political, white/black, civil rights discourse over there, and pull the music lyric out of that, then the message of that music is that blacks are on top of whites sexually, musically, and culturally. It reverses all the race/class oppressions in the moment of the music and in the sound of the voice.

SF: What do you mean?

CK: This comes out of the polka research in a funny way, sort of abandoning the role of a white man who loves black music and saying what the hell is going on with the ethnic working class in America?¹⁶ Do they have a soul music? If you don't do that, if you just stay with the black music, resonate to jazz and blues and the power of black music, you miss something terribly important about a distasteful projection onto black people of our own sexuality, our own emotionality, our own musicality. We give that over to Michael Jackson, or to Aretha, or to other black stars, and it keeps us from getting in touch with our own emotions, warmth, and sexual power. It's as if we have given that up as part of a trade off: we are going to oppress you folks racially and class-wise, keeping you a permanent underclass, but we will revere you as stars of power, celebrities of sensualness. There is something twisted about that.

SF: But isn't that complicated here by the presence of the church in Aretha's life and her music? Isn't your fundamental premise here that with someone like Aretha, we are not just dealing with the secularization of gospel music? Soul and the power of soul can't be reduced to that.

CK: Right. I want to say that it is just the opposite, that the potential, the utopian vision is that popular music will be sacrilized, that the spirit in the dark will be a shining light for all human beings to be redeemed in, that by bringing the church music into the popular arena, you are trying to sacrilize or give the spirit....

SF: ...for a guy who hates the word 'transcendental'....

CK: ...But I don't see the sacred as transcendent. I don't think it is out there somewhere. I think it is immanent, in all human hearts to reverberate to this thing. And that is why the loss of our warmth, spirit, and sexual energy to a mediated Michael Jackson image is such a heavy loss. We are not getting the feedback that we need to vivify or vitalize our own lives, if we just let our energies go into the *image* of this vital stylistic center of power. I am not quite getting this out the way that I would like.

SF: You are getting something out, and I think it has a lot to do with why Madonna appeals to me so much, and why she appeals to Susan McClary and some other feminist analysts.¹⁷ Madonna is also going beyond just messing with categories, to the issue of how to make statements about control, and how to package material that will make people worried, ambivalent, and concerned--material which takes on the stereotypes and works with them. It seems to me that what Aretha does so well with race and rights, Madonna--in this very powerful, working-class white way--does with Catholicism and sexuality. She is dealing with the body, with the desire to explore bodily mysteries and presences, with all this stuff about androgyny, and with the whole palette of sensual pleasure. She puts out a particular kind of statement about why it is ok to explore these things, and why their exploration is necessary to overcome repression in religious forces and so forth.

CK: So the more 'Madonna wannabes' there are, the better? If she is a liberating force, it is because she is going to help other people do this in their own lives? Or is this just a great big *substitution* for everybody's liberation? That is the problem that I have with every one of these celebrity versions or symbolic statements of liberation...

SF: ...what is your problem with Aretha's version?...

CK: ...I have no problem as long as everybody becomes do-right men as a result. If everybody is inspired by the voice, the sound, the power, to raise their own voices and become social activists, then I have no problem at all. But if it never goes beyond vicarious, voyeuristic enjoyment of the paradoxes and the pain, then there is a problem.

SF: Well, then there is a problem! What worries me is the extent to which the most transparently stereotypical dimensions are what gets across in the era of cross-over music. I found Peter Guralnik's *Sweet Soul Music* a fantastic chronicle of what happened to Atlantic Records, and Stax and Motown.¹⁸ But what then becomes so terrifically frustrating and disturbing to me is about the cross-over. Do we know anything at all about *how* white people listened to it? What did it reinforce? What did it change in their whole way of dealing with black America? Part of me says that if all of us had listened carefully to that music from the mid and late 1960s through the early 1970s, then why isn't there more change, more inversion, or a more empowered black America? *What* crossed over? How blackened did we get from listening to all that? Why are we dealing with a re-whitened, re-brightened, more dominating reality of the musical universe in the 80's when we got such a fantastic dose of cross-over in the 60's and 70's? Why didn't Aretha transform white people more? Is it just that it was too easy to read it all at the level of "That's why they call me Shine," with Louis in the soap suds? Was it easier to read the stereotypical "funky chicken" dimension and not pick up on the ambiguated, the played-with, and the reversed? Are the reversals too subtle? Are the inversions too subtle?

Maybe this is why Madonna is so powerful: her stuff doesn't mess with subtlety *at all*. It is so heavily overt. Lying on a huge elevated bed masturbating while a two male attendants, wearing deco cone bras and fondling their tits, nod as she sings "Like a virgin:" that's a kind of theater which makes the politics....

CK: ...But is it? Frankly, I don't get the liberating message from Madonna. It looks to me like porn. It is lascivious conduct on MTV. Maybe it is a parody of Weimar Republic cabaret, but it seems to me like a cabaret writ large of what was going on in Germany during the pre-fascist takeover, when they were pushing every experimental button.

SF: I see it as all about Catholicism. In the two part interview with Carrie Fischer in *Rolling Stone* [June 13, & 27, 1991] Madonna goes on about how the nuns were her heroines. She thought they were super-people. She must have spent a lot of time fantasizing about what their sexual universe was about, how they were keeping it together, what was going on inside their heads and bodies, and what kind of wild dreams of physical union with the higher spirits they were having...

CK: ...so the material girl gives it all a material manifestation...

SF: ...and I think all of her stuff about sex is really about the persuasive theatricality of religion, and that is why it works so well on MTV. She *is* theatrical, a great dancer and gesturer. It is like watching somebody who has looked at countless magazine pages and has really thought about the posed body, the gendering of the body. And she has a level of talk-back toughness that is attractive across class lines.

CK: Yeah. I loved her as an interviewee on late-night television, sitting there with Arsenio Hall or whoever. There, I can see what the magic is. This woman is bold, really putting herself forward.

SF: The *Truth or Dare* film is wonderful that way. Even when you get backstage with her, she still can control everything as if it were frontstage. In fact, you never see any real backstage in that film; the film's most duplicitous move is to make you think that you are backstage with Madonna. She is always in control, always directing, always in charge of her image. The key quote in the film is when Warren Beatty says that Madonna is afraid that she has nothing to say when the cameras aren't there. But you see this extraordinarily orchestrated, controlled thing where she is doing the mother and/as/against the whore, where she's orchestrating all of these scenes in bed with all of these other guys, and she is constantly messing with all of the categories of who is gay or straight, who will reveal what about how much of their sex life to whom and when. She is going to masturbate on stage in front of her daddy, and then, as the encore, bring him up on stage and hug him and make the cast sing happy birthday to him. It is control mania, but it is also extraordinary as a message about empowered women on the top.

CK: That is a long, persuasive liberatory argument, that she is all about upsetting established categories. All I can respond is that the visual message to me smells of Weimar Germany. And I can't remember the music. If you ask me to whistle a Madonna tune, I couldn't. There has never been one of them that has hooked in my consciousness. And I am easily hooked...

SF: ...I don't remember much of them either and that's why I think it is not so much about the music; it's about the theatrical control of performance. The videos are magic as these extraordinary transformations of femininity and voyeurism.

CK: Earlier, you were asking, with a fair amount of anger in your voice that we are not going to get onto the page here, where the hell is all the white activism that should have come from Aretha's music in the 1960s? Why didn't it mature in white minds in the 1980s? Why are we in a more racist, segregated society than we were pre-Aretha? And I guess the parallel point for Madonna should be, if her act is really liberatory, then the Madonna wannabes should be more individuated: not just copying Madonna, but making their own statements. The test is what effect it has on people's lives.

SF: Psychologists like Carol Gilligan talk about something drastic starting to happen around the sixth grade with girls' sense of self-esteem freezing, while boys' soars in terms of the development of self-confidence.¹⁹ The fact that Madonna appeals so much to junior high school girls is potentially part of an optimistic future. Where else are they being told that they can be anything they want and make people listen and watch? That controlling and caring about their appearance is normal and cool?

