MUSICKING AND IDENTITY IN GRENADA:
STORIES OF TRANSMISSION, REMEMBERING, AND LOSS

DANIELLE DAWN SIREK

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For my family, for my colleagues, for my students:
May you find stories of 'who you are', and feel connected to others,
through your musicking

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Abstract

Conceived as an ethnographic case study of the relationship between musicking and identities, this thesis examines the relationship between musical practices and experiences in the recent historical past, and in the present day, in Grenada, West Indies. Through the dual lenses of ethnomusicologist and music educator, I examine the impact of musicking – taking Christopher Small's explication of this term – on the perceptions, constructions, and representations of identity in the Grenadian context, bringing to bear the themes of African ancestry and nationhood, commercialisation, reunderstanding, appropriation, folklorisation, authenticity, and performance. In exploring these themes, I illuminate controversies of the transmission of musicking, conflicts of identity, and the deep sense of loss that has occurred in Grenadian society, specifically through an analysis of calypso music, soca music, Carnival, and present-day musicking initiatives intended to 'rescue' Grenadian identity and Grenadian values. I conclude with reflections upon how I might bring these experiences and understandings of Grenadian musicking and its transmission to my own teaching practice and music educational research.

List of Abbreviations

CC………………………………………………………...Central Committee
GMMWU…….………………….......... Grenada Manual and Mental Workers Union
GNP..………………..………………………………………….Grenada National Party
GPP……...………………………………………………………...Grenada People's Party
GULP…...……………………………………………….Grenada United Labour Party
NJM…….…………...………………………………………….New Jewel Movement
PRA……………………………………………………….People's Revolutionary Army
PRG..……………………………………………….People's Revolutionary Government
UK……….……………………………….……………………United Kingdom
US………………………………………………….……………….United States

PART ONE
'This song is for love of country…':[1]
Contexts and Methodologies

Photo credit: Joshua Yetman

It's Carnival time in Grenada, Monday morning – J'Ouvert morning.[2] The darkness enshrouds the Jab Jab devil characters, blackened with tar and 'old oil',[3] as they dance grotesquely, wearing horned helmets and carrying chains – a cry back to emancipation from slavery. The crashing and scraping of metal on pavement and the unmistakable call of the conch shell accompany the pounding Jab Jab rhythm that both encapsulates and transfixes me.

As the dawn breaks, brightly coloured paint is splattered over everyone, everything. 'We playin' a wicked jab!' shouts a J'Ouvert reveller. As multitudes of people go chippin'[4] and winin'[5] down the street, we dance along at the sidelines, covered in every hue of paint imaginable, drinking rum purchased from a street side vendor. Someone approaches me, a devilish look in his eye. I grin, and he smears paint on my arm, adding green to my rainbow of colours.

'Get in a circle, and form a tornadooooooo!' belts out the man next to me, rum in hand. The Road March song is good this year; a fast beat, repetitive chorus, and best of all, lyrics urging us to dance. Clusters of people singing, dancing – that is, playing mas[6] – in their various mas bands, amid a cacophony of noise. Once upon a time, the mas bands all had a steel pan group to play for them, but these days, it's mostly huge booming amplifiers stacked high on flatbed trucks. The rhythms enter my body with pulsing vibrations and deafening bass beats, and I join in the dancing, the singing.

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[1] 'This song is for love of country' is a lyric from Papa Jerry's calypso 'Love of Country' (Papa Jerry, 2011).

[2] J'Ouvert is an event that takes place very early Carnival Monday morning. A reflection upon this experience will take place in Chapter 2, and J'Ouvert will be examined more extensively in Chapter 6.

[3] Motor oil.

[4] A slow, shuffling walk to the beat of the music.

[5] A type of dance in which the waist is provocatively moved in a circular motion; partners (usually a female standing in front of a male with her back facing him) will 'wine' together. Sometimes also referred to as 'wukkin' up'.

[6] 'Mas' is a shortened version of the word 'masquerade'. Mas bands are groups of people at Carnival who are grouped together to 'play mas'; moving and dancing down the road together to the beat of the music at various Carnival events. The mas bands may have specific clothing or colours, music, and drinks, as well as a band leader and theme. One can 'play' traditional mas or pretty mas, for example.

As the last mas band passes us, I notice an older woman standing off to the side, unpainted. She says, to nobody in particular, shaking her head, 'It did not used to be this way. What is this stupidness, nah?' My interest is piqued.

<div align="right">

Field Notes Reflection
19 August 2010

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Introduction

I step off the plane, and it is hot. Really, really hot. The Caribbean sun beats down, and I feel a bead of sweat immediately take shape on my nose as I shield my eyes from the glare. After collecting our luggage and dog, clearing customs, and finding our driver, my husband and I set off along the winding road, in typical Grenadian style – very fast, and without much regard for speed limits (if any are posted), patience (beep once and pass), dogs (they're smart enough to move), or the impending nausea of foreigners. I feel myself go green, and hang on. As we race down the road, a million images of the Spice Isle imprint themselves in my mind: palm trees, fruit stands, and the ocean peeking out in the distance. We drive through Mont Tout toward Grand Anse. The houses in Mont Tout, made of concrete or wood and corrugated steel, of which some do not even have indoor plumbing, accentuate the impression of wealth and lavishness of the hotels along Grand Anse Beach, less than a mile away. The street is dotted with men and women coming home from work or outside liming[7] and chatting, children playing, and dogs barking. Finally, we arrive at Bougainvillea Apartments, a pink-frosted complex at the border of Mont Tout and Grand Anse that was recommended to us by a colleague of my husband's, and set everything down. I breathe in the salt air, and start to relax. We are home.

My journey to Grenada began when my husband, who had dreamt of being a physician since he was a boy, applied to the Global Scholars' Programme at St

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[7] 'Liming' is to generally 'hang around'; being social with others.

George's University School of Medicine, in which the first year takes place in Newcastle, United Kingdom, and the second year takes place in Grenada, West Indies. Grenada, 'the Isle of Spice': I looked it up on the map; I had never even heard of it. What I found was a tiny speck, just northwest of Trinidad, surrounded by the Caribbean Sea.

Undertaking doctoral study within my field of music education had been a long-term intention of my own, and as I began learning about the place in which we would be living, I started to wonder what music education might look like in Grenada, and how it might compare to and provide insights for my experience teaching music in Toronto, Canada, in which issues of cultural background are important considerations in education. I started doing some preliminary research on Grenada and its music, and the more I read, the more intrigued I became. I wrote a music education-based proposal focusing on leadership roles within Grenadian music ensembles in school music education, it was accepted, and we thus began our adventure – first to England for Adam's first year and my coursework, and then to Grenada for his second year and my fieldwork. What I found in Grenada greatly challenged my perceptions of the teaching and learning of music, and I found myself questioning why we, as human beings, find certain musics to be deeply important (or even indispensable) to our sense of self, and also reflecting upon how this can and should inform my teaching practice.

As the opening narrative for this thesis suggests, I realised quite early on into my fieldwork that issues of the transmission of music – which I conceive to be constitutive of teaching and learning by formal and informal means in and out of school – in Grenada were much bigger than children and school music programmes and also much bigger than the issues of musical leadership that had been my initial

interest, and that to carry out research solely in these areas would provide an inadequate and decontextualised account of music education in Grenada. I began to question not *what* music Grenadians learn, nor how they learn it, but *why*. Overwhelmingly, in the Grenadian context, discussions with informants came back again and again to matters of identity, nostalgia, and identity loss: the older woman's remarks from the narrative above constituting but one example of the discourses about music-making which I heard over and over during my time in Grenada. Questions of authenticity, ancestry, nationhood, collective memory, and loss, and music's role in these things, therefore became the emphasis of my research, and I changed my focus upon music education in Grenada to a study of the experiences and practices of musicking[8] throughout the wider society. My study thus took on an ethnomusicological and ethnographic emphasis, using methodologies from both music education and ethnomusicology.

In Grenada, musicking is evidently a powerful force in the constructions, perceptions, and representations of Grenadian identities; identities which have historically been not only constantly fluid and multi-scoped, but also oppressed, subverted, and corrupted by colonial and post-colonial hegemonic structures. The politics and discourse surrounding these structures impact identity construction and representation immensely, and give rise to intersecting argumentative positions between the older, 'culturally authentic,' Grenadian population, generally regarded to be responsible for the transmission of culture, and the younger, often more consumerist, more globalised, and more technologically involved population[9] –

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[8] Christopher Small coined the term 'musicking' to reconceptualise music as an action rather than a thing; inherent in his theory of musicking is a focus on how and why through music, people can 'explore, affirm, and celebrate' desired (what he calls 'ideal') relationships (Small, 1998). This will be expanded upon in Chapter 2.
[9] Throughout the thesis, I will broadly refer to two groups in contemporary Grenada: those who have memories of the revolution and invasion and also perhaps of the Gairy era, whom I designate the 'older

arguments not necessarily concerning what Grenadian culture *is*, but rather what it *should be*; and how Grenadians can 'make' it that way. These ongoing and prominent negotiations of identity are not neat or tidy, and often contrast profoundly with one another.

My examination of the relationships between identities and musicking in Grenada uses the dual lenses of music education and ethnomusicology, while taking into account the experiences of community and nationhood that foreground and inform identity discourse in the Grenadian context. Essential to an understanding of these experiences is a degree of background knowledge of the history and socio-politics of Grenada, these constituting a tumultuous story of upheaval and disruption in which musicking has been central in various ways. In the chapter that follows, I will accordingly first provide the reader with a brief account of this history. An overview of the study follows, setting out its research questions and leading into a discussion of previous studies of Grenadian musicking practices and meanings. I conclude with an exploration of the underpinning concepts in this study, those of identity and of musicking.

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generation', and those who were very young or were born after these events, whom I call the 'younger generation'. This will be further elaborated upon in the introduction to Part 2. There is a third, older group in Grenada as well, those who participated in the social revolution of 1951 and who lived in 'colonial' Grenada; however, this group is very small and so it seemed best to fold this population into the 'older generation'.

That whatsoever Master shall suffer any slaves
to beat any Drum or empty Casks or Boxes
or great gourds, or blow Horns, Shells or loud instruments,
for the Diversion or Entertainment of Slaves...
[those] who do not suppress the same in one Hour after the same begins
shall be convicted.

The Laws of Grenada, 1763 to 1805[10]

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[10] Smith (1808), as cited in Taylor (2006).

Chapter 1: Historical Context, Overview, and Introduction to Underpinning Concepts

A Brief History of Grenada

Settlement and Colonisation

In its brief recorded history, Grenada has been plagued by rebellions, revolutions, and insurgencies; by impossibly slow progress in social, educational, and political advancements; and by conflicts between its leaders and its people. An understanding of Grenada's unique and fascinating history is of pivotal importance to the ensuing study of the musicking which itself grows from and informs this history, as I will argue, in fundamental ways; an historical account can therefore help to situate musical narratives of manipulation, power, and resistance by social and political means.

The tri-island nation of Grenada is comprised of mainland Grenada as well as 'sister' islands Carriacou and Petite Martinique, which are dependencies.[11] Lying approximately 100 miles off the coast of Venezuela at the southern end of the Windward Islands, Grenada is 85 miles northwest of Trinidad, 75 miles southwest of Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, and just 12 degrees north of the Equator. The island is one of the smallest countries in the world at a mere 133 square miles and is a land of great beauty: the terrain juxtaposes densely wooded areas, rainforest, rugged rocky coastlines, mountainous regions 2000 feet above sea level, sandy beaches, and clear blue waters.

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[11] While Carriacou and Petite Martinique, which are located about 20 miles from Grenada, share many of the same historical and political events as mainland Grenada, the focus of this research will be mostly limited to the main island of Grenada, as Carriacou and Petite Martinique have extensive socio-political and musical histories of their own which are outside the scope of this thesis. For research on Carriacou, please refer to studies by Donald Hill (1999; 1977; 1993; 1998), Ronald Kephart (1985), Lorna McDaniel (1985; 1986; 1991; 1993), Rebecca Miller (2000; 2005; 2007), and Michael G. Smith (1962). There is very little research at this time on Petite Martinique, with the exception of that by Paul Clement (2000).

The first explorers to reach Grenada were likely indigenous peoples from Lowland South America approximately 5000 years ago. However, Grenada did not see its first settlers until around 165AD, when travellers who probably originated from Trinidad or Venezuela came to Grenada to pursue agriculture (Steele, 1974). These first inhabitants were followed by the Arawaks (an Amerindian tribe which originated from the Amazon) sometime before 700AD, and subsequently by the Kalinago (known as 'Caribs' in colonial documentation),[12] who began their migration from Central Brazil and the Guianas to the Caribbean around 1000AD[13] and continued to migrate until the time of Columbus (Beckles, 2008), who sighted the island on 15 August 1498 on his third trip to the Americas (Brizan, 1984/1998; Hutchinson, 1983).

Europeans attempted to settle Grenada and colonise the Kalinago numerous times during the first half of the 17th century;[14] each attempt was unsuccessful and often culminated in many fatalities. It was not until the year 1650, when an ambitious Martiniquan explorer and coloniser named Jacques Dyel Du Parquet led an expedition to Grenada, that the island was finally 'settled' by Europeans. Du Parquet, and his group of over 200 men, landed on 20 June 1650 with the intent to start a new colony, and upon arrival (under the guise of 'visiting' rather than colonising), bestowed gifts of 'cloth, axes, bill-hooks, knives, glass beads, mirrors and two quarts of brandy' to

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[12] The 'Caribs' called themselves the *Kalinago, Kallinago,* or *Callinaga* (Brizan, 1984/1998); in this thesis I will be referring to them as the Kalinago.

[13] Some research suggests that when the powerful and often hostile Kalinago landed in Grenada, the relatively peaceful and weaker Arawaks were driven further and further north on the island until the men were finally forced to leave or were exterminated, and the women were taken as spoils of war; however, trading, pillaging, and general intermixture among the groups is a theory now widely accepted – the theory of 'warlike Caribs' (Kalinago) and 'peaceful Arawaks' is out-dated, as argued by Honychurch (2002) and others. Archaeological digs in Grenada have supported this theory, with an abundance of finds portraying many varieties of Amerindian cultures.

[14] Four Englishmen, Godfrey, Hall, Lull, and Robinson, led the first colonisation attempt in 1609.

Kalinago *Ubutu* (chief) Kaierouanne in an attempt to 'soften, bribe, and temporize' the Kalinago for his future colonisation plans (Brizan, 1984/1998, p. 21).[15]

Approximately seven months after the arrival of the French, the Kalinago realised that the Europeans had not come as visitors but rather as intruders who wished to relocate the Kalinago away from the island, and they began attacking the French quietly while they were hunting in the woods or when they strayed too far from the fort (Beckles, 2008). This continued until 1652, when Kalinago forces, in an attempt to reclaim the island, planned an assault on the French fort and settlement; however, the French learned of this, and changed their own military strategy from the offensive to the defensive. When the 800-strong Kalinago forces arrived, the French opened fire with the Kalinago warriors only a few metres away from the fort (Brizan, 1984/1998). The French cannons and muskets killed many Kalinago, and those remaining sought refuge in the surrounding wooded areas. A pursuit ensued wherein the French sought to commit complete genocide of the Kalinago; this lasted several days, and culminated in a group of forty Kalinago jumping to their deaths into the sea at the northernmost point of the island – a cliff known today as Morne des Sauteurs (Leaper's Hill). This event finalised the essential extermination of the aboriginal peoples of Grenada, and Grenadians today view this story as one of heroism and Grenadian pride; of sheer defiance to colonisation and a symbol of emboldened courage to which they relate. Although having no (or negligible) biological relation to the aboriginal peoples of Grenada, Grenadians have assimilated the Kalinago stories of resistance into their own identities.

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[15] Though Du Parquet's contemporaries Du Tetre and Labat claimed that Du Parquet was invited to Grenada by aboriginal peoples who visited Martinique (Brizan, 1984/1998), many of Du Parquet's actions do not support this claim. The expedition set sail with all the implements necessary to settle the island, with or without the permission of the Kalinago.

The 'Carib Wars' of 1652-1654, just described, left the French settlers in financial ruin, and 'Le Grenade' was therefore sold in 1657 to Le Comte de Cerillac for 1,890 livres[16] (Brizan, 1984/1998). In 1664, Grenada became the property of the French West India Company, and when this was disbanded in 1674, Grenada came under the administration of the French Crown and officially became a French colony. During this time, many poor white Europeans were encouraged or coerced to emigrate to Grenada (and other Caribbean colonies) to work on plantations for two to three years with the assurance that they would own a plot of land at the end of their indenture (Collins, 1990). European slave traders and colonisers began to bring enslaved West Africans to the island in the mid- to late-1600s to work on these plantations to cultivate various spices and agricultural goods (Brizan, 1984/1998; Steele, 1974). The descendants of this slave population constitute the demographic for this research.

Between the 17th and 18th centuries, the island alternately was under the control of the French and the British, resulting in the convergence of Francophone and Anglophone influences on the culture, language, and ideologies of the enslaved African population. The British 'conquered' Grenada in March 1762, and on 10 February 1763, the island was officially ceded to the British by France in the Treaty of Paris at the end of the Seven Years' War.[17] A vigorous endeavour to anglicise the island ensued, and social, cultural, and religious factors provoked many conflicts in Grenada over the next sixteen years under British rule.

Tensions arose between Britain and France in the mid- to late-1700s, and conflicts erupted accordingly in many Caribbean colonies. As a result of these, the

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[16] The 1911 Encyclopaedia Britannica gives the price as 30,000 crowns, and Labat's writings state 90 livres.
[17] The Seven Years' War took place between 1756-1763. It involved multiple European countries and the conflicts surrounding their colonial empires and contested territories.

French in Grenada – now under British control as described – came to be treated as second-class citizens despite being white Europeans: they were debarred from taking office by election or by appointment, had laws imposed upon them, and were generally discriminated against. On 2 July 1779, Frenchman Le Comte Charles Hector D'Estaing was sent by France to reclaim the island and restore first-class treatment to the Francophone colonists. His forces were considerable, including 25 ships, 12 frigates, and 6500 land forces. The 'Battle of Grenada' culminated on 6 July 1779, after only four days, and the French were once again in power. However, it was not long before Grenada was restored to England, in 1783 with the Peace of Paris, a set of treaties that ended the American Revolutionary War. Notwithstanding, the ruling class in Grenada was still divided into two adverse and antagonistic communities: the Francophone community and the Anglo-Saxon community. To this day, although the French have not ruled Grenada since 1783, remnants of French language and culture remain extant in Grenada in family names, place names, and in the patois words that developed as a result of French domination and the suppression of African languages, and that are still sometimes interspersed in present-day speech.

The plantation system, which had controlled the West Indian economy since the mid-1600s, began to crumble in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The social, cultural, and religious conflicts in Grenada climaxed in open hostility stemming from black popular resistance to plantocracy and colonial rule, and the enslaved and free black population of Grenada and the surrounding islands began to demand freedom. The free black population, who had enjoyed a social position of some status under French rule, no longer felt that that position was tenable under the severe racial discrimination of the British. The proclamation of independence by British colonies in North America in 1776 (becoming the United States of America)

and the French Revolution (1789-1796) inspired a thirst for freedom in Grenada and the rest of the Caribbean that had previously been subdued by the colonisers, and uprisings occurred in many colonies across the West Indies in the years after these influential events, including the Haitian Revolution (1791-1804), the slave revolt in Curaçao (1795) the Maroon uprising in Jamaica (1795), and the Fedon Rebellion in Grenada (1795-1796).

The Fedon Rebellion and the Abolition of Slavery

The demand for equality and the revolutionary spirit in the French islands inspired the black Grenadians, along with the numerous French supporters who were against British colonial rule, to lead an uprising against the British in 1795 under Julien Fedon.[18] Fedon, a free black former slave-owner who aimed to achieve the abolition of slavery and improve the well-being of black Grenadians, gained the trust of this population by giving manumissions to slaves, granting them the most desired commodity: legal personal freedom. He represented the ideologies of freedom and egalitarianism, and his role as emancipator functioned as an excellent tool in convincing many people to join a rebellion against the British. Fedon and his compatriots held control of the island for over 15 months between 3 March 1795 and 19 June 1796, and were nearly successful in their intentions to overthrow British rule in Grenada; the rebels were defeated only when several lieutenants under Fedon's command were overpowered by British forces, and, rather than being captured, threw themselves down a precipice in a move that hearkened back to the 40 Kalinago who leapt to their deaths in 1652, as earlier described.

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[18] According to Jacobs, 'Fedon' has also been spelled in historical documentation since 1763 as 'Fédon', 'Foedon'. 'Feydon', and 'Fidon'. Fedon was said to have been educated in England, though this has been contested by Jacobs, who states that there is strong evidence that he was, in fact, illiterate (Jacobs, 2002).

Fedon himself evaded the British and was never captured; his body was never recovered. He has since become something of a folk legend and a national hero for Grenadians, and an inspiration to leaders and revolutionaries (Jacobs, 2002). Many have speculated about his fate; some believe that he drowned while trying to reach his brother in Trinidad, others believe that he escaped to Cuba with the intent to one day come again to liberate the Grenadian people (Sharpe, 1993). One of my informants wrote to me that my remark that Fedon is 'something of a folk legend' was an understatement:

> Fedon is probably the strongest folk legend we have right now. During my 15 years living 'up country' I heard far more Fedon stories than Anansi.[19] And the two myths are starting to merge in lore as Fedon now does fantastical things as well…[T]he rural people's most common explanation of his escape is that Fedon dove into the Grand Etang Lake (which bordered his Estate) and swam to safety through an underground river. I am quite certain that Fedon is mentioned by name in some folk songs too (e-mail correspondence with a music teacher, 22 May 2013).

The Fedon Rebellion resulted in enormous destruction and loss of life with enduring consequences: sugar works, rum distilleries, and other buildings were destroyed on some 65 estates; hundreds of cattle, horses, and mules were killed, and crops for the years 1794, 1795, and 1796 were lost (Brizan, 1984/1998; Cox, 1982). The unsuccessful Fedon Rebellion resulted in millions of pounds in losses and the deaths of seven thousand slaves; the British were forced to bring in planters from other English colonies in order to reclaim the land, salvage the crops, and recover their losses. The French power in the colony was by and large destroyed, as most of their leaders were captured, killed, or banished during the rebellion, and most of those who survived left the island after their rights and liberties were severely restricted by the British.

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[19] The trickster spider from West African and Caribbean folklore; also spelled Anance, Anancy, or Nancy.

Slavery was abolished in Grenada on 31 July 1834, and, on 1 August 1838, slaves were finally given full emancipation. However, any initial sense of optimism and radical change was not to last long; very little was done to aid the newly emancipated either financially or socially, and thus, as Brizan notes, the former slaves 'continued to live at the whims and fancies of white Creole society' (Brizan, 1984/1998). A migration of former slaves to Trinidad or to the interior of Grenada, where there was an abundance of uncultivated land that could be obtained with ease, caused a severe shortage of labour, and many estates suffered tremendously. To alleviate this shortage, several hundred indentured workers migrated from East India (Steele, 1976); there remains a population of Grenadians today who are of Indian[20] descent. However, Grenada's peasant majority would experience little political or economic change from this period in the first part of the nineteenth century until the social revolution in 1951.

1951 – 1983, An Era of Political Upheaval

The 1951 – 1983 period was another tumultuous time in Grenada's history, comprising two revolutions, independence, and an invasion. This era of political upheaval began with the social revolution in 1951, led by black Grenadian Eric Matthew Gairy. Gairy, determined to rise above colour and social status, was instrumental in leading Grenada to universal suffrage and fought for workers' rights through organising strikes and promoting civil unrest amongst Grenada's working class. After founding the Grenada United Labour Party (GULP),[21] Gairy was elected as a representative to legislative council, and eventually became Grenada's first Prime Minister after taking Grenada to independence in 1974. He ruled until 1979, when Maurice Bishop and the Marxist-Leninist New Jewel Movement, disenchanted with

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[20] There are also descendants from Syria, Lebanon, and more.
[21] Originally called the Grenada People's Party.

Gairy's leadership, staged a revolution and deposed Gairy. The newly-formed

People's Revolutionary Government remained in power for four years, and during

this time Grenada saw much progress in education, health care, and infrastructure

(Payne et al., 1984; Brizan, 2003).

Progress there might have been, but over the ensuing years there developed an

ideological schism in the revolutionary government, and on 19 October 1983, some

members within the NJM led a military coup that resulted in the execution of Prime

Minister Bishop and several other high-ranking government officials. The leaders of

the coup declared that Grenadians were not permitted to leave their homes, under

threat of summary execution. In response, President Ronald Reagan and the United

States army and marines, along with Caribbean forces, invaded Grenada six days

later, allegedly to protect American citizens on the island and to re-establish order in

Grenada. Many involved in the coup were arrested, and the United States set up an

interim government with the stated intent of restoring democracy – in the process,

erasing, as best they could, all memory of the revolutionary period of Bishop's rule.[22]

1984 – the Present Day

Grenada's constitution, which had been suspended by the People's Revolutionary

Government since 1979, was reinstated in 1984.[23] A period of progress ensued with

financial aid from the United States, and the country experienced a small economic

boom in the late 1990s. However, in September 2004 Hurricane Ivan, a Category 3

hurricane, hit Grenada and damaged or destroyed some 90% of its homes; this was

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[22] For example, the Centre for Popular Education was dismantled; educational scholarships, particularly those to Cuba and the USSR, were cancelled; curriculum development was halted; and the National In-Service Teacher Education Programme (NISTEP) was discontinued (Hickling-Hudson, 2006).

[23] Grenada now operates under a democratic bicameral parliamentary system, with a 15-member elected House of Representatives and a 13-member appointed Senate, as well as a prime minister, governor general, and a cabinet. The Royal Grenada Police Force is responsible for law enforcement.

closely followed by Hurricane Emily, a Category 1 hurricane that hit Grenada in July

2005, causing more damage to structures and crops. Grenadians' resulting financial

difficulties were compounded with the global recession beginning in 2009, affecting

export markets and tourism, as well as with the introduction of VAT in 2010.[24]

According to the 2012 census, Grenada presently has approximately 109,080

people living in its seven parishes,[25] of whom 100,930 live on mainland Grenada,

7,200 on Carriacou, and 950 on Petite Martinique. Of this population, 82% is black

and 12% is mixed black and white; the remaining 6%, of whom many are expatriates,

are South Asians (3%), white Europeans or North Americans (2.9%), and 'trace'

aboriginal (0.1%). On mainland Grenada, approximately 40% of this population lives

in the parish of St George's, where the capital city (also called St George's) is located.

The population is young, with a median age of 29 and a life expectancy of 73.3 years.

Value is placed on education, and literacy is estimated at 96%. Although the rate of

unemployment is 25%, and 38% are recorded as living below the poverty line, these

statistics seem inaccurate in portraying economic and financial realities in Grenada,

since some of my informants made their living largely through various kinds of self-

employment, such as selling home-grown produce, which would not necessarily be

included in a census.

With a majority black population descended from slaves, Grenadian identities

are influenced historically and at present by the aboriginal peoples of Grenada, the

French and British colonisers, and more recently, also by the Americans, other West

Indians and South Americans, and more; by political events including rebellions,

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[24] VAT stands for 'Value Added Tax'.
[25] The parishes of Grenada are: St Andrew, St David, St George, St John, St Mark, and St Patrick on mainland Grenada; the sister islands of Carriacou and Petite Martinique are a separate parish. In common speech in Grenada a possessive 's' is added, but legally and officially there is no 's'. Throughout the thesis, however, I will use the conventional form (i.e. St George's), since the parishes are referred to as such by Grenadians and also in most documentation.

revolutions, and invasions; by issues of class and socio-economic status; and by technology and the drive toward (or away from) globalisation.

An Introduction to Music in Present-Day Grenada

The present-day Grenadian music 'scene' encompasses genres from around the globe, and music plays a significant part in many social activities. Broadly speaking, the most popular musical styles on mainland Grenada include soca (see page 210), calypso (see page 133), steel pan (see page 129), parang (an upbeat style that uses many musical devices similar to those in soca, and which takes its root in Trinidad),[26] and reggae (a musical genre originating in Jamaica which is characterised by rhythm guitar and the 'one-drop' rhythm). There also exist various types of 'folk' music including folk song (sung in English, patois, or both), music to accompany folk dances, traditional drumming, and tamboo bamboo (see page 107). Other pan-Caribbean and American genres also have a major presence, including dancehall, rap, hip hop, R&B, jazz, pop, gospel and other church music, and even country and rock'n'roll.

Music teaching and learning in Grenada has historically mainly taken place in informal contexts, such as at social events and in familial settings. However, beginning in the second half of the 20th century, formalised music learning initiatives became more common, both in schools (often, until recently, focusing on Western European music) and at government-facilitated cultural events (focusing on both Western European music and traditional Grenadian music). Presently, most 'authentic' Grenadian music is learned in contexts outside of the school system (see 'Recent Initiatives', page 237).

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[26] Carriacouan parang is a different style of music than mainland Grenadian parang (see Miller, 2000).

