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Lost Lineages and Neglected Peers:

Ethnomusicologists Outside Academiai

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Abstract

TO BE WRITTEN~~~!!!!!~~~ AFTER REREADING PAPER

Introduction:

It is an honor and a little terrifying to be invited to give the first Seeger-Seeger lecture since the series was started in 1976, when Charles Seeger delivered a plenary address on "The Musicological Juncture: 1976." The challenges for a Seeger to deliver a lecture named after Charles are legion. Being born a Seeger in the mid 20th Century itself brought with it a certain amount of baggage. There were my father's stories from his youth about traveling with his brothers in a

trailer and playing while his parents delivered concerts on the violin and keyboard to sparse audiences. Growing up in New York City I met Lead Belly, Woody Guthrie, and many other artists. I attended many free concerts and made many backstage visits—like the one at Carnegie Hall in December 1963 (figure 1). An advantage of being a Seeger in those days was that people usually remembered my last name, On the other hand, many acquaintances to this day occasionally call me "Pete" or "Charles" or "Mike." I have frequently been either praised and blamed for the actions of other members of my family for which I had no responsibility. Alan Lomax, for example, once complained to me on the telephone "You and three generations of Seegers have ruined American folk music." ii

My parents sang, as did most of their acquaintances, and so did I, starting very early. I learned to play the banjo at age ten at my parents' summer camp, had a fan club of screaming fourth grade girls when I was in 8th grade, and with friend Rusty Simonds won the Town of Putney Vermont's talent show with friend when I was sixteen that had a prize of \$25.00 and a television appearance. The promised television appearance never materialized—even teenage Seegers were apparently blacklisted in those days. I kept on playing anyway, until I decided there were far too many Seegers in the performance arena and that I would rather become an anthropologist who *studied* music than make a place for myself among the other performers.

Pete Seeger, and to a lesser degree Charles, cast broad shadows. The rest of the family has had to figure out how become independent of them. I considered taking my wife's surname when we married, but decided I might as well accept the challenges that came with my own. One of the great advantages of living and working in Brazil for nearly a decade early in my career was that I could establish a personal academic and political reputation beyond the shadow of my extended family. I returned to step right into Grandfather's shoes at his 1976 plenary lecture to the SEM (at which he asked me to read the middle section of the paper for him), followed his footsteps first to Washington, DC, and then (eerily) to UCLA. Now I am delivering the lecture named after Charles Seeger himself on the 50th anniversary of the society he helped to found.

The rest of this paper is divided into three parts. In the first I will describe missing ancestors and peers in the Society for Ethnomusicology. In the second I will discuss issues in what is called applied ethnomusicology. In the third I will return to Charles Seeger to discuss his ideas on applied musicology and suggest a supplement to his famous diagram "The Conspectus on the Musicological Process" (Seeger 1977:115).

Missing Lineages

The Seeger Family

Every family has missing lineages. I would divide these into three types. One type of missing lineage is a branch of the family that is not recalled in celebratory moments. A second kind is where part of the family chooses not to affiliate with the rest on its own accord. A third kind of missing lineage is where a member of the family dies without offspring—where a potential sub-lineage is never realized. The Seeger family has its fair share of both.

Figure 1. Members of the Seeger Family at Carnegie Hall 1963
(rear l-r) Marjorie, Mike, Peggy, Charles, Penny, Pete, Daniel Seeger
(front l-r) Mika, Toshi, Tony Seeger. Carnegie Hall, December 1963

Look at the photograph of members of the Seeger family backstage at Carnegie Hall in 1963. Here is Charles Seeger surrounded by three of his children, two daughters-in-law, and three grandchildren. There are missing lineages in all three senses in that photograph. First, Charles Seeger's eldest son, Charles Seeger Jr., and his wife and three sons are missing because they had moved to Leiden, in the

Netherlands. Leiden was the only place my uncle Charles was able to get a job as a radio astronomer during the Cold War, because everything related to astronomy was classified and his name was Seeger. Two other people missing from the photograph are my father and mother, who actually attended the concert but decided they would rather stay out front and talk to friends than go backstage (the voluntary absence from the family picture). Of Charles' three sons with Constance Seeger only Pete Seeger is there. Of his four children with Ruth Crawford Seeger, Barbara Seeger is not there either. She was the only one of Charles' second family who did not become a musician. She has generally avoided the limelight as well. Of the third type of missing lineage—ancestors who left no descendents--Charles Seeger's younger brother, the poet Alan Seeger, left no children when he died fighting in the French Foreign Legion before the United States entered World War I. Charles Seeger's sister, Elizabeth, achieved fame as an elementary school teacher and author of elementary school books. She never married and left no descendents (although she was much loved by many of her students and certainly by her family). I will not belabor this point. Suffice it to say that the photograph of the family was shaped by number of factors, including people missing without cause, people who chose not to be there, and people who left no descendents to represent them there.

The Society for Ethnomusicology (SEM)

The SEM we know is like a family photo—there are some missing lineages here as well. At the venerable age of 50 we should examine our family photo and think about who is not here who might have been and which ancestors we have preferred not to recognize. Each of you could think of some important figures little referenced in current U.S. Ethnomusicology. Many scholars in other countries who have made important contributions to the study of music are not present in the U.S. ethnomusicological pantheon. There are U.S. scholars whose gender, ethnicity, politics, or language may have prevented their timely recognition and presence in our reflections. iii The main point I wish to emphasize is that the current membership and preoccupations of the SEM are rather limited. They are limited in terms of inclusiveness, breadth of purpose, and understanding of the potential of ethnomusicology outside the academy. We justifiably celebrate our achievements, but I feel we fail to fully recognize certain important figures and we fail to appreciate the activities of some of our colleagues and former students.