CK: I see a thin line, though, between the sexual objectification of most pornography and us looking at Madonna's gaze. Louis' voice makes the horrible context of "Shine" small, but does Madonna's presence really reverse all the sexual objectification and the porno stereotypes in her context? Does it make her in charge of herself, and capable of inspiring every woman to take charge of herself and be proud?

SF: I see the Madonna issues very much hooked up to these questions about Aretha, about James Brown, Billie Holliday, Louis Armstrong, the polka stars, about B. B. King or Muddy Waters. In each case the irony of resistance is accommodation, and the power of accommodation is the belief in resistance.

* * *

SF: In these little pieces about copyright and civilization you get into your vehement bad self. These read like little sermonettes, jabs, punches. Why do you think people would or should listen to this kind of preaching? What's the spin?

CK: The positive spin that I can put on this is that I am wondering what is going to stick in people's memories. Seive-ilization. I am hoping that people will remember those things, that they will stick in people's minds like hooks in a song, that they will remember the pun, or keep thinking about it.

SF: Aren't you risking something when you do this?

CK: In the way of oversimplification, you mean?

SF: Yes, and that people will think you are the court jester rather than somebody who has thought deeply and passionately about these things.

CK: I believe that condensation, not wasting people's time, is really important. Let's not waste the trees. I guess that I see what I have been doing the past seven or eight years as trying to essentialize and distill my best thinking into slogans, bumper stickers, aphorisms, or poetry.

SF: Why does ethnomusicology need bumper stickers?

CK: It doesn't. But people need bumper stickers. People need slogans that give them a lift. Like "Take the toys away from the boys." If I could leave the planet knowing that I'd invented one of those, or a song lyric that people were going to sing, I would really feel good. To me that is the magical thing, to find what hooks into people's memories, and crystalizes a stance, a world view, or a position. So it is a high risk proposition to put these things out in a little pile of aphorisms and a couple of slogans rather than as reasoned arguments. But I figure the reasoned arguments are coming out in a lot of great places, that people can read A. B. Schmockler's *The Parable of the Tribes*, or Leopold Kohr's *The Breakdown of the Nations*, or other books that I wish I had written.²⁰ It is my job maybe to punch that home in a song lyric or a poem, or try to get it to more people.

SF: You're talking about getting these things out to more people, but they are appearing in *Echology* or *Ethnomusicology*, which are read by a very small number of people. Even this book will be read by only a small number of people. By bringing these pieces into a world of scholarly discourse, you mostly challenge yet one more boundary about what counts as legitimate discourse within the academy.

CK: I do want to stretch the boundaries of what can appear in scholarly journals, true. And I want to stretch it in the direction of simplification, especially in this period of infinite regression into complexity, which is what I feel constitutes a lot of postmodernism and post-Frankfurt School. There are little attacks here against all the people who are hugging the tar baby of Western Civilization, while these people are just as stuck to that tar baby as advanced music educators. There is a lot of reification of the reifications going on, and I think it is important to risk being called a

preacher, a moralizer, a philistine, a crass materialist, or any of the nasty epithets for people who want to cut through to a Maoist sort of slogan. What are the implications of Madonna, or Aretha, or endless raps on MTV, when no black bank accounts are accumulating money from those songs going back into the community. Because to me, the separation between culture and discourse and theory, and any actual agenda of social change, is getting wider. While it gets wider, and while there is more theory about theory, and more problematization of the problematization, it seems like my role is to be as stubborn a Philistine as I can be, and ask, "Who is getting the money?" I like 'fat thoughts' as Brecht and Benjamin talked about them in relation to the Frankfurt School. We have to hold onto some *plumpe danken* or we can get lost in the competing theorizations.²¹ It doesn't work, though: I have tried it with graduate students the last couple of years, and they look at me like I am cranky or perverse or whatever. They think they have to master all this theory to hold their own with the others...

SF: ...Don't they, though?

CK: I am not so sure. I survived. The way that I held onto my sanity, my anger, my tone and my wanting to convince people, was through holding onto those fat thoughts. I think that is part of the paradox of being an anthropologist, folklorist, or ethnomusicologist, or even a radical popular culture person. You want to hold onto the moment, the intensity of lived experience in the present time. You want to keep that primary and not let the theory or the insights, or the meta meta, the writing about it be more important than the stuff itself. That is probably all I am trying to say with these aphorisms; that lived experience is more important than the analysis of it. That is all I am insisting on.

CK: Planet groove. Do we want it in a musical form? Do we want everybody grooving to the same beat at the same time?

SF: You want planetary grooves, not groove, world beats, not world beat?

CK: I think there is a need for a planetary culture, or at least a thin layer of shared values and assumptions, and some planetary muzak, if not music, that speaks to our common human condition. But even more, there is a need for planetary law and order, and a minimal peace keeping force to keep the world safe for diversity of species and cultures. I really believe that.

SF: You're lining up with Mickey Hart: on his studio wall a sign reads, "It's not World Music, it's the world's musics."

CK: That is a good way to formulate it. But this whole question about legal world/natural world, I got from the Native American Studies people I have been working with the past twenty years in Buffalo. They make a persistent point about separating the legal world from the natural world, and how more and more things get pulled into the legal world.²² That is a world-wide historical process the last few centuries. It seems to me like music could be one of the first things to be brought back into the natural world, by taking it away from copyright.

SF: How can that happen?

CK: The current technologies are feeding on themselves in such a way that people can shape their own musical samples, put together their own cassettes, dub, record concerts, trade music with each other, and use music in a thousand different ways. This technology allows people to spread music around: we don't need the big companies to do it for us anymore. The only people who profit from copyright are the ever-growing, huge companies, and an ever-smaller cluster of superstars. Everybody else is getting screwed by it. Paul Simon makes all that money off of grooves that really belong to the South Africans or the *salseros*. It is an unjust and absurd situation which can never be corrected because the grooves, the textures and the processes, are always collective and traditional, with the exception of the synthesized ones in dance studio mixes. Those are like the plastics and chemicals of our musical world.

SF: But isn't it ironic that people want to take the postmodern hybrid trajectory as a liberatory motion, where all musics can make contact, can blend, and can create some kind of groove together, that Paul Simon can sing with Miriam Makeba? This is a reprise of an old folky rainbow theme, but in a newly politicized and commodified form.

CK: I love the impulse of privileged white males going to work and groove with indigenous traditions. That's just wonderful, and I want to see it happen more. But I don't want to see anyone make a profit from it on the white male, corporate side of the equation. Every time they do use those traditions, the money has got to go to the Zulu or the Puerto Rican Homeless Fund or wherever. That would be justice.

SF: But how do you respond to Joseph Shabalala when he says that without Paul Simon, Ladysmith Black Mambazo would never have gotten a record contract on

Warner Brothers? Now all of a sudden, they are all over the place. Ladysmith Black Mambazo was very successful, very popular, very recorded, very internationally traveled, a known group before Paul Simon and Graceland. But there is no question that quantitatively and qualitatively, the scene has changed for them enormously since 1987.

CK: I would tell Joseph to be content with Shanachie Records and world tours and making a living; nobody needs that extra margin of greatness and stardom anymore. If that is the price to pay for keeping Polydor and Paul Simon from having the copyright and ownership rights to those grooves, it is worth it.

SF: I don't think you can say that to Third World musicians.

CK: But the hope of copyright helping them is what has sustained this wicked exploitation for ninety years now. Everybody thinks they are going to compose a hit song, and that is why they support copyright. Muddy Waters probably went to his grave thinking that someday Leonard Chess was going to give him more than his dental bill or car payments. Everybody is hoping that they are going to make more money because of this ownership principle of music. But they never do. All the black musicians, with the exception of Michael Jackson, wind up poor. All the traditions get screwed over. That has been the case now for decades. How many more decades do we have to see before we can tell the next layer of exploited Third World musicians not to buy the dream?

SF: I don't disagree with you about the pattern of exploitation, but I am disagreeing with you about the positioning of Third World musicians within it, particularly in relationship to larger amounts of exposure, sales, and what they *want*, which is a

greater cut of the action. If their perception is that the same process that is screwing them over is the process which is eventually going to give them a larger cut, then how do you tell them to take a smaller cut?