The place of music in the formal education system in Grenada has changed drastically in recent years. Whereas at one time all students took general music classes three times a week, formal music education in school is now virtually non-existent: governmental bodies and school officials instead prioritise what one informant called the 'tested subjects' and it is official policy of the Ministry of Education that music education will not be funded, although the Department of Culture (acting independently) does still provide some music tuition by means of private travelling tutors (see page 228) and music workshops (e-mail correspondence with a music teacher, 17 October 2013). That being said, musicking is certainly still an important part of primary and secondary school life, with generalist teachers facilitating annual Christmas concerts, Independence Day showcases, and competition performances for the Festival of the Arts (see page 122).

Overview of the Study

Following Averill (1997) in his exploration of the role of popular music in the dispersion and exercising of power in Haiti, I will here first explain what this thesis is *not*. It is not an historical account of Grenadian music, nor have I included musical transcriptions of songs. In conducting my field study and exploring the various types of musicking in Grenada, as well as the ways in which Grenadians use music education and the transmission of musical practices to construct and represent identities, I instead ask: what role does music education, both formal and informal, have in the construction of Grenadian identities, both historically and presently? I explore this question in consideration of the perceptions that are foregrounded in Grenadian identities as impacted by the politics of education, class, race, age, and historical period, while folding in broader political and social questions and themes

that have arisen during the course of the study, including: how do musicking practices affect Grenadian perceptions of identity, and how do these perceptions of identity in turn affect musicking practices? How do constructions and representations of identities differ generationally and across time in Grenada, and how have technology and globalisation affected them?

How do instances of social crisis shape Grenadian culture? Are 'artistes'[27] viewed as culture bearers and educators in Grenadian society, or is their role undervalued and largely considered unimportant? What is the role of schools, educators, and the government in facilitating the transmission of musicking and identities? In what other ways is musicking taught and learned, and how? How do musicking practices resist or propagate imperialist or colonialist thinking? How has music been suppressed or encouraged in Grenada? Are local traditions being facilitated, practiced, and preserved? If they *are* being preserved, is this being done as an understanding of 'what our community does', or as an expression of hegemony by the few who are 'in charge' of culture? If there is a lack of transmission, how is this affecting Grenadian identities? Whose identities are being heard, and whose are being excluded? Whose music?

In considering these questions and themes, I explore the impact of Grenadian musicking and culture on the constructions, perceptions, and representations of identities through personal narrative, descriptions and analyses of historical data, interviews, questionnaires, journal entries, oral history, television broadcasts, song lyrics and performance symbolism, non-participant and participant observation, and 'e-fieldwork', using methodologies and methods from both ethnomusicology and music education. Through this ethnomusicological investigation, I aim to inform my

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[27] In Grenada, many singers and instrumentalists (particularly singers in the soca genre) are referred to as 'artistes'.

own teaching practice and also to inform broader music educational research, which I will elaborate upon in Chapter 2.

The first chapter provides an initial historical account of Grenada (see above) in order to contextualise this research, and gives an overview of the study. Within this chapter, I outline previous studies on Grenada and its sister island of Carriacou,[28] and indicate ways in which these studies have influenced my own investigation. I also undertake a brief initial discussion of the concept of 'identity', exploring specifically African diasporic identity and music's role in the representation and construction of identity.

The second chapter begins with an examination of and reflection upon the possibilities afforded by interdisciplinary research in music education and ethnomusicology, and the ways in which this approach can inform teaching practice and research into relevancy, meaningfulness, and engagement in school music education. Included in this chapter is an analysis of how I approached my study from the dual perspectives of music educator and ethnomusicologist, as well as a thorough description of the methodology and methods, ethics, and validity of my study.

Comprising Part 2, the third and fourth chapters expand upon the initial historical account sketched above, focussing on the events in the latter part of the 20th century (1951 to 1983). Together these chapters provide a richly-exemplified account of this historical period in Grenada and also provide a framework for an understanding of the present-day musical practices and controversies that I will introduce and discuss in the subsequent fieldwork chapters.

Chapter 3 explores how Eric Matthew Gairy, during his era of political leadership in Grenada (1951-1979), frequently exploited music and musicians, as well

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[28] I am not aware of any published literature on the music of Petite Martinique.

as other cultural artforms[29] and their practitioners, in very specific ways to further his career politically. Drawing from Lucy Green's (1988/2008) theory of inherent and delineated meanings in music, I examine how, in popularising musical genres with which the working class identified, such as steelband[30] and calypso,[31] Gairy was able to use and exploit music in order to promote his country and himself, and how and why for the first time, these musics began to be respected as 'legitimate'. I also explore how, as a result, the transmission of these musics both by formal and informal means became extremely prolific with the introduction of numerous folk groups, the development of music programmes in schools, and the inauguration of multiple festivals and competitions of music.

Chapter 4 will explore music's role in the next politically-defined era, the revolutionary period (1979-1983), and how musicking was used as a means of political expression during the revolution in Grenada: propagating revolutionary thought, nationalism, and Grenadian revolutionary identity. Maurice Bishop, the People's Revolutionary Government (PRG), and their supporters popularised the revolution in part by promoting and financially supporting revolutionary and nationalistic music through school music programmes, cultural festivals, and other initiatives, and also by sometimes suppressing, directly or indirectly, musicking that promoted ideologies perceived as counter-revolutionary. These deliberate governmental choices about music transmission were made not only as a means to

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[29] Grenadians often refer to musical genres or cultural forms as 'artforms' (often spelled as one word rather than two); i.e. the calypso artform.

[30] An ensemble of chromatically pitched steel drums played with rubber-topped sticks. Melodies are often calypsos or socas but can also be popular American songs or Western European art music, for example.

[31] A verse-chorus song form performed by a (usually male) lead singer, backup singers, and a dance band with amplified guitar, drums, and brass instruments that play percussive rhythms and melodic accompaniments. The lyrical content of calypso music (which is usually written by the calypsonians themselves, and is arguably the most important component of a calypso song) is generally political or satirical in nature.

attempt to control the Grenadian public, but also as a way of othering[32] American imperialist and European colonialist musics and identities, which were seen by some as antithetical to the ideologies of the Marxist-Leninist People's Revolutionary Government.

In Part 3, the fifth and sixth chapters analyse musicking in Grenada after the American invasion (1983), specifically exploring why the older generation often feels that the younger generation is 'forgetting' what some consider to be 'authentic' Grenadian culture: why traditional musics have not been transmitted (or if they have, seemingly superficially so, according to numerous interviewees), why there is sometimes an apparent lack of interest in these musics amongst young people, and why the older generation and the government continually promote the teaching of these musics through education programmes, cultural festivals, and documentation projects. I will explore these questions, taking also into account the effects of globalisation, technology, commercialisation, and, in detailed case study explorations, the representation and construction of identity in and through soca[33] music and Grenada's largest cultural festival, Carnival.

While this work has evolved, as discussed, into an exploration of the meanings, implications, and practices of musicking in Grenada and the impact of these upon constructions, perceptions, and performances of identity, and also the impact of processes of identity[34] upon musicking, I will return to my 'home ground' – music education – in my concluding thoughts. These will address how insights from

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[32] The 'other' is that which is different in relation to the self, and connotes an idea of separateness or exclusion (see Levinas, 1969/1991; Said, 1978).

[33] Present-day soca music is a verse-chorus song form characterised by up-tempo melodies in 4/4 time on top of sparsely-textured, pre-recorded digital 'riddims' that are fast, driving, and highly repetitive; and assembled using drum machines, synthesisers, sequencers, samplers, digital multitracking, and autotune. Themes often revolve around drinking, erotic dancing (especially wining), and sex.

[34] In this research, I conceive of 'identity' as an ongoing process rather than as fixed. This idea is expanded upon later in this chapter.

the findings and approaches of this study might inform and be relevant to the practice and study of school music education in Europe and North America.

Previous Studies on Grenada

Studies and literature of importance that focus on music on mainland Grenada and/or Carriacou include the writings of Lorna McDaniel in her examinations of community and nation in Big Drum on Carriacou; Rebecca Miller, in her analyses of the Parang Festival, quadrille music and dance, Hosannah bands, and string bands on Carriacou; Chris Searle's exploration of language, calypso, and revolution on mainland Grenada; and Elwyn McQuilkin and Lloyd Panchoo's document on the history of calypso on mainland Grenada.

Lorna McDaniel (1985; 1986; 1991; 1993), in her research on Big Drum music and ceremony in Carriacou, conducts thorough analyses on Big Drum songs and rhythms, in particular exploring the concepts and significance of nation and ancestry in Big Drum. The Big Drum is a ritual combining music and dance that is unique to Carriacou (although, according to Pollak-Eltz, the ritual was practiced on Grenada as well until the 1930s or 1940s (Pollak-Eltz, 1993)), dating back to at least the 1700s. In Big Drum, the participants perform ritual 'nation dances' that display different moves based on and associated with one's real or assumed African ancestry. The event is typically organised for various important occasions such as weddings, gravestone-raising ceremonies, or to pay homage to a deceased ancestor (typically after this ancestor has appeared to a relative in a 'dream message'), and is usually accompanied by a feast. In her research, McDaniel investigates how this form of musicking helps Carriacouans create and feel collective African identities and

collective imagined memory of Africa through symbolism and ritual in the performance of these nation dances.

Although recordings and scholarship on Big Drum date back to the 1950s and 1960s (see Lomax, 1962/1999; Pearse, 1956), McDaniel's study was the first to interpret the significance of the ritual of Big Drum, as noted by Donald Hill in his review of McDaniel's book, *The Big Drum Ritual of Carriacou: Praisesongs in Rememory of Flight* (Hill, 1999). According to McDaniel, Big Drum, and its accompanying nation dances, 'celebrates ancestral spirits, family reorganisation, and changes in social status' (McDaniel, 1998, online), teaching and reinforcing knowledge, ancestry, and tradition through imagined memory of nation. McDaniel found that these dances, and the imagined memories that arise from them, are vital to maintaining a link to 'the ancestors' in Carriacouan culture. This has resonances with my own work, since many present-day cultural initiatives in Grenada focus on the connection to ancestry and Africa.

Rebecca Miller's (2000; 2005; 2007) more recent contributions are also devoted to music on Carriacou rather than on mainland Grenada. Her ethnographic research on 'performing identity' investigates string band music,[35] which is comprised of a combination of guitar, cuatro, violin, bass drum, chac-chac (shaker), mandolin, tambourine, and various homemade instruments of iron or steel; quadrille music, a traditional partner dance performed with violin, bass drum, and tambourine that takes its origin in 18th century French and English quadrille music and dance, and which is

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[35] String bands, which date to at least the 1700s, historically were performed at funerals or wakes, fetes, the opening of shops, and other local events; and provided musical accompaniment for folk dances, certain Christmas songs, and other serenading. Martin posits that the popularity of string band music declined along with the decrease in popularity of folk music in the 1960s (Martin, 2007). There is currently a resurgence in interest in string band music due to the Carriacou Maroon and String Band Festival, which takes place in May every year.

mainly practiced by residents of L'Esterre, Carriacou, at festivals and fetes[36] or at the opening of a shop;[37] and Hosannah bands, comprised of groups of people who go from home to home singing Christmas carols.

In her book, *Carriacou String Band Serenade: Performing Identity in the Eastern Caribbean* (Miller, 2007), Miller explores issues of identity, community, and socio-politics at the Parang[38] Festival of Carriacou, and specifically focuses on the contemporary phenomenon of what she terms 'cultural ambivalence' (Miller, 2007, p. 20): the contestation of the significance of cultural practices which take their origin in Europe and are syncretic in nature. Drawing on Herskovits' notion of 'socialized ambivalence' (1937, p. 295), Miller suggests that cultural ambivalence occurs as a 'direct result of syncretic processes and the subsequent formation (and re-formation) of identity' during 'moments of societal fracture' (such as major social, political, or economic change) (Miller, 2007, p. 20), which lead to a conflict of perceptions of identity and result in a 'loss' of local traditions (Miller, 2007, p. 63). Miller also reflects on the preservation of traditional music, changing aesthetic in performance style, 'authenticity' (especially relative to touristic performances), and cultural autonomy in light of globalisation, finding that the Parang Festival provides Carriacouans with an avenue of presenting and performing contemporary Carriacouan identity. This also has resonances with my own investigation, in which I examine controversies of transmission of traditional and popular musics, and how conflicting ideas of Grenadian identity can impact musicking practices, and vice versa.

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[36] Parties/get-togethers.
[37] Historically, there were three types of quadrille practiced in Carriacou: Albert, Lancers, and English (Miller, 2007).
[38] Parang in Carriacou is a type of music sung at Christmastime. Groups of men and boys travel from home to home, singing (sometimes accompanied by homemade instruments) satirical songs to receive gifts and rum. It should be noted that this is different from parang found on mainland Grenada, which takes its root in Trinidad and is a Spanish-influenced popular musical genre.

Chris Searle's exploration of language and revolution in Grenada in *Words Unchained: Language and Revolution in Grenada* (Searle, 1984) draws from interviews with linguists, poets, calypsonians, politicians, and scholars. Written before the American invasion, Searle investigates language in Grenada during the revolutionary years, prominently featuring calypso lyrics since, as Marshment rightfully notes in her review of Searle's work, the creative revolutionary language in Grenada is 'nowhere more evident' than in poetry and calypso lyrics (Marshment, 1985, p. 101). Searle's article, *The People's Commentator* (Searle, 1983), which is taken from *Words Unchained*, features a transcription of an interview with Flying Turkey, a popular revolutionary calypsonian. In this interview, which appears to be copied more or less verbatim without authorial comment or interpretation, Searle inquires about the history and development of calypso music in Grenada, calypso's role in fighting the Gairy leadership, the experiences and hardships of calypsonians, the impact of the Grenadian revolution on calypso, and the importance of language in calypso. This interview provides much insight into the role of musicking in the negotiations of Grenadian identities during the revolutionary era, particularly through the eyes of the revolutionary calypsonians, although it should be noted that Searle himself was a staunch PRG supporter and his publications reflect his political stance. Building on Searle's work, I hope to develop further insights into the role of the revolutionary calypsonian in Chapter 4 of this thesis.

A final notable piece of scholarship is *Grenada's Calypso: The Growth of an Artform* (1994) by calypsonians Elwyn McQuilkin ('Black Wizard') and Lloyd Panchoo ('Mr X'), in which the authors attempt to trace the history of calypso music in Grenada, aiming to, in the words of the authors: 'stimulate discussion'; 'give recognition to the contribution made by calypsonians and musicians, past and

present'; 'improve the image of calypso and calypsonians and thus increase calypso's acceptability among the Grenadian people'; and 'give our visitors an insight into the nature of this aspect of our rich cultural heritage' (McQuilkin & Panchoo, 1994, prologue). Although limited (a fact which McQuilkin and Panchoo acknowledge), this short book outlines the history of calypso tents[39] and calypso competitions, and the relationship between calypso and the people on mainland Grenada. The book concludes with a chapter looking ahead to the future of calypso music on the island.

The insightful research of these five authors was useful in the development of my own study: as I was examining the significance of the connection to African ancestry and nationhood in music during the Gairy era, for example, McDaniel's account of Big Drum exemplified the profound importance in Grenadian society of connecting to the past. Miller's description of cultural ambivalence was helpful in illuminating for me how, during moments of social crisis, conflicting notions of identity can arise, resulting in a potential loss or controversy over the transmission of traditional musics. The opinions of practicing calypsonians Flying Turkey, Black Wizard, and Mr X afforded me insights into the role of the calypsonian during the revolutionary years as well as in the contemporary era.

Identity

Considerations of identity are central to contemporary theorisations of West Indian culture, with an accompanying understanding of identity as a fundamentally shifting and transforming process. The ideological concept of 'identity' is displayed in and through expressions of self and culture, and in colonised or formerly colonised societies, is usually examined through postcolonial discourse. Following Mosby, the

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[39] Venues in which calypsonians sing; at one time these were actual tents but in the present day they are generally buildings or outdoor areas covered by a permanent overhang.

term 'postcolonial' here does not take the moment of independence as a profound

break from the conditions of colonialism, but rather considers 'the impact of the

processes of political, economic, and cultural domination…an impact that creates

preoccupations of cultural oppression, exile, displacement, and language' – that is, it

explores how culture has been affected by colonial and imperial processes from

colonisation to the present (Mosby, 2001, p. 5). In deconstructing (see Derrida,

1967/1997) the concept of identity through a postcolonial critical lens, I aim to pull

apart and bring to light intrinsic racist and hegemonic assumptions and structures

within the Grenadian population and context, and in doing so, I hope to create a

dialogical space; one open to multiple voices, having the potential to destabilise and

challenge the norms created by colonialist writings and thought in Grenada. The

various points made here help to form a preliminary understanding that will inform

the ongoing discussion of musicking and identities in the Grenadian context

throughout the thesis.

Identity is constitutive of the convergence of socio-politics and the historical

past, and includes within it the values, beliefs, and ideologies of oneself and one's

culture(s), as well as characteristics such as age, socio-economic status, ethnicity, and

race. Stuart Hall, an anthropologist who has written extensively on theories of identity

(1990; 2001; 1995; 1996) crossing several disciplines, warns us that; 'Identity is not

as transparent or unproblematic as we think' (Hall, 1990, p. 222). Indeed,

contemporary discourse on identity is extremely wide-ranging, with a 'dizzying

variety of ideas', as Gilroy notes (Gilroy, 2000, p. 101), and a multiplicity of

viewpoints on what, in fact, constitutes identity.

To understand how Grenadians perceive their own identities, and the

interconnectedness of identities and musicking in Grenada, we must first problematise

– that is, not challenge antagonistically but rather provide another way of thinking and seeing – the concept of identity itself in order to contextualise the research questions explored in this dissertation and to illuminate and deconstruct various concepts. To do this, I turn to Hall's analysis of cultural and diasporic identity, in which he conceives of identity not as something static, rigid, and accomplished, but rather as a 'production':

> Identity is not as transparent or unproblematic as we think. Perhaps instead of thinking of identity as an already accomplished fact, which…cultural practices then represent, we should think, instead, of identity as a 'production', which is never complete, always in process, and always constituted within, not outside, representation (Hall, 1990, p. 222).

The construct of identity, then, is better thought of as an ongoing act: continuous and ever-changing; as Hall explains, a process of becoming, not of being (Hall, 1996). Conceiving of identity as dynamic and as constantly negotiable is a guiding paradigm for this research.

I would like to offer that in the context of this particular investigation these postmodern assertions mean that we can perhaps conceive of identity by taking the metaphor of a rhizome earlier envisioned by the philosophers Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari (1987) in their analysis of representation and interpretation: manifold and connecting any point to any other point and in which no location is a beginning or an end, or a *this* or a *that*; but rather, what Jeffers calls a 'systemless system', comprised of random connections that are, in this case, constantly shifting; 'attaching and reattaching' (Jeffers, 2005, pp. 95-96) so that some elements are stronger, and others, weaker. As feminist music philosopher Elizabeth Gould articulates, rhizomes are made up of 'anomalies, chaos, and difference' (Gould, 2009, p. 32) and of, according to Deleuze and Guattari, 'and… and… and…' (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987, p. 25, as cited in Gould, 2009, p. 31). I would further posit the idea that people may travel back and forth and across identities, choosing and not choosing (or being made

to choose or not to choose) the many identities that exist and that are constantly being claimed by us, ascribed to us, and negotiated within us.

The idea of the constantly shifting 'rhizomatic' identity I propose is based on our continuously changing experiences and relationships with others and 'the other' – as others' identities change, so do our relationships with them, thereby changing our perceptions both of them and of ourselves. Our relationships shift and take on new meanings, and our identities are constructed and reconstructed through these constantly transforming relationships and how we view ourselves in light of them. We then consciously or subconsciously choose facets of our identities based on what we see and what we know – or think we see and think we know – of the people we encounter and the world around us, continually asking, 'Who am I at this moment?', 'Who would I like to become?', 'How would I like others to see me?', 'How would I like others not to see me?', and so on. I invoke this conceptualisation of identity particularly in the fieldwork chapters of this thesis, in which I examine the ways that identities of present-day older and younger generations are constructed and negotiated through the relationships that are created in experiences of musicking – as well as the controversies surrounding these identities, relationships, and musicking experiences.

Identity as a phenomenon that is constantly shifting through relational experiences has similarly been asserted by numerous postcolonial scholars including Edward Said (1978), Stuart Hall (1990), Homi Bhabha (1994), and others: the recent ideas of Nurit Cohen Evron (2007), for example, revolve around 'constructing and reconstructing' identities through our relationships with imagined or real others (Cohen Evron, 2007, p. 1036). Sörgel, writing at the same time as Cohen Evron, agrees that identity is 'achieved' – if this is possible, she notes – through relationships, and suggests that identity is constructed in the moment it is already lost;

what she calls the 'relational encounter' (Sörgel, 2007, p. 30). The processes and negotiations of identities are perhaps most clearly seen, however, when the encounter is with the other and is therefore viewed as an 'us versus them' experience (see Kian Woon, 2007, p. 57). The impact of others' positive or negative perceptions and projections of us as *their* other,[40] response to the unknown, or response to the oppressor's power, often make us experience *ourselves* as other; othering oneself and differentiating between self and other enables groups to self-define (Stokes, 1994b) and can often cause us to feel a more acute sense of 'self'.

The concept of identity as experienced through relationships is another guiding paradigm for this research, and is exemplified throughout the thesis. For example, in my discussion of the People's Revolutionary Government's attempts to form a common revolutionary identity, I analyse the ways in which Bishop, his government, and their supporters encouraged relationships between those in support of the revolution by promoting revolutionary musics and musicking.

African and Diasporic Identity

Nanette De Jong, who has conducted ethnomusicological research throughout the Caribbean and South Africa including mainland Grenada as well as Carriacou, contends that African diasporic identities are 'construed as an ongoing, ever-changing process, in which perceived African pasts are constantly renegotiated, constantly subjugated to new and changing realities' (De Jong, 2006, p. 165). This is evidently true of the black Grenadian community, whose identities have constantly evolved since the first people were brought to the island in the mid-1600s as slaves from Africa, and whose identities can be argued as still heavily influenced and negotiated by the imagined memories of Africa and the trauma of slavery.

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[40] See also Hall (1990).

The black Grenadian slave population was transplanted forcefully without visible presence of cultural symbols or artefacts of their own traditions. However, as pointed out by Merle Collins (writing specifically about Grenada), their culture withstood the assault upon it:

> European oppression and domination of socio-economic life did not succeed in complete subjugation of the African consciousness (Collins, 1990, pp. 29-30).

As they had no visual representations of their own culture in this new land, it is likely that the black Grenadians used aural representations of African culture both to remember and to renegotiate their identities – primarily singing, drumming, and associated dancing. It may be argued that the transmission of these musics were the first examples of music education within the black Grenadian community, a music education that would then be carried on through formal and informal music-making as informed by socio-political events, cultural influences, and perceived identities, and that these in turn were and are deeply embedded in and intrinsically tied to all musicking on the island.

Many Grenadians from the older generation in particular attempt to create meaningful relationships with one another through musical expressions of this African ancestry and nationhood, using musical forms that emphasise and embrace the African past, thereby constructing and expressing 'authentic' Grenadian identity in the present. The importance of the connection to Africa and the desired link to the African past in diasporic communities has been explored by numerous notable cultural theorists (see, for example, Brathwaite, 1992/1993; 1974; 1971; 1986/1993; 1981; DuBois, 1903/2007; Fanon, 1952/2008; 1963/2004; Gilroy, 1993), and during the course of my fieldwork, it became very clear to me indeed that many Grenadians (especially those in Carriacou) associate strongly with their perceived African past, and connect with African diasporic identity, where a diaspora is, according to Glazier:

> At the most fundamental level…the dispersion of a particular people from a homeland… Its initial usage denoted unwilling or forced dispersion through conquest and a corresponding desire for restoration and repatriation amid a sense of immense yearning for the lost place of origin (Glazier, 2005, p. 429).

The 'immense yearning for the lost place of origin' that occurs in diasporic communities affects not only the first generation of the exiled community in the diaspora, but many successive generations, as Mosby (2001) discusses in her doctoral thesis on Afro-Costa Rican identity, and can lead to a feeling of duality, a fragmented 'double-consciousness', not just in the greater society but also individually: as DuBois famously wrote over 100 years ago, an ever-present sense of 'two-ness':

> It is a peculiar sensation, this double-consciousness, this sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others, of measuring one's soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity. One ever feels his two-ness, – an American, a Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder (DuBois, 1903/2007, p. 12).

This fragmentation inevitably leads to a search for identity. Brathwaite, at the end of his first trilogy of poems, *The Arrivants* (1973), argues precisely this: that the feeling of divided 'two-ness' compels diasporic communities to create something 'torn and new' from the 'broken ground', signifying, as Edwards points out in her exploration of Brathwaite's work, a 'restorative' philosophy in which fragmentation and trauma lead to new beginnings and pathways of 'culture, place, nation, and identity' (Edwards, 2007, p. 2). The perceived need to reinvent oneself is perhaps best exemplified through modes of cultural production that function as a way of escaping the psychological trauma of having one's cultural heritage oppressed, a phenomenon studied in Fanon's highly influential 1952 book, *Black Skin White Masks*, in which the author explores the identities of African Caribbean communities existing in the 'absence' of African cultural heritage (Fanon, 1952/2008). This is also examined in Hall's *Negotiating Caribbean Identities* (Hall, 2001), wherein the author discusses loss and mourning in origin and questions of representation – whose identities are at the forefront and whose identities are silenced in the (re)invention process.

This too resonates in the Grenadian context, and examples of cultural initiatives intending to promote 'African' identities and combat cultural fragmentation can be seen in the various governments' use of music and culture. Those responsible for such initiatives hope to create a space for collective memory of the African past, thereby constructing desired communities and a sense of 'Grenadianness' through facilitating a connection to ancestry and nationhood in the present. For many Grenadians, particularly in the older generation, identifying as a member of the diaspora who is separated from 'Mother Africa', and also embracing the traditional musicking practices representative of this, may be seen as a way of replacing the cultural traumas of slavery and colonialism, connecting with the past, and constructing and expressing 'authentic' Grenadian identity in the present.

Music and Identities

Conceiving of identity as poststructuralist, as fluid, and as based on relationships with others begs the question that if identity is active and constantly being renegotiated, is it possible to speak of seemingly solid things like values, ideals, and '*my* identity', in a Grenadian context, or in any context? How can one embrace simultaneously on the one hand the fluidity of identity, and on the other its seeming stability as manifested in the ideas of culture? Nitasha Tamar Sharma, in a paper on identity formations of second-generation South Asian hip hop artists, also grapples with these tensions. Drawing from Stuart Hall, she states that although understanding identity as fluid is crucial, 'in particular times and spaces, individuals present their identities *as* fixed' (Sharma, 2005, pp. 10-11, italics in original). The question then becomes, *when* and *how* do people present their identities as fixed? The paradoxically fixed (*my* identity; the sense of who *I* am – what I perceive to be and present as the

permanent, or 'core',[41] elements of myself) yet constantly shifting concept of identity provides a productive tension to frame identity discourse. I would like to suggest that identities become temporarily presented and understood as fixed through cultural practices and performances of music, literature, drama, and art, which provide and display 'this is who we are' moments in time. This is precisely stated by Small in his exposition of musicking (Small, 1998, p. 43), and it is in this notion of 'musicking' that I am particularly interested: how musicking, as conceived by Small, not only represents and exemplifies, but in fact *creates* identities.

Musicking, as coined and theorised by Small, reconceptualises music as a cultural practice which is active (rather than a 'thing'), through which relationships are 'explored, affirmed, and celebrated' (Small, 1998, p. 50) and within which identities are constructed, negotiated, and perceived. In his initial exploration of the meanings of music in his seminal volume *Musicking* (Small, 1998), Small critically examines some commonly held assumptions concerning both the nature and function of music. He concludes that: (1) music is not a thing, but an activity; (2) everyone is capable of musicking; (3) musicking experiences have both social and individual meanings leading to the development of relationships; and, (4) the relationships that are created are not only between the sounds, but are also between the participants. This has major implications for how we define music, and for what purposes music is used; for with no music 'thing', the *activity* of music takes precedence, 'reveal[ing] music's meaning and significance' (Small, 1998, p. 8). Bearing this in mind, Small defines 'musicking' thus:

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[41] The concept of a 'core identity' or 'personal identity' was explored extensively in the 1950s by post-Freudian psychologist and psychoanalyst Erik Erikson, who, in looking at identity integrity within the individual, defined 'core identity' as 'a sustained feeling of inner sameness while sharing some character traits with others' (Erikson, 1956, p. 57). Psychiatrist and political psychologist Vamık Djemal Volkan argues that in contemporary times we understand this 'inner sense of sameness' to be based on the '…internalization of early object relations, the evolution of an integrated self-representation, and achievement of object constancy' (Volkan, 1999, online).

> To music is to take part, in any capacity, in a musical performance, whether by performing, by listening, by rehearsing or practicing, by providing material for performance (what is called composing), or by dancing (Small, 1998, p. 9).

Musicking is thus not the same as, and should not be confused with, 'making music' or 'performing', as these words only apply to the actions of the performers; musicking is instead something that all people present or involved in a performance in some way take part in. It is therefore not limited to the confines of composer, performer, and listener, but rather is expanded to include (as he says) ticket-taker and piano-mover as well. Small further contends that meaningful musicking experiences can happen to any participant in any musicking space, at any given time, for any given amount of time. I would like to suggest that through musicking – and thus 'exploring, affirming, and celebrating' ideal relationships with others and 'the other' (Small, 2010) – identities are constructed and presented, and that a view that gives precedence to the act of *doing* music rather than the musical object itself allows a particular understanding of the negotiation of identities within the Grenadian population, where musicking is such a central, fundamental activity.