At a conference on the history of ethnomusicology at the University of Illinois (the papers for which were published in Nettl and Bohlman 1991), I recall listening to laudatory papers describing the importance of Eric von Hornbostel,

George Herzog, and Charles Seeger to ethnomusicology. In the discussion of the papers I recall saying I thought another important figure was missing from the papers presented: Alan Lomax. There was nothing wrong with recognizing Charles Seeger and Eric von Hornbostel, along with the "founding mothers" of American ethnomusicology described by Charlotte Frisbie (Frisbie 1991). Yet it seemed to me that ignoring Alan Lomax implicitly also meant leaving outside our concept of the discipline many important activities in which Lomax was a major figure.

Alan Lomax was a field researcher and sound recorder, a radio personality with a nationwide radio show in 1938, a producer of legendary concerts, a performing artist, a record producer, and a founder of the English folk music revival. His interests were broad and he always sought to expand the audience for the music and causes he admired. In his later years he was the visionary behind one of the largest comparative projects ever imagined for the study of music, dance, and speech—even though it was considered by many of us to be totally wrongheaded. Alan Lomax was a prodigious record producer. His five-volume anthology of the folk music of the United States, from recordings in the Library of Congress, was a milestone. He produced a ten-volume set of music of Great Britain on Caedmon Records, an eleven-volume set of the music of Spain on Westminster Records, an eighteen-record set of music of the world on Columbia Records, and a twelve-

volume set, *Southern Journey*, on the Prestige label. Astonishingly, all of these appeared in the 12 years between the invention of the LP record in 1948 and 1960. He eschewed independent labels and talked large record labels into publishing and distributing his series. He didn't just produce, he wrote about his work, as evidenced in the recently published volume of his writings (Ronald Cohen 2004). In the *Hi Fi/Stereo Review* in 1960, Lomax wrote that the 20th century would be remembered as one of aural discovery through recordings:

To the musicologists of the 21st century our epoch may not be known by the name of a school of composers or of a musical style. It may well be called the period of the phonograph or the age of the golden ear, when, for a time, a passionate oral curiosity overshadowed the ability to create a music. Tape decks and turntables spun out swing and symphony, pop and primitive with equal fidelity; and the hi-fi LP brought the music of the whole world to mankind's pad....(Lomax 1997 [1960]).

Alan Lomax could be abrupt, caustic, and without patience. We can debate many aspects of his practice, his failure to cite the work of others, and the usefulness of his approach to music and speech. But we shouldn't ignore him as we did at the 50th anniversary conference—not a single one of the 400 papers delivered there

dealt with Alan Lomax or his work. With the exception of Charles Seeger, Alan had the broadest vision for the reach of the comparative study of music in our profession.

The reason I have singled out Alan Lomax is that he is a model—however imperfect—of a combination of applied and theoretical ethnomusicology. Alan Lomax was an articulate representative of the hundreds of concert organizers, record producers, performing artists, composers, political activists, and encouragers of vernacular traditions that the SEM has tended to ignore—in the sense of failing to reflect on their activities or to include them our midst even though many trained ethnomusicologists spend their lives doing those things.

Not only are certain people missing from our ancestors, certain musical genres have been ignored. Ethnomusicologists have focused their studies rather imperfectly on only some of the music in the communities they have visited or are a part of. Many genres were rarely recorded or studied—especially domestic and children's music. As Amanda Minks has demonstrated (Minks 2002), ethnomusicologists have paid remarkably little attention to children's music, even though all humans pass through childhood and even though millions of adults perform for and with children in homes, schools, and summer camps (Seeger & Seeger in press). When the Indiana University Archives of Traditional Music

wanted to prepare a CD of children's music from its huge repository of field collections of thousands of hours of recordings, the staff could only find about 35 minutes of children's music! It is being performed but it is certainly not well documented. In addition to not being recorded, the cataloguing systems of most archives are probably not set up to distinguish children's performances from those of adults. My own collection of Suyá music at the Archives of Traditional Music contains recordings of children singing they did not find. Far too much of our attention—my own included, I might add—has focused on public performances by adults, at the expense of documenting and learning to understand domestic performances by women, children, and families.

How Did this Happen?

What has shaped our field this way? Why have certain people and genres been left out of our history and our 50th anniversary portrait? Who decides who's "in" and who's "out" anyway? The answer to those questions is certainly complex, for there are probably multiple causes. I would like to highlight some intrinsic and some extrinsic factors that have shaped the institutionalization of ethnomusicology, and thus its selection of ancestors and its self-definition.

Foremost among the extrinsic influences has been the desire to create a discipline of ethnomusicology. It is not easy to establish a new discipline within a university curriculum, or even a sub-discipline within a department. Our predecessors had to demonstrate ethnomusicology's significance and excellence according to criteria used for other humanities and social sciences—publications, refereed journals, book series, etc. The committees that judge our programs and our colleagues are comprised of peers in other departments. Programs in Arts & Sciences must be relatively compatible with other programs there; programs in schools of music or the arts must be compatible with those. The Arts and Sciences tend to privilege print publications over those in audio or multimedia, to emphasize publications in refereed journals in English rather than publications in research languages in journals our peers have never heard of. They understand book series, but not recording series. They may or may not be able to appreciate the significance of creating and teaching instrument ensembles, the creation of edited scores, or compositions in non-Western idioms—schools of music are probably better equipped to evaluate those than arts and sciences. Our deans would prefer to have rankings in order to show off the consecrated "jewels in the crown" of their institutions. Our field is, therefore, shaped in part by the institutional structures in which it has been established.^v

Things that were not easily comparable—like recordings, public outreach,

political involvement, and institution-building outside of universities—were not what the university-based part of our discipline needed. We needed academic legitimacy. Furthermore, most of our students' role models, advisors, judges, and juries are institutionalized academics.