What is so fascinating to me is the layering of the contradictions in this process. How is it that moves which, from a technical, legal, political, economic, and ethical angle are entrepreneurial and cannibalizing, are at the same time moves which are being read as empowering in various Third World locales? I agree with your sense of the major hegemonic thrust in all this. But I am concerned about perceptions that these musicians have of the marketplace, and about their desires. And I also have to admit being delighted to have a record by Ladysmith Black Mambazo which is better recorded and better produced; I thought a lot of the early stuff sounded crappy.

CK: I like scratchy records. All those perfection areas are totally irrelevant to me.

SF: But can you see that they are important to some musicians on the planet?

CK: Yes, but not as important as getting their music out of the commodity form, if that moment is possible.

SF: Why should Ladysmith Black Mambazo settle for second-rate recording technology, engineering, and distribution?

CK: Because with the high quality recording and distribution and all the rest, ninety percent of the money winds up going to white people. Ever and always. That's why. Most of the money goes to white folks who are already in the positions of power: the gatekeepers, the copyright holders, and the distributors. Distribution is

the key link, and that is where sampling, taping, home dubbing and people trading tapes with each other becomes a bottom-up, grass roots alternative to the distribution system that now exists. I would much rather have shitty quality tapes coming from South Africa that I could dub and give to friends, than buy them from Warner Brothers. I really resent that corporate control. It has become obscene. Three huge conglomerates are controlling the distribution of sound to people. Yet there is a high risk in abolishing copyright in order to liberate music.

SF: What is that risk?

CK: The risk is that corporate control could become even greater. For awhile, the people who manufacture dance music could do whatever the hell they pleased. They could sample James Brown into oblivion. There would be no holds barred, no threat of a lawsuit, for doing whatever the hell you wanted to do with music. And since the big distribution centers have already accumulated the power and the pipelines, they would flood the market with whatever they wanted. They could take anything from Papua New Guinea and turn it into disco or hip-hop or whatever. It would climax the eco-catastrophe for a few years. My hope is that the fallout from that strategy would be the corporations' inability to continue hyping these products by putting hundreds of thousands of dollars into promotion, because they would no longer legally control the music anymore. Then the risk would be that somebody else could go to Brazil and record the same music and distribute it more cheaply. But I am convinced that after these few years of eco-catastrophe in which the big powers do what they want to with the world's music, that eventually it would find its own market level, and people would share the music that they want to share without the hype and corporate control. Currently, the control justifies the hype.²³ If you have the copyright and think it can be defended legally in court, then hundreds of

thousands of dollars can be placed behind saying that this punk rock excrescence is the one to promote this spring. You can risk all kinds of money trying to shake people's consciousness to like a particular music. But I trust people to go for the music they really need.

SF: ...Isn't that a mystification, "the music they really need"? Who determines which music they really need?

CK: They do. At the most local and personal level, they will make their own music. More people will make their own music in small groups and localities, in little watershed areas. We folks around Scajaquada Creek in Buffalo will start making our own music after the blowout from the abolition of copyright. It would heighten the realization that we all need our own music to be intensely personal and to bind us to the people right around us. I don't think that is utopian. I think it is built into us.

SF: Charlie, I think that you are mixing up two things. One is your attack on ownership, and the other is the promotion of all possible bases of strength in the music community. If I understand your position, your key argument is that the people who will always be the most oppressed by the ownership system are the people whose work remains in an oral tradition. They will always have the least control once their work is commodified. Additionally, the divide between the musically oral and literate will not become less, but will become greater as a result of the reproduction of the power in a copyright law system which fetishizes the written form...

CK: ...It could all be quite different. The four tracks and eight tracks, all the porta-studio equipment, could enable every local musical group to make its own tapes

and distribute them. The technological capacity to do away with big companies arrived a decade ago, and is now completely available to people. You can do four track recording. John Collins does them with highlife bands, and they would sound wonderful on LP. You don't need a big recording studio or a big company to make high quality recordings anymore...

SF: ...Come on! When was the last time you were able to *get* a John Collins recording of West African highlife? I mean, what I 'm concerned with is whether your vehement politics of anti-ownership cuts off the musicians who are really struggling to get their music out there. And what I keep coming back to is that musicians have aspirations and desires to get their stuff out, to be treated with respect, and to make a living. Look, I would love to see a bin at Tower Records where there are one, two or three hundred well-recorded CDs of any kind of music from Papua New Guinea, with liner notes that tell you what the songs are about, where you see the people's pictures name by name and they are not an anonymous bunch of bongo-bongos, where you can meet the Ulahis, the Gigios, the Seyakas, where you feel like you can experience their place, their humanity, their music. Where you can meet the Kalibobo Bamboo band or Paramana Strangers or New Krymus and have that opportunity to imagine why the world sounds and feels different to them. I think that kind of presence can't and won't be ignored.

CK: What is going to bring that about quicker? Monopoly capitalism, which can only focus on one star at a time? "We can only have one Sonny Adé." Do you know how many fantastic jùjú bands there are in Lagos? Besides Adé and Ebenezer Obey? And none of them get recording contracts. We can only focus on one tribe in Papua New Guinea, or one star in Yorubaland. That is the tendency.

SF: I agree with you: commodity capitalism, and particularly monopoly capitalism, promotes musical tokenism. And World Beat at this juncture is precisely about musical tokenism, especially in the way it is positioned polar to the marketing of real world music; that's exactly my point about how schizophonia is attached to schismogenesis.

CK: And all in the name of racism, because World Beat ignores the African foundation of all "world" music. In the name of imperialism, because we are claiming the entire world for us in the Western distribution networks. In the name of capitalism, because it is mainly a selling label. My big enemies, racism, imperialism, and capitalism, are all served by that mushy label, World Beat. I even hate to see it in the title of your article or of your course. It already says that we are going to succumb, that this is the label that we are going to work with, or that we have accepted it.

SF: Why is that label any worse than "jazz," or "blues," or "salsa?" Because as a commercial gloss of syncretic hybrids, it ignores the history, strata, the real paths and roots of artistic innovation and cannibalism? Ignores the real issues about diversity and survival?

CK: It ignores all the feedback loops, the process, and the localities. Let me give you a position to think about as an alternative: a fund--and it would only take twenty minutes of American military spending to create it --to record every single one of the world's peoples on the best equipment and put all three thousand to five thousand peoples into one hell of a beautiful bin down at the record store. Every one of the world's peoples could be recorded in high quality sound. Fifty million bucks would probably do it. Not a hell of a lot of money to tally the world's expressivity in the

most beautiful way, with lots of liner notes, and books following on that by the people who went there for a few months and did the recordings. If we had the bins and a planetary UN program to make sure that the world's musical moments of the 1990s are recorded before the ecocatastrophe becomes total, before homogenization and grey-out become totally sinister, I think it would be a great salvage-anthropology thing to do. I'm with Lomax²⁴ and anyone who thinks along those lines. Especially with the abolition of copyright, some kind of planetary insurance policy for the world's musics, coupled with the abolition of copyright would make me a pretty happy dude.

SF: Ok, that's one strategy. Tell me more about your other strategies for supporting musical diversity...

CK: ...I like trading tapes with people around the planet. I think that would happen more if we weren't relying on stuff to pop into the bins. If present trends continue, I don't have to correspond....

SF: ...the globalization of the Grateful Dead idea...

CK: ...Yeah. That is one of the nicest things about them. I would almost exempt the Grateful Dead from the "every star represents a loss for an individual" claim. I think they probably are part of that syndrome, too, as kind of a pseudo-community. But on the other hand, they are allowing everybody to tape everything.

SF: Then what do you say to Zappa, Dylan, and all those people who are talking back to the bootleggers?

CK: They are all assholes!

SF: Why?