The idea of 'exploring, affirming, and celebrating' 'ideal' relationships through musicking is discussed throughout the thesis and is in fact a cornerstone of this study. It is important to note that the word 'ideal' here does not imply that the relationships are *inherently* good or virtuous; as Laurence points out, Small's conception is 'no Platonic ideal' (Laurence, 2010, p. 133). Rather, in Small's view, as she says, 'the kinds of musicking in which we choose to participate…reflect our views of what are – *for us* – "right relationships"' (Laurence, 2010, p. 133, italics mine). Small himself elaborates thus:

> A musical performance brings into existence relationships that are thought desirable *by those taking part*, and in doing so it not only reflects those ideal relationships but also shapes them…In articulating those values it empowers those taking part to say…these are our values, our concepts of how the relationships of the world ought to be, and consequently, since how we relate is who we are, to [also] say, *this is who we are* (Small, 2010, p. 7, italics mine).

In contemporary Grenada, I have found that quite often, the musicking and

relationships that are 'ideal' for the older generation are not so for young people. This

has led to many recent cultural initiatives specifically designed to impose the 'ideal'

of the older people in Grenada upon the younger as a means of 'rescuing' *our*

musicking and *our* identities, as will be examined in Chapter 6.

Small's concept itself understands identity as multiplex. In a recent paper,

Small reiterates his suggested reasons for the connections between music,

relationships and identity:

> So, what is it that is being done when people come together to music, which is to say, to take part in a musical performance? What meanings are being created? I believe the answer lies in the relationships that are created when the performance takes place. Relations not only between the sounds that are made – that's an important part, but only part – but also between the participants, that is, among the performers, between the performers and the listeners, and among the listeners. These relationships, in turn, model, or act out, ideal or desired relationships as they are imagined to be by those taking part.

> And since who we are is how we relate, then to take part in an act of musicking is to take part in an act of self definition, an exploration, an affirmation and a celebration of one's identity, of who one is. In an act of musicking those taking part are exploring, affirming and celebrating their sense of who they are – or who they think they are, or who they would like to be, or even what they would like to be thought of as being (Small, 2010, pp. 6-7).

Small's explanation takes us right to the heart of identity in fact; and in Grenada,

music in and as culture can be argued as a particularly powerful force in constructing

these perceptions of self and desired self – exactly this idea of 'who they are – or who

they think they are, or who they would like to be, or even what they would like to be

thought of as being'. In my discussion of musical experiences and practices in

Grenada, using this concept of 'musicking' therefore allows me to include all

activities which are, lead to, or accompany performance, and also makes integral the

aspect of human relationships and the questions of identity that inevitably (and

explicitly within Small's own explication) underlie all relationships.

The concept of identity has been explored both in ethnomusicological and in

music educational scholarship. Timothy Rice, in an exploration of articles examining

music and identity in the journal *Ethnomusicology*, identifies three probable reasons for the development of music and identity as a theme in ethnomusicology in the 1980s: 1) the rise in popularity of identity in disciplines foundational to ethnomusicology; 2) the identity politics of race, ethnicity, gender, and so on as emergent themes in cultural life; and 3) the recognition that the worlds we live in and examine are 'fragmented' and dynamic (Rice, 2007, pp. 19-20). Rice makes the point that although much research in the field focuses on identity, ethnomusicologists often do not examine the general literature on identity, nor do they reference or build upon other research in this area. Further to this, he observes that many authors discuss music's role primarily as symbolic – that is, as *reflecting* an identity that already exists. In my own study, I attempt to widen this view, and to explore and deconstruct the concept and process of identity as being both representative and constructive, drawing from the general scholarship and also building upon other ethnomusicological and music educational research in this area.

Ethnomusicologist Bruno Nettl conceives the fundamental purpose of music as being a way of arbitrating various relationships and maintaining group inclusivity through representation of collective values, suggesting that music is a means of:

> …controlling humanity's relationship to the supernatural, mediating between human and other beings, and [supporting] the integrity of individual social groups. It does this by expressing the relevant central values of culture in abstracted form (Nettl, 2005, p. 253).

Nettl further argues that music provides a way for hegemonic powers to assert themselves and for less powerful groups to 'fight back' (Nettl, 2005, p. 256), and also functions to express conceptions of nationality, ethnicity, class, and self. Others too recognise the importance of music in defining groups; Blacking, for example, distinguishes music as having the potential to become and be used as a symbol of group identity, engendering relationships within its performance (Blacking, 1995), while the scholars in Martin Stokes' often-cited edited collection, *Ethnicity, Identity,*

and Music: The Musical Construction of Place (Stokes, 1994c) look at music's

relationship to ethnicity, nation, class, place, and gender: their interrelatedness to

music and its performance, and the meanings therein. In Stokes' book, music is

examined as a means by which identities are created and mobilised, and the concepts

of music, identity, and cultural subjectivity are extensively explored by the various

contributing authors.

Lucy Green, in her seminal text *Music on Deaf Ears: Musical Meaning,*

Ideology and Education (Green, 1988/2008), also explores the nature of musical

meaning and its relationship to social realities and processes. Green proposes a

dialectical relationship of aspects of the meanings in music, which she classifies as

either 'inherent'[42] (coming from the sounds, and the relationships therein, of the

music itself, as experienced by the culturally-situated individual) or delineated

(coming from extra-musical aspects such as positionality, place, nationality, ethnicity,

gender, social class, and age, for example, and the cultural associations ascribed to

them).

Green argues that in our interactions with musical experiences and materials,

we both assimilate and respond to a host of social and cultural meanings; the more

familiarity one has with a certain musical style, the more 'affirmative' (which she

contrasts with 'aggravating') one's experiences will be, since it is only within

familiarity that one's expectations can be disturbed and then resolved, setting up

expectation and satisfaction; this is how we 'relate meaningfully' to musical

experiences. These affirmed or aggravated responses to the inherent meanings in

music are joined in multiplex ways to our positive or negative responses to music's

delineated meanings, as we individually perceive them (Green, 1988/2008, pp. 54-

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[42] Green replaces the term 'inherent' with 'inter-sonic' in *Music, Informal Learning and the School*
(Green, 2008).; however, in my account, I will be keeping to the original term.

57). We are therefore more likely to have experiences that are (as Small would say) 'good and satisfying', with culturally-familiar music, in which we 'understand' the inherent and delineated meanings that exist for us; it is in these 'good and satisfying' experiences that we can feel affirmed and celebrated, and 'more fully ourselves' (Small, 1990, p. 1). Green's theory in particular is useful in my examination of the roles of steel pan and calypso music in Grenada's political sphere, as will be discussed in Chapter 3.

Hargreaves, Miell, and MacDonald, in their volume *Musical Identities* (Hargreaves et al., 2002), divide the concept of 'musical identity' into two categories: 'identities in music' (IIM) and 'music in identities' (MII), where IIM are the identities that are defined through social and cultural roles that exist in music and the specific social and cultural influences that impact these self-concepts; and MII are the ways in which people use music to form other parts of individual identity, including national and cultural identity, socio-economic identity, gender, or age, for example. Although this volume engages with many ideas surrounding music and identities, it has engendered substantial critique on the basis of a perceived tendency to simplification (see the journal *Action, Criticism & Theory for Music Education*, 3(1)[43]). Lamb, in her own response, asks her readers to consider the theoretical roles that ethnomusicology, music psychology, and music education play in perceptions of identity (Lamb, 2004, p. 16), finding that it is difficult to separate music from identities at all, since music is so entirely bound up with identity:

> What does my identity have to do with hearing or singing or creating music? What does identity have to do with music for me? From what moral position do I write here, and how does that frame what I have to say? … How does music relate to identity? Is music expressive? Powerful? Visceral? Spiritual? It is all these, of course, but none of them simply, neatly, or tidily. Music is an ineffable reality. Talk like this, however, too often slips into claims like "music heals," "music is love," or "music is a universal language" – claims that

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[43] This issue of *Action, Criticism, & Theory for Music Education* (2004, 3 (1)), from which Lamb's critique originates, was completely devoted to reviews of this particular book.

nauseate my intellect. Too self-absorbed. Too ignorant. Still, there is in music and musical identity something that operates at a deep, inarticulate level: murky and muddy. Ah, the tension! (Here I am, a mud wrestler!) (Lamb, 2004, pp. 5-6, parentheses in original).

I too find the oft-proclaimed 'universal truths' of music to be superficial, context-free, and suspect at best. But still, as Lamb reflects, there is *something* in the relationship between musicking and identity that is recognised as being deep, meaningful, and indeed muddy, to my informants in Grenada and also to myself.

Drawing from this scholarship on identity, and taking into account identity's role in African diasporic societies and its relationship to musicking, is helpful in grounding my research and provides for me different ways of considering how I (and my informants) might theorise these concepts and their interrelatedness. It also helps me to reflect upon *my* identity and my role as a white 'other' investigator conducting postcolonial research, and how, given my positionality (that is, the way in which one positions oneself in relation to people, places, and experiences, based on their own history and experiences) and the nature of my research, I might be able to construct and facilitate a dialogical space with my informants in which intrinsic racist, classist, heterosexist, and hegemonic attitudes and structures are addressed and scrutinised.

Conclusion

Grenada, as with other cultures in the Caribbean, is a place where music has been and remains a fundamental way of communicating values, information, and political thought, and above all, as I will argue, of constructing and proclaiming identities. I will now proceed to an account of how, in my own investigation, I privilege an epistemology and develop a methodology in which my informants construct *with* me understandings of musicking and identities in their lives, by way of discussion, and also of follow-up from these discussions. It is my hope that this approach can be brought back into the classroom, in teaching practice as well as in research.

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When I think back to the woman at J'Ouvert, I realise that it is much more than the older generation scoffing at the younger's love of J'Ouvert's fast soca music, erotic 'wine up yuh waist' dancing, and revealing clothing – it is a woman's sadness at not being able to 'explore, affirm, and celebrate' ideal relationships and 'true' Grenadian identities with young Grenadians through music. This sentiment, common according to my interviewees, has led to a very recent revitalisation and interest in the traditional culture older Grenadians worry young people are losing, particularly in festivals and schools. It is interesting to note that Grenada's Carnival theme in 2011 and 2012 was 'Uniquely Rooted in our Rich Ancestral Traditions' – a call to ancestry, to tradition, and most importantly, to a uniqueness still seen as deeply rooted in processes of musicking in Grenada.

Field Notes Reflection
20 August 2012

Chapter 2: Methodological Resonances

Introduction

My encounter at J'Ouvert morning, which occurred approximately six weeks after my arrival in Grenada and is described in the reflection from my field notes that begins this thesis, prompted an immediate shift not only in the focus of my research but also in the epistemological and conceptual frameworks of my study, as well as the development of my methodological approaches and methods. While the formal and informal learning of particular musical and cultural forms emerged as the main foci of Grenadian musicking throughout the recent historical period which I was analysing (1951- present), it was themes of identity, nostalgia, and identity loss – and their relationships to musicking and music education – that became the underpinning core of the ensuing analysis rather than solely the teaching and learning of these musics. In the light of these deep questions about the identities of, and relationships between, older and younger generations as enacted by musicking, the work thus took on an ethnographic emphasis drawing upon interview, non-participant and participant observation, archival research, oral histories, and e-fieldwork, now focusing not only upon the transmission of musical practices and knowledge, but also upon the practices and uses of music in general in Grenada.

My discussion here has a two-fold purpose: to contribute further insights to recent discourse concerning interdisciplinary resonances in questions of methodology between the fields of ethnomusicological and music educational research; and to detail my own methodological approach, and the ways in which this has been informed by these resonances. I first reflect upon the ways in which ethnographic approaches can inform teaching practice and classroom-based research, and also the ways in which these approaches can perhaps contribute to relevancy, meaningfulness,

and engagement in school music education. I will then give an account of the ways in which I carried out my study, detailing how I attempted to take methodological impulses from music education as well as from ethnomusicology, and showing how each disciplinary field might illuminate the other. Although music educational research very characteristically has a substantial discussion of methodological issues, methodological discussion is not always as central in ethnomusicology, rarely meriting an extensive chapter on the subject such as the one here presented. This immediately provides one example of how these two fields can intersect and inform one another. In the detailed account of my methodology and methods that will follow, I hope to show the reader not only the ways in which I went about collecting my data, but also the ontological and epistemological underpinnings for this study. Within this discussion is a reflection upon my positionality, a discussion of the questions of ethics and power that arose during my research, and the challenges I faced as an outsider singer-teacher-investigator.

Throughout my inquiry – in this and in subsequent chapters – are woven reflections of my own experiences in Grenada (presented in italics), which serve to provide an account of how I went about my research and also to give the reader a sense of Grenada as experienced through my eyes. These narratives insert my voice directly into this research, provide context for my interrogations, and counterpoint the research described throughout.

Perspectives from Ethnomusicology and Music Education

Understanding music's role in culture, teaching musics that originate both in Western and non-Western cultures, exploring musicking both in and out of the classroom in various places and contexts, and investigating how children, youth, and adults identify

with and through music are all currently being argued as profoundly significant in music education practice and research. Rigorous examination of these demands insights from the fields both of music education and of ethnomusicology. I thus turn to an exploration of interdisciplinary research in these two areas, and how they jointly inform my study.

Probing the complexities of musicking and identity through the dual lenses of music education and ethnomusicology stimulated for me new ways of thinking about how and what we teach as well as how and what we research, and many questions emerged as I explored the various Grenadian sites of musicking, complimenting the research questions listed in the first chapter. For example: how does Grenadian culture transmit music (taking in its teaching and learning), and how can I bring these experiences of musicking to my students? How can we negotiate a shared space for interdisciplinary investigations so as to broaden the spectrum of music education research, and how might this influence the design and implementation of 'meaningful' curricula? And how can we make school music experiences more significant to our students? The kinds of methodological tools used within ethnomusicological inquiry such as ethnography and its associated methods offer a fruitful means by which one can investigate many of these. I will return to these questions of music teaching practice and music educational research in the conclusion of this thesis.

Ethnography

Ethnography, which originally grew out of a frustration with quantitative methods and their inability to effectively analyse social research in anthropology (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995), has been defined and deconstructed by many researchers over the last three and a half decades, including anthropologists Spradley (1979), Tedlock

(2000), and Fife (2005); and educationalists Bloome (1989) and Roulston (2006), from whose writing (taken collectively) I have come to the following understanding: ethnographic study is based on the notion that 'knowledge of all cultures is valuable' (Spradley, 1979, p. 9), and involves the ongoing and systematic collection, description, and analysis of people, places, events, and understandings, and the placement of these things into meaningful context (Tedlock, 2000) through the application of specific paradigms and frameworks that derive from cultural anthropology and sociology (Bloome, 1989). To effectively research social behaviours and meanings, an ethnographic researcher spends an extended period of time in the culture necessarily developing an emotional attachment for the people with whom they work (Fife, 2005), and collects data via observational field notes, interviews, videos, photographs, and texts (see Roulston, 2006).

Ethnographic study of the transmission of music and its role in culture, a cornerstone for the rationale of my own study on musicking and identities, has long been a part of ethnomusicological method. It is true that nineteenth-century scholars of music often worked from recordings sent to them by missionaries and anthropologists working in distant countries, but by the 1920s it was common for those who studied world music traditions to undertake extended stays in communities and to pay attention to the cultural contexts of musical performance (Nettl, 2005). In the 1960s, participant observation of the kind of research I myself undertook became particularly important as a methodology (Nettl, 2005). Alan Merriam remarked at that time that there was in ethnomusicological research increasingly a concern for *understanding*, taking into account methods and history, rather than simply describing (Merriam, 1960). He went on to argue that in order for studies to be 'truly ethnomusicological', the investigator *must* spend time in the field and that the days of

the 'armchair ethnomusicologist' were coming to an end (Merriam, 1960, p. 113). Some fifty years later, ethnography and participant observation remain central to ethnomusicological research.

Ethnography has become an area of focus in music education in the last thirty-five years, with the rise of qualitative methods in music educational research in the 1980s (Shehan Campbell, 2003). Writing in 1987, Krueger remarked that although research in music education has 'tended to focus upon development of theories that explain, predict, control, and guide educational practice' it was necessary to now 'consider the effects of situational influences' (Krueger, 1987, pp. 75-76). Citing Garrison (1985), Kosby (1978), and Weeks (1982), Stauffer and Robbins note that the first ethnographic studies in music educational scholarship appeared in the late 1970s and early 1980s, largely in connection with research in ethnomusicology, community music, and group music, and concerning research of children's musicking and pre- and in-service teaching. They point out that it is still the case that:

> …the dominant focuses on musical communities of practice and on teachers and teaching remains in ethnographic (and most qualitative) studies in music education (Stauffer & Robbins, 2009, p. 85).

However, for *classroom-based* ethnography, scarce two decades ago (Nunan, 1992), there remain many barriers of access, despite a recent increase in this kind of research.[44]

Minette Mans (2009) suggests that in the move toward a more global music education, music educators are and should be using the knowledge and experience of ethnomusicologists in learning about music's role in the construction of culture and identities. In my investigation, I join a growing number of music educator-researchers who engage in ethnographic study and who find themselves using a theoretical

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[44] For examples, please see the recent volume *Masterclass in Music Education: Transforming Teaching and Learning* (Finney & Laurence, 2013), in which there are a number of accounts of classroom ethnography.

framework that incorporates ethnomusicological fieldwork as well as qualitative educational research techniques; are writing theoretically about using current ethnomusicological trends, methods, and methodologies to inform their research; or are drawing from ethnomusicological research that is relevant to the field of music education (see, for example, Shehan Campbell, 1998; 2003; Feay-Shaw, 2002; Green, 2011; Nettl, 2012; 2010; Stock, 2003; Veblen, 1991).

Interdisciplinary Research in Music Education and Ethnomusicology

In considering the 'crossroads' of ethnomusicology and music education, Patricia Shehan Campbell, a music educator/ethnomusicologist who has conducted a number of studies that use methods and methodologies from both fields, asserts that the 'conditions for border-crossings' by music educators into ethnomusicology have 'never been better' (Shehan Campbell, 2003, p. 16). She notes that increasingly, music educationalists are using ethnomusicological methods and methodologies in the research and practice of music teaching and learning, and many ethnomusicologists are currently delving into research addressing the needs of the music education community, exploring practical applications for their research, and investigating the ways in which ethnomusicological research might be applied to music education research (Shehan Campbell, 2003, p. 17). For example, researchers in music education are using methods such as participant observation and interview, while ethnomusicologists who focus on the transmission and pedagogy of music, who choose to conduct their research as participant observers through musical instruction, or who are interested in educational systems, are turning to music educators and music education research for guidance. Shehan Campbell remarks that music education therefore 'may be a means by which ethnomusicology is made more relevant, and is revolutionised…it is at this juncture where two dynamic fields and

their considerable histories merge, that new knowledge may be developed' (Shehan Campbell, 2003, p. 28).

Bruno Nettl, in a keynote speech at the International Society for Music Education (ISME) conference in 2010, sets about 'to trace, and maybe to meditate upon, relationships between music education in the broad sense, and ethnomusicology' (Nettl, 2010, p. 1). In this address, Nettl suggests that in many ways, ethnomusicology and music education have gone through a 'role reversal' of sorts – where ethnomusicology was once concerned with what music could tell us about a certain culture, music education was concerned with creating 'beauty'; however, in contemporary times:

> …educators have come to realize that music can teach you a lot beyond nice sounds and how to appreciate them, and how to make them. Increasingly, they find that they learn about people through their music, that many of the world's peoples express the important things about their lives and their culture through music… while ethnomusicologists have perhaps increasingly become humanists in their hearts, music educators have – at least part of the time – become anthropologists of music (Nettl, 2010, pp. 2-3).

Nettl thus observes that the two areas may seem, in many ways, to be diametrically opposed: where the purpose of music education traditionally has lain in the teaching and learning of music, the purpose of ethnomusicology has been to explore the functions and understandings of music (Nettl, 2010; 2012). However, like Shehan Campbell, he now finds that ethnomusicologists are increasingly examining the role of music education in the cultures they are studying and what the teaching and learning of music 'says' about a society, while music educators are progressively interested in what they can learn about a culture and what that culture finds to be important, through music, and also finding merit in the research approaches of ethnomusicologists to inform their work. He points out that when more closely analysed, contemporary ethnomusicology and music education are therefore inextricably linked – 'two sides of a coin'.

Jonathan Stock, in looking at ethnomusicological practices and literature that could potentially be beneficial to music educators, posits that contemporary ethnomusicologists and contemporary music educators are often asking similar questions in different ways, and highlights what he views as the deep and probing theoretical discourse in ethnomusicological research, recommending that scholars from other fields (such as education) reconsider and re-examine the questions they ask as well as their known and unknown assumptions, and encouraging researchers to be exposed to new ideas (Stock, 2003). Writing specifically on musical transmission, Stock makes the point that the word 'transmission' is associated with a host of terms that occur throughout ethnomusicological literature, including:

> acculturation, appropriation, assimilation, borrowing, change, composition, creativity, diffusion, enculturation, education, formulaicity, improvisation, influence, memorisation, modernisation, ornamentation, practice, preservation, professionalisation, recording, stability, syncretism, tradition, tune families, urbanisation, Westernisation, and variation (Stock, 2003, p. 139, all words capitalised in original).

Stock remarks that ethnomusicological research may therefore consider processes of teaching and learning alongside other cultural and societal processes that influence change. In analysing these themes, Stock says, music educationalists 'will find new emphases' (Stock, 2003, p. 139) for their research, an idea that certainly resonated within my own inquiry, since these themes arose again and again, particularly in relation to governmental hegemonic structures and cultural penetration[45] and syncretism, past and present.

Shehan Campbell, Nettl, and Stock provide an introduction to interdisciplinary research in music education and ethnomusicology, and their scholarship informs my own experiences as a singer, as a music teacher, and as a music teacher educator. Musicking is a means by which I learn about the world, situate myself in experiences,

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[45] The term 'cultural penetration', used by many of my informants, refers to the pervasiveness of cultural forms not considered indigenous to Grenada or the West Indies. This term is usually applied to American music and television.

and build relationships with others. It is also a means by which I try to connect with my students, be they very small children or teacher candidates in my Music Methodologies courses. My concern with the 'who, what, where, when, and how' of the teaching and learning of musicking is therefore wholly interdependent with the functions and understandings, the 'why' of this musicking, and therein, of music's role in culture and in the creation and negotiation of identity; I cannot conceive of them apart. It is for this reason that I felt that the most valid way to carry out an investigation on the transmission of musicking was to engage with a wider view of the overarching transmission of all musical forms and experiences, and their relationships to identities in Grenada, and to investigate the role of music and practices of musicking in Grenada's culture both historically and in contemporary times; this necessitated the study turning from a solely 'music educational' approach to one that embraced both music education and ethnomusicology.

In the previous chapter, I introduced the term 'identity', and concepts of its relationship to music. I now turn to a more in-depth exploration of relevancy, meaningfulness, and engagement in music education, here alluding in general to my own specifically Canadian context, and focusing on this interconnectedness of musicking, identity, relationships, and the classroom. It is my hope that this will illuminate my situatedness as a teacher-researcher, and provide a basis for the philosophical background and methodological approaches of this study.

Exploring Relevancy, Meaningfulness, & Engagement through Ethnography

Relevancy, meaningfulness, and engagement in school music can arise only when teachers seek to *really know* their students: how our students perceive themselves,

how they want to be perceived, and how they perceive others. Engaging in co-constructive ethnography (as I have done in this study), where the student's musical preferences are recognised, where pupil voice[46] is privileged, and where the life stories, relationships, and roles of all are acknowledged and valued as much as possible, can enable us to develop deep, more egalitarian relationships with our students outside of the typical teacher-led paradigm, thereby bringing about a more cooperative learning atmosphere in which meaningful learning for both parties can occur. I argue here that understanding the ethnographies of our students and the narratives of their musicking inside and outside of school requires us to examine the multilayered, contextual, and messy conceptions of our students' identities and the social, cultural, and musical factors that influence these, as well as our own as teachers, as best we can. As Hildegard Froehlich suggests in her exploration of sociology for music educators, teaching becomes more 'reality-based' once teachers have an awareness of the influences of social structures on daily life (Froehlich, 2007). Likewise, Kelly observes that understanding our students' learning and social behaviours 'requires' an understanding of their cultural and musical development (i.e. musical activities, musical preferences, and the purposes of music) outside of the classroom (Kelly, 2002).

In the Canadian educational context, our elementary and secondary school students can come from a diverse range of backgrounds, often comprising varied socio-economic statuses, ethnicities, sexual orientations, family relationships, academic abilities, religious and moral viewpoints, and, of course, musical tastes and interests. Irrespective of these differences, adolescents in particular often engage with music outside school for a variety of reasons and in a variety of ways for many hours

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[46] 'Pupil voice' refers to student perspectives on teaching and learning in the school (Finney, 2003; Finney, 2011; Finney & Laurence, 2013).

every day: consuming music through .mp3 players, music television stations, and YouTube; creating music through video games such as Guitar Hero, computer programs such as GarageBand, and composition apps for smartphones; and by using conventional instruments or singing. Music is therefore a pervasive and important aspect of daily life for many young people, and through technological advancement and the Internet, our students can access nearly any kind of music from any part of the world, day or night, almost limitlessly. This musicking is intrinsically bounded to identity, reflecting not only musical preference, but also potentially race, socio-economic status, social and political views, morality and ethics, cultural attitudes, and more, and adolescents in particular are heavily influenced by and connected to the 'badges of identity' (as Hargreaves, Marshall, and North (2003, p. 156) refer to them) associated with the musical genres to which they subscribe, and the viewpoints, values, mannerisms, clothing, attitudes, and dialect that can accompany them.

Frith tells us that we should not only be concerned with how music *reflects* a people, but also (and perhaps more importantly) how it *produces* them – the 'performance' and the 'story' of identity, as he puts it – through the creating and constructing of experiences that can only be understood and appreciated by taking on certain subjective and collective identities (Frith, 1996/2007, p. 296). He says:

> Identity is not a thing but a process – an experiential process which is most vividly grasped *as music*. Music seems to be a key to identity because it offers, so intensely, a sense of self and others, of the subjective in the collective (Frith, 1996/2007, p. 295).

This reiterates Christopher Small's theory of 'musicking', already introduced (see page 35), in which music-as-experience, which can lead to ongoing ventures of self-discovery and self-definition through relationships forged during the musicking process, is perceived as much more important than music-as-object (Small, 1998).

Music is therefore as much *representative* of identity as it is *constructive* of identity, and this is perhaps why music plays such an important role in adolescence in

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particular, when relationships and identities are generally regarded as being

negotiated and experimented with more than any other time in life: our students (and

we too) use music to demonstrate and inculcate our own 'ideal relationships' (Small

1998), and therein, identities; to take another idea from Small, 'to try [relationships]

on, to see how they fit, to experience them without having to commit [oneself] to

them' (Small, 1998, p. 183).

Despite the connection with music outside of the classroom, and the obvious

importance of music's role in the daily lives of many young people, we are having

difficulty attracting students to our music classrooms in Europe and North America,

an issue that is concurrently being addressed in both music educational research as

well as in practice. School music and music outside of school may be, and more often

than not are, significantly different from each other – as widely documented (see, for

example, Finney & Laurence, 2013; Green, 2008; Hargreaves & Marshall, 2003;

Lamont et al., 2003; Sloboda, 2001; Wright, 2008), and school music is frequently

seen as failing student musical aspirations and as resulting in varying levels of student

engagement and success, where engagement is, according to Cameron and Bartel:

> …the holistic reciprocal relationship between the learner and what is being learned. Effective
> learning happens when learners experience immersion and much demonstration of content
> that is real, meaningful, and relevant to the learner in a context of positive emotional tone and
> supportive community. Engagement is facilitated by the freedom to approximate the goal,
> opportunity to take responsibility for what is learned and to use it in authentic contexts
> (Cameron & Bartel, 1998, p. 23).

Music educators and music education researchers have both made the call for the

inclusion of popular and 'world' music in the schools, as well as informal learning

approaches, as a response to school music's perceived deficiencies and unpopularity:

at the turn of this century, Swanwick asked music teachers to develop school music

programmes that include music 'beyond the school gates' (Swanwick, 1999, p. 100),

and Sloboda challenged the concept of 'mass music education', which he found to be

detached from 'out-of-school' music (Sloboda, 2001). Much movement in this has

occurred since, particularly in the UK and in Scandinavia (see Folkestad, 2006). In

North America, this particular battle remains to be won (Bowman, 2004); however, at

the time of writing, the Musical Futures programme[47] now established (since 2003) in

the UK, itself based upon the outcomes of Lucy Green's work in developing a 'new

pedagogy' of informal learning and music, is being put in place in parts of Ontario,

Canada, as well as in areas of the United States and in South America.