There are some other important external factors as well. These include significant political, economic, and cultural inequalities as well as technical and economic constraints. A discussion of the former would require another paper. Among the latter I would single out the economics of academic publishing and distribution, which make it much more likely that publications will appear in English for the university-based college market than in languages with fewer speakers or fewer programs in ethnomusicology. Until very recently it has been much more expensive to publish small runs of books or audio recordings than to publish larger runs. Publication costs and format limitations also affect the acceptable length of books and audio recordings. The limited number of days for scholarly conferences and the importance of giving papers for scholarly advancement limit the length of most contributions to 15 or 20 minutes. We face these constraints as best we can by creating (or copying) academic genres from other fields. We all too rarely face them critically and consider what we aren't publishing, what we are not able to say in 20 minutes, or what we are not able to do at all.

Funding for research is another external factor that shapes our field. U.S. citizens are relatively quite fortunate with respect to research funding compared to ethnomusicologists in/from other countries. Thanks to a number of government fellowship programs there is more money for the study of music abroad than for the music of the United States. Yet funding also shapes research, dissertations, and to some extent the directions taken by the field. Non-citizen graduate students cannot apply for most of these fellowships; the period of time may be limited; the restrictions on travel to more than one country may restrict understanding of regional phenomena, etc. The relative lack of funding for preparing field notes and recordings for archival deposit affects the number of collections deposited in such archives.

In other countries scholars may have much more difficulty raising the large amounts of money required for extensive research time ("field work") than do scholars in the United States. This shapes their research as surely as having such funding shapes ours. Yet I have repeatedly been impressed with how much our colleagues in other countries are able to accomplish with less support. In fact, I have occasionally wondered why my American colleagues, with all the infrastructure at their disposal, did not produce measurably more or better

scholarship than my Brazilian ones, who labor under difficulties unimaginable to most U.S. academics.^{vi}

In addition to these external factors that have shaped our field, there are internal ones. One of these is the creation of academic lineages. The "ancestors" of a discipline are created by their descendents. They are created through publications and also through conferences. Intellectual ancestors are frequently announced by the students of formulators of important questions or policies in an area of knowledge they wish to establish as an academic discipline (or "school"). The celebration of such ancestors is usually enacted at academic conferences and confirmed through publication. Since academic disciplines are defined to a large extent through their presence in universities, a strong preference is given to ethnomusicologists affiliated with institutions of research or higher learning and those who published their ideas in words in print rather than through other media. Eric van Hornbostel fit this model, as did Charles Seeger. Van Hornbostel was a systematizer of knowledge and had a number of assistants at the Phonogrammarchiv, among them Dieter Christensen (1991), to remember him. Charles Seeger established a university-based musicology curriculum and spent much of his life articulating what musicology should be. He also acquired a new group of devoted students at UCLA late in his life, who idolized him. Alan Lomax did not fit these definitions in terms of institutionalization, but he published extensively; Pete

Seeger didn't fit and Mike Seeger didn't fit either, though both are writers, researchers, producers, and musicians.

I would like also to highlight the power university faculty have over their students in this context. Faculty in graduate institutions exercise tremendous authority over their students. They admit some instead of others; they decide who will receive fellowship support and who will not; they may delay or reject a dissertation; they write anonymous letters of recommendation their students may never see but that can make or break their chances of obtaining university appointments. This process continues after the Ph.D. through what is called peer review, in which anonymous colleagues decide the fate of one's manuscripts, grant applications, and promotion. When I began teaching at Indiana University my father warned me "Don't make your children compete with your students. It is easy to have your students adore you; it is more difficult to have your children even like you."

The power of faculty over graduate students has many advantages for both of them, and one outcome is students' gratitude for the inspiration of their teachers.

Another is teachers' delight in the success of their students. From gratitude to the creation of ancestors is a small step, and one that may benefit the student (whose

prestige is raised through association) and the teacher (whose prestige is raised through the work of successful students).

Outside of academia the kind of power frequently found between professors and students is much less common. Concert producers, heads of granting agencies, and directors of record companies have relatively little enduring power over anyone—artists, employees, and friends may all easily move from one employment to another. While one could argue that Alan Lomax had the power of invective—demonstrated in our telephone conversation—he had far less power over my status and future than my former professors and peers.

One of my concerns about the SEM selection of colleagues we celebrate and groups we include in our fiftieth anniversary portrait is that it includes few people working outside of academia, in spite of the rapidly growing Applied Ethnomusicology section. Omitting from the history of our discipline ethnomusicologists who worked outside the universities means we are speaking much more to one another than to the world at large. Safe, maybe—there is less to explain to deans, colleagues in other disciplines, and state legislators who raise their eyebrows or voice objections—but ultimately rather limiting. It is important not to confuse the strategy of institution building with the definition of the

discipline.

III. Applied Ethnomusicology

Many people are uncomfortable with the phrase "applied ethnomusicology" — some because of the word "applied," some because of the word "ethnomusicology," and some because of both words. We apply our ethnomusicology every day, in some sense or another—certainly when we design courses and teach. I leave the clarification of the terminology to others, and will focus instead on kinds of actions people might undertake in this area.

To begin this discussion, I believe it is important to consider the questions below:

- a) Is everything an ethnomusicologist does applied ethnomusicology?
- b) Can non-ethnomusicologists do applied ethnomusicology?
- c) How much ethnomusicology is there in "applied ethnomusicology" today, and what is it in any given project?