CK: Because everyone's music belongs to everybody else. The more bootlegging, the merrier. Why should they have an extra couple of million bucks to live in Malibu? Neither of these guys return their money, like the Grateful Dead do. What does Dylan do with his money? Have you ever heard of him buying homes for the homeless? Springsteen gives ten thousand here and ten thousand there to good things. Sting does a few good things, Phil Collins does a few good things. But I think that everyone of these stars represents a rip-off of the emotions of millions of people if they don't return the buck in socially redeeming ways is a good notion to get established. I learned that in China, with Li Gu Yi, the most popular singer in China in 1980, with maybe 100 million dedicated fans. She symbolized the hope of freedom to millions and millions of Chinese youth, and she was only paid sixty bucks a month and drove to work on a bicycle. She saw it as a privilege to be singing to so many people. It was clear that everyone involved in these songs was just honored as hell to be part of that process. And she is absolutely right, because you can't put a monetary value on that. It doesn't commodify or compute when you are the voice of your people. But I don't think our Bob Dylans and Frank Zappas, for all their radical politics or pretensions, think that way. I don't think they have confronted the exchange of money for emotions that is represented in their royalties. And that is exactly the right word: people who get royalties think of themselves as royalty, that they are the princes and princesses, and they don't return it. They don't think, "I got to be Bob Dylan because all these people invested in my lyrics and my emotions and it meant something to them. I should keep my tithe and the other ninety percent should go to the causes represented in my lyrics."

There are a lot of places to spend money for change on this planet, and every musician should have the conscience to do that.

I really think that part of our job as music critics, scholars and analysts is to hold to the fire the feet of the people who pretend to raise consciousness, but don't put it back into economic operations. This is where Lewis Hyde's gift book is extremely important: the gift must always circulate.²⁵ Musicians have to keep moving the money around that comes out of people's emotions and their best instincts, their love vibe, their spiritual aspirations, their thirst for justice, their thirst to hear certain words expressed in a certain way. Bob Dylan owes us. He did us a wonderful thing, and we gave him the money. Now the gift should circulate.

SF: What about the way that Wallis and Malm's *Big Sounds from Small Peoples* describe money circulation in Sweden with the creation of a fund where they put royalty money back into stimulating live musical performance? Even if the money is coming from musical homogenization, aren't there ways to put it back into heterogenization?

CK: Well, I guess this is the libertarian part of me, but I really distrust committees and subsidies to the creative, because it always involves a singling out process. If you really believe that every single person born on this planet has their own vocal expressive destiny, that they are all musical, that they all have their own music to make and they are going to make it ever better in their own local watershed, then who is to decide how to take the money from the homogenization process and heterogenize it?

SF: But there are lots of folks who are driving cabs and selling t-shirts and scuffling who need time and support to create their work, whether they are visual artists, or

dancers or performers or musicians. Don't think of committees as calibrating the worth of these individuals; think of how you want more music to be made, how much you want to encourage more creative spirits to be more creative ...

CK: ...All I know is that for fifty years, the polka bands never got a subsidy, they were never considered folklore, they were never considered opera or symphony. Whenever money is put aside in the USA to support the arts, 90 to 98 percent of it goes to the bourgeois forms, to symphonies and opera and big Bolshoi bullshit kind of stuff. And a little trickle goes to folklore, where there is the authenticity/purity issue. By the time you have that five percent to the "folk," there are folklorists deciding who is pure and who is a revivalist: yech! The very person that you and I would want to see supported, which is some old-timey musician who is taking heavy metal tunes and doing them on the banjo or whatever, opening a new crack into reality, isn't going to get the money.²⁶ I can't see how committees are going to anticipate new ethnogenesis, the creation of a whole new groove. A whole new groove is never going to be subsidized.

But to get back to with World Beat, you pivot everything on appropriation and revitalization. "The complex traffic in sounds, money, and media is rooted in the nature of revitalization through appropriation." You were saying that in Papua New Guinea pop, people appropriate, and that the people they appropriate it from revitalize it. But sometimes that doesn't happen. They just get appropriated from and they get wiped out and the substitutes come in singing cover tunes. I am worried about that.

SF: Only a small number of cassettes are all cover tunes. The pattern of a lot of the string band music in Papua New Guinea is that they have just one song in Tok Pisin,

and the rest are in the local language. So all these guitar bands are at some level very much celebrating their language and their locality.²⁷

CK: I can't hear enough about that. I can't hear enough about how ukeleles are being retuned. I cannot hear enough about people taking the flip-flop sandals and whacking those bamboo tubes. I have to hear that to keep faith that people are reinventing themselves, their traditions, their process, their textures, and their grooves in response to new material like pipes and rubber flip-flops, putting things together, inventing themselves and their sound to keep up with the process. I need to hear that is happening, because my worry is that if it doesn't happen quick enough, then the cassettes, headphones, and the transistorized mechanisms will substitute for local creativity.

SF: It's true that a lot of music has been lost, too. But at the same time I don't doubt that some of the so-called World Beat experiments or mixes yield forms of stimulation that impact musical traditions in good ways. I also don't doubt that for performers, it can be an enormous amount of fun just to have a particular kind of contact with another performer. Understand that I'm not defending World Beat music here. What I am trying to do is locate as much as possible the contradictions involved in appropriation, to talk about the extent to which things which you and I like and are happy to celebrate are entwined in all the appropriating moves. I am trying to talk about how the forces that are homogenizing and those that are heterogenizing are dialectic. This is what I think is central to understanding struggles for musical diversity now; the extent to which the diversity we believe in is dependent on the forces that we more typically imagine as countering diversity.

SF: Your Japan piece asks heavy questions about the quality and nature of people's listening and viewing, about the social processes in which reception is embedded. By the end of the second paragraph--whamo!--you're linking mediated experience to interpretive moods, participatory practice and consciousness...

CK: ...and the social context for it too. Usually researchers are either measuring quantities or they've got this lit. crit. deal that they do with what a soap opera is really about. And they don't really go out and sort of see what people are really doing with it. I guess Janice Radway's book *Reading the Romance*, that's sort of like the kind of ethnography I have in mind, except she set up discussion groups for people...It's about how women get together in groups and interpret the bodice rippers. But more books like that that would really help to bridge the gap. I think actually the experiential moment that made me rethink this whole deal was sitting in a bar in Tokyo and watching people really getting worked up singing with the microphone. They get pumped up trying to sound like Frank Sinatra or Tony Bennett. They enter in a participatory way the persona of the person they're trying to imitate. It's Kabuki or Noh theater. It's a dramatic identification. And everyone at the bar can get into the spirit of, yeah, that's our Frank Sinatra, that's our Tony Bennett, and look over at Yoshi over there doing that.

SF: But in the end you move even further. It's not just personalizing, it's humanizing. And it's resistant. You end the paper with the importance of a sense of reclaiming the music from the record companies, arguing that that might be the underlying principle of rap and dub. That's why I don't think it is a very Ludite or cynical piece at all, despite your admissions that you treat records badly, don't think they're real

music, and are deeply ambivalent about mediation. You found something pretty inspiring in rap and dub and in your experience in Japan that gave you this window for looking at mediation and it's connection to participation as another site where people can, for a moment, shape and move the corporate insertion aside.

CK: I think I got as empathic as I could given that I'm a Ludite before and a Ludite later. And I don't think the Ludism is a cynical thing either. That too is kind of like recapturing that moment when Ned Lud goes in there and smashes up the stocking machines or whatever. There's a crazy moment back there in the Cromwellian Era. I don't have the books to cite, but there are these books about the levellers and the ranters and diggers and all these movements within Protestantism about people taking liberation thoughts to their crazy conclusions.²⁸ We've got to destroy all the machines in all the factories or we've got to...if you say that Adam and Eve were naked, let's all get naked. Let's go for it! Let's level it or dig it or rant it. Do you know about the ranters? They were out there shouting. I mean, they really were literally ranting! Ranting and raving. We need that shit!

SF: You're really describing a certain kind of compensation very concretely here, one that answers your question about compensating for what's lost in the mediating process. The compensation is in the creative responses...

CK: ...in ranting and raving?...

SF: ...ranting and raving....

CK: ...in levelling and digging?...

SF: ...in levelling and digging and dubbing and rapping. Singing along...

CK: ...I guess there is the spirit of that in there, isn't there?...

SF: ...getting into the humanizing and personalizing mechanical processes.

CK: Yeah. And the rappers and the dubbers are in the spirit of the diggers and the levellers and ranters and the ravers and the revellers. It's all people getting up and acting out and saying we don't take it anymore.

SF: So when you ask if there's any compensation for the loss caused by schizophonia, you certainly could answer that there is an endless struggle to reclaim...