Although thus increasingly becoming more common in school music

programmes, and despite the efforts by Green and others to change the ways in which

these musics are taught, popular and also 'world' musics are still nevertheless

frequently being presented and studied independently from, or totally without, their

cultural contexts and underlying meanings, leaving many rich opportunities for music

education as influenced by ethnomusicology and ethnomusicological research largely

unexplored. As Cameron and Bartel point out above, engagement is facilitated in part

through context, and I would further argue that meaningfulness and relevancy are also

created when students have the opportunity to play music in 'authentic' contextual

situations: adopting learning styles that are true to the musical genre, exploring the

underlying meanings of musical pieces, and analysing social, political, and historical

settings in which music is created and performed, for example. Teachers can facilitate

this 'authentic' context by guiding students to discoveries of the function of music

within culture, and it is here that ethnomusicology can inform music education in a

broader and deeper way: moving beyond simply learning the music of cultures

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[47] Musical Futures is a 'series of models and approaches that can be personalised by teachers, practitioners and others. It is based on the belief that music learning is most effective when young people are engaged in making music, and when their existing passion for music is acknowledged, reflected on and built-upon in the classroom… The starting point for Musical Futures was to try to understand the factors affecting the disengagement of young people with sustained music-making activities, at a time in their lives when we know music is not only a passion for many young people, but plays a big part in shaping their social identity' (Musical Futures Canada website, 2013).

outside those of the teacher's (be it music from other countries or popular and vernacular musics within the home environment) to learning about music's role in that culture. However, the musicking in schools is often decontextualised, made 'appropriate' for the school music setting, and, in the case of 'world' music, also Westernised (Bowman, 2004; Nettl, 2010). When music is taught, learned, and performed in this way, it is often perceived by students as inauthentic and as lacking significance, and this further adds to its irrelevancy (Jourdan, 2013).

In recent decades, this perceived irrelevancy of school music has rendered it a victim of budget cuts, propelling forward music education advocacy movements in desperate attempts to save our programmes. Slogans such as 'music makes you smarter' and statistics such as '66% of music majors are accepted into medical school, the highest percentage in any group', often unsubstantiated and/or not taking into account the socio-economic statuses, support systems, or other underlying factors that determine these 'facts', are postered in our schools, articulated at our school meetings, and beseeched to our principals. I would suggest that this view of school music further alienates students and also contributes to its perceived irrelevancy in diminishing music's intrinsic value and worth – something not lost on our students nor those whom we are trying to convince – and reduces music and music-making to merely a means of 'getting better' at something else that is apparently more deserving of our attention (see Philpott, 2012).

As music educators, we teach music because we love it, and because we can feel connected to others; because we can have cathartic experiences of ecstatic joy, unspeakable sadness, calmness, or vitality; because we can search within ourselves, discovering and negotiating, as Christopher Small says, 'who [we] are – or who [we] think [we] are, or who [we] would like to be, or even what [we] would like to be

thought of as being' (Small, 2010, pp. 6-7): to bring our students to these understandings and experiences is our purpose, and hopefully our end gain, in music education. And, I would argue, it is precisely these things that draw our students to music outside of school. If we want to bring these experiences to our students in the classroom, we first need to, as much as possible, *know* our students. In disregarding or trivialising our students' life experiences and identities, and the music which negotiates, nurtures, and expresses these things, we render engaging, dialogic, and meaningful teaching and learning difficult, if even possible at all. Of course, this is not easy: as teachers, we lead vastly different lives from our students.

Teacher Musical Identity

Wayne Bowman contends that it is 'our discourses, our experiences, our cultural situatedness' that allow us to view the world the way we do; the multiple truths of life that are limited by what we are able to see, and what we choose to see (Bowman, 2010, p. 1). This is indeed true: as music educators, we bring to our classrooms our own limited and, in many ways, chosen, experiences and stories, which are created from memories of people and events and which are unique to us as individuals (see Dolloff, 1999). Our stories, informed by experiences of childhood, adolescence, and adulthood, of music students and music teachers, of preferences and dislikes, and of understanding and unfamiliarity inform what we value and privilege in music education, impacting teacher intent and voice: what we teach, how we teach, why we teach, and even who and where we teach. Our life narratives – and our identities within these narratives – are so strong, so present in our teaching and learning (just as they are in our research) that they cannot and must not be ignored.

This is why it is pertinent also to address the issue of *teacher* identity; for, at the heart of school music education, in many ways, is *us*, as teachers. Most music educators in the Western world are white, middle class, 'educated' musicians. Many have undertaken years of Western European classical music training, and some of us may have pursued, or wanted to have pursued, performance careers (taking on the 'musician-as-teacher' identity[48]) – or are still pursuing them. We take music 'seriously' and want our students to do the same, thus focusing on perfecting repertoire and technical proficiencies. Of course, teachers also follow, as demanded of them, what school authorities, parents, and the community expect to see and hear: children at a year-end concert, perhaps all dressed alike, all sitting alike, all acting alike and playing or singing the same thing – excellently – having been bestowed knowledge of the 'best' (classical) music by the (classically-trained) master teacher all year long.

Saunders suggests that, most often, teachers '[teach] the music they know, in the way that they were taught and in the way that they were taught to teach it' (Saunders, 2010, p. 72), an argument also made by Bartel in the context of music teacher education (Bartel, 2004). Welch, Purves, Hargreaves, and Marshall, in a recent contribution to this discussion, point out that specialist music teachers in North American and European schools are more likely to be trained in formal Western classical university music programmes or conservatoires than in the more informally-based popular music styles and learning settings, and perhaps have had little opportunity to even engage with, let alone become 'experts' in, the multitude of musics preferred by their students (Welch et al., 2012). This is also stated by Spruce

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[48] See Roberts (1991).

(2012) just as recently. Evidently, then, and despite the varied attempts to change this, Saunders' observation stands.

The immeasurable ways in which the musical 'life stories' of teachers can contrast with those of their students imaginably can also account for much of the disconnect our music programmes seem to have with the 'real life', meaningful musicking experiences of children and adolescents. Our own musical and life stories are often perceived by our students as 'other' – even as conflictual – to theirs (and theirs to ours), and this is validated for them if we, as teachers, appear to diminish the worth of our students' preferred musicking (consciously or unconsciously) by only teaching (to cite again Saunders' expressive phrase) '[what we] know, in the way that [we] were taught and in the way that [we] were taught to teach it' (Saunders, 2010, p. 72). In doing so, we are effectively saying that not only is our students' *music* unimportant and not worthy, but, since music is so bound up with identity (and particularly so in the secondary school context), that the students *themselves* are unimportant and not worthy of knowing or trying to understand. It is no wonder many students feel alienated and thus distance themselves from school music. How can we leave our Western classical musical worlds, and enter the musical worlds of our students, with the hope that this will make music more relevant, meaningful, and engaging?

Turning Toward an Ethnographic Approach

Relevancy, meaningfulness, and engagement are interdependent, and can only come into existence when students have a balance between skill and challenge, thereby becoming completely absorbed in the activity (what Csikszentmihalyi (1975;

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1991; 1997) refers to as 'flow'[49]); when they have agency and ownership; when they have intrinsic interest; and when they perceive that there is significance in what they are doing. And, given an acceptance of the *intention* to try to improve relevance, meaningfulness and engagement for our pupils, we need to find the best *way* of doing so. In order to find out our students' perceived or real skills and challenges, in order to facilitate agency and ownership, and in order to find out what they feel to be interesting and significant, we must, as teacher practitioners and as researchers, be willing to engage with ethnography: we must observe and *ask* the students, and be ready to delve into areas in which we are not 'experts' – opening ourselves up to failure and to vulnerability, but also to learning. There are some significant gaps in the music educational research literature here, since intensive, co-constructive classroom-based investigation remains uncommon in educational and music educational research; teachers, curriculum writers, and policy makers often infer, or simply decide, what is 'best' for students to learn, as well as the 'best' way for them to learn it, rather than gathering this information from the students themselves – the learners and consumers of schooling (Wright & Davies, 2010).

Indeed, only fairly recently is the child or indeed the teacher seen as any kind of co-constructor of understandings and knowledge (see Finney, 2003; 2011; Finney & Laurence, 2013) – there is instead a tradition of objectification within research processes in which the real voices of the students (and also the teachers) rarely come through, since their input is neither required nor valued. Where their opinions *are*

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[49] Within flow, one is completely immersed in an activity and loses all sense of temporality, ego, and concern, experiencing instead intrinsic motivation and attention, which combine to create what Csikszentmihalyi calls an 'optimal experience'. Csikszentmihalyi elaborates:

> [Flow occurs when] a person's skills are fully involved in overcoming a challenge that is just above manageable. Optimal experiences usually involve a fine balance between one's ability to act, and the available opportunities for action. If the challenges are too high one gets frustrated, then worried, and eventually anxious. If both challenges and skills are perceived to be low, one gets to feel apathetic. But when high challenges are met with high skills, then the deep involvement that sets flow apart from ordinary life is likely to occur (Csikszentmihalyi, 1997, p. 30).

asked, they or their opinions are frequently measured and assessed via surveys and questionnaires, which are closed, directional in nature, and leave little room for expansion or follow-up. Such studies only scratch the surface and are often superficial, particularly since outliers are discarded in any statistical analysis. Ethnographic study, however, is open-ended and can be directed collaboratively by informants. It pays attention to the detail, the anomalous, and the surprising, bringing to light contrasting opinions and different voices. These distinct and unique stories of individuality, articulated by the individuals *themselves*, provide an ever-richer account, and can begin to answer more deeply the question of, as Christopher Small would say, 'What's *really* going on here?' (Small, 1998, p. 14, italics mine).[50]

Ethnography's privileging of *all* types of data – not just what is 'normal' – proved to be useful in my own research, and this is one reason why I abandoned questionnaire as a means of data collection early on – for insights from outliers (which I considered important) are unobtainable or deemed irrelevant in this type of data collection. The anomalous proved to be illuminating in many situations in my study; for example, conflicting notions of identity between older and younger generations became apparent to me relatively early on in my fieldwork, but there were certainly informants from the older generation who took part in or promoted musicking activities – and the associated identities – generally linked to the younger generation for a host of reasons (such as financial gain), and also informants from the younger generation, particularly of certain religious denominations, who shunned the musicking associated with their age group, seeing it as sinful, as we will see in Chapter 6. Had I privileged quantitative method, this dimension of tension surrounding musicking and identity may have not been given full appreciation, or

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[50] For an example of this, please see Kelly (2013).

may have even gone unnoticed, resulting in a much more superficial understanding of musicking and perceptions of identity across generations.

In educational research, a co-constructive, ethnographic approach to eliciting students' and teachers' views can thus offer a more richly described and intricate, nuanced understanding of complex realities through various methods, of which I now focus here upon participant observation and interview. Participant observation is the observation of and participation in a group in which the researcher has a 'membership' role (Angrosino & Mays de Pérez, 2000), and is a fundamental basis for ethnography, as collaborative participation challenges top-down modes of inquiry, and encourages the co-construction of research from both emic and etic viewpoints.[51] It is hoped that through extended experiences of active participation, the researcher's insight into the community will be grounded in common experiences and trust, suggests Stock, thereby leading to deeper understanding (Stock, 2003, p. 136). The interview process is also a fruitful way that we can learn from our primary and secondary school students and elicit pupil voice in our investigations. Interviewing our students can provide the student's point of view; in turn these student perceptions of engagement, meaningfulness, curricula, teachers, autonomy, relevancy, and more can inform curricula design and implementation, teaching style, and teaching environment.

In my own research, I found that participant observation in various musicking and teaching activities afforded very different insights as compared to non-participant observation. Entering into the musical worlds of my informants, adults and children alike, enabled me to not just superficially see but really *experience* the musicking

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[51] According to Shehan Campbell, the use of 'emic' (from 'phonemic'; the perspective of someone who is an 'insider' of the culture being studied) and 'etic' (from 'phonetic'; the perspective of someone who is an 'outsider' of the culture being studied) perspectives in research became important in ethnomusicological research in the 1970s (Shehan Campbell, 2003).

there. Observing a concert or festival certainly provided for me much information on musicking and identity in the Grenadian context, but the most pithy information came from within – when I was treated as a musicker myself – learning and practicing and performing (and, in many cases, teaching) *with* them. For example, my experiences as a participant observer with the choir at TAMCC (T.A. Marryshow Community College) provided for me information on not only how choir members learn music, but also what kinds of music they deem appropriate to sing, and what kinds they don't, and why, as will be described in a narrative at the beginning of Chapter 4.

Throughout the interviewing process, I found that my interviews with those whom I knew from my participant observer musicking experiences were deeper and more detailed since there was a mutual feeling of trust and camaraderie that had been developed over a period of time musicking together, in which I had made very clear both my intentions and my love of music. For many of these interviews, interviewing was simply a case of 'picking up' a conversation we had left off at a previous rehearsal together, and it was in these particular interviews that I often found I could ask difficult or controversial questions, and also discuss my ideas and the ways in which I was interpreting my data and ask for critical feedback, thereby co-constructing my research. The depth of understanding that ethnography can afford (and particularly the co-constructive ethnographic approaches I attempted) could be argued as underpinning its value in school contexts.

Co-constructed research and 'insider' experiences and viewpoints could be particularly useful in music educational research to gain information on successful music teaching and learning practices from the point of view of the researcher-as-student and/or researcher-as-teacher. However, although participant observation and interview in adult music educational settings can be facilitated and is indeed currently

being explored by ethnomusicologist-music educator-investigators (see, for example, Feay-Shaw (2002)), this is recognisably much more difficult and problematic in the primary or secondary setting, for a number of reasons. Ethical clearance notwithstanding,[52] researchers may find it very difficult to enable spaces of trust in which to participate in school music in a meaningful 'insider way', given the likely magnitude of differences between academic researcher and adolescent or child students, and also run the risk of being exploitive of, or even harm, their young subjects. Indeed, no matter what the methodological underpinnings, there is no such thing as an 'inherently ethical' study, as Gallagher points out (Gallagher, 2008).

Drawing from Franklin (1999), Gallagher argues that the current social and cultural realities of prescriptiveness and compliance can hinder the researcher from making, as she says, '*principled* decisions' (Gallagher, 2008, p. 69, italics in original). Laurence, exploring Gallagher's work, gives teaching the National Curriculum as an example of this: teachers are required to teach the National Curriculum, and if they do not, are perhaps labelled as incompetent – ethical considerations of teaching being apparently of inconsequential significance. Laurence posits that becoming teacher-researchers 'would seem to compel us to reclaim for ourselves the right to pose ethical questions of our teaching' (Laurence, 2013b, p. 16), therein subverting the prescriptive-compliant model and opening doors for 'being with', as Gallagher's co-researcher says, those whom we are researching (Gallagher, 2008, p. 75). It is this 'being with', this co-constructive means of research that is egalitarian in aim, that I sought within my own investigation.

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[52] Many researchers indeed find that obtaining ethical clearance to go into schools or to work with children is extremely difficult. My own supervisor, whose interventionist research was located in a school and involved children, musicking, and empathy (see Laurence, 2005), was met with astonishment when she described her research to other music educationalists in Canada and the United States, for whom gaining access to schools is often extremely challenging.

One way that I attempted to facilitate an atmosphere of 'being with' my informants was by constantly and purposefully checking and re-checking the data that I had collected, and also how I was interpreting it. This was done both in informal conversation and also in formal interview settings. After my data collection on-island was complete, I continued to check and cross-reference my findings and understandings with informants from whom I had gotten the information, as well as from new informants, by way of online conversation (instant messaging and email) as well as by way of formal editing, always being careful to co-construct my knowledge and making this aim clear to those who were reviewing my work.

In conclusion, the ethnographic methods that are central to ethnomusicological study, such as participant observation and interview, can inform investigations in music education. Rigorous student-centred research into our students' lives and musicking (the musical, cultural, and relational experiences therein, and the identities that arise from these), and then analytical methods that take into consideration application to practice, make it more possible to meet students where they are, to acknowledge and to show respect for their musical knowledge and expertise, and to continually reflect upon how we, as teachers, can enter into a relationship with our students that is (as much as possible) trusting, recognised as mutually influencing, dialogical, and based on an ethic of care. A desire to understand and respect our students' musicking and identities can lead to a more democratic, inclusive classroom. A shared space in ethnomusicology and music education, along with the inclusion and critical analysis of theories from other diverse areas, such as anthropology, sociology, cultural studies, education, psychology, and more, can therefore bring into existence interdisciplinary research that provides new, better, and more profound modes of

inquiry which can enrich teaching practice. With this in mind, I now turn to my study, in which I use these ideas as guiding paradigms.

The Study: Methodology and Methods

Overview

To examine effectively how musicking in Grenada is deeply embedded in and intrinsically tied to identity, I sought to investigate forms and uses of Grenadian music, as well as narratives of identity, both historically (remembered or conceived of as memory) as well as in contemporary times, with regard to socio-political climates, power structures, questions of cultural and musical 'authenticity' and agency, cultural education, and attitudes toward the perceived loss and (re)construction of Grenadian identity, from the dual perspectives of music educator and ethnomusicologist. The study, which contributes to broader research topics in Grenadian music and music and identity scholarship, draws from literature in ethnomusicological research and music educational research, as well as Caribbean music research, identity research, postcolonial studies, cultural studies, educational research, and research in Caribbean and American politics.

As described in Chapter 1, throughout the study I considered questions such as: how do Grenadians use music to create and express their identities? How is music in turn affected by these constructions, perceptions, and representations of identities? What are the modes of transmission for musicking and identities in Grenada? What musics and identities are being transmitted or not being transmitted, and why or why not? Answers to these questions are neither easily quantified nor simple to explain, and were evidently best explored using non-positivist, non-measurement-based, and poststructuralist means of research. Thus, I privileged qualitative, rather than

quantitative, methods in pursuing accounts of musicking and identity through: both non-participant and participant observation of musicking activities; collection of data through interviews and other ethnographic accounts; evaluation of lyrics and performance style; and analysis of texts and of opinions published in books, journal articles, newspapers, blogs, and social media sites such as Facebook, YouTube, the SpiceIslander TalkShop, and other online sites.

As a researcher, I was not concerned with 'statistically significant' findings, nor with numbers and majorities; I was concerned with individual stories, even if these narratives were atypical, strange, or unique; this was important to me because Grenadian society is not homogenous, and there are indeed many differing opinions surrounding issues of identity, music transmission, authenticity, and politics. To concern myself only with narratives that satisfied a 'hypothesis' – however loose – would be to misrepresent Grenadian society and the depth of the often-conflicting nature of these issues. Instead, I have taken case study as my approach, which allows a broad and deep examination of a specific phenomenon – here, musicking in Grenada – as appropriate.

In an attempt to locate 'real world' narratives, I endeavoured to co-construct my research by encouraging my adult and child informants and those with whom I musicked to share their voices with me as much as possible, and constantly shared my own voice, identities, and experiences as well as what and why I was researching during my time in Grenada. I also asked some of my informants to read my thesis at various stages of completion so to receive their feedback. I have tried to portray the people of Grenada, their musicking, and their constructions, perceptions, and representations of Grenadian identities as authentically as possible through this co-construction, as well as by using a variety of methods, by questioning and affirming

my assumptions while reflecting on data gathered, and by presenting these data

through thick description[53] and subsequent interpretation (see Geertz, 1973) since, as

Kari Delhi notes, 'The most convincing studies speak with confidence about the

meaning and *implications* of what the researcher observed' (Dehli, 2008, p. 47,

emphases mine). Although systematic and rigorous in design, analysis, and

interpretation, the ethnographic narrative here is 'messy', to take an idea from Denzin,

(drawing from Marcus (1994) and others): open-ended and containing within it

multiple simultaneous discourses that move between description, interpretation, and

voice (Denzin, 1997), and that are potentially ambiguous, vague, fragmented, or even

discordant.

I will here give a more 'traditional' account of my methodology and methods,

in which I will outline the study itself, along with a discussion of the nature of

qualitative inquiry and an overview of the research approaches used within this

ethnographic case study. I will then discuss the epistemological basis for my study

and how I came to use a hermeneutically-based, constructivist-interpretivist

framework, and the methods I used within this framework. I will conclude by

detailing how I attempted to be reflexive during the research process. I begin with a

discussion of my own positionality, and how my experiences and viewpoints that

make up this positionality impact my research.

Positionality

*Even before I begin my fieldwork, I am acutely aware of my positionality: my
whiteness, my privilege, my relative wealth, my access to education, my plentiful
opportunities. I am all too aware, intensely aware, that these things give me power. I
know that negotiating my positionality will be difficult – how can I be sure I am not
just seeing what I want to see? How can I know what I don't know? How can I ensure
that I am being authentic – is there such a thing? – and that I am doing justice to my*

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[53] According to Jorgensen, thick description (that is, describing human behaviour and also
contextualising it with descriptions of sights, sounds, smells, and meanings) 'needs to be seen' in all
music education research (Jorgensen, 2009).

research? What gives me the right to ask for other people's stories? To intervene; to take; to use for my own selfish purposes?

<div align="right">Field Notes Reflection
24 June 2010</div>

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Constructions of the 'other' are well-examined by Edward Said (1978), who argues that Orientalism (a particular way of viewing 'the East') rises out of a specific political culture and is constructed by the assumptions of that culture (i.e. as 'weak'; as 'inferior'); these assumptions are both developed and popularised in literature, music, drama, dance, and historical accounts. Power and knowledge are inseparable and discourse is controlled by those who hold power, making every relationship a negotiation of power (see Foucault, 1972/1980), and thus, the inherent hegemonic structures that exist within the West's 'claim to knowledge' about the East render, according to Butterworth, 'all academic knowledge…warped and twisted by the political climate in which it arises' (Butterworth, 1980, p. 175). These claims of knowledge that 'gave' the West the power to name and to control is essential, argues Sharp, to the understanding of postcolonialism (Sharp, 2008).

Said contends that it is the researcher's job to represent formerly unrepresented or misrepresented human groups, and to give them agency to speak for themselves. He antagonises and disrupts claims of knowledge by compelling scholars to question their presuppositions and sensitising investigators about researching with Western biases and lenses (Said, 1985, p. 91), asking, 'How does one represent other cultures?' (Said, 1985, p. 325), and shedding light on Western prejudices and misrepresentations of the other. Said's work, though looking at the 'East', helps me to continually examine and re-examine my positionality and my role as a researcher representing the other in light of my 'Western' presuppositions, biases, and lenses: in what ways is Grenadian society the other? What 'claimed knowledges' of Grenada

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exist? How will I represent Grenadian music, Grenadian identity, and Grenadian ideologies in this dissertation, given my positionality as a non-Grenadian 'outsider'?

An exploration of positionality is important in ethnomusicology, as it is in music education. 'Positionality' is the way in which one positions oneself in relation to people, places, and experiences. Positionalities, according to Wessendorf, 'are shaped by the institutional surroundings in which individuals grow up as well as by structural factors, and they can change according to situation and during the life-course' (Wessendorf, 2007, p. 112). Illuminating the ways in which a researcher is 'positioned', anthropologist and cultural theorist Stuart Hall says,

> …[T]he 'I' who writes here must also be thought of as, itself, 'enunciated'. We all write and speak from a particular place and time, from a history and a culture which is specific. What we say is always 'in context', *positioned* (Hall, 1990, p. 222, italics in original).

In the context of this research I am positioned as an 'outsider'.[54] Nettl, in his often-cited volume *The Study of Ethnomusicology: Thirty-One Issues and Concepts* (Nettl, 2005), remarks that the 'outsider researcher' can be seen as problematic, since he or she represents:

> … a kind of musical colonialism, manipulating the societies they visit, keeping them from controlling their own musical destiny. They may encourage the retention of old materials or segments of a repertory, and they take away music – at the same time leaving it behind, to be sure, but perhaps polluted by having been removed, recorded, its secrecy violated – for their own benefit and that of their society…Walking with heavy tread, they leave footprints after their departure (Nettl, 2005, p. 151).

However, I would contend that a lens of totality is *never* achievable, even when one is an 'insider' of the culture being studied, and to conduct research that is objective and free from prejudice is equally impossible in one's own culture as it is in a culture that is 'other'.

Clandinin and Connelly, writing on experience and story in qualitative research, argue that the researcher's 'own narrative of experience' must be 'central' to

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[54] An 'outsider' is someone who has not grown up in or native to the culture; an 'insider' is someone who has grown up in and is native to the culture.

narrative inquiry (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000, p. 70), since our experiences dictate who we are in the field and how we interpret our data. The question then becomes, if objective research is not possible due to my own inescapable and undeniable positionality, and if my narrative of experience must be central to this investigation, how can I, as a researcher, carry out a systematic, rigorous study on musicking and identities in Grenada, in realising that I, whether intending to or not, will be placing my own values, biases, and labels on Grenadian society, and that these values, biases, and labels will be privileged since my narrative of experience will be central? I would like to suggest that the best way to carry out this research is to attempt to create a dialogical space and encourage co-construction of this study with my informants, as detailed earlier, in order to emphasise and contextualise tensions; and to focus on how Grenadians perceive their own identities, and upon the relationships of these identities to Grenadian musicking practices in relation to my perceptions of my own identities and musicking experiences as a white, young, female, heterosexual, middle class, Canadian, (usually) open-minded, (hopefully) social-justice-oriented, (mostly Western European classical) singer, teacher, researcher… me.

In this research, I therefore do not posit myself as a single omniscient voice, but rather as a medium for many narratives of identities and musicking in Grenada; living and working alongside my research participants so to deeply understand the way Grenadians 'story a life and live their stories' (Barrett & Stauffer, 2009, p. 3), as Barrett and Stauffer, who argue that narrative is a valuable substitute to the 'troubling certainty' of traditional research, phrase it: always in conversation with my own positionality.

However, despite conceiving myself as a co-constructor and as working alongside my informants, and despite taking all means possible to address and

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ameliorate issues of power between researcher and researched, it is nonetheless me, the ethnographer, who chooses which words to use, who decides which narratives to include and which to omit, and thus whose voices will be heard (and often in what ways they will be heard), and whose will be silent. I am also ultimately the one who describes, interprets, and analyses these things, even with informants acting as co-constructors and editors. I therefore acknowledge that although I have done the best I possibly can, issues of power, positionality, and representation still exist in this thesis.

The labels I ascribe myself above (white, heterosexual, middle class, etc.) indicate some of my awareness of my own situatedness and preconceptions; however, as argued by black British sociologist Paul Gilroy, these are essentialist terms that are in themselves laden with white Western hegemonic prejudices. For example, the descriptive racial terms 'white' and 'black', according to Mosby, implicitly give rise to the colonial black/white dichotomy:

> ...in terms of a psycho-sociological argument by superimposing a metaphorical reading of darkness versus light, wilderness vs. civilization, etc.' (Mosby, 2001, p. 206).

Similarly, Sörgel contends that under British rule and influence, 'blackness' became synonymous with 'slave' (Sörgel, 2007, p. 24); in contemporary language, the word 'black' is still pent-up with inherent and embedded negative connotations (i.e. the 'black sheep', a 'black heart', etc.), whereas 'white', conversely, is implicitly good – clean, pure, and bright: these words are heavily bounded with and intertwined in colonial and Eurocentric bias and discourse. It must be acknowledged, however, that words, although imperfect, are the only means by which we can describe, and therefore, I can see no way around using these essentialist terms. Deconstructing the terms I use in this thesis, and what I mean by them, is therefore a point of importance, particularly in my representation and analysis of that which is 'other'.

Case Study

The study was conceived as a qualitative ethnomusicological case study in which I used ethnographic means and the dual lenses of music educationalist and ethnomusicologist. Qualitative research attempts to deconstruct phenomena that exist naturally in experiences and interactions through systematic, rigorous inquiry that is carried out using methods such as observation, participant observation, interviews, thick description, and personal narratives/autoethnographies as means of collecting ambiguous and/or complex data (Barrett, 2007, p. 417), which are then analysed, interpreted, and reflected upon using, as Roulston suggests, 'inductive' rather than 'deductive' means (Roulston, 2006, p. 155). Qualitative study aims to privilege a multimethod, process-oriented, constructive, interpretive, reflexive framework in which the 'researcher as instrument' (Barrett, 2007, p. 417) seeks to understand and represent 'real world' events, people, and institutions as transformative and dynamic.

Case study provides an opportunity to explore in detail events, people, programmes, and/or places in a very specific, deliberate, and contextual way, so as to lead to a deeper understanding of a complex issue in which the case is involved; the uniqueness of this case study may then contribute to larger, broader bodies of literature – in this case, those pertaining to Grenadian music, and to the role of music education and music transmission in the constructions, perceptions, and representations of identities.

Gillham states that a *case* can be defined in four parts:

> …a unit of human activity embedded in the real world; which can only be studied or understood in context; which exists in the here and now; that merges in with its context so that precise boundaries are difficult to draw (Gillham, 2000, p. 1).

In a case *study*, the researcher, according to Gillham, seeks holistically and flexibly to conduct an in-depth exploration of specific (though perhaps loosely created) research questions using a range of sources of evidence (Gillham, 2000, pp. 1-2) such as field

notes of observations, audio and/or visual materials and observations, interviews, and other documents that have been collected in different ways. The results of this inquiry are then deconstructed, analysed, and interpreted in a process-oriented, rather than product-oriented, way, since process and context, as Laurence reminds us, are structural (Laurence, 2005, p. 143). The advantages of case study, as illuminated by writers such as Yin (1994), Guba and Lincoln (1982; 1998), Gillham (2000), and Golby (1994), include being able intimately to study a particular case in depth and for its own sake, without regard for generalisations.