I will systematize the following pages by dividing our applied activities into three types, according to the kinds of knowledge required: (1) activities where intensive knowledge of a certain musical tradition enables us to be particularly effective; (2) activities where a very good knowledge of the researcher's own society and the music industry is necessary in addition to intensive knowledge of a certain musical tradition for us to be effective; and (3) Activities where knowledge both of local communities and of the wider social context in which that community lives isessential (see figure 2)

- I. Activities where intensive knowledge of a certain musical tradition enables us to be particularly effectively.
 - Teaching, performing, and interpreting
 - Writing for a wide variety of audiences in wide variety of genres
 - Scholarly publications
 - Popular magazines & newspapers
 - Reviews, online blogs, webcasting, etc.
 - Producing recordings and radio shows of those traditions
 - In collaborative projects with local musicians
 - In ways that appear to benefit local musicians and traditions
 - Providing evidence where specialized knowledge is required
 - Unexpected uses of data for land claims, expert testimony, etc.
 - collections deposited in archives that are subsequently used by community members
- II. Activities where a very good knowledge of US society and the music industry is necessary in addition to intensive knowledge of a certain musical tradition for us to be effective.
 - a. Assisting musicians with issues of copyright, publication, & dissemination
 - b. Bringing musicians to tour in the USA, Europe, and elsewhere
 - c. Starting a record label, distribution company, or other business
 - d. Creating music education programs for primary and secondary schools.
- III. Activities where knowledge of local communities and of the wider social context in which that community lives are both essential.
 - Political activism, land adjudication, practices where mediation between local, national and international bodies is required.
 - Formulating national or international cultural policy.

Figure 2. Spheres of knowledge and its application in ethnomusicology

I. Activities where intensive knowledge of a community's musical tradition enable us to act on the basis of talking and working collaboratively with people in order to understand musical processes (aka field work).

A. *Teaching*, *performing*, *and interpreting*. This is an obvious use of ethnomusicology, and one for which some kind of specialized knowledge about a musical tradition is generally required. One cannot prepare a good course syllabus, direct an ensemble, or arrange music without specialized knowledge. Specialists in musical traditions can often do an excellent job assisting musicians in presenting their music to unfamiliar audiences at festivals, lecture demonstrations, and other kinds of public events.

B. Writing for wide variety of audiences, through general market books, newspaper columns, reviews in commercial journals. Some of my best writing has been in genres as small as letters to the editor and memoranda to the Brazilian secret police, but I have also written for popular journals and for small specialist audiences. I believe ethnomusicologists need to reach out consciously to diverse audiences through their writing (and interviewing on radio and television).

Certain kinds of publishing are required for academic advancement, but that should not be coextensive with the writing we do. I recommend that we think

about what we can contribute through the knowledge we are privileged to have had the opportunity to learn.

C. *Producing and disseminating recordings*. This includes radio at all levels, audio recordings, and web distribution. One of the unexpected rewards of working at Smithsonian Folkways Recordings was the feedback from people who told us that certain Folkways recordings had changed their lives, caused them to take up an instrument, made them realize they had a tradition to be proud of, or started them on an ethnomusicological journey. Marina Roseman was so moved by the sound of the Temiar recording on Folkways that she selected them for her research. Most of the "ethnographic" recordings were prepared by people we would claim as colleagues. Ethnomusicologists recordings or videos may have an impact long after their producer has forgotten about them. Teachers often learn about the impact they have had on students years later. Folkways was fun because people who heard the recordings were often so astonished at their impact. Radio can also wonderful—NPR was very important to Folkways—though I find live radio quite frightening. Small efforts work as well—the UCLA Ethnomusicology Archives has a weekly radio show in which students often serve as voluntary hosts, introducing a musical tradition they know about. It is distributed on cable to student dorms.

C. *Providing evidence where specialized knowledge is required.* Specialized knowledge can be very important to artists and communities. Our systematic research of apparently arcane things can have surprising results. My detailed notes and publications about the history of the Suyá use of natural resources provided essential "objective" proof the Brazilian government could understand and accept as evidence of their use of lands from which they had been removed in the 1950s. My carefully collected data contributed to their success in recovering the lost lands in 2000. vii Since my wife and I were the only non-Indians who spoke Suyá and the only outsiders who had lived with them for 2 years, the data was detailed and verifiable. It was very rewarding for us (I worked *hard* to collect that data, most of which wasn't used for anything in my writings), and very useful for them. What good is a researcher? You never know. I am having copies made of all my field recordings in the Archives of Traditional Music so the Suyá can create a "culture center" in their new village. Talking with my peers in Lowland South American Indian research, it appears that as we age some of us find ourselves being treated as elders—we are the ones who took the trouble to learn things 35 or more years ago. This is troubling, and I would rather have them use the data I collected than my imperfect understanding as a resource. But it's true, I do know things they have forgotten—I paid close attention then and recorded them or wrote them down.

II. Cases where a good knowledge of *our* society is also essential to the activity. For some ways of applying ethnomusicology, it is not enough just to know a community and its musical traditions. For some things it is essential to have systematically learned fairly esoteric information about the researcher's society as well.

A. Assisting musicians with issues of copyright, publication, and dissemination. Successfully assisting musicians in their dealings with the entertainment industry depends on our knowledge of those aspects of our own society, which is often insufficient to the challenge. My detailed understanding of Suyá musical performance was no help in protecting their economic interests in their songs. Just because a researcher is a member of U.S. society does not mean he or she understands copyright laws. Assisting musicians requires research, collaboration, and great care. But as trained scholars, with above average literacy and fluency in the national language in which they seek protection, we ought to be able to find out enough to be useful—even if what we find out is the need to "hire a specialist."