CK: ...the live moment. The present time. But isn't it hard to overestimate the power and scope of the substitutions? That is, because it's happened, because this mediated thing has happened, it's hard to really gauge how much has been lost. We just sort of take it for granted now, that we don't make most of our music and that live musicians don't make it within our presence so there's a kind of double substitution going on. We're three degrees removed from participation. If musical rites are primarily a response to social strains and crises and if we have massively privatized and solipsized what was once a social healing, again these are kind of like the theme of loss--what is lost? Can you think of more examples of third worlders really getting a boost or getting something from this whole process?

SF: You know Chuck, I think in straight out material terms, I don't think we can...

CK: ...so what is gained?...

SF: ...but if you circumscribe the discussion of schizophonia in terms of what is lost and what is gained, it casts a very dramatic negation around the process which doesn't leave all the hopeful room that I feel for the kind of creative responses that people can make.

CK: It kind of gives up the struggle before you've even struggled?

SF: Well, it gives a certain kind of sweeping, massive force and volition to these processes that puts them out our hands. Rather than say, like you do in your Japan piece, that there's really something to be looked for there in these bars, or in homes, in what people are doing with their records and what they're doing with their *enka* cassettes. Certainly there are enough examples of wonderful, vibrant syncretic musics and guys beating the bamboos with their flip-flops at the outposts to inspire us.

CK: To what extent does the mediated music represent another addiction or drug in people's lives? In My Music we really identified that early on in a lot of the interviews and then we just sort of side-stepped it. Because in any one person's life it doesn't seem like a big problem, but when you look across the interviews, it begins to emerge that people are using music to pump themselves up and to reinforce egos and to chill themselves out before they go to the workplace. A whole bunch of ways that people would use dope. That makes me wonder if we aren't all on the wrong end of any complementary schismogenesis process in music? I keep thinking that we're on the submissive, dependent, spectator side of all those dyads. The other thing I want to raise here is about why you say rap is an example of dramatic, local resistance. What's local about it? I mean, Hammer and Tone Loc seem like national

and international commodities to me. They don't seem local. Why don't rap and reggae have visible economic feedback to community channels by now, when they have all this local resistance tone about them?

SF: Well, they're resistant to the industry in a sense. There's a stylization here in rap of a kind of anger and a kind of hurt that's very special and it is local. Because it just looks like a bunch of guys in leather jackets pointing their finger at you, and swinging their arm and speaking in a voice which is defiant, shouting, demanding...no matter what they're talking about or singing about, they're saying we've had enough of your crap. And who are they talking to? What are they talking to? They're talking to us, to each other, they're talking to a lot of gender stuff, they're talking to the cops, they're talking to all the institutions, from school to the record companies. They're saying, we're doing this, you're making the money, controlling the scene, so...

CK: ...but they're not changing that equation. Out of all that gesturing they're not changing the equation...

SF: ...so they make themselves more marginal and more inaccessible or use more words that make it impossible for anybody to put it on the radio. And it's about getting caught up in that cycle of anger, rather than breaking the cycle in which the connection between the empowering part of this talking back that they're doing can really be moved into a kind of active phase where it goes into the communities like you're talking about.

CK: You just made it a lot clearer for me. It's like what we call in R.C. rehearsing anger or acting out anger. It's not the same thing as releasing the anger or purging yourself of it. It's kind of like...

SF: ... putting it on the stage, like live wrestling on television, where you know those guys have worked it all out beforehand...

CK: ...right. ..like who's gonna take the fall....

SF: There's something about it which, particularly in the M.T.V. version,...

CK: ...it's back to the Madonna point. This is dramatization before it's music or anything else...

SF: ...yes, rap has become such a high theater, trading on the soap drama of street toughness, the theatricality of shouting that y'all damn well better be afraid of us. And all of it meant to startle, to shock...

CK: ...and meant to reenforce the homeboy's home turf. And that's what you mean by "it's relentlessly local".

SF: Right, whether or not the rappers are saying "this is our CNN", their representations of themselves constantly hook back to what you say about style and stereotype in your blues and polka paper-- because rap is stylistically working within and through and against the mainstream stereotype of the angry young black male that whitey needs to be scared to death about... and the more Afro-centric it becomes the less intelligible and potentially more scary it becomes to anybody who doesn't understand the linguistic and cultural dialect in which its inflected.

CK: I've got a few questions on the "Voices of the Rainforest" part of this piece. What does it mean to condense twenty-four hours into one hour? What's that condensation about? It kind of boggles my mind when I think about it, that spaced out sound is suddenly condensed into a C.D.

SF: It's not just that the time is proportionally condensed in any kind of mathematical way. "Voices of the Rainforest" is simultaneously hyper-real and a tone poem. It's an evocation of a sound world, and it sounds like things that happen in dreams. Because space and time are simultaneously condensed and expanded. It's not just temporal condensation that frames that editing. It's that time, all these years of my time there, all of this hearing the Kaluli people and their world, and hearing them talk about this, and listening to it with them-- all that goes into this. This is where I think Murray Schafer's insight is really correct. Soundscape research really should be presented in the form of musical composition.²⁹ That is one way to bend the loop back so that the research and the artistry comes together and we can auditorally cross those rivers and those creeks and climb those trees and walk those paths without the academic literalism of print mediation. I'm working with a very simple idea, which is that what is important to Kaluli are things like texture, density. And the objective correlates of these things, in acoustical terms, relate clearly to the height and depth and spatial-temporal time cues in the rainforest...

CK:... that's the next part of my question...

SF: ...and if I could make it possible for you to hear that...I mean, what I think is really compelling about trying to penetrate another world in any sensory mode, is to really imagine how they could possibly hear this. Clearly Kaluli hear it many different ways. Just like we hear it many different ways. There are different figures in grounds,

different things jump out in different ways. This is not a matter of trying to give you one way of hearing it, or enforcing the notion that there is any one best way to hear it, but putting it out there so that somehow you can move a little closer to the experience--not just to the experience of being there, but to the experience of imagining what kind of person a Kaluli person - a listening and sensing Kaluli person- is...

CK: ...and what all that sound experience has done to shape their sensibilities...basically you're synthesizing in the studio there with all those close-up recordings different sensory experiences that you've had, or that you've had with Kaluli, or that you know Kaluli have had over and over again. And you're able to get that as vividly on the CD as possible, and you hope that your listeners will get some of the same experiential highs and wisdom from the experience.

SF: Yes, to be a translator from a local phenomenology through a sound studio based, objectivist, acoustical set of sounding realities, manipulating parameters and trying to feel which subtleties could be brought out a little more, which presences could be more present for uninitiated ears.

CK I think it's going to come as news, big news for a lot of readers that contemporary studios consciously manipulate sound in these three spatial dimensions. You know, that they've got left to right stereo, they've got foreground and background by using all the echo effects, and then height, the vertical dimensions.

SF: This hooks into the first part of the book, Charlie. There we're saying that one of the big realizations is that many musics are not syntax based, but more important,

that syntax really isn't the core of what most musical experience is about anyway. So what really is the core of musical experience? If we insist that the core has more to do with these dimensions of process and texture and timbre, the recording has to bring alive the 'lift-up-over-sounding' so listeners can hear, can experience textural densification, can experience in synch and out of phase sound, and can experience it with men's and women's voices, in leisure, work, and ritual activities, can get that deep connection between labor and play. So the method of the editing for Voices of the Rainforest is very much oriented toward saying that this is what a non-syntactically centered music sounds like. Here are a whole bunch of possibilities for a different listening, for one acoustic ecology, for hearing that world, which should be saying to you over and over again, it's not about syntax. The melodic and rhythmic dimensions of this music are simple by some measures, but if you listen, you realize that "lift-up-over sounding" is musically anything but simple, that it is incredibly subtle, it is wonderfully nuanced, voices are flowing like waterfalls, lifting up over one another like layers of birds dueting in the canopy, like trees arching over each other on ridges, like waterfalls flowing into water pools and creekways. And when all of that synesthetic, or sonesthetic experience can be evoked by the juxtapositions, by these kinds of simultaneous space-time compressions and expansions, then for me there is a little bit of a possibility to move across cultures in a very...