Many critics of case study over the last three decades are critical of this limitation, and that lacks this 'first requirement' of research, generalisability (Golby, 1994, p. 12). However, Denzin notes that the interpretivist researcher should reject generalisation as a goal (Denzin, 1983, p. 133); Guba and Lincoln concur, contending that 'Generalizations are impossible since phenomena are neither time- nor context-free' (Guba & Lincoln, 1982, p. 238). Gillham (2000) and others state that the generalisation of a case study to the wider public is simply not feasible as there are too many elements that are context-specific, while generalisation is concerned with producing universal laws. Guba and Lincoln (1982) call instead for 'transferability' and 'fittingness', while Golby argues for 'particularity', to replace generalisation (Golby, 1994, p. 13). In a similar vein, Stake (1995) also states that 'particularisation' should be the aim of case study research, in which generalisations are formed by the reader and informed by the reader's own knowledge and experience, materialising what Stake coins as 'naturalistic generalisations'. This focus on particularisation rather than generalisation moves research from the social sciences into the humanities, and is much more suitable for my study.

Within my own research, I hope to draw attention to the 'transferability' and 'fittingness' of my investigation on musicking and identity in the Grenadian context to those of the broader school music education context – the findings of the relationships between musicking and identities, and how these relationships are used; and I also argue the methodology itself as offering this transferability to the school music educational context, with its ethnographic nature, substantial demands upon time, and its privileging of co-construction in order to break down power structures and learn from informants, rather than inferring what they think. For example, I spent a significant amount of time in the field before conducting my interviews, and when I did begin the interviewing process, most interviews lasted over 45 minutes in length. The time spent in the field, as well as the time spent in each interview, contributed to establishing a level of comfort and trust that otherwise likely would not have existed with my interviewees. In school settings, long durations of fieldwork and interview are not common. Often, however, important information in my own study would not arise until at least 20 minutes into the interview, even with informants I had grown close to over the course of my stay in Grenada – information that would not have come to light if my interviews were only 10 or 15 minutes long. It seems that this method of research, in which time is taken *before* the interviewing process as well as during the interviews themselves, would be valuably transferred to the classroom-based research setting; this is one way in which, as suggested above, researchers may approach the *really knowing* of the students or teachers at the centre of their inquiry.

Gathering and Recording the Data

It is incredible to me how giving my interviewees are. They have opened their homes to me, cooked me food, helped me contact people, and have shared with me a multitude of stories, often talking for much longer than I asked of them. Their narratives of musicking and identities in Grenada sometimes lead us to conversations that are difficult to negotiate or are uncomfortable, such as discussions about the

revolution, the American invasion, representations of Grenadian identity, and who is to blame, if anyone, for the perceived lack of transmission of traditional culture. A few times, people divulge some of the most secret, intimate details about themselves: losing a baby shortly after his birth; killing an American soldier during the invasion; having to leave behind a wife and family to avoid being arrested during the revolution. Most times, though, we chat, smiling and laughing: in Grenada, people love to tell you exactly what they think, the good and the bad, and are almost always ready for a joke. I feel honoured that people trust me with their stories, and thankful that I understand their jokes – most of the time.

A few humorous things happen to me during the interviewing process, too: I unexpectedly find myself in the middle of a drug trade; another time I am enlisted to watch over a kitten only a few weeks old for nearly an hour while its owner goes to run an errand. One interview consists almost entirely of an impassioned lecture on the brilliance of Malachi Z. York,[55] no matter how much I try to gently steer my informant back to topics of music and identity.

One evening, while walking back from interviewing at TAMCC (T.A. Marryshow Community College), I realise that I had forgotten to plug in my computer during the last session, and that it would thus soon run out of battery. Knowing that my next interview would take place outside and I would therefore have no power source, I go into the only place open along the Carenage[56] – Red's Bar, a tiny rumshop about the size of my bedroom at Bougainvillea – and ask to plug in my laptop. The owner, who is alone and clearly surprised to see an unaccompanied white woman in his bar, obliges. We start to chat, and he invites me to come back that weekend to hear some music.

That Friday, I head back – this time with a fully charged battery – and find Red's completely packed with people, inside and out. Music blasts from two humongous speakers he has dragged outside, and a group of six or so men, gathered around old car parts and other pieces of metal that are affixed to a plank of wood and placed on a table, bang out rhythms with everything they've got while enjoying their drinks. I am one of the only women, and definitely the only white person. I can feel eyes on me, scrutinising me; this curious pale anomaly in a Grenadian rumshop. I am not quite tourist (I have no camera and my tan is too good), not quite American medical student[57] (I am alone and not toting around any textbooks), and definitely not Grenadian.

I make my way inside, and it takes me ten minutes to move the five feet to the bar because it is so crowded. Along the way I meet a calypsonian in his 70s, various present and former members of the Angel Harps and Commancheros steelbands, a steel pan arranger, and a church gospel choir singer. Everybody wants to chat, to hear my story, and to tell me theirs. I get up to the bar, greet Red, and order a beer.

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[55] Leader of the Nuwabian black supremacist movement; currently in prison serving a 135-year sentence for child molestation.

[56] The harbour in downtown St George's.

[57] St George's University, an American medical school, graduates approximately 1000 medical students per year.

His face, first surprised, then breaks out into a big smile: 'It's on the house,' he says. I pull out my computer, and start to interview.

<div align="right">Field Notes Reflection
5 May 2011</div>

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As the foregoing account indicates, my experiences in the field were rich and varied, taking place in a variety of locations and encompassing a diversity of people, stories, and events. For eleven months, June 2010 – May 2011, I lived and worked in Grenada, West Indies, just outside of the capital city of St George's. During this time, I taught in three different schools, assisted in two adult choirs and one young adult choir, volunteered in an orphanage, sang as a soloist and in various choirs throughout the parish of St George's, attended festivals and concerts, followed online communities on YouTube and Facebook to keep track of new music releases and cultural news, and conducted countless formal and informal interviews, mostly with 'musicians' but also with 'non-musicians', living in Grenada as well as abroad.

Upon my arrival in Grenada, I immediately engrossed myself in numerous musicking activities – finding places to sing, to teach, to watch, and to listen – and generally engaged in conversation about my research with people wherever the opportunity arose: whether on the street, at rehearsal, in the store, in a rumshop, or at the beach. When I was fully emerged in the music community in Grenada, I began

asking various musickers to participate in my study. This was done via sign-up sheets at rehearsals or other musicking events, by getting personal contact information from people individually, by getting contact suggestions from other interviewees, and occasionally by asking people whom I encountered to interview right 'on the spot'. I mostly sought the opinions of Grenadians who were actively engaged with music-making because my interests lay as much in learning about Grenadian musicking as it did in music's relationship to identity.

The participants with whom I conducted formal semi-structured interviews were 67 adults, ages 16-85, and 28 children,[58] ages 4-15, of whom the majority were from the parish of St George's. My interviewees were male and female, of all socio-economic statuses, Grenadian and non-Grenadian,[59] and were varied in terms of musical interests and abilities. I interviewed soca artistes and calypsonians, officials from the Government of Grenada and from what was formerly known as the Grenada Carnival Committee,[60] community choristers, church musicians, gospel singers, conductors, jazz musicians, reggae singers, folklorists, historians, members of the Royal Grenada Police Force Band ('Police Band'), steel pan players, and even a panmaker. Interviewing this wide array of people was purposefully done so to provide a wide-ranging picture of music and identities in Grenada, and to give my study depth and breadth. It is also for this reason that I decided against a specifically school-based study; as articulated in my introduction, issues of teaching and learning musicking and identities extend far beyond the school system in Grenada.

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[58] The 28 children were students at a small school in Belmont, St George's.
[59] A few people I interviewed were not from Grenada but had been living on the island for ten or more years. They offered very unique 'insider/outsider' insights into music and identity in Grenada.
[60] The Spicemas Corporation replaced the Grenada Carnival Committee in July 2011. Spicemas is the official name for Grenada's Carnival: 'spice' for the spices that are grown, particularly nutmeg, and 'mas' for masquerade. The Spicemas Corporation, whose board of directors comprises representation from mas, steelband, and calypso, is the sole body responsible for the operation of Carnival within and outside Grenada.

The interviews were generally between 45 minutes and an hour in duration, with the shortest interview at 4'00, during intermission at a drumming festival, and the longest interview at 1:28'13 at a restaurant along the Carenage. I met with informants in all kinds of locations including rehearsal venues, my house, interviewees' houses and workplaces, the schools at which I worked, at concerts and social events, in rumshops, at the beach, and more. The interviews were conducted with individuals or groups of up to seven in order to make the interviewing process the most convenient for my interviewees; for example, sometimes I went to a rehearsal and it was easier to meet with a small group afterwards rather than trying to arrange times individually. As an interviewer, I was able to get different perspectives from both types of interviews, since with individuals I could delve more deeply into specific areas, whereas with a group dynamic, interviewees often engaged one another in a variety of topics and discourse, sometimes leading to discussion and debate.

Permission to record the interviews was obtained via consent form or parental consent form for participants under the age of 18,[61] and interviews were recorded on both a laptop computer as well as on an iPad or iPhone. Recordings were then analysed and main ideas, themes, and important quotes were notated or transcribed. The interviews were semi-structured, and in general I aimed to follow the lead of my interviewees, asking prepared questions only when it seemed that they were ready for a new topic. Questionnaires were used at the beginning of the interview process for adult participants; however, I abandoned this part-way due to the questionnaires yielding very little valuable information in contrast to the interviewing process, as previously mentioned, and thus, I felt that the time could be better spent speaking to my interviewees. Additionally, my child interviewees wrote reflective responses to

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[61] The consent forms can be found at Appendix A.

questions I assigned them as part of a writing class; these answers and any discussion surrounding them were also included in my data collection.

Limitations of the Study

The main limitation of the study was that of time, which was restricted to eleven months on the island. Although this may be considered short by ethnomusicological research standards, when compared to music educational classroom-based ethnographies, eleven months can be seen as a good length of time in which to explore one's field. Apart from time pressures, there were also some other issues affecting data collection possibilities in my designated field: although I made efforts to go to areas of the island outside the parish of St George's, it was very difficult to get there without a car, and it was very time consuming by bus. Additionally, since the buses do not come on a set schedule, I was concerned with potentially being stranded in more remote areas of the island. My visit to Carriacou to investigate the Maroon and String Band Festival was unfortunately cut short when I developed an eye infection and had to return to the mainland.

Ethical Review

Questions of ethics, power, and motive necessarily arise whenever people interact, and I considered that it was extremely important for me as a researcher continually to analyse my own ethics, power, and motives throughout the study. As Dehli observes, there are numerous 'dilemmas' in research – ethical dilemmas, moral dilemmas, theoretical dilemmas; dilemmas of politics, culture, institutions, and so on (Dehli, 2008, p. 61). I constantly evaluated and re-evaluated my role as a researcher in context of these 'dilemmas' to the best of my ability. Golby, writing specifically about ethics in case study, suggests that researchers must keep a 'constant watch' on the ethical considerations related to their studies, and maintain the fundamentals of

'openness and honesty', however the researcher may perceive these, since case study research is particularly susceptible to ethical issues due to its malleable and opportunistic nature, its positionality in 'real life', and because its 'tradition and ground rules' are less established than that of quantitative research (Golby, 1994, p. 24).

As the research at hand would be partially involving children and the elderly, it was important for me to be fully aware of the ethical considerations of working with vulnerable people while conducting my research. My study went under ethical review both at Newcastle University, where I began my degree, and at the Royal Northern College of Music/Manchester Metropolitan University, where I transferred during my second year.[62] During the study, I strictly followed the *Code of Ethics and Conduct* produced by The British Psychological Society. The primary ethical goal of my research parallels point (a) of 'Decision Making' from this document: 'Thinking about ethics should pervade all professional activity' (The British Psychological Society, 2006, p. 7). My foremost concern was to keep my participants safe at all times. I ensured, as best I could, that under no circumstances were the participants placed in any psychological or emotional danger or distress at any time, and no one expressed that they found the interviewing process to be upsetting in any way. Throughout the course of the study, I encouraged my participants to be open and honest, and was clear that confidentiality[63] would be ensured.

As a teacher and music leader in the community, I was often placed in a position of authority and trust, and so all efforts needed to be made to ensure that the participants knew that they would be able to withdraw at any time, and that they need

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[62] The Ethics Approval Certificate of Acceptance can be found at Appendix B.
[63] Although it is common to identify informants by name in ethnomusicology, I decided to maintain anonymity throughout the study, since many informants discussed with me controversial issues (such as the revolution).

not be concerned with 'pleasing the researcher', or, in the case of the children, 'pleasing the teacher'; no person whom I interviewed expressed discomfort during the study and all interviewees remained until the interview was over; many, in fact, stayed well beyond the requested time, expressing to me on a number of occasions that they were enjoying speaking to me; that it was 'good work' I was doing. People in Grenada are culturally encouraged and eager to share their opinions, and many have a high regard for education, which is likely why I found these comments surfacing again and again, why a number of interviewees spoke with me for well over an hour, and why, of all the people I asked to interview, the only ones who declined were two expatriates.[64]

Reliability and Validity

In recent years, the notions of 'reliability' and 'validity' in qualitative research have been critically re-examined (Laurence, 2005), leading qualitative researchers to seek other, more appropriate ways to both evaluate and ensure legitimacy in their studies. Engaging in the 'messy texts' of ethnography renders the positivistic, *a priori* hypotheses and the 'unbiased', numerically-measurable results of quantitative research unsuitable for the evaluation and legitimation of my investigation; thus, I sought alternative methods for data analysis; methods that focused on my role as an empathetic, ethically-minded researcher rather than on quantifiable 'hard data'.

Denzin and Lincoln offer 'verisimilitude, emotionality, personal responsibility, an ethic of caring, political praxis, multivoiced texts, and dialogues with subjects' as replacements for the positivistic conceptions of validity in qualitative research (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998, p. 10). I pursued these ideas during my study, endeavouring to be truthful as a researcher, emotionally engaged and

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[64] These two expatriates were a mother and teenage daughter who frequently go back to the United States and who felt that they did not have the time to be interviewed.

responsible for my study, to have an ethic of care, and to be as honest as possible about my own personal biases, assumptions, and opinions; and in general, to carry out what Stauffer and Barrett (2009), in their explication of narrative inquiry, call 'resonant work' – work that is respectful, responsible, rigorous, and resilient. By endeavouring to be constantly and deliberately reflexive in considering these criteria by speaking with informants and also by writing reflective responses to my research experiences, and by approaching my investigation as a co-constructor in which I was located right *in* the world of my inquiry, I attempted to take sufficient measures to ensure reliability and validity in my study – as conceived in these alternative conceptions.

Epistemological Underpinnings

Following Hughes (2013), I conceive of my methodology as distinct from my methods and as 'bridging' my epistemology and my methods. Guba and Lincoln (1998) argue that because methods are secondary to the paradigms or basic personal worldviews and belief systems that guide our interpretive framework, as researchers we first *must* have a developed understanding of the ontological, epistemological, and methodological premises that guide our actions in our research. Political scientist Jonathan Grix agrees, contending that:

> …it is our ontological and epistemological positions that shape the very questions we may ask in the first place, how we pose them and how we set about answering them (Grix, 2002, p. 179).

Thus, we must first explore and explicate the interrelationship between, as Grix says, 'what a researcher thinks can be researched…what we can know about it…and how to go about acquiring it…' (Grix, 2002, p. 179), always taking into account that perceptions of these are necessarily shaped and developed in light of the researcher's experiences, biases, assumptions, and worldviews.

Ontology, in its most basic form, is the study of what can be said to exist; that is, the assumption about the nature of reality, of what *is*. Ontological claims in research are thus the assertions and suppositions about the nature and image of social reality upon which theories are then based. In this study, I chose to take the stance of a constructivist (that is, anti-foundationalist) ontology; a position that examines social phenomena as being in a constant state of production and revision, and as guided by interactions with people, places, events, and thoughts. Constructivism, according to Guba and Lincoln, moves from ontological *realism* (privileged in positivist research, in which there is a 'real', apprehendable reality; postpositivist research, in which there is a 'real' reality that is apprehended imperfectly or probabilistically; and critical theory research, in which there is historical realism as shaped by values) to ontological *relativism* (constructed realities that are both local and specific). Within this exists a subjective and transactional epistemology where understandings are co-constructed, and methods that support a naturalistic, dialectical, and hermeneutically-based methodology are used (Guba & Lincoln, 2008, p. 165). In this context, hermeneutics are defined as the 'theory of interpretation', and call for a constant 'spinning out'[65] of ideas whereby particulars are understood only in context of the whole through the eyes of the participants (Phelps et al., 2005, p. 103), and in which various ideas are always in conversation with each other.

While ontology is concerned with the nature of what is, epistemology is concerned with 'What can we know?', 'How do/can we come to know what we know?', and 'What is the relationship between the inquirer and the known?': the theory of knowledge, as it is believed to be, and the process, methods, and validation used to gain said knowledge (Grix, 2002, p. 177). For this study, I chose to take an

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[65] This idea was given to me by Lee Bartel in 2007.

interpretivist epistemology, where interpretivist research grows out of the German concept of *Verstehen*:[66] to really *understand* and interpret wholly rather than to explain or to focus on an 'ultimate truth' (Roulston, 2006, p. 161), because there is no objective reality or truth that can be 'discovered'. Truth is seen here as multiple and reality is as people subjectively perceive it to be through their culturally-situated interactions with others; interpretivist researchers study and reflect upon these subjective meanings as created by people's experiences and thoughts.

Peshkin argues for the interpretive process in hermeneutic research, involving ongoing and constant 'interpolating and extrapolating, judgment-making and assuming, doubting, and affirming' (Peshkin, 2000, p. 5) through being 'forthcoming and honest' about who we are and how we work as researchers reflectively (Peshkin, 2000, p. 9). In this interpretive framework, I attempted to reject claims of knowledge, universal truths, and the supremacy of a generalisable 'reality', seeking instead uniqueness and particularity with the goal of moving from a state of lesser knowledge to a state of greater knowledge. However, following Eva Georgii-Hemming, I was always careful not to allow interpretation to become speculation (Georgii-Hemming, 2006, p. 229) by continually and consistently going through the process of making assumptions, doubting, affirming, and reflecting so that I might confirm, as much as possible, that my interpretation was not merely conjecture.

As an example, after attending Carnival and noting the differences between the present-day day festivities as compared to descriptions of Carnival ten, twenty, or fifty years ago in Grenada and other Caribbean countries, I formed the assumption that the older generation blamed the younger generation for not carrying on many of the traditional mas components. However, after one interviewee noted that she did not

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[66] *Verstehen*, developed by German theorist Max Weber (1864-1920), is interpretive, 'deep' understanding that comes from an emic, insider perspective.

blame the younger generation, but rather her own older generation for not passing down certain aspects of Carnival, I began to doubt and question this assumption. Indeed, when questioned, many informants from the older generation expressed feelings of responsibility and guilt for not passing on what they considered to be traditional Grenadian culture, as will be examined in Chapter 6. Added to this was the sentiment by the older generation that 'we should have known better'; for, the generations before them had not passed down Grenadian patois, and now the language is mostly lost – many lamented that they *knew* they had to pass on traditional music and culture lest it would disappear just like the patois, and yet, had not, for a host of reasons including global influence, technological advancement, socio-political events, lack of time, and the economic benefit of embracing modern (American) culture.

Despite the recent efforts of the Grenadian government and the Spicemas Corporation to privilege traditional aspects of Carnival and celebrate 'being rooted in ancestral traditions' (Spicemas Grenada, 2011),[67] Grenada's present-day Carnival events often comprise the more modern, economically-driven and profit-oriented soca 'party music' rather than the old calypso and extempo, amplified music recordings made with synthesisers and computers rather than live steel pan and singers, brightly-coloured paint rather than mud or 'old oil' at J'Ouvert, and fancy mas costumes purchased from abroad rather than made or bought locally. Thus, by spinning out, analysing, and interpreting hermeneutically one small comment, I discovered that many people in the older generation actually blamed themselves for the perceived loss of musical tradition, and the apparent lack of transmission of these aspects of Carnival, which they consider to be so important to Grenadian identity.

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[67] The theme of Carnival for 2011 and 2012 was 'Uniquely Rooted in our Rich Ancestral Traditions'.

In endeavouring to privilege the hermeneutically-based, constructivist-interpretivist approach I used to frame my research, I followed Golby's caution against using 'alien positivistic criteria' in my method and analysis choices, and instead approached my case study through 'crystallisation' of qualitative methods within the broader categories of historical study and fieldwork, including, as noted above, non-participant and participant observation, interviews, and e-fieldwork. 'Crystallisation' is proffered by Laurel Richardson (2000) as an alternative to the concept of 'triangulation' (that is, the use of multiple sources of data, forms of data collection, and ways of collating and analysing data), which, she suggests, problematically assumes that there is a fixed point or goal that can be triangulated. Indeed, as Golby notes, simply 'triangulating' an assortment of methods does not ensure validity and/or reliability, as different methods lead to different kinds of data – the challenge for qualitative researchers is to integrate various methods into a larger rationale, and to have an ongoing understanding of the progression of the study therein (Golby, 1994, pp. 23-24). Fusco (2008), in writing about ethnographic dilemmas of doing research on the body in social spaces, agrees, warning that triangulation should not be a 'catch-all' leading to a fixed 'truth' which can be pinpointed. Richardson's idea of crystallisation – that is, a 'deepened, complex, thoroughly partial understanding of the topic [in which] we know more and doubt what we know' (Richardson, 2000, p. 14) – is a better image, which can take an infinite number of shapes, transformations, and dimensions. Conceptualising through crystallisation, in which we allow doubt and also seek to know more, calls for deep probing and allows for multiple dialogues, which seems much more appropriate for my rhizomatic, process-oriented, 'messy' constructs of identities and musicking (see Chapter 1).

I set about this process of 'crystallisation' firstly by regarding my research as a *bricolage*, and myself, the *bricoleur*. A *bricoleur,* as Claude Lévi-Strauss offers, is a 'Jack of all trades or a kind of professional do-it-yourself person' (Lévi-Strauss, 1966, p. 17); Denzin and Lincoln observe that the *bricoleur* researcher interacts with conflicting and overlying perspectives and paradigms, as shaped by the researcher's 'personal history, biography, gender, social class, race, and ethnicity, and those of the people in that setting' (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008, p. 8). Taking all of this into consideration, I produced a '*bricolage*', that is, a collage pieced together in light of my own biases and the biases of those around me, my conceptions of myself as musician, teacher, and researcher, my situatedness in 'real life', and my personal investment in the research, to provide a view of the 'whole' in which I analysed my findings kaleidoscopically and reflexively.

My role as *bricoleur* and the importance I placed on examining bias and conflicting perspectives within the larger rationale of my study was not only explored introspectively, but also was discussed with many of my informants; for example, below is an excerpt of a discussion with a member of the online forum, the SpiceIslander TalkShop:[68]

> Interviewee: That's why we may have to rewrite the tuth [*sic*] of the Revolution as seen and observed at the grass roots level...There are two different kinds of History my friend; one written by the Professional Historian and the untold Hstory [*sic*] by the grass roots still waiting to be unearthed... In American libraries, there are no less than ten books written about the Grenada Revolution; my favorite is one written by a Scottish Historian who was an eye witness to the organization of the PRG Government; in his book, he described Bernard Coard as the greatest West Indian economist ever and the Coard/Bishop alliance as the best the West Indies have ever known untill [*sic*] the USA and USSR destroyed it. However, I have yet to discover a true grass root Historical thesis of the Grenada Revolution.

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[68] Members of the online forum the SpiceIslander TalkShop, over the course of my last year of research, provided me with much information by way of responding to questions I posted.

Interviewer: …I thank you for these words, since it sums up my experience writing on music in Grenada so well. I ask, how can I, as a foreigner, and a young one at that, adequately research and write about things like the revolution at a "grassroots level" and unearth history that may be hidden or thus far unrevealed by regular people, instead of by politicians and professional historians? You are right in observing that so many sources on the revo are terribly inaccurate or are clearly written by people who have never set foot on Grenada…I suppose my question is, knowing that I am Canadian, and not Grenadian, but that I wish to research using a grassroots approach, what advice would you give me, or what would you suggest be included in the thesis? If anyone else has opinions on this I would also welcome them. Thank you.

Excerpt from online conversation
6 January 2013-11 January 2013

In articulating these thoughts to the members of the SpiceIslander TalkShop, I hoped to acknowledge the conflicting perspectives noticed by my informant in his assessment that there 'are two different kinds of History', while also recognising the possible limitations of my personal history and outsider status, and how these interact with my research.

My 'bricolage' thus uses multiple qualitative practices (which will be further described below) and also attempts to acknowledge my own biases as well as the biases, tensions, and conflicting perceptions of my informants in order to provide the 'deepened, complex, thoroughly partial understanding of the topic [in which] we know more and doubt what we know' (Richardson, 2000, p. 14) of which Richardson writes. It was my hope that this combination of strategies, methods, and analyses, along with incorporating multiple people's perspectives (including perspectives that might otherwise be regarded as destabilising to the norm, since I viewed difference as equally important as normative) and my own personal musicking experiences, would illuminate perspectives of musicking and identities previously unexplored in mainland Grenada. This was carried out through historical study and fieldwork, including, more specifically, non-participant and participant observation, interviews, and e-fieldwork, which will now be explored.

Methods

As discussed, my methods included historical study and fieldwork, the latter encompassing non-participant and participant observation, interviews, and e-fieldwork.

Historical Study

According to Mahoney, historical study is 'the analysis of processes over time to explain large-scale outcomes such as revolutions, political regimes, and welfare states' (Mahoney, 2004, p. 81), using artefacts, documents, and records to interpret events. One may choose the study of historical figures' lives in order to investigate emic viewpoints, which can include interviews conducted by the researcher or by others, as articulated by Roulston (2006), or analysis of data, such as books, newspapers, and websites, detailing events leading to political or social change. There is a lengthy tradition of historical study in musicology, as well as in music education (though less so), and the historical study of people, places, and events is invaluable in ethnomusicological research as a way of providing information on context, circumstance, and perspective. Archival work has already been revealed as central to any understanding of the transmission of music and culture, and the cruciality of recent historical political turmoil in Grenada is seen as heavily influencing musicking and identities by my informants, young and old alike. An interpretive historical study on the socio-politics and music of Grenada therefore substantiates my research on musicking and identities, as already noted; for without a full understanding of Grenada's socio-political history, readers would have an uninformed and inadequate understanding of the many influences on Grenadian identities, and the relationship musicking has with those identities. For these reasons, I write in detail about the socio-political history of Grenada throughout the thesis, using a variety of sources

including books, journal articles, newspapers, websites, and fieldnotes from interviews, museums, and other displays.

Fieldwork

One of the biggest challenges of ethnomusicological study, which depends on fieldwork and thick description, is that of representation: conducting fieldwork to 'unveil the human face of ethnomusicology', as Helen Myers says (Myers, 1992, p. 21), and then using thick description (Geertz, 1973) to portray the musicking experience: its sounds, its social contexts, and the perceptions that exist therein. 'Thickly' describing a wide range of musicking experiences as observed in fieldwork, and reflecting upon observations in fine detail in order to understand these as *experiential*, rather than simply notating relationships between the sounds being made, is paramount (Kisliuk, 2008). For this study, I took a 'participant observer' approach as a musicker, whereby I sang, danced, listened to, taught, and learned music in Grenada for nearly one year, following Stake's idea that 'to do ethnography, the researcher spends an extended period of time *in* [the] social setting' in which the research takes place (Stake, 2000, p. 4, emphasis mine); that is, being right *in* the community, not just observing from afar.

Engaging wholly in fieldwork involves active research collection 'in the field'[69] and encourages living fully in the world in which you are researching for an extended period of time, instead of merely observing and collecting data from the wayside. I approached my fieldwork using Jeff Todd Titon's epistemology for ethnomusicology, in which he suggests researchers be concerned with 'the origins, nature, and limits of human knowledge concerning music *in human life*' (emphasis mine). The experiential mode of inquiry he offers helps researchers to answer two

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[69] The 'field' is the location where the research is taking place.

basic questions: 'what can we know about music?', and 'how can we know it?' (Titon, 2008, p. 25). These two questions are difficult to answer in any context, but perhaps particularly so if the researcher has outsider status in the culture. Titon rightly observes that although the collection of data in natural settings can often be messy, challenging, and problematic, it opens a dialogical space between researchers and those they are researching, which cannot be accomplished when one is removed from the site of investigation:

> Fieldwork is practical, messy, empirical, difficult, partial, step-by-step, but it grounds our explanations in the dialogue between self and other. It counteracts the intellectual tendency to theorize about the world without living in it (Titon, 1997, p. 257).