B. *Bringing musicians to tour the USA and help them professionally.* I think many of us are increasingly finding this to be an expectation raised by the

musicians we work with because we are presumed to have contacts in our own society. Many ethnomusicologists have organized tours for musicians in places they done research—many lessons can be learned about both communities (and various perspectives) from such collaborations. Some ethnomusicologists have established organizations for touring artists. Yet others work as university arts administrators, or in the National Endowment for the Arts. Here the objective is to bring artists to new audiences, to highlight the diversity and excellence of the arts, and to make it all work economically and culturally—it is a very complex thing to do, but like my experience at Folkways, certainly rewarding. On the other hand, the road to disaster is paved with good intentions—some musicians have been stranded by insufficiently organized tours and lack of suitable infrastructure, and some individuals have found themselves liable for losses. It pays to do research in this field as well.

C. *Starting a record label*, *distribution company*, *or other business*. Cultural businesses like these are, above all, businesses. Their success for people we work with depends on our success in business. They will be happiest if we are successful as businesses, leaving the art to them.

D. Creating music education programs for primary and secondary schools. It is

not enough to know, for example, why Suyá sing to create an effective and plausible music curriculum. It is very important to know elementary education as it is practiced in different states and to understand regulatory processes, parents' groups, and local politics. There is interest but also confusion about objectives and methods for the introduction of greater musical variety into our schools, and specialized knowledge of a given tradition is only part of what is required to create viable music programs.

III. Cases where knowledge of *both* local and wider communities is essential, because local life is affected by national, regional, and global processes.

A. Voting, political action, land adjudication, and policies where mediation between local, national, and international bodies is required. Gage Averill has been an observer in at least one election in Haiti. I was elected president of the Indian rights commission of Rio de Janeiro (Comissão Pro-Índio do Rio de Janeiro) ostensibly because I knew about the problems they faced first-hand and worked at a very prestigious institution. It was probably more important that I wasn't affiliated with any of the political factions within the membership—there was tension between different camps of the Communist Party, for example. As an American I also was probably safer than a Brazilian would have been in those years under the military dictatorship because I could leave the country. But the

bomb threat at our first mass meeting, the wave of letter bombs to leaders of other organizations, and the animosity in some governmental quarters were unsettling. I did use my analytic training to create policies, however. While the membership was most interested in media campaigns and local debates, as a social scientist I felt the government was most vulnerable in its need for foreign loans to balance the budget. As president I encouraged local mobilization efforts (to please the membership) but also sought to use policies at the World Bank and certain European banks to put pressure on the central government to improve its policies regarding indigenous peoples. VIII Using our knowledge outside academia is not always easy, or safe, or respected. If a scholar becomes involved in local politics at this level, it is very important to learn as much as possible about local, national, and international forces. I had many firm friends who provided essential advice and companionship during my years in Brazil. It was exhilarating to be in a country where university professors were considered to be trustworthy experts and where the use of ideas for political ends is expected.

B. *Formulating cultural policy*. Large nations and international organizations like UNESCO formulate policy without much attention to musical or cultural processes at the local level. As secretary general of the International Council for Traditional Music (ICTM) I have had some experience in this area during the past few years.^{ix} UNESCO is a nation-based organization that consults a large network

of international NGOs in its deliberations (the ICTM is an NGO with a formal consultative relation to UNESCO). Subject-area specialists like ethnomusicologists can play a role in cultural policy as long as we recognize the limits of our influence and are willing to work within them. Even if one of us is not at the table in the discussions, we should be ready to support those of our profession who are.

Many international projects end up having some good effects and some bad ones. We rarely know which will be which and there are lamentably few follow-up studies. You and I may think we know how cultural and musical processes work today, but at many joint meetings with politicians the old demons of authenticity, immutability, and nationalism keep returning to dog our efforts in the formulation of policy. The worst of it is that scholars like ourselves legitimized those concepts in the first place, so we are arguing with our predecessors' ideas—hardly encouraging for politicians. The wording on the recent "Convention on the Safeguarding of the Oral and Intangible Cultural Heritage" was debated for months and months, and finally established and voted on by ambassadors, not scholars—though many scholars were involved in improving the original text (see also Early 2005). The more elevated the document the more important small changes can be—and the more difficult they are to make. It may well be worth a week to change a particular word or small phrase in a convention because, should

the document become policy, that word could be important to artists in many countries. Similar opportunities and frustrations appear in legislation on intellectual property. The presence of ethnomusicologists in these discussions, however, is very important. We must be applying our knowledge locally, nationally, and internationally, just as our analyses of musical practices increasingly include all these levels.

IV. Back to Charles Seeger and the 1930s.

Any discussion of applying ethnomusicology and formulating cultural policy must include Charles Seeger. Charles is best known to ethnomusicologists today for the densely argued synthetic articles of the later decades of his life that are highlighted in two collections of articles assembled in the last phase of his career. (The second volume contains more of the earlier articles, but misses several important ones). Much less attention has been paid to his earlier writings, to his political idealism, to his work for the Roosevelt administration, to his Pan-American Union years, and to his work with various UNESCO organizations. These other "careers" are described in some detail in Ann Pescatello's biography and some of them are analyzed in the collection of articles about aspects of Charles' varied career edited by Bell Yung and Helen Rees (Yung and Rees 1999). But most of the anthologized articles and most of the discussions of Charles

Seeger are of his more systematic work.

I began this lecture asking those present to sing one of Charles' rounds from the 1930s because he was an optimistic activist, not just a theorist. Pete Seeger recently observed that his father was over-optimistic all his life. He was also an activist much of his life, which is less often noted.