CK: ...bold...

SF: ...directly feelingful way...

CK: ... bold and decisive...

SF: ...and bring people into the acoustical reality of Kaluli 'lift-up-over sounding'...

CK: Because we can hear three spatial dimensions-- that things are foreground and background, left and right, highs and lows; that it's a real...the rainforest has three dimensions...

SF: ...a groove, a rainforest groove -- the temporality of sonic height arching upwards as outwards as onwards...'lift-up-over sounding...I want you to listen and be able to think about the idea that some human beings hear this every day. Some human beings grow up with this version of acoustic ecology. With this kind of ratio of technological sounds to non-technological sounds. With this kind ratio of ambient sounds to human sounds. This kind of interpenetration of nature and culture. And just have you listen to that and think about what kind of human beings Kaluli might be if that's what they're grooving on...

CK: ...and here, you can groove on it too...

* * *

Footnotes

1. The opening chapters of Stanley Diamond's *In Search of the Primitive*, New Brunswick: Transaction Books 1974, the diligence with which he edited *Dialectical Anthropology* for many years, but most of all his advocacy for Biafran independence in the late 1960s, were all a continuing source of energy for me to persevere in writing and teaching during difficult times. [CK]
2. The Louis Armstrong video mentioned here is: *Satchmo: Louis Armstrong*, from the series *Masters of American Music*, CBS Music Video, 1989; written by Gary Giddins.

Leadbelly (Huddie Ledbetter, 1889 -1949) composer, singer and 12 string guitar player is legendary for the extraordinary variety of African and Anglo-American musical styles he sang; blues, gospel, field hollers, prison songs, work songs, ballads, railroad songs, cowboy songs. He is perhaps more legendary in some quarters for singing his way out of jail, to a pardon from Texas Governor Pat Neff in 1925, and then, during a 1930-1934 jail term, being recorded by John and Alan Lomax during their 1932 Library of Congress collecting tour, again leading to release and to a touring and recording career, both solo and with Big Bill Broonzy, Woody Guthrie, Sonny Terry, Josh White and others. The year after Leadbelly died, 1950, his song Goodnight Irene went to number one on the international charts in a rendition by Pete Seeger and The Weavers. Many of his songs were major hits during the 50's folksong revival and are widely recorded.

Leadbelly's "discovery" and story is presented in John and Alan Lomax's *Negro Folksongs as Sung By Leadbelly*, New York: MacMillan, 1936. For song books see Moses Asch and Alan Lomax, *The Leadbelly Songbook*, New York: Oak, 1962; J. Lester and Pete Seeger, *The 12 String Guitar as Played By Leadbelly*, New York: Oak, 1965. Ledbetter's life is also the subject of a biographical film, *Leadbelly*, by Gordon Parks, 1976; stills from the film are included in a book by the same title featuring its songs New York: TRO, 1976. *The Lead Belly Letter*, edited by Sean Killeen, is a regular newsletter since 1991 devoted to information about Leadbelly's musical career. A substantial amount of the Leadbelly song repertory, including his many famous songs (like Alberta, Boll Weevil, Bourgeois Blues, Cotton Fields, Go Down Ol' Hannah, Grey Goose, Ha Ha Thisaway, Midnight Special, Rock Island Line, Goodnight Irene, Western Plains, Fannin Street, John Henry, Pick a Bale of Cotton, Stewball, Good Morning Blues, Take Your Hands Off Her, Sylvie, Take This Hammer, Can't You Line 'Em) is available on his Folkways recordings, many currently being republished in digitally remastered form on the Smithsonian-Folkways label. [SF]

3. And pretending to be of different regions, too. All the country & western bars of the urban Northeast are filled with people who are not geographically "country" or "western" but are certainly tuned in to the ethos. [CK]

4. On reversal, parody, and the carnivalesque, and their importance in opposing and inverting systems of domination, see M. M. Bakhtin, *Rabelais and his World*,

Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984; Barbara Babcock, *The Reversible World: Symbolic Inversion in Art and Society*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1978. On inversions and anti-structure see Victor Turner, *The Ritual Process*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1969, and *Metaphors of Anti-Structure in Religious Culture*, in his *Dramas, Fields, and Metaphors*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1974. [SF]

5. Richard Sennett and Jonathan Cobb, *The Hidden Injuries of Class*, New York: Vintage Books, 1973. Lillian Breslow Rubin, *Worlds of Pain: Life in the Working Class Family*, New York: Basic Books, 1976, contains a large and thorough bibliography. Little is written about the hidden injuries and mental health problems of owning class people, probably because one key piece of the ideology that holds everything together is the notion that people with money at the top are always content, adjusted and secure. [CK]

6. I think I'm using "style" as shared coherence of form in something like the way Bohannan defines "culture" as shared values and race as "shared genes." In other words you can draw a circle around one person, say Theolonius Monk, or a few people, the beboppers at Minton's, or four generations of jazz improvisers, or the whole stream of unwritten music in the world and speak of "style." This kind of usage tends to leave out "genre" as a useful category. [CK]

7. Edward Sapir (1884-1939), was a brilliant exponent of the Boasian vision of the centrality of language to the implementation of culture, displayed in his analyses of Navajo, Yana, Nootka, Chinook, Southern Paiute and other North American languages, as well as Germanic and Indo-European languages. He also was a humanist who wrote literary and critical works. His book *Language: An Introduction to the Study of Speech*, New York: Harcourt, 1949 (1921) is still widely read, as are his papers, many of the best known collected in, David G. Mandelbaum, ed., *Culture, Language and Personality: Selected Essays by Edward Sapir*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1956. Assessments of Sapir's impact during his University of Chicago (1925-31) and Yale University (1931-9) periods can be found in the short biographical articles on his contributions to anthropology and linguistics by David Mandelbaum and Zelig Harris in David Sills, ed., *International Encyclopedia of Social Sciences*, New York: Macmillan/Free Press, 1968, and, more substantially in Regna Darnell's study, *Edward Sapir: Linguist, Anthropologist*,

and Humanist, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990. Sapir's complete writings are currently being assembled and published by Mouton de Gruyter; thus far volume 5, writings on American Indian Languages has appeared, edited by William Bright, 1989. [SF]

I return to the Sapir essay, "Culture: Genuine and Spurious" over and over again, without really looking at the rest of his work, because I am usually thinking about participation from an individual point of view (swingwrights crafting grooves) or with a spiritual/political reform agenda (how can we create a little ritual space or an effective demonstration with lots of music and drama) whereas Sapir is theorizing participation from the cultural side -- what are the characteristics of a culture that encourages participation and how has industrial civilization alienated us? [CK]

8. My Music (Sue Crafts, Dan Cavicchi and Charles Keil, eds., Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1993) consists of 41 people, clustered in six groups from children to elders, talking about music in their lives. The puzzle for readers is that each person seems so unique, not conforming to the Billboard chart categories at all, pulling together diverse musical resources to shape a personal identity, and yet cumulatively one gets a sense of underlying negative common denominators -- mediated music replacing music-making as people get older, varying kinds of isolation that music soothes with a substitute feeling of togetherness, music as memories of life, music as a coping mechanism. [CK]

9. The compelling music ethnographies I had in mind are Christopher Waterman's work on Yoruba jùjú, reported in *Jùjú: A Social History and Ethnography of a West African Popular Music*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990, and, *Jùjú History: Toward a Theory of Sociomusical Practice*, in S. Blum, P. Bohlman, and D. Neuman, eds., *Ethnomusicology and Modern Music History*, Urbana: University of Illinois Press, pp. 49-67, 1991; David Coplan's work on South African pop and worker's music, reported in *In Township Tonight!: South Africa's Black City Music and Theatre*, New York: Longman, 1985, and, *Eloquent Knowledge: Lesotho Migrants' Songs and the Anthropology of Experience*, *American Ethnologist* 14(3):413-433, 1987; Thomas Turino's work on Andean urban and rural musical contacts and identity formations, reported in *The Coherence of Social Style and Musical Creation among the Aymara in Southern Peru*, *Ethnomusicology*, 33(1):1-30, 1989, and *Power Relations, Identity and Musical Choice: Music in a Peruvian Altiplano Village and*

among its Migrants in the Metropolis, Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Music, The University of Texas at Austin, 1987; Marina Roseman's work about the Temiar of Peninsular Malaysia, reported in *The Social Structuring of Sound*, *Ethnomusicology* 28(3):411-445, 1984, and, *Healing Sounds from the Malaysian Rainforest: Temiar Music and Medicine*, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1991; and, Anthony Seeger's work on the Suyá, reported in *Why Suyá Sing: A Musical Anthropology of an Amazonian People*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987, and *When Music Makes History*, in S. Blum, P. Bohlman, and D. Neuman, eds., *Ethnomusicology and Modern Music History*, Urbana: University of Illinois Press, pp. 23-34, 1991. [SF]