Fieldwork was central to my investigation of Grenadian musicking and identities in multiple ways: for determining what kinds of musicking were going on; for elucidating perceived relationships between musicking, culture, and identities; for discovering what kinds of music were considered to be 'authentically' Grenadian and why; and for observing what kinds of musicking were being privileged by the youth, by the older generation, and by the schools and the government. Although it was sometimes difficult to negotiate my role as an outsider researcher/musicker (particularly since I was often seen as 'teacher' or 'expert'), my direct (and enthusiastic) participation in musicking activities and overt desire to learn gave me credibility, and enabled me to develop close relationships with many of my interviewees; because of this, I was able to probe certain questions quite deeply that I otherwise might not have.[70]

Non-Participant and Participant Observation

We show up at 6:15 for the 6:00 sound check, and are early. Growing up in the suburbs just east of Toronto, I never really did acclimatise to 'island time', where on time is early, ten minutes late is still early, and twenty minutes late is punctual. 'Oh

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[70] In particular, questions about the revolution and the American invasion were often answered quite freely, despite being controversial topics.

ho!' exclaims Bernadette,[71] the conductor, 'Danielle, I have something for you!' She pulls out a green skirt, to replace the blue one I already have. It had been the consensus of the choir to replace the red, gold, and blue skirts with red, gold and green – the official Grenadian colours. I put it on, and she looks satisfied. I have gotten used to very last minute changes for concerts here in Grenada – indeed, the accompanist was found mere weeks before the performance and choreography was being changed at the dress rehearsal. 'That's so Grenadian,' whispers Lucy to me, regarding the lateness of various members and the last-minute changes. Grenadians are fiercely proud but can also be adamantly self-deprecating, particularly when it comes to criticisms of perceived disorganisation.

At 8:00pm, we are ready to begin. We stand for the entrance of the Governor General, and sing the national anthem, 'Hail Grenada'. After the prayer is said, it is time to begin. The programme: selections from Handel's 'Messiah', a few choral arrangements of Strauss waltzes, and some other more contemporary American choral pieces. Although the repertoire selection is certainly Western-European, the performance is most definitely not. We take our places on

the newly decorated stage (Judy had decorated into the late hours of the night with fresh plants and flowers she had cut from the rainforest area around Grand Etang[72]), and, decked out in our Grenadian colours, we sing and move to the music, our bodies swaying with the rhythms. Movement is not just expected, but 'as one' with the singing for many of the pieces, whether choreographed or not. We are accompanied alternately by piano and by a steel pan orchestra. As I twirl around the stage in my Grenadian colours, the tinkling of the pans echoes through the auditorium. Everyone rises for the finale, the 'Hallelujah Chorus' accompanied by pan, and I feel tears in my eyes: we have worked so hard for this. In fact, I can safely say that I have never worked with a group so determined in my entire life: rehearsals sometimes went past 10:30pm, with choristers requesting that Bernadette go over the lines again and again. The drive to 'get it' is unbelievably strong. After all the months of hard work, we were finally here. And it was worth every second.

Field Notes Reflection
20 November 2010

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[71] Name has been changed.
[72] A national park high in the mountainous rainforest.

Observation, which can be structured or unstructured, takes place in naturalistic settings and consists of data collection through sensory perception – what one sees, hears, smells, touches, and tastes. I spent a good deal of time in Grenada doing what Laurence (2005) aptly calls 'lurking positively' – hanging around public places such as the market and downtown St George's, the grocery store, the schools in which I was teaching, rumshops, certain areas of the beach away from the resorts, and other places, in order to observe daily life in Grenada. I also attended and observed a number of concerts and festivals, such as Carnival, the Tivoli Drum Festival, the Independence Day celebrations, and more.

Most of my musicking experiences in Grenada were as a participant observer (already discussed), one of the most extensive of which was with the Grenada Friends Choir, a community choir in St George's that primarily sings Western European and American choral music, as described in the reflection above. Through this choir, I was able to both observe and participate in musicking experiences as an 'insider/outsider', in that I had extensive insider knowledge of the music being taught and performed, but was an outsider in the Grenadian community and also an outsider to the particular and unique 'Grenadian' way that music familiar to me was being performed. This insider/outsider researcher status that I developed and cultivated during my time singing with the Grenada Friends Choir proved to be very fruitful, since multiple members of the choir participated in formal interviews for the study (I could not accommodate all due to time constraints) and all acted as informants, speaking to me before, during, and after rehearsals on an informal basis – telling stories, describing events, providing me with names of others with whom they thought it would be beneficial for me to speak, and increasingly giving me more and more insider information and indeed, treating me as though I *was* an insider. I became very close

with a number of choristers in the Grenada Friends Choir as well as the director, and the interviews with these informants were among the most valuable since there was a measure of trust and familiarity that naturally can arise with singing in a small group sometimes multiple days a week for multiple months, and this trust and familiarity carried over into the interviewing process.

The cultural and musical perspectives and understandings of the outsider researcher will evidently be interpreted differently than the insider researcher, as the outsider researcher will always remain an outsider (though she or he may gain enough knowledge and respect to become an 'insider/outsider'), irrespective of initiatives the researcher might take. In her thesis *Chosen Identities and Musical Symbols* (De Jong, 1997)*, De Jong also grapples with insider/outsider tensions, noting that,

> Regardless of quantitative study…or how much time one spends with mentors, a researcher remains at best an outsider. Lacking the indigenous authoritative voice for presenting proper cultural perspective risks embarrassing problems for the outside researcher, whose interpretations can never reflect fully the cultural relevance offered by the indigenous people themselves (De Jong, 1997, p. 15).

These difficulties are echoed by Rebecca Miller, who reflects that engaging in participant observation as an outside researcher is 'at best a fantasy', when regarded in context of wealth, power, and the temporariness of fieldwork (Miller, 2007, p. 23). However, this does not mean that research by the outsider can't still be contributory to the literature – indeed, the outsider can add 'a fresh perspective', as pointed out by Dikobe (2003), since outsider researchers often see uniqueness and specialness where the insider sees only normative behaviour.

Interviews

Interviewing comprised a large part of my data collection, and nearly all of my interviewing was carried out in the last eight weeks of my stay in Grenada. By this time, I was well-known by many in the music community in the main town of St

George's, and it was easy for me to find people who were willing to speak with me (in fact, as previously mentioned, only 2 expatriates declined taking part in my study) – many of my interviewees I had sung with, taught, or I knew by association. The months I spent musicking in Grenada prior to the interview process gave me credibility and also elicited a feeling of mutual trust that is so essential to interviewing (Fontana & Frey, 1994, p. 655), and is perhaps not always easily gained. If I had begun the interviewing process any earlier I strongly feel that certain interviewees (the word 'interviewee' indicating someone who spoke with me on a formal basis; throughout I also use the word 'informant' which indicates a person who spoke to me on a formal or informal basis) would not have been as open, and I certainly would have missed key ideas when people would refer to other musicians, music teachers, or events, or if they had used words or phrases in Grenadian English that I did not understand. Some Grenadians speak to outsiders in British or American English; because I had been living on the island for nearly a year and had been interacting with people frequently, many of my interviewees felt comfortable to speak to me as they would speak to other Grenadians. It is important to note that, following Miller, I avoid the use of [*sic*] in my transcriptions, as this convention implies that the interviewee has made a grammatical error. As she notes, 'Local grammar *is* correct grammar, and if we are to understand Carriacouan [or Grenadian] culture, it must be on – indeed, in – its own terms' (Miller, 2007, p. 28).

As my study was focused on people's perceptions of *themselves* (whatever those may be), I was not as concerned with hidden agendas or motivations of ill-intent – indeed, as previously mentioned, the personal relationship I had with many of my informants elicited trust and the potential for a dialogical space between myself and, I would like to think, the majority, if not all, of my interviewees. However, as one

informant told me, there are Grenadians 'of a certain generation' that would generally not give foreign white researchers accurate information, and would sometimes even intentionally lie or be misleading, since it is a 'commonly held belief' amongst these Grenadians that such researchers take this information and then use it for personal financial gain (e-mail correspondence with a music teacher, 27 May 2013). I therefore encouraged my informants to share their stories, hoping that they would intend to be open and honest, but also listening critically to things that might be misrepresented, intentionally or unintentionally, and paying attention to that which may be in conflict or may be left unsaid for political or personal reasons. After my data collection, I re-listened to these interviews-as-stories and transcribed relevant sections for analysis and interpretation, always considering the possibilities of tension, misrepresentation, and my presence as a privileged, foreign, white researcher.

E-Fieldwork

> ...today's fieldwork must take into account the benefits of what living in the digital world can afford us all (Cooley & Barz, 2008).

As my period of research in Grenada was limited to eleven months, I spent an extensive amount of time before and after my stay on the island engaging in the ever-growing field deemed 'e-fieldwork': analysing blogs, YouTube, forums, Facebook, and websites (personal and commercial); using e-mail, Skype and other instant messaging programmes to have conversations and to conduct interviews; watching the Grenada Broadcast Network (GBN) online; looking at personal photo collections that had been uploaded; observing status updates; reading scanned newspapers and other online documents; and more. This was not only to gain an understanding of the culture into which I would be entering and to continue to investigate after I left, but also to analyse the many online identities that abound in Grenada's younger generation. Grenada's infrastructure for the Internet is constantly improving, and

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many Grenadians have online access;[73] thus, mainstream soca, calypso, hip hop, rap, R&B, and reggae artistes post their new releases on YouTube and SoundCloud; Facebook groups[74] are dedicated to Grenada and its music and culture; opinions on various cultural topics and music releases can be read on YouTube comment sections and on Facebook walls; and news broadcasts and talk shows frequently feature arts and culture stories. By engaging in e-fieldwork, I was able to listen to new music releases and stay up-to-date on popular opinion regarding Grenada's cultural events and music and arts scene even while not on the island.

The online communities I followed were forums for countless opinions and expressions of identities. Sherry Turkle contends that representations of identity in a media- and technology-centric world feature prominently on the Internet and that these shifts in identity change the way we conceptualise 'identity' (Turkle, 1995); these representations can blur the boundaries between the 'real' self and the 'virtual' self, with the 'virtual' self often being more likely to share opinions through microblogging and status updates, sometimes in a 'larger than life' fashion or in the persona of an alter-ego. These online communities, comments, and status updates provided me with a plethora of rich, pithy information on perceptions of identities in Grenada's younger generation in particular, which I also analysed in careful detail, paying attention to the possibilities and implications of 'larger than life' or 'alter-ego' personae, misrepresentations, and tensions.

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[73] According to Angus Steele, managing director of LIME, LIME is aiming to deliver broadband to 75% of the population by 2015, in particular by setting up community access points in more rural areas.
[74] One example of this is The Grenadian Young Artistes United Facebook group dedicated to the 'improvement of artiste possibilities locally, regionally and internationally' (Moore, 2012).

Reflexivity

Throughout this ethnographic study I attempted to be epistemologically and personally reflexive in my interactions with and observations of people and events. This focus on reflexivity continued throughout my collation and analysis of data, by constantly questioning my own motives, beliefs, and observations, and by checking external sources for thoughts and opinions on what I was writing to ensure, as much as possible, reliability and validity. It is my hope that with these efforts, this study will illuminate some aspects of the relationship between musicking and identities in Grenada at the intersections of ethnomusicology and music education, and do so in a way that would resonate with the lived experiences of Grenadians.

Denzin and Lincoln note that voice and reflexivity 'are primary' in research (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998, p. 47), and dispute the notion that researchers can somehow be fully objective (or objective at all) in their observations. As previously mentioned, qualitative case study in particular is susceptible to questions of validity, of suppressing the voices of informants, and of seeking an unneeded *a priori* hypothesis because of this lack of objectivity. Researchers must thus be constantly and thoroughly reflexive in their research, recognising and allowing for multiple approaches of reflective inquiry throughout the research process. Reflective practice in research critically underpins growth and learning (Dewey, 1933; 1938; Schön, 1987), as noted by Dewey and Schön, and therefore is warranted, necessary, and desired in qualitative study.

Writing in the first part of the 20th century, educator and philosopher John Dewey defined 'reflection' as:

> …an active, and careful consideration of any belief or supposed form of knowledge in light of the grounds that support it and the further conclusions toward which it tends (Dewey, 1938, p. 9).

Dewey's perspective on reflective inquiry, though developed more than seventy years ago, still holds merit in the reflective inquiry being carried out by researchers today. Everyone involved in the research process must live in dialogic partnership as much as possible, which can only be accomplished if a researcher is committed to careful, reflective inquiry that will give as authentic[75] a voice as possible to the person(s) being studied.

Reflexivity takes reflection one step further, encouraging researchers to inwardly reflect on all components of the study: the personal, the cultural, the historical, the political, the interactional, and more, as well as the dialogue between these multiple forms of data and how they are analysed. According to Mats Alvesson, Cynthia Hardy and Bill Harley, reflexivity calls for a 'thinking through what one is doing' (Alvesson et al., 2008, p. 497); it encourages researchers to explore the situatedness of themselves, of power, of interests, of language, and of socio-politics, to acknowledge and make explicit the personal influences they have on their research, and to think about how they analyse the data that they present as 'findings' or 'knowledge'. In essence, it is thinking about one's own thinking; being aware of and critically analysing one's own epistemological standpoints and their effects on one's research (Johnson & Duberley, 2003). The reflexive process is essential in ethnographic research in order to conduct and analyse an investigation that is in dialogue with researcher bias, and in which the researcher's viewpoint is seen as structural.

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[75] Although I feel that the word 'authentic' is overused, I cannot find another word that adequately conveys what I wish to do here.

Conclusion

Deep inquiry into the relationships between musicking and identity, and music education and identity, is warranted and needed. It is my hope that the ways in which I have gone about my study on musicking and identities in Grenada, informed by a music educational lens and constantly focusing on the transmission of both music and identity in the Grenadian context, can inform the broader areas of methodology, practice, and application in music education and music educational research while giving a rich account of musical life and meanings in Grenada.

PART TWO
'Until I die, I will sing my calypso song':[76]
Musical Transmission and a Tumultuous Political History

Introduction

We know every country have their own culture,
And my country has its own,
And that is deeply rooted inside our bone.
That is why I stick to my country,
No one could ever change me!
I'm a Grenadian wholeheartedly.

Mighty Joe Joe
'The Patriot'
(Grenada Calypso, 2011)[77]

Negotiating Identity Across the Generation Gap

Throughout my fieldwork, many older Grenadians whom I interviewed spoke of

today's youth not knowing or wanting to know what the older generation deemed to

be, in the words of Mighty Joe Joe above, 'their *own* culture'. The perceived lack of

interest amongst young people in learning traditional Grenadian cultural forms, and

also the observed influx of what some informants negatively described as 'cultural

imperialism' and 'cultural penetration', has led to a professed loss of authentic

'Grenadianness' in the younger generation. In my fieldwork, this sense of loss

experienced by older people in Grenada seemed often to contrast the sentiment of the

younger generation, whose sometimes seemingly opposite views reflected the

changing times on the island: they spoke positively of globalisation and the presence

of Grenada on the world stage, occasionally with a touch of scorn at the 'old ways'.

However, like the generation before them, there was also – at times – an acute sense

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[76] 'Until I die, I will sing my calypso song' is a lyric from Ajamu's calypso 'My Calypso' (Ajamu, 1991).
[77] Transcription by the author.

of loss: of being left out, of knowing the songs but not the meanings, and of being victims of hypocrisy: how could they know what they had not been taught, and why had the older generation not passed on much of the traditional ways? What had changed?

The discourse in Grenada surrounding identity and culture involves ongoing negotiation, a negotiation undertaken in part in the course of music education and transmission. All of my interviewees, whether from the older generation or the younger, spoke of the importance of cultural forms in defining the Grenadian people, and many directly or indirectly referred to music's ubiquitous presence in the negotiation of Grenadian identities. However, whereas the younger generation largely identified not only with traditional and modern Grenadian musical forms but also with fast-paced American and pan-Caribbean (particularly Trinidadian and Jamaican) popular youth culture, the older generation generally seemed to hold steadfastly on to what they considered to be 'authentic' Grenadian culture as being representative of 'true' Grenadian identity: folk songs, steel pan, and calypso (although they also often embraced American and other Caribbean musical genres, such as gospel and reggae). Many interviewees of the older generation expressed an almost palpable sense of proud ownership of 'true' Grenadian identity – what *we* created, what *we* built up – in conjunction with feelings of sadness, regret, or disdain toward the younger generation at not embracing that identity. They felt that older people had failed at passing on traditional Grenadian musical forms – and therein, what they considered 'authentic' Grenadian identity – to the youth.

One such informant, an older choir director, told me that this lack of transmission of music was resulting in younger Grenadians turning to cultural forms outside of the island, something which she finds problematic. This interviewee further

said that when *she* is teaching music to youth, she privileges Grenadian folk forms

(apparently finding herself unique in this), in order to cultivate 'a more Grenadian

consciousness' amongst young people, suggesting that youth have very little or no

real 'Grenadian consciousness'. These artforms evidently represent and constitute,

according to her, 'who we are', and therefore *should* be taught to young people, as a

way of counteracting this professed lack of transmission and loss:

> I mean, we kind of built up that kind of identity, you have to be proud of what
> you have, and so on and so on and so on. And that's the challenge, because I
> remember when I was working at TAMCC…I used to try to cultivate…a more
> Grenadian consciousness in terms of history, art, culture…They didn't want to
> do that kind of dancing or that kind of singing…When you don't perpetuate
> who you are and what you have, you just look to outside. You see? So, I
> would say, I have found that…we know who we are and we know when we're
> representing Grenada, we've got to bring our Grenadian stuff. So we never try
> to bring the European stuff or something. But just generally speaking, I'm
> saying, you know, then you recognise that, 'Wow, so *that's* how it is'.
>
> Interview with a choir director
> 18 April 2011

In contemporary Grenada, many in the younger generation scorn the 'old

ways', believing them out-dated and simple, whereas the older generation, broadly

and with exceptions, scorns the 'new ways', believing them superficial,

hypersexualised,[78] and even harmful; many also expressed shame that young people

apparently have not embraced what older Grenadians consider to be 'their own'. This

disconnect, which has continually grown since the 1950s due to political agendas,

globalisation, commercialisation, tourism, the introduction of technology, and other

forms of cultural penetration, as we will see over the course of the next four chapters,

means that it has become, in many ways, very difficult for Grenadians to come

together (as Christopher Small (1998) would say) to 'explore, affirm, and celebrate'

ideal relationships and a sense of who they are through musicking.

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[78] As one interviewee said to me, 'The Carnival today is *different* because the generation is
different…[it is about people] with no clothes on' (interview with a reggae musician, 18 April 2011).

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The purpose of this introduction to the second part of the thesis is to present the reader with some of the key ideas that will be explored in the next two chapters, which include the embeddedness of music in everyday life in Grenada: the function of traditional Grenadian musics; the way music both expresses and constructs imagined collective memories of Africa and the slave past; the politicisation of music; the role of music in perpetuating knowledges, values, and ideals; and the differences of these ideas and manifestations across generations. An understanding of these concepts is important for the chapters that follow, as many of these ideas surface again and again throughout Grenadian history and also in the present day, and contribute to conflicting notions of Grenadian identity and controversies over what music should be transmitted in order to build and nurture 'authentic' Grenadian identity, and why.

Throughout the thesis, I will broadly refer to two groups in contemporary Grenada: those who have memories of the revolution and invasion and also perhaps the Gairy era, whom I designate the 'older generation', and those who were very young during or were born after these events, whom I call the 'younger generation'. These groups are by no means fixed nor homogenous, but it is helpful to make such dichotomous distinctions when analysing present day Grenada, since the often conflicting and controversial questions of musicking and identities in contemporary Grenada frequently (but not always) concern older and younger people (or older *versus* younger people, or vice versa). These delineations are broad and dynamic, and some Grenadians hold opinions that contrast with the general attitudes of the group to which they 'belong' (such as younger Grenadians who belong to certain religious denominations and reject youth-oriented soca music on the basis of their faith, or older Grenadians who embrace soca and the economic benefits for which it holds

potential, as will be explored in Chapters 5 and 6), or straddle both groups, as we will

see.

Music in Everyday Life

I climb on to the bus, and hit my head. It doesn't matter how many times I take the bus, which is more like a large van, into town – every single time, inevitably, I hit my head on the low ceiling despite my short stature. Grenadians never hit their heads. Ever.

Photo credit: John Johnson & Patti Litman

'Good morning,' I say to the other riders. 'Good morning,' they reply – all except for the pale, confused-looking American tourist couple sitting in the very back, with sunburns, passport cases, and novelty Grenadian spice necklaces. Who can blame them for being perplexed? If you were to greet a bus full of strangers 'hello' in America, they'd likely think that you were either intoxicated or that you wanted to sell them something. However, this is not the case in Grenada: people often wish each other good morning, good afternoon, or good night[79] as they pass on the street, join one another on the bus, or enter a building.
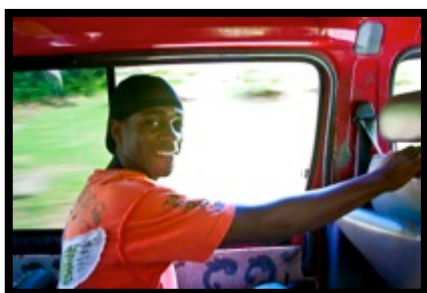
Photo credit: John Johnson & Patti Litman

I'm barely in my seat when the bus-man takes off. 'Yo! Oh!,' the conductor yells, hand up, beckoning, as we zoom by potential riders. Nearly all buses are equipped with both a bus-man and a door-man. The competition is fierce, so the door-man, whose responsibility is to entice riders on to the bus and collect fares, will yell at potential customers, and instruct the driver to pull over, reverse, or blare his novelty horn to attract people. All the while, the fast-paced soca music drums out, ear-splittingly loud. Almost every bus plays soca, and those who don't, play a variety of dancehall, hip hop, reggae, or rap music. I'm told that a few years ago, a law was passed regarding volume levels on buses. I don't want to know how loud the soca was played before. No background elevator muzak here: it's loud, and in your face, and demands to be listened to.

Field Notes Reflection
24 November 2010

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Historically and presently in Grenada, music has been deeply embedded in everyday

life, as described in the account above. This embeddedness means that music has

often functioned as a way of passing on knowledges and values, and as a means of

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[79] In Grenada, 'good night' is used as a greeting, as is 'good morning' or 'good evening'.

expressing collective memory and identity – although some of my informants, such as the interviewee cited in the preceding section, fear that musicking may no longer be operating in this way for the younger generation.

As the following chapters show, musicking is profoundly implicated in the discussions Grenadians have about their culture, and representations of Grenadian culture are often musical representations – the claims and arguments about cultural authenticity frequently concerning the 'Grenadianness' of particular genres of music and musical practices. To frame this discussion, I will begin with an exploration of the role of musical forms that Grenadians consider traditional. Most interviewees categorise these as folk song and folk dance, hand drumming, tamboo bamboo,[80] music played on instruments thought to be developed in Grenada such as the cocoa lute,[81] and certain rhythms including the Jab Jab rhythm[82] (to be discussed in Chapter 6). I will also examine the relationships of these musics to Grenadian identity.

Traditional Grenadian Musics and Collective Imaginings of Africa

Traditional musics in Grenada are African- and European-based syncretic artforms, being dually comprised of a) the African customs and cultural features slaves retained to cope with the trauma of their situation, and b) the European customs and cultural features that the French and British colonial masters brought with them to the island.

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[80] Tamboo bamboo is the rhythmic stamping of varying lengths of bamboo; also found in Trinidad. According to Liverpool, tamboo bamboo (from the French 'tambour', meaning drum) developed after drums were outlawed in Trinidad in 1884 (Liverpool, 1993).

[81] The cocoa lute, according to one of my interviewees, is an instrument made of the sucker from a cocoa tree, which is pliable and bent into a bow. The fingers play the bow and catgut, while the mouth 'gets the tones' (interview with a calypsonian, 12 April 2011). Alan Lomax's pictures of the cocoa lute, along with other research he completed on music in Carriacou (Lomax, 1962/2009), can be found at the website for the Association for Cultural Equity, and audio recordings can be found on the album *Caribbean Voyage - Grenada: Creole and Yoruba Voices* (Lomax, 1962/2001). Additional information on the cocoa lute can be found in an interview between Tico Camaleão and 'Cakeman', a cocoa lute player (Camaleão, 2003).

[82] A traditional Grenadian rhythm that has become popularised in modern soca music; producer Nordley Frederick is, according to the Grenadian television show *Hitmakers*, '…the man who is widely credited for the reactivation of the Jab Jab rhythm' in soca artiste Tallpree's (1999) song 'Old Woman Alone' (Grenada: Hitmakers, 2009).

Writing about Grenada and Carriacou during the period of colonial rule, Miller

describes how the values and aesthetics of the European colonisers simultaneously

dominated African culture while also allowing unique forms of cultural practice to

emerge:

> [The years of colonial rule] resulted in the transmission of the European ruling elite's values and aesthetics to Grenada's Afro-Caribbean population. This imposition, particularly given the gross disparities of power between the two populations, has had decidedly mixed results. On one hand, the organic process of cultural syncretism over more than two centuries resulted in the growth of a unique and richly complex culture on Carriacou, whereby new, creative forms emerge from the collision of different cultures… On the other hand, this imposition also resulted in cultural colonization (Miller, 2007, p. 19).

This cultural syncretism and colonisation constantly transformed and influenced

musicking practices in Grenada, leading to appropriation and resignification of

European musics and their meanings in Grenadian creole society. The belair[83] and the

quadrille[84] (Pearse, 1953), maypole[85] (Taylor, year unknown), and aspects of

Carnival, for example, all seem to evidence the influence of West African as well as

French and/or British colonial culture.[86] Through such syncretic musics, the black

slave population in Grenada (although originally from different African tribes) could

come together to act out desired relationships as a new society (see discussion of

Small's (1998) concept of musicking, Chapter 1), thereby creating and negotiating

Grenadian identities.

In interviewing Grenadians young and old alike, and in analysing former and

current cultural initiatives organised by government and school officials, it became

apparent to me that in mobilising collective memory of the imagined African past

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[83] Also spelled bele or belè; a dance accompanied by drums and chac-chacs (shakers) that is performed at festivals or saracas (Liverpool, 1994; Pearse, 1955).
[84] See page 24.
[85] A European-based circle dance around a large wooden pole to which ribbons are affixed and held by the dancers who weave to form a braided pattern along the pole and which is accompanied by a variety of singing, drumming, and other instruments.
[86] McDaniel notes that colonial music and culture were 'sophisticated' amongst the white Grenadians in the 1700s and 1800s, including performances of operas and chamber music. This European music, according to McDaniel, influenced all aspects and classes of Grenadian social life (McDaniel, 1998, online).

through musicking, many older people in Grenada hope not only to teach younger

Grenadians about Grenadian knowledges and values, but also to create a relationship

in which they, as well as young people, can link to the past and connect with their

ancestors. In doing so, the Grenadians who value these musics hope to connect with

one another in the present – not just through the musical materials, but also through

the ways in which these musics and rituals are transmitted and acted out. An

understanding of the significance (for some) of the musical connection to ancestry

and nationhood is important because it grounds the discussions of why certain music

has been privileged as 'authentically' Grenadian in the recent historical past; how and

why this music is being privileged and transmitted in the present day (to be discussed

in Chapters 5 and 6); and why perceived lack of interest in these musics can elicit a

deep sense of loss in those for whom these musics represent and construct 'who we

are'.

Reflecting upon the importance of connecting to the ancestors, one of my

interviewees, while discussing Grenadian folk characters such as the Vieux Coux,[87]

noted specifically that in the ritual of 'masking' (which is done in several traditional

artforms that encompass music), one becomes someone else – someone who

potentially has the power and authority not just to 'call' on the ancestors, but also to

perhaps act on their behalf in order to solve problems in the community or to uphold

cultural morals and ideals:

> The Vieux Coux, they are very interesting because they come straight from
> Africa, you would never think that things would survive so well the experience
> of slavery. All of these traditional masquerades originate in Africa, in parts of
> Nigeria and Ghana. And they were used both for entertainment and for
> community sanctioning. Vieux Coux especially. Because they're very fearsome
> masqueraders. And when they go onstage, or when they perform, because they
> can perform in the middle of the street, they perform a morality play. And the
> morality play could be very topical…Once you put on the mask, it's no longer

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[87] Pronounced 'vay-ko'.

you. You call on the ancestors' spirits and therefore you have a legitimate power to punish people.

<div align="right">Interview with a Grenadian historian and supporter of the arts
19 April 2011</div>

Connecting with African ancestry and nationhood through traditional musicking and other rituals is therefore very important in Grenadian culture, at least amongst those in charge of state cultural initiatives and education, and the themes of Africa, African ancestry, and belongingness in the African nation are prominently expressed in many rituals and festivals – and in the musicking which is featured extensively in these – such as Carnival (which will be explored in detail in Chapter 6), Big Drum (see page 23), and the Carriacou Maroon and String Band Festival;[88] in songs such as Ajamu's 'African Lady' (2000), Gary Williams' 'Born African' (2003), and Super P's 'Mama Africa' (2003); and in other contemporary cultural expressions of music and dance such as the drumming and dancing of the Tivoli Drummers.

In particular, informants and Grenadian media frequently drew associations between drumming and a distant African homeland; one such informant, an elderly Grenadian teacher and storyteller, told me that when she, and other African descendants, listens to African drumming, the 'blood stirs':

> Let's face it…we are descendants of the African people. And the Africans' early means of communication, when they came to the West Indies: sound of the drums. Sound of the drums. African descendants, when they hear the sound of a drum, the blood stir!

<div align="right">Interview with a teacher and storyteller
23 April 2011</div>

Another interviewee, a teenage chorister and pianist, told me that she seems to have an innate understanding of the African music (and in particular, the rhythm or 'beat' of this music) she hears, despite not understanding the lyrics:

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[88] The Carriacou Maroon and String Band Festival, for which the theme is 'Meet the ancestors. Live a new life.', was established in 2001 and takes place in late April. African origins are 'authentically depicted' through music and the eating of 'smoke food' (Grenada Board of Tourism, 2011, online).