Charles opposed a war and lost his position at the University of California for doing so. He embarked on a remarkably impractical effort at the dissemination of "classical" concert music with his wife and three sons that got stuck in the mud and failed. He lost his next job after he divorced his first wife (who had social connections). He worked on, and fairly honestly described the failure of, a number of "applied" projects during the Roosevelt administration. His work with the Pan American Union included negotiating copyright issues and organizing conferences and concerts. He accomplished a lot, as the discussions of the founding of the Society for Ethnomusicology portrayed, but he did so because of, and not in spite of, his optimism and activism.

Charles Seeger was apparently one of the first who wrote specifically about the doing applied musicology. He delivered a very interesting address in 1939, published in 1944 as "Music and Government: Field for an Applied Musicology,"

that has not been reprinted (C. Seeger 1944 [1939]). In this short lecture he suggests that the government might become involved in the arts and wonders whether musicologists would be ready and willing to answer the call to participate in such work.

Surely the proper guide for large-scale [governmental] music undertakings must be musicology. The question now must be asked, is musicology ready to undertake the task that awaits it?the answer must be negative. We have been too busy recovering our past to discover our present. The problem resolves itself into the final questions: (1) Is it possible to convert our present musicological techniques to this new use? and (2) Would a substantial number of musicologists be willing to make the necessary reorientation? (Charles Seeger 1944 [delivered in 1939]: 14-15).

More than ten years before the SEM was founded Charles Seeger had already issued a clarion call for activities that strongly resemble today's applied ethnomusicology. Maybe few musicologists were willing to reorient their work in 1939, but surely today those numbers can be found in our graduate programs. I know we have a large body of idealistic and determined students who want to use their knowledge outside the university and an experienced group of people who

have been doing this for years or decades. The younger population has grown rapidly over the past few years, and I hope will continue to do so.

One of the serious defects in applied ethnomusicology is the lack of publications in which successes and failures are reported and where lessons learned are applied to what we teach and read inside universities. Applied ethnomusicology outside the university setting is not simply a career opportunity for would-be professors; it is also important for our understanding of music. Charles, with his characteristic clarity recognized this at the start:

"Without an applied musicology, the pure study [of music] must of necessity know less well where it stands, where it is going, where its weak links are, what motivation lies behind it, and what ends it serves." (Charles Seeger 1944 [1939]:17).

In other words, applying ethnomusicology isn't just taking ethnomusicology and making use of that knowledge in our work. The work itself should be expected to have an impact on our understanding of music. I fear we are not doing this part well at all.

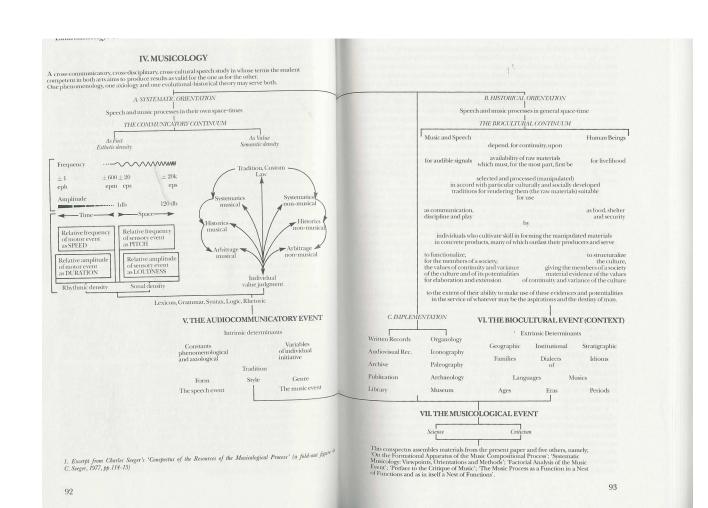
Toward A Practical Conspectus of the Audio Communicatory Event

Many ethnomusicologists are familiar with Charles Seeger's "Conspectus of the Resources of the Musicological Process" (C. Seeger 1977 p 115). I reviewed it as I was preparing my talk. I noticed that some of the missing lineages in SEM are also pretty much absent from his diagram. Perhaps our field is not only shaped by outside factors. It may also continue to be shaped by the systematic formulations Charles made in the 1950s and 1960s—his "portrait of a field."

As you will no doubt recall, Charles prepared his famous fold-out diagram as a graphic representation of the ideas he presented in a series of articles. In his 1977 collection of his essays he combined the diagrams of at least five different articles and put them into a single large "Conspectus Of the Resources of the Musicological Process" (C. Seeger 1977:115). Charles compared his conspectus to a roadmap, a static representation of many possible "roads" or lines of investigation. He said of the diagram that it is "a kind of map of the field. How you behave in it is another matter, not structural but functional" (1977:126). In an earlier publication of my own, I noted that the conspectus revealed the vastness of our subject and the variety of approaches that have been used in the past. I suggested there might be some missing continents yet to be discovered (A. Seeger

1992:91).

I enjoy letting my eye wander over the surface of the conspectus (part of which appears in Figure 1), thinking about what it means for, say, my representations of Suyá music. I like seeing music as simultaneously sounds (beats) in one corner while recognizing that it is history and values in the other. I feel that one of the great challenges facing ethnomusicology is avoiding getting caught up in one facet or another of music—sociology without attention to sounds, analysis of performances without attention to social processes, the study of music that ignores movement, and so forth. Charles was absolutely right—follow any of his dichotomies in any direction, but not too far. Go back and think through the other facets also.



nitty-gritty of the musical event hidden deeply in ideals rather than placing it up front in his diagram. He omits what Michal Chanan describes as the "practice" of music (Chanan 1994). The conspectus is not a map of hegemonies, resistance, competition, and practice—though one could imagine they might be implied in some of the feedback loops. The absence of the practical side of the musical event in the conspectus is strange, considering Charles' earlier experience organizing concerts, negotiating composer's royalties, and finagling publications during his years at the Pan American Union. I attribute it to a over-dependence on the German idealists and not enough on Marx, in spite of his 1930s optimism about social transformations.