10. See Footnote 18 of *Dialogue #2*. Other deep ecology classics are Elisabet Sahtouris, *Gaia: The Human Journey from Chaos to Cosmos*, New York: Pocket Books, 1989; Bill Devall, *Simple Means, Rich in Ends: Practicing Deep Ecology*, Salt Lake City: Peregrine Smith Books, 1988; Bill Devall and George Sessions, *Deep Ecology: Living as if Nature Mattered*, Salt Lake City, Peregrine Smith Books, 1985. *The Trumpeter: Journal of Ecosophy*, a magazine out of Victoria, B.C., is a good current source of deep ecology thinking. Write to them at LightStar, P. O. Box 5853, Stn. B, Victoria, B.C. Canada V8R 6SB. [CK]

11. Jane Ellen Harrison's books are still the best resource I know for trying to understand what the transition from classless to class, from animism to polytheism, was all about in ancient Greece. *Themis: A Study of the Social Origins of Greek Religion*, Cleveland, Ohio: Meridian Books, 1962 (1912) and *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991 (1903). [CK]

12. On gender and emotion and crying see my *Wept Thoughts: The Voicing of Kaluli Memories*, *Oral Tradition* 5(2-3):241-266, 1990; Jerome Neu, 'A Tear is an Intellectual Thing', *Representations* 19:35-61, 1987; Nadia Serematakis, *The Last Word*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991. Good reviews of important issues can be found in: June Crawford, Susan Lippax, Jenny Onyx, Una Gault and Pam Benton, *Emotion and Gender: Constructing Meaning from Memory*, Newbury Park: Sage, 1992. On the anthropology of emotions see: Catherine Lutz, *Unnatural Emotions*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990; also her *Emotion, Thought and Estrangement: Emotion as a Cultural Category*, *Cultural Anthropology* 1(3):287-309, 1986; and with Geoffrey White, *The Anthropology of Emotions*, *Annual*

Review of Anthropology 15: 405-436, 1986; John Kirkpatrick and Geoffrey White, eds., *Person, Self and Experience*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985; Michelle Rosaldo, *Toward an Anthropology of Self and Feeling* (pp. 137-157), Robert Levy, *Emotion, Knowing, and Culture*, (pp. 214-237), Robert Solomon, *Getting Angry: the Jamesian Theory of Emotion in Anthropology* (pp. 238-254), all in: Richard Shweder and Robert LeVine, eds., *Culture Theory: Essays on Mind, Self, and Emotion*, NY: Cambridge University Press, 1984; Renato Rosaldo, *Grief and a Headhunter's Rage: on the Cultural Force of Emotions*, in Edward Bruner, *Text, play and story: the Construction and Reconstruction of Self and Society*, Washington: American Ethnological Society, pp. 178-195, 1984. [SF]

13. I don't know what has happened to the Peggy Harper dance film, *Tiv Women: The Icoug Dance*, by Francis Speed, Peggy Harper and Akwe Doma, that I reviewed in the *American Anthropologist* 70: 1234, 1969, but it was part of a very valuable series documenting dance traditions in Nigeria. Tiv songs are available on "Rise Up Africa" by the Benues, World Record Series, W W Communications, 112 a & b Westbourne Grove, London W2 5RU, England. [CK]

14. Musicians United for Superior Education, Incorporated, 81 Crescent Ave., Buffalo, N.Y. 14214 is a non-profit organization dedicated to incorporating the Muses in the lives of primary school children. We are teaching African, African-American and Afro-Latin drumming-singing-dancing traditions to children in primary schools and after-school programs. [CK]

15. Mainstream Afro-Pop and Planet Groove dance parties on the air do a great job of celebrating the existence of Africa and the diaspora's musical products but never say anything about the wars, the assaults, the people, the hunger, the AIDS, the devastation and destabilization of Africa. In the context of increasing culture crushing it is hard to be completely positive about this kind of airwave representation when the price is the total depoliticization and decontextualization of the music. Lack of interviews, historical commentary, documentary responsibility and the like thus seem to be a particular problem in the current commercialization of Afro Pop, of which NPR's Afro-Pop World Wide, hosted by "Josh Colonial" is the slickest and most apolitical and acultural version. [SF & CK]

16. One of the reasons we had so much trouble and delay in getting our polka work published was that we wanted to do a large book for both polka people and an academic audience; editors advised us that if we tried to cross the great class divide we would lose both audiences -- scholars wouldn't read a popular book with pictures and polka people didn't want to hear about theory. But another reason, or source of resistance, was that we wanted to compare black and white stylistic developments and this desire comes up against a kind of left-liberal orthodoxy that considers comparing polkas to blues or jazz as an insult to African-Americans or a denigration of "American Improvised Music", jazz as Art. [CK]

17. Susan McClary's essay on Madonna is in her collection, *Feminine Endings: Music, Gender, and Sexuality*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1991. The Carrie Fisher-Madonna interviews appear in *Rolling Stone* 606 and 607, June, 1991. On Madonna and sexual alternatives see Lisa Henderson, *Justify our Love: Madonna and the Politics of Queer Sex*, in Cathy Schwichtenberg, ed., *The Madonna Connection*, Boulder: Westview Press, 1992. For a review of ways academics have appropriated Madonna in the service of numerous contemporary theoretical positions, hence rewriting popular culture in and as elite discourse, see Daniel Harris, *Make My Rainy Day*, *The Nation*, June 8, 1992, pp. 790-793. Some other provocative pieces of Madonnology suggested by Lisa Henderson include: Susan Bordo's *Material Girl and the Effacements of Post-Modernism*, *Michigan Quarterly*, Fall 1990; John Fiske's chapter on Madonna in his *Reading The Popular*, Boston: Unwin-Hyman, 1988; and Jane Brown and Laurie Schulze's *The Effects of Race, Gender, and Fandom on Audience Interpretations of Madonna's Music Videos*, *Journal of Communication* 10:88-102, 1990. [SF]

18. Soul music may not have transformed the lives of white people en masse but the individuals who write books about it do hear the messages and interpret them with great skill: See, Peter Guralnick, *Sweet Soul Music: Rhythm and Blues and the Southern Dream of Freedom*, New York: Harper and Row, 1986. Gerri Hirshey, *Nowhere to Run: The Story of Soul Music*, New York: Times Books, 1984. Christopher Small, *Music of the Common Tongue: Survival and Celebration in Afro-American Music*, London: John Calder, 1987. David Ritz, *Divided Soul: The Life of Marvin Gaye*, New York: McGraw Hill, 1985. The failure of white people to listen and learn from soul music was perhaps paralleled by the failure of black people to hold on to what they had and earn from it. See Nelson George's very astute *The*

Death of Rhythm and Blues, New York: Pantheon Books, 1988, and *Where Did Our Love Go? The Rise and Fall of Motown Sound*, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1985. [CK]

19. On gender differences in socialization see Carol Gilligan, *In a Different Voice: Psychological Theory and Women's Development*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1982; Carol Gilligan, Nona Lyons, and Trudy Hammer, eds., *Making Connections: The Relational Worlds of Adolescent Girls at Emma Willard School*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1990. A *New York Times Magazine* piece, *Confident at 11, Confused at 16*, (January 7, 1990) is a recent popular distillation of the implications of Gilligan's work on socialization. [SF]

20. See Andrew Bard Schmookler, *The Parable of the Tribes: The Problem of Power in Social Evolution*, Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1984; Leopold Kohr, *The Breakdown of Nations*, New York: E. P. Dutton, 1978 (1957).