> In history class they made us listen to African music, 'cuz she brought in CDs and stuff…And you can hear like the beats and stuff, and they're not really talking English at all, but you can actually hear what they're saying, just by the beat…And like, the same thing that I'm guessing is the same thing that is going on.
>
> <div align="right">Interview with a chorister and pianist
26 April 2011</div>

One informant, a young traditional drummer (by 'traditional' I mean following the traditions of hand-drumming and dancing typical in West African countries), felt that although drumming is being 'forgotten' in contemporary Grenadian society, particularly amongst young people, it tells Grenadians where they have come from, and can point to where they are going; indicating, perhaps, that she feels Grenadians (and especially other young Grenadians) cannot possibly have a sense of who they are, or who they will be, if they don't know who they *were* – something that she conceivably feels is best learned and understood through traditional musicking practices:

> Interviewer: Do you think that a lot of people have forgotten these artforms [such as traditional drumming and dancing]?
>
> Interviewee: Definitely! Because most of my cousins and my sister, they don't know what it is!…But my uncle and my grandparents and my great-grandparents, they *know*…If you don't know where you come from, how do you know where you're going?
>
> <div align="right">Interview with a traditional drummer
26 April 2011</div>

Many Grenadians thus conceive of identity as being constructed at the intersections of music and memory, and by imagining collective memory and evoking the African past through folk musics, Grenadians 'light the flambeaux'[89] and establish connections to Africa and African identities. In using the teaching, learning, and

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[89] Flambeaux are pieces of cloth that are dipped in kerosene, tied to pieces of wood and set alight. They were the main source of light for Grenadian slaves while they worked on the plantations. To 'light the flambeaux' is to 'light the fire in the bellies of our ancestors'; referring to the 'ignition of drive' of the ancestors within oneself in order to fight oppression and better oneself (e-mail correspondence with a Grenadian living in Canada, 19 January 2012). 'Lighting the flambeaux', figuratively and literally, is one example of how connections to Africa are created and recreated.

performance of musicking to connect with African ancestry and nationhood, and with one another, Grenadians make music, and memory through music, integral and indispensable factors in the constructions, perceptions, and representations of Grenadian identities, past and present.

Musicking is therefore a powerful tool in evoking and articulating real or imagined memories of self and culture, and in Grenada, mobilising and exploiting memories of the imagined enslaved African past from which the majority of Grenadians descend and with which many associate propels and perpetuates past identities into the present. Bithell, exploring the concept of the past in music, suggests that music can both 'reference' and 'carry forward' the past through tradition and ritual. She asks,

> What role does music play in relation to history? In what ways does music embody and evoke memories of the past? In what ways has the past been mobilized, through musical performance, by particular groups of people and for what ends (Bithell, 2006, p. 9)?

These are salient questions for my exploration into musicking and identity in Grenada, since I am conceiving identities as being of the present as well as of the past, and am specifically interested in the relationships of music to history and memory as well as the mobilisation and exploitation of these relationships. Many of my interviewees, especially from the older generation, identify readily with their perceived African past, as described above, and spoke with pride about Grenada's 'African'-based folk culture, and the values and ideals that exist within that culture. As one saxophonist told me, folk artforms that are integrated in daily life such as music, drama, and storytelling are important in Grenada because they act as guiding mechanisms for behaviour, and also function to express oneself not merely as a performance, but rather as a way of sharing Grenadian experience in a presumably deeper and more meaningful way:

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[Folk artforms exist] to guide the way we speak, the way we act – tell stories of the society, politics, and to teach children what to do and what not to do… [We have] a very, very rich musical culture and folk culture. Because we have a very, very rich culture of storytelling, and a very, very rich culture of folk music. And a very, very rich music and theatrical culture that is integrated into our lives. To us, theatre is not about performances. Theatre is about stating your experiences.

<div align="right">

Interview with a saxophonist
18 April 2011

</div>

Folk culture, and the traditional musical forms within folk culture, exist as a means of expressing and preserving a sense of 'who we are' as Grenadians, and in fact are considered by some as perhaps the *only* way to retain and perpetuate this uniqueness, as articulated by this Ministry of Culture employee:

Our [folk] culture is who we are! How we eat, how we speak, how we think, so we gotta preserve that. You know, globally…the Internet and the cable television takes over. You know, so it's important for us to keep our identity of who we are. To preserve and maintain our rich cultural traditions. We are unique. There is no one else in the world like us, and we have to maintain, we have to keep our uniqueness, and, you know, we do that through our culture.

<div align="right">

Interview with a Ministry of Culture employee
5 May 2011

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Preserving Grenadian folk culture, according to this interviewee, is also, apparently, imperative in the fight against the (foreign) influences of the Internet and cable television – and the identities represented and constituted within these – that are ever-present, pervasive, and sometimes regarded as negatively impacting young people in present-day Grenadian society. Preserving and performing Grenadian musics are therefore also seen by some as a way of expressing 'us versus them', thereby othering foreign musics and culture – even if just momentarily – so to more acutely feel a sense of Grenadian self. The remarks of the two interviewees above, as well as of others, suggest that music is regarded as an integral part of Grenadian experience, and that Grenadians often mobilise music and its connections to the past in order to distinguish, promote, and construct 'authentic' Grenadian culture and identities in the present.

Conclusion

The role of music in Grenadian society has historically been to pass on knowledges, values, and ideals; to teach political, social, and moral viewpoints; and to provide a means of connecting to one another through expressing commonality of experience, ancestry, and nationhood. It is for these reasons that music has traditionally been embedded in everyday life, and also why many of my informants feel that music and Grenadian identity are inexorably linked and interdependent.

As we will see in the following chapters, however, ideas of which musics and which identities should be seen as accurate representations of the Grenadian experience and Grenadian people can be conflicting and even controversial, particularly across generations and between the religious and secular in Grenadian society. For many older Grenadians, 'ideal' relationships are acted out in African-based traditional musics, since these musics represent imagined memory of the collective past. However, many young Grenadians reject these musics in favour of contemporary musical genres (such as hip hop and soca music). This has led to music perhaps not carrying out the functions above as it once did, which many find to be problematic and associate with a deep sense of loss.

The Chapters to Come

In Grenada, musicking is often used as a means of popularising or depopularising cultural ideals and societal values. It also is used as a means of exploitation, propaganda, and resistance to new political regimes and ideologies, thereby effecting inclusions and exclusions, liberation and oppression, and the conformance and resistance of people, their political agendas, and the music with which these agendas are associated. Grenadian author and former Director of Cultural Programs Jacob

Ross, speaking about post-revolutionary Grenada in the 1980s, suggests that 'it is extremely difficult to disengage art from the political process, as art is a reflection of oneself, one's reality' (Ross, as quoted in LaDuke, 1984, p. 48). During my field study, I certainly found this to be the case in contemporary Grenada: that musical materials (that is, genres and melodic styles such as calypso, instruments such as the distinctive real or digital sound of the conch shell, rhythms such as the Jab Jab, and, of course, lyrical content) as well as the experiences and relationships that exist within this musicking, have been culturally and politically influential, and consistently used as a means of constructing, expressing, and reflecting upon 'oneself, one's reality' in the Grenadian context. Accordingly, governmental bodies have made deliberate and careful choices about what music should and would be taught and transmitted for political and economic gain – indeed, what music education should and would be carried out – in Grenada over the last 60 years in order to nurture 'authentic' Grenadian identities and make those identities known to Grenadians, the Caribbean, and the greater world-at-large.

While I was in Grenada, steel pan and calypso music became known to me as types of musicking that have deep roots in resistance and subjugation, and that were also at times promoted by the government for political and economic benefit. Once considered to be 'low class', even dangerous, by the upper class in Grenada, steel pan and calypso are now recognised as two of the most important musical forms on the island. Likewise, other genres of music such as folk songs and dances, nationalistic music, and music in certain festivals and rituals became recognised as important via political promotion during the 1951-1983 period. We can begin to understand why these musics are felt to be such an important part of Grenadian social and musical life by considering the periods in which they became legitimised and acceptable in

Grenadian society (although this acceptability was never universal, as will be discussed). In the following two chapters, I will discuss the role of musicking in two distinct historical periods, what I call the Gairy era (1951-1979) and the revolutionary era (1979-1983). As earlier articulated, these chapters will form an historical basis for the fieldwork chapters, and provide an in-depth account of the role of musicking during these two political eras: how musicking has been used as a way of mediating political upheaval, defining values, and forming ideologies in Grenadian society.

I will first turn my attention to the Gairy era (1951-1979), a time during which certain Grenadian musics came to prominence through state support and education. In my investigation of musicking during this period, I will analyse how certain musics that represent the imagined memories of Africa and slavery, and the collective struggle against class-based and race-based oppression, were appropriated and exploited by Gairy and his supporters. In particular, I will examine, drawing from Lucy Green's theory of inherent and delineated meanings (Green, 1988/2008), what many Grenadians refer to as 'grassroots' music (sometimes encompassing the traditional musics described above but more likely referring to calypso, steel pan, and other more recent – but not generally considered to be 'modern' – musical forms that convey ideas and identities of 'everyday people'), and examine how this musicking was (and is) used both to construct and represent Grenadian identity. This will contribute in turn to a view of the significance of traditional and grassroots Grenadian music in the present day: why there is a commitment to teaching folk forms in schools, why the current government privileges certain traditional and grassroots musics, what might be the cause of the controversies surrounding the transmission of these things, and what the older generation in particular is so concerned about losing.

Chapter 3: The Gairy Era (1951-1979)

Introduction

Globally, music has frequently been concomitant with political upheaval, and in Grenada, musicking is a means by which Grenadians have expressed revolutionary political and social values. Where the social and the political are intertwined with culture and the sense of 'self', so too is the musicking that represents and constitutes these – by way of exemplification as well as by the 'ideal' relationships that are developed within the musicking process, as discussed in the first chapter (see Small, 1998).

In this chapter, I will investigate why and how during his political reign in Grenada (1951-1979), populist leader Eric Matthew Gairy fostered his relationship with the black working class and peasantry (that is, those who constituted the majority of the Grenadian voting population) in part by using and promoting the musics that were popular amongst these people, such as steel pan, calypso, string band music, and folk song. In using these musics, Gairy presented a working class identity for himself, which he could and did use to his political advantage – when it suited him.[90] In analysing these musics and the ways in which they were used for political gain, this chapter will demonstrate the importance of African-based traditional and grassroots musics in Grenada's recent past, and shed light on how these musics informed constructions of Grenadian identities, therein laying the groundwork for the discussions of the transmission of these musics and their significance in Chapters 5 and 6, which take place in the present day.

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[90] For an analysis on why and how Gairy attempted to portray himself as a member of the upper class, please see Benoit (2007; 2011).

Joseph Roach, in his book on circum-Atlantic performance, suggests that diasporic cultural productions are performed as 'rites of memory' by 'anxious survivors who now feel obliged more or less to reinvent themselves, taking into account the roles played by their predecessors' (Roach, 1996, p. 1). This 'reinvention' of identity in different cultures involves the convergence of imagination and memory. In Grenada, governmental bodies have appropriated and reinvented certain musics and rituals, creating what Hobsbawm usefully labels 'invented tradition', which he defines as:

> A set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past (Hobsbawm, 1983, p. 1).

In appropriating traditional and grassroots musics, reunderstanding[91] them as suitable and even respectable, and then privileging them in performances that represented and defined Grenadian culture, Gairy over the course of his reign transformed the 'low-class' musicking connected to imagined memories of the enslaved African past into an acceptable musicking of the present, legitimising Grenadian working class identities and experiences.

De Jong, in a very recent book on Tambú and the politics of memory on Curaçao, suggests that memory, life experience, and identity are interconnected:

> What does it mean for a cultural community to remember? Memory forms the fabric of human life, affecting everything from the ability to perform simple, everyday tasks to the recognition of the self. Memory establishes life's continuity; memory gives meaning to the present, as each moment is constituted by the past. As the means by which we remember who we are, memory provides the *very core of identity*' (De Jong, 2012, p. 3, italics mine)

She further argues that when governmental bodies become involved in gathering and influencing memories that reinvented, collective pasts become political; this opens up questions regarding authenticity, culture, privilege, and who stands to gain the most

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[91] Following Small (2010, p. 9), I use the term 'reunderstand' to mean the appropriation and resignification of music in a new (and sometimes contrary) context. This will be further discussed in the next chapter.

from these 'memories'. These ideas are useful for my analysis of the Gairy

government's appropriation of certain musics for political gain, and how this

appropriation has affected the construction of Grenadian identities, past and present. I

will first provide a brief account of the social and political history events that are the

background to the musicking and identity-making of this era, focusing primarily on

the social revolution of 1951 and the rise of the working class.

Historical Antecedents: The Social Revolution of 1951

In the latter half of the nineteenth century and early part of the twentieth century,

black Grenadians[92] became determined to gain economic, social, and political

equality at any cost; this resulted in a variety of riots, protests, and strikes which

functioned as precursors to the social revolution in 1951. During this time, civil unrest

gradually became enmeshed in the daily activities of the plebeian population of the

island, and as black Grenadians became increasingly frustrated by their destitute

economical conditions and severe oppression, they began to lash out at the elite and

the government (at that time comprised of mixed race Grenadians and white

Europeans) in a desperate attempt for equality and self-reliance. With labour unrest

ripe, and the working class ready to do whatever necessary in order to transform their

society, unions quickly gained popularity.

Eric Matthew Gairy, a young black man[93] from a rural village in the parish of

St Andrew's, sought to represent the often underpaid and exploited Grenadian

agriculture workers through his union, the Grenada Manual and Mental Workers

Union (GMMWU), and the Grenada People's Party (GPP), a political party. The

GMMWU became extremely popular quickly and Gairy soon came to be considered

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[92] The black, working class Grenadians comprised the majority of Grenada's population.
[93] According to some sources, Gairy was of mixed descent but he was considered by the people to be black.

the *de facto* leader of the working class (Collins, 1990), despite being unsuccessful in his demands for wage increases.

On 19 February 1951, Gairy called for an island-wide strike and popular protest, which involved approximately 5000 agriculture workers and 1500 public workers (Thorndike, 1974, as cited in Williams, 1996, p. 57). This upheaval, according to Steele, had 'not been known within living memory' (official report by the Labour Department, 1951, as quoted in Steele, 1974, p. 18), and the strike caused severe disruptions in Grenadian economics and politics. Thus began Grenada's social revolution. Upon marching a group of demonstrators to Parliament to demand a meeting with the Governor, Gairy and his associate Gascoigne Blaize were arrested and put into custody (Benoit, 2007). More riots, destruction of communication lines and other property, road blocks, and acts of arson[94] ensued, giving rise to anxiety amongst police and estate owners, and thus, the local government declared a state of emergency (Baptiste, 2002). On that same day, mass demonstrations took place, protesting the state of emergency and demanding Gairy's release, which eventually pressured the Governor into signing a proclamation ending the state of emergency and releasing Gairy on 6 March 1951. In the eyes of the people, this moment turned Gairy into an icon and strengthened their fervour even more, as the Governor was forced to release Gairy simply to maintain order on the island.

The strike formally ended 19 March 1951 following a radio broadcast in which Gairy appealed to the embittered workers with the guarantee that a settlement would be reached by 4 April 1951. Over the next number of days, Gairy made a series of speeches calling for peace but also calling for change. He was hugely charismatic

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[94] Sometimes referred to as 'sky red' in Grenada. 'Sky red' was prevalent at various times of social unrest in Grenada, particularly between 1951-1979. The acts of arson were generally directed at old estate homes to 'erase' reminders of the enslaved past (e-mail correspondence with a music teacher, 3 June 2013).

and the people flocked to hear him speak. A wage agreement, negotiated with a mediator between the Grenada Agricultural Employers Society and the GMMWU, was finally reached on the agreed date, 4 April 1951. Following this, a new constitution for Grenada was approved in September 1951, which, for the first time, included the needs and desires of the working class: election by universal adult suffrage was introduced, with the removal of all barriers to enfranchisement, and this enabled virtually every of-age Grenadian regardless of social status the ability to win a seat in the government.

The successes of the social revolution were just the beginning for Gairy; he would go on to dominate politics in Grenada for over 25 years, winning five of the next seven elections. During this time, Gairy was immensely popular, effectively 'propagandising' the working class and exploiting folk culture (see Singham, 1968): he had a charming personality, charismatic oratory, and was regarded as a defender of the people's rights and as a working-class Messiah who could free the Grenadian people of their bondage. Writing of Gairy's popularity, O'Shaughnessy remarks, 'inebriated by his own oratory, encouraged by his total disrespect for the white establishment and the Governor and delighted by his womanizing cockiness, the workers of Grenada, urban and rural fell for handsome, dashing Gairy' (O'Shaughnessy, 1984, p. 35). Self-proclaimed 'Gairyites'[95] were encouraged to pray for their leader (a prayer ostensibly written by Gairy himself), and he frequently carried a Bible to further this 'Saviour' effect – in fact, one informant told me that Gairy once invited the whole country to come to the Carenage to watch him walk on water (e-mail correspondence with a music teacher, 3 June 2013). Many believed that Gairy was not merely being opportunistic; rather, they (and he) sincerely believed that

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[95] Gairy's supporters were sometimes known as 'Gairyites'.

he had been sent by God to deliver the black Grenadians from their burdens and to claim independence for the Grenadian people. He took great pains to maintain this popularity: dressing all in white, carrying a walking stick, and encouraging people to call him 'Uncle' or 'Papa'. He also sought to promote himself and his country through traditional, grassroots, and nationalistic musics, a process which I will now analyse in detail.

Music as a Means of Political Gain during the Gairy Era

Throughout his political career, Gairy cultivated the support of the black working class by exploiting African-based (that is, having African origins or having been appropriated by the African community) Grenadian traditional and grassroots musics and evoking imagined collective memories of Africa. He attempted this by promoting musics popular amongst the working class such as calypso and steel pan at political events; by endorsing the teaching and learning of certain kinds of traditional music through school music programmes;[96] and by facilitating festivals such as the Festival of the Arts[97] and the Prime Minister's Best Village Competition.[98] As a result of these initiatives, many prominent performance ensembles began to emerge shortly after the social revolution in 1951, often stemming from village folk groups or church choirs (interview with a Ministry of Culture employee, 13 April 2011).

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[96] According to one music teacher, Eric Matthew Gairy and his wife Cynthia Gairy (who served at various times as Minister of Health, Education, Social Affairs, Community Development, and Cooperatives throughout the 1961-1979 period (Gairy, 2011)) were very keen on having a formal music programme in schools; however, when the revolution happened all of the lessons were thrown out and eventually started over under the revolutionary government (interview with a music teacher, 26 April 2011).
[97] A competition that currently occurs every other year and that includes both 'folk' and 'classical' (Western art music) categories.
[98] A competition in which a different parish (regional divisions in Grenada; see page 16, footnote 25) was featured along the Carenage every night with cultural displays (interview with a former principal, 24 April 2011). This competition, which showcases village beautification projects, cultural exhibitions, and the cooking of the national dish, oildown, was re-established in 2012 by the National Celebrations' Committee (NCC) and occurs during the Independence celebrations in February (Government of Grenada, 2011b).

Grenadian artist Oliver Benoit, writing on the relationship between Grenadian national identity and the institutionalisation of the visual arts in Grenada, suggests that after universal suffrage in 1951, the black working class and peasantry that constituted the majority of the Grenadian population began building under their political leaders a 'new, somewhat fragmented identity', and that while they aspired to the ideologies and values of the upper class, they were consistently rejected due to their colour and social standing (Benoit, 2011, p. 563). He argues that due to this stratification a strong national identity in Grenada did not form,[99] thus impacting the development of national art and art institutions, an argument that could be seen to apply to other cultural forms as well, including music. Although Grenadians at this time used music in very deliberate ways to negotiate Grenadian identities, ideas of exactly what these identities were, and how they should be manifested, differed greatly between the elite, the burgeoning middle class, and the black working class, peasantry, and subproletariat. It is likely for this reason that Gairy's government exploited traditional and grassroots music, music that was culturally significant to the black lower class population: to unify the bloc of traditionally impoverished voters he sought to rally under one identity, and to simultaneously ostracise the upper class – despite he himself aspiring to the values of the elite (Benoit, 2007; 2011).

Unsurprisingly, the bourgeois attempted to curtail the attempts of the working class to define Grenadian culture, and as much as possible prevented the artforms of the lower class, which they considered to be primitive and uncouth (or perhaps even evil and dangerous), from becoming representative of Grenada and Grenadian identity. As one older interviewee recounted:

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[99] One informant pointed out to me that perhaps this stratification did lead to Carriacou forming a strong national identify through music; however, this identity was (and in many cases, still is) separate from that of mainland Grenada (e-mail correspondence with an historian, 30 March 2013).

> In the beginning, the bourgeois redirected us. It's surprising to see how many groups now exist on the island…The higher folks, in class, did not like it. They felt that it was too low-rated to go to see or to participate in. But we carried on, and it worked out in '58. We started roughly in '50-'51. And by '58 this was where the call came. They needed a performing group to represent Grenada at the inauguration of the Federal Parliament, and we were the only existing group here.

<div align="right">Interview with a teacher and storyteller
23 April 2011</div>

This introduction of Grenadian folk music as performance (that is, the presentation of traditional musics for locals and for tourists) was one of multiple factors that contributed to a decline in traditional music as ritual in everyday life, according to my interviewees; other reasons included the introduction of technologies such as the radio, which was gradually becoming available.[100]

Gairy recognised the widely-acknowledged idea that folk forms guide the way people speak and act in Grenada (interview with a saxophonist, 18 April 2011), and evoked imagined collective memories of the enslaved African past by promoting, and in some cases, manipulating, the musics that had formerly been suppressed by European slave owners, and that were still stigmatised in post-Emancipation Grenada due to the European social ideals that lingered in Grenadian society. One way this was accomplished was by establishing a Ministry of Culture, as this interviewee explained to me:

> Basically I think, based on my discussion with persons across the premise for the establishment for the Ministry of Culture was to kind of assist in the spread of the traditional folk art…around the late 60s, 70s, that trend began with the then Prime Minister, Gairy, he was the one who introduced a

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[100] Radios would have been available only to well-off families; at this time much of the island still did not have electricity, and, in the words of one interviewee, Grenada was 'very, very behind' in comparison to 'the Western world' (interview with a music teacher, 26 March 2011); however, although radios were scarce, they had, in the words of another informant, 'far-reaching impact' since families that owned them frequently placed them in their front windows (which in Grenada are frequently not solid panes of glass but rather slats). This informant further stated that 'many, many Grenadians will fondly tell stories about gathering every night under so-and-so's window to listen to their favourite program or especially the news (e-mail correspondence with a music teacher, 3 June 2013).

Department and Division of Culture, and a Ministry of Youth and Sport. So that kind of drive to create some avenues, new avenues for young people to learn more about the traditional art forms. And at that point in time I think from a political standpoint it was prudent for him because a lot of his followers were grassroots people who traditionally had that knowledge; that knowledge was embedded. And in order to give some kind of recognition and appreciation for their knowledge, he created that kind of platform. So a lot of the people who were employed in the division at that time, were tutors, persons who would actually go around and try to discover what was present in the communities in terms of music, dance, and that sort of thing, to try and promote it. So they were basically dealing with teaching, teaching, passing on traditional knowledge. That was the focus around the late 60s, 70s.

<div align="right">Interview with a Ministry of Culture employee
13 April 2011</div>

As the interviewee observes, it was wise for Gairy to privilege the teaching and learning of grassroots musics, and simultaneously elevate the people with whom these genres were associated, in order to further his political platform. He accomplished this in very direct ways, such as the establishment of the Department (Ministry) of Culture, and by encouraging a national school music programme in which traditional arts such as folk songs and dances were taught (interview with a music teacher, 26 April 2011).

In uplifting the transmission and performance of traditional and grassroots musicking and their associated ideals, Gairy acknowledged the people who played these musics. Subsequently, those who helped promote Gairy through their music became affiliated with the most important and popular politician in Grenada in the 1960s and 1970s. As this interviewee observed, some of the working class musicians who practiced traditional music and dance, such as quadrille, lancers, and string band music,[101] were supported by Gairy to such an extent that they became associated with him:

Interviewee: The quadrille and the lancers, and the string bands were supported by Eric Matthew Gairy, he was very keen on that kind of culture. A lot of the folk; the singing of the folk songs, and so on.

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[101] See Miller (2007).

Interviewer: Why do you think he was keen on it?

Interviewee: Because he came from the roots himself! And I think he was a very astute politician anyway, and he knew that the people loved these things…Some of the bands, some of the dancers, even became identified with him.[102]

<div align="right">Interview with a Grenadian historian and supporter of the arts
19 April 2011</div>

The elevation of working class culture therefore influenced Grenadian perceptions of their own cultural identities and won Gairy many supporters, and initiated a transition whereby members of the working class, and their cultural forms, became representative of Grenadian identity, as evidenced by discussions with informants about performances of traditional and grassroots musics on- and off-island during this time. Traditional and grassroots musics, although always loved by the Grenadian majority and recognised as an integral component of Grenadian identity, were until this time considered unsophisticated and were not taken seriously, particularly by the elite upper class; however, now, with Gairy, they gained popularity and began to be performed as an expression of Grenadian identities, and were in fact used as a means of reinventing these identities (interview with a former music teacher, 26 April 2011; interview with a school principal and former music teacher, 14 April 2011). Indeed, these musics, for many, thus became acceptable, admired, desired – something of which to be proud.

The next section examines more closely Gairy's exploitation of two types of grassroots musics in particular, steel pan and calypso, as well as the impact of Gairy's appropriation of these musics during this time on Grenadian identities. Steel pan and calypso have continued to play an important role in Grenadian musical life since Gairy and his government uplifted their legitimacy and acceptability, and so the

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[102] An example of this is the Gairyite group the Jolly Boys, which was perhaps the last string band in Grenada to play at funerals (interview with a music teacher, 8 May 2011).

material that follows draws upon present-day interviews and participant observation

as well as historical accounts and oral history, and makes use of lyrical material from

songs old and new. This is an appropriate approach, it seems to me, insofar as the

'nationalisation' of these musical practices has 'fixed' them in certain respects, and,

for many Grenadians, they continue to do the same kind of social, cultural, and

political work as during the Gairy era.

Steel Pan and Calypso: Past and Present

It is a living vibration,
Rooted deep within my Caribbean belly.
Lyrics to make a politician grin,
Or turn a woman's body into jelly.
It is a sweet soca music, calypso!
You could, ah, never refuse it, calypso!
It make you shake like a Shango[103] now, calypso!
Why it is you shaking? You don't know?
That's calypso!

David Rudder
'Calypso Music'
(Trinidad Calypso, 1987)[104]

Gairy, in his endeavour to coalesce the black working class Grenadians as a voting

bloc, exploited the grassroots music that the lower class in particular appreciated and

understood, since it symbolised (and in some respects, continues to symbolise) their

unity and ability to rise above the oppression of the authorities and the elite. He used

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[103] The Yoruba-based ritual that was likely brought to Grenada and other Caribbean islands by indentured African workers in the 1800s and in which members of the community would come together to make an offering to the ancestors. Shango rituals were accompanied by frenzied drumming that would send members into spirit possession of an ancestor, after which there would be a feast. As time went on, Shango was increasingly influenced by European religions; as McDaniel explains, 'At the establishment of the Baptist religion (formerly called Shouters on Grenada), a continuing cycle of syncretic exchange commenced; in it, items and practices were borrowed from and lent to the Shango religion' (McDaniel, 1998, online). Shango was one of the most popular religious cults in the early 1900s in Grenada (Pearse, 1955; McDaniel, 1998). Although I was told that Shango is practiced very little (or perhaps not at all) today, one informant told me that this may have been told to me because those who practice this syncretic religion, known today as 'Orisha', may be ashamed of so-called 'backward' or 'un-Christian' practices (e-mail correspondence with a Caribbean literary theorist, 7 June 2013).
[104] Transcription by the author.

these musics in very deliberate ways to identify himself as a politician for the traditionally disadvantaged – portraying himself as someone who understood and would fight for the rights of the working class. In promoting these musics, Gairy was able to show that he, as a member of the working class, understood the significance of these musics, and the history of oppression and poverty represented within them, to Grenadians and Grenadian identities. All the same, he embraced British etiquette and cultural forms when appropriate – as one informant, in telling a story wherein her relations were invited to a reception of some extravagance put on by Gairy, said to me, 'We have a Gairy crafty and keen enough to know his onions, as he would say…I don't think drums were playing *that* night' (e-mail correspondence with an historian, 30 March 2013, italics mine).[105]

For many Grenadian families during the Gairy era, steel pan and calypso music were enmeshed in daily life, being heard at community gatherings and at special events, while at work, or while attending to chores. These musics therefore presented a host of inherent and delineated meanings (Green, 1988/2008) to the culturally-situated individuals for whom they were important, as will be henceforth discussed. In particular, I would argue, these musics were (and are) representative and constitutive of African ancestry and nationhood, with which many working class people feel a sense of belongingness and connection: a sense of who one *is* as well as who one *is not*. An analysis of the inherent and delineated meanings in steel pan and calypso[106] can afford some insights as to why these musics became seen as important in Grenadian society during the 1951-1979 period, and why today they are still

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[105] For a discussion on Gairy's apparent desire to be accepted by the ruling class in Grenada, please see Benoit's article on 'ressentiment' (Benoit, 2007).