Figure 4 presents another approach to the audio-communicatory event and the musicological juncture, one that stresses the relationships among musicians, intermediaries, and audiences.

People	Artists who	Agents who like profit,	Audiences who
	like to eat as	prestige, and/or particular	experience pleasure in
	well as perform	traditions, and/or particular	events involving music
		artists	and dance
Power	Knowledge as a	Power to grant or prevent	
	kind of power	access to audiences:	
		Gatekeepers, censors, moral	
		codes, governments, and	
		bureaucrats	
Processes	Learning,	Marketing & Promotion to	Somehow moved by
	Performing	bring artists and audiences	music, attend
	Transmitting	together	performances, buy media,
			may become artists
			themselves
Technology	Shapes artist	Shapes transmission from	Shapes audience
	training,	stages and on audio, video,	experiences and thus
	composition,	radio, LP/CS/CD, Internet	expectations
	performance,		
Laws &	Shape	Collaboration, representation,	Often do not perceive how
	composition,	marketing, payment, as well	laws shape their

Regulations	performance	as censorship, theft, banditry,	experiences, just groove.
	practice , and	and righteousness.	
	transmission		
Patrons – mass	Subsidize	Variety of different process-	Exposed to music they
audiences,	artists and	audience selected/recruited	may not financially
wealthy,	technology and		support. Experiences may
governmental,	shape		be transformative.
religious,	performances		
NGOs			

The result of the interaction of these factors and actors is

the practice of music

Figure 4: Factors in the Practice of the Audio-Communicatory Event and thus the Musicological Process

In Figure 3, an audiocommunicatory event requires that artists and audiences be brought together somehow for a successful performance. This is not necessarily commercial: the Xingu Indians send runners with their legs wrapped in certain ways to invite indigenous communities speaking other languages to their ceremonies without needing to speak. Invitations, promotion, marketing, and other ways of bringing audiences and artists together are the jobs of what I call "agents." Agents may be transnational corporations, festival organizers, university booking agents, student groups, or age grades—they bring the diverse parts of the performance event together. Technology is brought to bear by artists, agents, and audiences. Laws influence performances in very specific and powerful, if often unstated, ways—as almost everyone knows in the aftermath of the file sharing disputes. Music is more than aesthetic value—though I would not deny that—it is also hype, practice, property, as well as political and cultural hegemony. Patrons are important here, and some major patrons include NGOs, governments, and wealthy enthusiasts.

This is not a pure market economy—there is some power on all sides and a lot of sweat, anxiety, luck, calculation, success, and disaster here. This is the practice of

music.

These are not abstract cells—they can be filled with names. The artists could be the Suyá Indians whom I brought to Washington D.C. in 2004 to perform at the opening of the Museum of the American Indian. I was the agent, the festival attendees were the audience. They came because of an effective publicity campaign and a symbolically powerful event for indigenous peoples. The laws that impinged on the performers included visa regulations, laws against nudity in public (the Suyá men had to wear Speedos), and gender (the men did not sing any women's songs). The technology included their first experience using microphones and sound enhancement, international air travel, etc. Without patrons (foundations) there would have been no Suyá performing for other indigenous peoples and the general public on the Mall. On the other hand, without some South American Indians participating in the Festival any claim to a hemispheric scope for the new museum would have been baseless.

What Alan Lomax, Charles Seeger at the Pan American Union, The United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), Clear Channel, and the NEA have in common is that they are all supporting in some way the bringing of valued music to audiences. They do it for love, for

ideological reasons, and/or for profit. The Folk Arts Program of the National Endowment for the Arts and the Smithsonian Institution Folklife Festival try to influence audiences to experience new artists and traditions and to support artists to continue traditions. Most of what we call public sector ethnomusicology, and applied ethnomusicology, may be found on this chart—along with the people who do it.

Ethnomusicologists working with artists may assist them in navigating the difficult legal and practical issues of producing media that will reach larger audiences. Many ethnomusicologists are what Richard Kurin has called "culture brokers" (Kurin 1997). Using the skills and prestige gained with higher education they are able to act as intermediaries between artists and (real or potential) audiences. This should be enough to show you that, simple as it is, my diagram is about real life.

Fusing Pragmatics and Systematics

Now, imagine Charles Seeger's diagram on one plane, and my small diagram intersecting it so that the two meet at the Audio Communicatory Event—which Charles characterizes as "Tradition, having form, style, and genre." They should

intersect in a way that brings my diagram nearly parallel to his. To make this more surreal, imagine this happening in outer space where there is no gravity, no directionality, and thus no base or superstructure. Imagine a perfect docking station.

The purpose of merging the diagrams is to create a vision of the musical process that includes not only the general features and values Charles Seeger describes but also the practices of living people engaged in specific practical activities of performing, producing, and transmitting music.

If we consider these diagrams together, the "lost lineages" I have described for ethnomusicology are no longer lost at all, and our "neglected" peers are right there with the best-known scholars. There they are there as actors in the practice, in my diagram. Adding my pragmatics to Charles Seeger's systematics we can broaden our understanding of the field, increase our pantheon of ancestors, expand our universe of coevals, and better take into account the great variety of music in its performance, transmission, mediatization, and participation in people's lives today. The problem is not missing ancestors; the problem is the too narrowly systematic and idealist vision of what music, composition, and performance are all about. A reunion with our missing lineages should improve

our field during its next 50 years. If the practice can be informed by the theory, and the theory influenced by the practice, we will be more effective at both. Just imagine what we may be able to celebrate at our 60^{th} anniversary.