The one song lyric I've written that still has some currency around Buffalo is based on a Mahotella Queens riff :

We're thinking green about the planet
 And we're planting trees
 Plant 'em!
 Watch them grow

We're thinking green about the planet
 Promote the family farm
 Top soil!
 Yeah, buck that erosion

We're thinking green about the planet
 We like diversity
 Critters!
 All different kinds [CK]

21. Brecht on Theatre, edited and translated by John Willett, New York:XXX, 1964. Walter Benjamin, *Illuminations*, translated by Hannah Arendt, New York: Schocken, 1969. Russell Jacoby, *Social Amnesia: A Critique of Conformist Psychology* from

Adler to Laing, Boston: Beacon Press, 1975, has good references to the Frankfurt School fusion of Marx and Freud. [CK]

22. For a few summers running in the early 1980s I did a lot of street music with a variety of musician friends. People were always surprised and glad to see us. I discovered that returns in the hat were almost always proportional to the number of people playing; three people made \$30 at lunch hour in the plaza downtown, five people made \$50. No problems with the police. Then a lawyer came along and introduced a piece of "busking legislation" with over a dozen "provisions", a \$10 license to get for each musician -- all in the name of protecting and empowering musicians. Just a local example of the legal world defining matters that did not need to be defined. See Nan Hoffman's "Annotated Bibliography on Street Performing" in *Echology* 1:64-68, 1987. [CK]

23. On the music business and the development of the popular music and communications industries after 1900 see volume 3 of Russell Sanjek's monumental study, *American Popular Music and Its Business: The First 400 Years*, NY: Oxford University Press, 1988. Also his, *From Print to Plastic: Promoting America's Popular Music 1900-1980*, Brooklyn: Institute of Studies in American Music, 1983.

Some other significant studies include: Steve Chapple and Reebee Garofalo, *Rock and Roll is Here to Pay: The History and Politics of the Music Industry*, Chicago: Nelson-Hall, 1977; Wayne O. Coon, *Some Problems with Musical Public-Domain Material Under United States Copyright Law as Illustrated Mainly by the Recent Folk-Song Revival*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1971; R. Serge Denisoff, *Solid Gold: The Popular Recording Industry*, Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Books, 1975; Simon Frith, *Music for Pleasure*, London: Routledge, 1988; Charlie Gillett, *Making Tracks: Atlantic records and The Growth of a Multi-Billion Dollar Industry*, New York: Dutton, 1974; Pekka Gronow, *The Record Industry: the Growth of a Mass Medium*, *Popular Music* 3:53-75, 1983, and *Sound Recording*, in Erik Barnouw, ed., *International Encyclopedia of Communications*, 4:112-121, 1989; Paul Hirsch, *The Structure of the Popular Music Industry*, Ann Arbor: Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan, 1970; James Lull, ed., *Popular Music and Communication*, Beverly Hills: Sage, 1987; Graham Murdock, *Large Corporations and the Control of the Communications Industries*, in M. Gurevich, et. al. eds., *Culture, Society and the Media*, London: Methuen, pp. 118-150, 1982; Roger

Wallis and Krister Malm, *Big Sounds From Small Peoples: The Music Industry in Small Countries*, New York: Pendragon Press, 1984. [SF]

24. Alan Lomax's *Appeal for Cultural Equity*, *Journal of Communication*, 27(2):125-139, 1977, introduced the notions of "cultural pollution" and "cultural greyout" and argued vehemently against the tide of monopoly funding and support for dominant high culture forms as false consciousness representations of a generic American cultural heritage. Lomax currently directs the Association for Cultural Equity at Hunter College, and his work of the last 30 years on the evolution and diversification of human musical and movement styles, largely published in academic circles under the titles *cantometrics* and *choreometrics*, is now integrated on CD-ROM as *Global Jukebox*, and being promoted as an attempt to share, reinvigorate and stimulate musical diversity and equity in the planet. To link Lomax's views discursively and politically to the issues of anthropological interventions for human rights, see Robin Wright, *Anthropological Presuppositions of Indigenous Advocacy*, *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 17:365-390, 1988.

A perspective on cultural loss among the Kaluli is Edward L. Schieffelin's *The End of Traditional Music, Dance, and Body Decoration in Bosavi, Papua New Guinea*, in Robert Gordon, ed., *The Plight of Indigenous Peoples in Papua New Guinea*, Volume 1, *The Inland Situation*, Occasional Paper #7, Cambridge, MA: Cultural Survival, pp. 1-22. (This piece was originally written to outline Schieffelin views of cultural greyout in Bosavi in 1975-77 following up the situation he encountered during his initial research in 1966-68; it was first published in 1978 as a discussion paper by the Institute of Papua New Guinea Studies). [SF]

25. On gifting and the circulation and exchange of commodities and sentiments, see Lewis Hyde, *The Gift: Imagination and the Erotic Life of Property*, New York: Random House, 1979 and the classic by Marcel Mauss, *The Gift*, New York: Norton, 1976 [1925]. For an update on the famous Kula ring exchange of the Trobriand Islands, see Jerry W. Leach and Edmund Leach, eds., *The Kula: New Perspectives on Massim Exchange*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983. For another kind of Papua New Guinea perspective, from Bosavi, see Edward Schieffelin, *Reciprocity and the Construction of Reality*, *Man* 15:502-517, 1980, and Bambi B. Schieffelin, *The Give and Take of Everyday Life: Language*

Socialization of Kaluli Children, especially Chapter 6, Socializing Reciprocity and Creating Relationships, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990. [SF]

26. For as long the music departments are totally dedicated to Old White Men's music and for as long as mass mediated music continues to steadily displace live music, I suppose we have to make common cause with folklorists. They represent one source of strategies for keeping traditions going that might otherwise fade or disappear faster. But as per the old debate with Dorson (my 'Who Needs 'the Folk'? Journal of the Foklore Institute 15:263-266, 1978; his rejoinder Editor's Comment: We All Need the Folk. Journal of the Folklore Institute 15:267-269, 1978, and my reply Comment: The Concept of 'the Folk'. Journal of the Folklore Institute 16:209-210, 1979) one wonders if it isn't time to change the focus from "folk" and "folklore" to people, everyday life, and strategies for reemergent cultural and biological diversity. [CK]

27. On the vitality of Papua New Guinea pop bands see Don Niles, Commercial Recordings of Papua New Guinea Music 1949-1983, Boroko: Institute of Papua New Guinea Studies, 1984 and yearly supplements issued regularly. These catalogs give a good sense of the level of activities and the varieties of PNG pop recording, although they have no figures on sales and circulation, or on radio play. Michael Webb and Don Niles' Riwain: Papua New Guinea Pop Songs (booklet and cassette tapes), Boroko: Institute of Papua New Guinea Studies, 1986 is an anthology of lyrics and guitar chords for fifty well-known tunes from the 1970s and early 80's. Michael Webb's Lingua Franca Songs and Identity in Papua New Guinea, 1991, is the first thorough academic review of PNG pop; originally his Wesleyan University Music Department Masters thesis, it will appear shortly in revised form in as volume 3 of the series Apwitihi: Studies in Papua New Guinea Musics, from the Cultural Studies Division of the National Research Institute, Papua New Guinea. [SF]

28. Norman Cohn, The Pursuit of the Millenium: Revolutionary Millenarians and Mystical anarchists of the Middle Ages, New York: Oxford University Press. 1970 (1957) [CK]

29. Canadian composer, author and researcher R. Murray Schafer was founder and director of the Wolrd Soundscape project at Simon Fraser University and inventor of

the notions of soundscape and acoustic ecology. His major statement of the principles of soundscape research, design and composition are in *The Tuning of the World*, NY: Knopf 1977; paperback 1980, University of Pennsylvania Press. Other important books include *The Vancouver Soundscape*, Vancouver: World Soundscape Project, 1978, *Five Village Soundscapes*, Vancouver: World Soundscape Project, 1977; *European Sound Diary*, Vancouver: World Soundscape Project, 1977; *The New Soundscape*, Toronto: Clark and Cruickshank, 1969; *The Book of Noise*, Wellington: Price Milburn, 1970. [SF]