How Much Truth Remains?

I concluded my lecture asking the audience to join me in singing a song composed by Pete Seeger in 1967. I specifically asked them to join me on a line repeated in every verse "How much truth remains?" This is an important line in a song Pete could have written after a conversation with Charles: it is all about words and actions (the logocentric predicament). It is wonderfully interpreted by John Wesley Harding on *If I had a Song: The Songs of Pete Seeger II* (John Wesley Harding 1999). The verses I used include 1 and 3 below, I added the line in verse 2 for effect. Note the difference in wording between the last 3 lines of verses 1 and 2 and those of verse 3.

Words, Words

Words, words, words

In old songs and stories

How much truth remains?

If I only understood them,

While my lips pronounced them,

Would not my life be changed?

Words, words, words

In our predecessors' writings

How much truth remains?

If I only understood them,

While my lips pronounced them,

Would not my life be changed?

Words, words, words

On cracked old pages

How much truth remains?

If my mind could understand them,

And if my life pronounced them,

Would not this world be changed?

Words and Music by Pete Seeger (1967)

(c) 1967 by Sanga Music Inc. Used with permission (NEED TO GET IT)

We do need to keep asking ourselves how much of truth remains in our predecessors' writings, and in the words I delivered at the 50th anniversary meeting of the SEM, for which this paper was prepared. But the suggestion of the song is more profound:

If we can understand our words and pronounce them with our lives, we will combine a reflective theoretical life with a practical applied one. We may thus—in Charles Seeger's words delivered at the SEM conference 29 years ago — "guard the strengths of speech from cancellation by its weaknesses." We will do so, however, in ways he didn't then describe but had already to a certain extent lived. The acting of ideas does not just generate actions—those actions can also contribute in many important ways to the change and reinvigoration of ideas.

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ⁱEND NOTES

This paper differs from the one delivered at the 2005 SEM conference in a number of ways. First, I have omitted the round I started with (text: "Joy upon this earth to live and see the day, when Rockefeller Sr. shall up to me and say, Comrade, can you spare a dime?") written by Fred Holland and Charles Seeger in 1934. I taught it to the audience, called on a group of UCLA graduate students to help keep the parts together, and everyone sung enthusiastically. The round had multiple objectives—to establish the distinctiveness of this lecture from the many papers they had already heard at the conference, to distinguish making music from talking about it, and to set the stage for the period of Charles Seeger's life and work I would address toward the end of the paper. Second, I have shortened an autobiographical section that opened the paper. Third, I have not attempted to recapture the oral delivery style I used—I made an outline of my manuscript and spoke from my outline, because I think oral presentations and written papers should be distinctive in style and approach. This paper is a revision of the manuscript I had written before the talk, with changes introduced in response to comments on my oral version. I express my thanks to those who have made suggestions on how to improve the paper, many of which I have followed here.

- ii Alan Lomax was frustrated over usage restrictions of collections in the Indiana University Archive of Traditional Music at the time of this conversation, and I never did ask him in what way he thought "we" had done so.
- The 50th anniversary meeting of the SEM was more inclusive than many of its predecessors, and some of the concerns about absent colleagues were addressed in its wonderful panels. Some of the audience might also have complained that they had already recognized the contributions of those I say have been little recognized. Some others could have justifiably leapt to their feet crying "Hey! I am doing exactly what you say hasn't been done!" But not many of them would have jumped up at the same time or complained about the same person, so I have kept my original wording.
- iv Ironically, the major labels usually dropped Alan Lomax's series shortly after publication. Had he published on Folkways Records at the time they would never have gone out of print.
- ^v Charles Seeger, in an interesting 1923 article, argues that programs in musicology should be located in universities rather than conservatories. He defines musicology as "words about music" rather than the practice of music. Since universities specialize in the wordy disciplines, he thought musicology should be located in universities. Conservatories, focusing as

they do on performance of music rather than words about it, are not the right place (C. Seeger 1923) Somewhat later, however, he seemed to have recognized the difficulty of affiliating with the other wordy disciplines and he argued for the hybrid nature of musicology.

vi The answer, I suspect, is related to teaching load and committee work, but I have not made a systematic study of it. I have often felt that the structure of daily life at U.S. universities mitigates against the ostensible reason for their existence: research, education, and the advancement of knowledge.

vii Many Brazilian scholars and advocates also played important roles in assisting the Suyá to recover the rights to their former territory, using my research data to forge the necessary official documents and advocate for the return of the lands to the Suyá. The Suyá themselves provided the force that kept the negotiations going.

One of my colleagues warned me that the member of the Comissão Pró-Índio not only read Lenin but also put his ideas into practice. He said that as soon as one of the groups had consolidated power they would remove me from the leadership role. "They are probably using you" I was warned. I replied "That's all right. I'm using them, too. I know some of the members have other objectives, but I also think the situation of the indigenous peoples is so serious right now that I'm using their activism to support the protection of indigenous rights." What actually led me to leave my position was a government decree forbidding foreign nationals from organizing demonstrations. Probably directed at clerics, the result was that I was given the title of "ambassador" when I went to the USA on a postdoctoral fellowship for 8 months. Upon my return my colleagues elected me chair of the Department of Anthropology, in spite of an attempt to prevent foreigners from assuming administrative posts at universities. They persevered and I served out my term as chair 1980-1982.

ix Here, too, I was constantly assisted by many others, among them Dieter Christensen and Krister Malm.