[106] These musical genres will be described below in detail; it is important to note that they are not purely West African in origin or style, as steelband music and calypso music both employ Western European melodic and harmonic conventions (e-mail correspondence with an ethnomusicologist, 13 June 2013); however, for many Grenadians these musical genres are seen as being connected to African ancestry and working class identity.

considered by many to be indispensable musical representations of Grenadian culture.

I will begin by reminding my reader that Green (1988/2008) defines 'inherent' meanings as those that exist in the sonic components of music – musical configurations which include pitch relationships, rhythm, and timbre, for example – as experienced and comprehended by the individual. The relationships between these physical aspects of music are understood in context to each person's history, culture, and experience. 'Delineated' meanings, which are distinct from but nonetheless connected to (and in fact 'inseparable' from)[107] inherent meanings, arise from the cultural associations the musicker ascribes to these musics. Both inherent and delineated meanings are therefore socially mediated and understood by the situated, positioned individual. Steel pan and calypso music both have aural components that elicit imagined memories of the African slave past and real memories of the working class present. While a full analysis of the aural components of these genres is outside the scope of this thesis, an overview of the inherent qualities of steel pan and calypso musics proves useful in illuminating some of the delineations Grenadians may have made in engaging with these musics during this time, which broadly contributed and continue to contribute to Grenadian identity.

Steel Pan

Steel pan, which grew out of tamboo bamboo (the rhythmic stomping of pitched bamboo sticks on the ground; developed at the turn of the last century as a response to European suppression of drumming amongst the slaves (Thomas, 1992)), is played by striking a chromatically pitched steel drum with rubber-topped sticks. The sound of the drum has strong resonances in Grenadian society, and drumming in and of itself is perceived as representing African ancestry and nationhood – and in some contexts is

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[107] Green remarks that '…delineation cannot exist on its own, for without inherent musical meaning there would be no vessel through which to convey a delineation of any sort' (Green, 1988/2008, p. 51).

even seen as *creating* this nationhood, particularly when certain rhythms are played

that are believed to be 'African' ones, as described in the introduction to Part 2.

Steel pan is a musical genre common to many West Indian countries that was

developed in Trinidad (and/or possibly in Grenada, according to some of my

informants, although this is not referenced in scholarly literature) in the 1930s and

1940s. It is significantly intertwined with constructions and perceptions of identities

in Grenada and in other Caribbean islands. Gairy promoted steelband music to elevate

the working class and their culture, to convey his own working class roots, and also to

expand his voter base, as noted by this interviewee:

> Because steelband was working class; cultural things, he [Gairy] would
> promote it [to gain political support].
>
> <div align="right">Interview with a former politician
7 May 2011</div>

He also used steelband music to promote unified and oppositional working class

identities, wherein the lower class could unite to resist the authority of the upper class

by playing and performing music that was both created by and unique to them.

Steelband, like Gairy, was of and for the working class, and he gained many

supporters by using music that resonated with the working class and their plight.

Gairy often employed steelband music in dramatic ways. Calypsonian Flying

Turkey recounted a scenario to Chris Searle in which Gairy used a steelband to

announce his arrival thus:

> So [Gairy and the masses] came over the hill, Market Hill that is, the steelband playing 'Glory
> Alleluia'. At the head of the procession, walked a man dressed in the now familiar white suit,
> topped by an ankle length Cavalier Robe of black and vivid amber. In one hand he bore a
> massive Bible, and in the other a Whale Bone white walking stick (Searle, 1983, p. 49).

The significance of such a scenario is discussed by Merle Collins in her thesis on the

political history of Grenada (1951-1979), in which she argues that steelband music

and calypso both arose from and symbolised experiences of oppression in the lives of

the working class:

> [Gairy was often] accompanied by a steelband, a musical instrument formulated, like the musical form the calypso which often accompanies it, out of the history of a people whose own ancestral traditional forms had been often suppressed during the slave experience. The steelband was considered to be symptomatic of the culture of the working people (Collins, 1990, p. 120).

I would like to suggest that in steel pan music, there is meaning and significance not only in the types of music that are played by steelband groups (which could be arrangements of anything from popular calypsos – the most common type of pan music – to the Black Eyed Peas to a Bach concerto, or music written specifically for pan, which of course all have inherent and delineated meanings for each individual unto themselves) but also in the timbre of the pan, the sound of the physical beating of the drum, the conventions of how the pan is played, and the movement and dancing by the pannists that typically accompanies pan playing.

The conventions of pan music, which often include syncopated rhythms, quick melismatic passages and rolled long notes (eliciting a sustained 'tremolo' effect), and a strong, constant beat provided by a rhythm section which might include a drum kit and other ancillary percussion instruments (such as congas and brake drum) lend themselves naturally to movement and dancing, which is almost always a part of pan in practice and in performance. The carefree attitude that is embodied in this movement and dancing (which frequently occurs as shifting the weight from one foot to the other while simultaneously moving the hips and shoulders from side to side while playing) can perhaps be seen as juxtaposing the strident, metallic timbre of the pan, which conceivably invokes often-relatable imagined or real memories of the worker's plight, conjuring images of industrialisation, development, and the tireless labouring of the working class and the underprivileged. Further delineations in pan music used to include the association of panyards and the men who frequented them, who were often poor, promiscuous, and had a reputation for thievery and drunkenness – one interviewee, a well-off older woman, told me that her father would have beaten

her if she dared go to a panyard (interview with a former principal, 24 April 2011).

These historical social markers no longer function for most people in the present day,

however, except as historical stories: women and also children now take part in pan

playing and for most there is a certain prestige associated with accomplished steel pan

players and ensembles.

Although there are certainly solo pannists and music for solo steel pan, steel

pan music is most frequently played in a steelband ensemble, and steelband groups

nearly always play collectively; very few pieces are written for solo and ensemble. In

my experience, the richly-textured, melody-dominated homophonic nature of

steelband music as well as the similarity of tone colour amongst the different types of

pans, in addition to the common delineated meanings described above, seem to

contribute to a feeling of 'oneness' in group pan playing. It is in this experience of

'oneness' that we often have personally meaningful musicking experiences within

which we feel more wholly ourselves. This is also articulated by Small, who says that:

> …when we have been present at a good and satisfying musical performance we feel more
> fully ourselves, more fully realized, and more in tune with ourselves and with our fellows. We
> feel we have been afforded a glimpse of how the world really is (Small, 1990, p. 1).

I would further argue, again drawing upon the work of Lucy Green, that these 'good

and satisfying' experiences, in which one feels belongingness and a sense of self,

occur when the culturally-situated individual understands and appreciates the inherent

and delineated meanings within and arising from this musicking. Green makes a point

of saying that musical qualities do not need to be understood theoretically in order for

conventional delineated meanings to take place (Green, 1988/2008, p. 47); steel pan

could therefore delineate strong positive 'African', 'working class', or 'Gairyite'

identities even if the musickers were not conscious of why pan represents and

constructs these delineations. For these reasons, steel pan functioned not only as a

means of dramatic flair, but also as an excellent tool for Gairy to promote unity and

solidarity amongst the working class: Grenadians, feeling belongingness in their understanding of and relating to pan music, embraced the identities that accompanied this music, and also – importantly – the political leader who promoted it and endorsed its acceptability.

Calypso

Gairy also used calypso, another musical genre with which working class people historically associated and identified, to further his political career. Present-day calypsos employ a verse-chorus form and are performed by a (usually male) lead singer who typically sings under a 'sobriquet' or pseudonym, backup singers, and a dance band with amplified guitar, drums, and brass instruments[108] that play percussive rhythms and melodic accompaniments. The lyrical content of calypso music (which is usually written by the calypsonians themselves, and is arguably the most important component of a calypso song), is generally political or satirical in nature; it expresses values and worldviews prevalent amongst the working and other 'lower' classes, often incorporates analyses of social issues such as politics, the economy, sexuality and gender roles, world events, race discrimination, and exploitation. The lyrics at the beginning of Randy Isaac's 'Roots of Calypso', for example, explains how the Grenadians' African ancestors told their stories through song:

Since my foreparents lived in Africa land,
They told me the stories,
Noetic[?] fantasies
Even after they were enslaved in the Caribbean,
They continued to vocalise all their miseries.

They sung 'bout Ananci,
They sung 'bout Ashanti!
Europa and Mandingo,
Cromanti and Ibo!
In the chains of bondage,

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[108] Until the 1940s, calypsonians were accompanied by string bands (Miller, 2007).

Never losing courage,
That is where you find the roots of calypso!

Randy Isaac
'Roots of Calypso'
(Grenada Calypso, 1992)[109]

Another calypso, Stumpy's 'Pray for a Change', describes some of Grenada's most

important recent historical events:

1955,
This beautiful land
Was badly deranged
By Hurricane Janet
Oh-ho-ho!
In 1983,[110]
Had an incident,
We never forget!

Stumpy
'Pray for a Change'
(Grenada Calypso, 1989)[111]

Calypso lyrics, which often communicate moral and ethical ideals through or

alongside their political and social commentary, represent Grenadian working class

identity through expressions of working class values and critiques of political power

structures, frequently chastising figures and governmental bodies that do not respect

the interests of the lower class. In competition and performance, calypso, like steel

pan, creates a feeling of 'oneness', which occurs between calypsonians and spectators

through lyrics that deploy insider language and information, and also through call-

and-response interactions, extemporised verbal engagements that affirm positive

feelings toward nation, locale, and sense of self, and collective bodily movement (i.e.

dance moves). Carol Boyce Davies, looking at African themes in Trinidadian calypso

music, notes that 'there is a whole parallel tradition of calypso being used as

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[109] Transcription by the author.
[110] Referring to the American invasion in October 1983.
[111] Transcription by the author.

accompaniment for dance', a phenomenon which originates in the West African

tradition of music (Davies, 1985, p. 82). This observation is supported by calypsonian

Squeezy, in his assessment on the Grenada Broadcast Network CultureShare

television show that body movement in calypso music is the 'trademark' of the

artform because 'it helps you communicate your song' (interview with Squeezy,

1995, transcription by the author).

Calypso is culturally understood as an influential medium for negotiating

Grenadian morals, ethics, and ideologies. Many Grenadians, particularly from older

generations, understand its history, context, and overt and covert meanings, and they

identify with it since it addresses contemporary issues with lyrics that are relatable

and easily understood. As one older interviewee remarked:

> People would identify with [calypso] because it's current…the lyrics are
> simple and related to people.
>
> Interview with a former politician
> 7 May 2011

Many of my informants described calypso as being a unique, dynamic, living

musical genre that, as this interviewee said, documents the history of 'our' people:

> You can trace all of West Indian history through the calypsos…take all the
> calypsos from any year and just listening to the content you could tell when.
> What period. Or *something* like that. Because it documents the history of our
> people over the years. And no other culture has that!
>
> Interview with a classically-trained singer/former calypso judge
> 11 April 2011

Another interviewee explained to me that calypso is seen as a reflection of

contemporary issues in Grenadian society:

> So the calypso, is a mirror of the society. In the calypso, you get all the social
> issues, the political issues, the economic issues.
>
> Interview with a calypsonian
> 12 April 2011

The two latter interviewees, in referring to calypso as a method of documenting history and as a mirror of Grenadian society, respectively, evidently privilege calypso – and the calypsonian – as a means of getting truthful and important information.

The calypsonian therefore acts – and has acted – as an authoritative reporter who ruminates upon, critiques, laments, fights, or celebrates political or ethical situations, disseminating this information to the Grenadian public in a way perceived to be honest and inspiring to the people for whom he (or, less commonly, she) is singing. Calypsonian Ajamu discusses this role in his song, 'My Calypso', in which he envisions himself as fighting wickedness via the medium of 'sweet calypso':

I say, music
There is nothing in this world to be sweeter than music
My calypso, sweet calypso,
Music
Until I die, I will sing my calypso song, yes man
To fight evil forces down
Yes, fight them down, fight them down,
With calypso song!
When they come
When they come
To eat up all my flesh
And take away my dignity
I will fight them musically!

Ajamu
'My Calypso'
(Grenada Calypso, 1991)[112]

The widely held public opinion on the calypsonian as a trustworthy source of information and as a person committed to fighting immorality, oppression, and wrongdoing was apparent in multiple interviews, and is also evidently articulated by the calypsonians themselves in various calypso songs. The calypsonian, then, having a vested interest in presenting himself (or herself) as a valuable member of Grenadian society carrying out valuable work, writes and performs lyrics that convey this

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[112] Transcription by the author.

sentiment. Calypsonians perceive, and in fact perpetuate, the idea that the people are dependent on them for information and also to uplift. Indeed, the public, Edwards suggests, are the 'inspiration' to which calypsonians hold 'primary allegiance', and are those for whom calypsonians compose and perform their works (Edwards, 2007, p. 52).

Before literacy was commonplace in Grenada, the role of calypso as 'the poor person's newspaper' was integral to the artform. In spite of calypso competitions driving the genre in contemporary times, the original news-disseminating aspect of calypso has never been lost and calypso still has this function today, according to several informants. Calypso music is used to broadcast political news and social commentary, and it is seen, as Morgan observes, as a 'barometer of public opinion' (Morgan, 2005, online). It is therefore both a source of information and a voice for the disenfranchised in present times, as I observed in the lyrical content of many contemporary calypsos and also as various informants told me, including this calypsonian and soca artiste:

It's the poor people's, we, we are the poor people's messenger.
Interview with a calypsonian/soca artiste
15 April 2011

Calypso music, then, is and traditionally has been regarded by the Grenadian public as a means of getting truthful and reliable information, as a means of deploying opposition or support of political forces and authority figures, and as a means of negotiating moral and ethical ideals. With the importance of calypso music and the calypsonian now explored, I turn to a discussion of calypso during the 1951-1979 period.

Calypso Music During the Gairy Era

As the popularity of calypso music grew in Grenada at the beginning of the second half of the twentieth century, calypsonians were strongly 'persuaded' to sing in favour of Gairy; any calypso that was seemingly against the dictatorship was perceived to be a threat to the affirmed 'Gairyite' identity of the working class, and consequently, to Gairy's political success. Various informants described to me that many calypsonians wrote calypsos with lyrics supporting Gairy and his government; this was substantiated by members of the online forum the SpiceIslander Talkshop, who provided for me names of some of these calypsonians, which included Mighty Bomber (who, according to one informant, perhaps wrote the first pro-Gairy calypsos), Brother Valentino, Lord Melody, Mighty Unlucky, Joe Joe, and Mighty Tadpole. One such calypsonian, Mighty Caruso, wrote a number of pro-Gairy calypsos, including 'Rum Gone Down', a song about GULP (Gairy's Grenada United Labour Party; formerly known as the Grenada People's Party) lowering the rum tax, and 'Rule Mr Gairy', in which Caruso exhorts Gairy to rule, and suggests that if 'Mr Gairy' resigns, he should make 'me' the Prime Minister. The lyrics, provided for me by a member of the SpiceIslander Talkshop, are as follows:

Rule Mr Gairy
Rule Mr Gairy
Rule Mr Gairy, rule

And if you resign, you must remember
(Use your head)[113] and make me the Prime Minister

Mighty Caruso
'Rule Mr Gairy'
(Grenada Calypso, Year Unknown)

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[113] The informant who provided this song was unsure if the 'use your head' were actual lyrics, or simply childhood memories.

'Run Around GNP' by Townman, another calypso provided for me by a member of the SpiceIslander Talkshop, is an anti-Grenada National Party (GNP) song; the GNP was a political party for and of the middle class and landowners in Grenada – those that largely opposed Gairy and GULP:

Run around GNP, run around
Run around GNP, run around
If you hear what we leader say
Day by day
With ah piece ah rope and ah mango tree
We go' hang up GNP

Townman
'Run Around GNP'
(Grenada Calypso, Year Unknown)

These calypsos evidence the popularity of singing in favour of the dictatorship, and indeed, the calypsonians responsible for these songs enjoyed distinction within Grenada and were treated well by the government.

However, the artistes who opposed Gairy were ostracised, not invited to sing publicly, and not given airtime on the radio – their tapes were lost, destroyed, or flat-out refused (McLean, 1986). Some artistes, according to Flying Turkey (as reported by Chris Searle), were threatened or even beaten when they went to radio stations to 'plead, protest, cuss' to get their music played (Searle, 1983, pp. 50-53). Calypsonians who wished to sing about political struggles therefore had to be very careful with their words and effectively use satire and double entendre (both common to calypso music) to get their message to the people. As Flying Turkey describes, the dictatorship's method of subduing the people was to '[thief] the artist's head':

> It was always Gairy's aim to subdue the voice of the people, and calypso was really rising. So he tried many things. He tried to boost 'culture' with strings attached. At a particular period, for you to go into the savannah and be successful, you had to sing in favour of the dictatorship. The judges were carefully chosen and some artistes were favoured. So some calypsonians sang 'Grenada is nice, Grenada is beautiful, we have no problems, we are a comfortable people, everything is nice'. That was the dictatorship's method of calming the artistes – 'Thiefing the artist's head' was the local expression – and keeping them from expressing negatives and protest, getting them to paint a false image and then turning around and convincing followers that since you are saying that the voice of the calypsonian is the

> voice of the people, the calypsonian is saying that things are good, then what more do you want? (Searle, 1983, p. 49).

This stifling occurred in other ways as well: informants described to me how foreign recordings perceived to oppose the dictatorship were banned, for example. In these cases, Gairy's government was concerned that certain types of music would lead people to no longer identify with Gairy or his ideologies – which could be very dangerous for Gairy's political position.

As indicated above, calypsonians are regarded as communicators and commentators. They critically analyse and challenge social realities, and tell stories of governmental decisions, moral codes, and social struggles at the local level as the calypsonians perceive them to be – both overtly and through the use of covert insider language, such as double entendre. Since calypsonians function as investigators, as a conscience for the decision-makers, and as resistors, agitators, and sceptics, they can 'transform', as this interviewee says, the way people think:

> The culture of Grenada too, it can be, it's very political. Where it regards music. Especially when it comes to calypso music. Where, calypsonians, normally, are the transformers in the way people think about the government. Or change their government if they need to change the government. The calypsonians then [are] normally indoctrinating as to the choice of the people. Or they bring the realities of what they say, as people were taking political advantage.
>
> <div align="right">Interview with a jazz saxophonist
20 April 2011</div>

In combination with Gairy's charisma and manipulation, it is certainly possible that Grenadians were swayed by the pro-Gairy calypsos approved by his government. Gairy conceivably owed some of his success therefore in no small part to the pro-Gairy calypsonians and pro-Gairy calypso music during this era. However, as indicated above, the political pressure to sing or play only pro-Gairy calypsos was also made increasingly apparent to the public as time went on during Gairy's reign.

Engaging with calypso music can construct feelings of inclusivity through various performance aspects that involve the audience,[114] such as call-and-response, collective body gestures and dance moves, verbal engagement, and extemporised lyrics with which the public can relate since they employ the insider language of mocking and other culturally-situated humour, such as picong/extempo singing[115] and lyrics that employ double entendre. Regis, in exploring affect displayed by Caribbean audiences in response to Caribbean music, points out that the call and response style 'cultivates an atmosphere of harmonious interaction' between the calypsonian and the audience, as the audience will feel compelled to sing along with the 'response' (Regis, 1998). The 'harmonious interaction' facilitated by audience participation is an important consideration in my investigation of music, desired relationships, and the identities which are constructed, perceived, and represented in relation to these, since the participatory element of calypso means that it is by nature inclusive (or, at least, invites this possibility), and within this inclusivity people feel belongingness, fulfilment, and a sense of 'self'.

Here again I will invoke Green's theory of inherent and delineated meanings to further exemplify how Grenadians can have what Green refers to as 'affirmative' musicking experiences when engaging with calypso music (see page 39). Calypso is a verse-chorus song form, in which there are clearly defined conventions with regard to melody, harmony, rhythm, tempo, and even timbre. In these predictable conventions, musickers feel a sense of expectation and satisfaction when divergences from what is expected are resolved, creating an affirming musical experience. Calypso tunes are comprised of simple minor or major melodies that take place over tonic-dominant-

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[114] See Ajamu's performance of 'Ah Winein' [*sic*] (c. 1991) for examples of audience engagement.
[115] Teasing or mildly insulting wordplay in extemporised song; originally a duel (Grenadian Connection, 2003). See Mighty Sparrow and (Trinidadian) Lord Melody's performance (Mighty Sparrow & Lord Melody, c. 1956) and Bernstein and Lion's performance (Bernstein & Lion, 1994) for examples.

tonic harmonic structures, and are repetitive and expectable. Although the lyrics are often unfamiliar (since calypsos are frequently new for every performance and competition), calypsonians will often employ vocables[116] at the beginning of the song and between verses and choruses, which will be familiar. These melodies are highly rhythmic, and syncopated rhythms such as the one transcribed below provide the backbone for many songs:

The tempo, which is generally mid-range to upbeat (perhaps so since calypso in part grew out of work songs, and thus too fast or too slow a tempo would impact the pace of work), along with this strong syncopation, encourages movement and dancing. The driving rhythm, memorable and expectable melodic and harmonic structures, and clearly defined musical sections, all affirm the Grenadian musicker, for whom these inherent meanings are familiar, and have very likely been since childhood.

Lyrics, according to Green, are 'conspicuous vehicles for conveying musical delineations' (Green, 1997, p. 116), and many of the above-mentioned conventions in calypso music emphasise lyrical content: calypsonians privilege the articulation of lyrics by way of employing a moderate- or slightly up-tempo speed, by using rhythms that follow speech patterns, and by singing in a high tessitura of the voice. This privileging of articulation and text therefore seems to dictate the way melodies, rhythms, and tempi are manifested and performed – for example, syncopated rhythms for text emphasis may be used, or multiple words may be sung over one repeated note that is periodically accented so as to have comprehension of the text in song lyrics. Calypsonians generally sing melodies in a high, sometimes forceful tessitura that is

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[116] Nonlexical, 'nonsense' syllables, such as 'woi' or 'da-ba-dey'. For an example, see Randy Isaac's performance of 'A Better Carnival' (Isaac, c. 1989).

indicative of music in which lyrics take prominence since it both carries the sound and aids in its clarity. This way of singing perhaps also indicates the nature of the lyrics. The voice is frequently not gentle or lovely sounding, and neither, commonly, is the message – lyrical content often involving issues of political or social concern and delineating Grenadian working class experience – and I would argue that the timbre of the voice reflects this.

Further delineations can be made in the well-known history of calypso music. The exact origin of calypso is unknown, and thus the extensive histories of the artform that have been carried out by various scholars[117] are largely reconstructions based on legend and oral history. It is believed that enslaved West Africans brought a tradition of history and social commentary through music, and used song extensively to protest, mock, or even satirise their enslavement (Liverpool, 1993, pp. 276-282). This custom of storytelling through song likely originates with the tradition of the West African griot or praise singer, whose responsibility was to sing the history of the community, remind people of social orders and ideals, and to provide social commentary through song (Gallaugher, 1991, p. 80; Liverpool, 1993, pp. 252-256). The African-based praisesongs, songs of derision and protest, and work songs that evolved into early calypso melded with French, English, and Spanish song forms, and were sung on plantations at work, in communities while attending to daily events, in rituals and ceremonies, and as a means of rebelling (through double meaning and hidden messages, common features in calypso music) against the oppressive colonial authoritative powers that controlled every aspect of the slaves' lives (Liverpool, 1993). Knowledge of this history, which directly links the calypso song form with the African past, means that calypso carries within it delineated meanings of African

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[117] See, for example, Dikobe (2003), Elder (1966), Guilbault (2007), Harewood (2006b), Hill (1966), Lashley (1982), Liverpool (1993), and Warner (1983).

ancestry and nationhood, as well as of resistance, power, and subjugation, making it ideal for appropriation, since Gairy and his supporters also wanted to convey these notions: that the working class should be unified in their collective imagined past, and that in this unification they should fight oppression and those who were responsible for it.

Other Pro-Gairy Songs

Gairy exploited the feeling of 'oneness' and various delineated musical meanings earlier described not only through calypso music, but also through other pro-Gairy songs and anthems, which were sung by his supporters at political rallies and at public events. One such song urges Grenadians to vote for 'the star'; Gairy's symbol on the voting ballot was a red star, and since most of Gairy's supporters were illiterate, his campaigns had slogans with these words. According to one informant, the word 'star' became synonymous with Gairy (e-mail correspondence with a music teacher, 3 June 2013):

If you want to live a heavenly life,
We voting the star
If you want to live a heavenly life,
We voting the star
And we don't care what nobody say,
We voting the star on election day!
And we don't care what nobody say
We voting the star on election day!

'We Voting the Star'
(Pro-Gairy Anthem, Year Unknown)[118]

This second example, a children's song, asks God to bless 'Uncle' (a nickname by which Gairy was commonly referred) 'Gaywee':

God Bless Uncle Gaywee
God Bless Uncle Gaywee
God Bless Uncle Gaywee

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[118] Lyrics provided by a member of the SpiceIslander Talkshop.

Blessings unto him.

'God Bless Uncle Gaywee'
(Pro-Gairy Children's Song, Year Unkown)[119]

Other songs, such as this popular GMMWU anthem, proclaimed that Grenadians would do whatever possible to protect Gairy and his government:

We'll never let our leader fall,
For we love him the best of all.
We don't want to fight to show our might,
But when we start, we'll fight, fight, fight!
In peace or war, you'll hear us sing,
God save our leader, God save us all,
At the ending of the strike, the flag unfurled
We'll never let our leader fall!

'We'll Never Let Our Leader Fall'
(Anthem of the GMMWU, Year Unknown)[120]

In the experience of singing pro-Gairy anthems, the Grenadian majority was able to come together as one in their musicking, 'exploring, affirming, and celebrating' (Small, 1998) ideal Gairyite identities, and simultaneously distancing themselves from those who did not support Gairy and his government, namely, the middle class and bourgeoisie.

Anti-Gairyism

In the post-social revolution period, Gairy set the ambitious goals of bringing Grenada to independence and becoming Grenada's first Prime Minister, which he would eventually accomplish in 1974. During this time, Gairy became increasingly unscrupulous, using manipulation and blackmail as means of control.[121] After

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[119] Lyrics provided by a member of the SpiceIslander Talkshop and edited by the author.

[120] Taylor notes that this song is an adaptation of 'We'll Never Let the Old Flag Fall', a marching song about the Union Jack from the First World War era (Taylor, 2008).

[121] As an example, Gairy was disenfranchised for the years 1957 to 1961 for marching a steelband through opponent L. A. Purcell's political meeting in St George's in October 1957, an illegal act. This five-year disenfranchisement should have been devastating to Gairy's political career; however, Gairy turned the ban to his advantage by telling his followers that the upper class Grenadians were once again trying to suppress him, but that he would be vindicated through his supporters, the Grenadian majority.

negotiations surrounding the Federation of the West Indies collapsed in 1961, allegations of embezzlement and abuse of public funds precipitated an inquiry into the spending of public funds in Grenada (Brizan, 1984/1998). Gairy was found to have instructed others under his authority to spend over budget, and had also approved numerous expenditures without a warrant – enormous excesses that would come to be known as 'squandermania'. According to Singham (1968), calypsos such as 'Squandermania' by Trinidadian Mighty Zebra, which highlights Gairy's excessive spending habits,[122] were popularised by the opposition:

The Chief Minister of Grenada
Spending money like fire
He got a piano for 3000 five
And some Grenadians can't eat enough to stay alive
He run country into bankruptcy
Spending all tax payers money

Oh, Oh Uncle Gairy
What you doing to we
You fooling the Grenadians one by one
And killing them with starvation.

Mighty Zebra
'Squandermania'
(Trinidad Calypso, 1961)[123]

Despite Gairy's behaviour, the people still looked to him to provide leadership and to facilitate change, for it had not been until Gairy took power that the lower classes had had unions, universal suffrage, and the ability to apply for candidacy in the election, and it was not until Gairy that wages were increased and that labour laws were created. This was indeed the first time that many felt some element of control over the political and economical aspects of their lives.

Gairy's rhetoric, however truthful or untruthful, won him the 1961 election and Gairy became Chief Minister with eight of the ten parliament seats (Steele, 2003).
[122] For example, Gairy purchasing a grand piano for the Prime Minister's residence at Mt Royal, ostensibly to make him appear more 'upper class'.
[123] Transcription by Singham (1968).

During the early 1970s, Gairy's aim to retain power became even more pronounced, through his exploitation of the Grenadian Defence Force, the police, and his private band of often violent 'police aides', popularly called the 'Mongoose Gang' (Feinberg, 1992). It is therefore no surprise that he decided to use his 1972 electoral victory to move to independence in 1974[124] despite its purported unpopularity with the Grenadian public (Walker, 2002). As Gairy extended his control over Grenadian society, the infrastructure of the island began slowly to disintegrate, and in the months preceding independence, Grenada experienced opposition drives pushed daily by groups comprised mostly of young people.

By January 1974, many Grenadians were engaged in yet another general strike to fight the imminent move to independence. Despite this unrest, and despite not obtaining the customary two-thirds majority in a referendum (Payne et al., 1984, p. 11), Grenada was granted independence from Britain on 7 February 1974, becoming the smallest independent nation in the Western Hemisphere, and Eric Matthew Gairy became the first Prime Minister of the island. Grenada was plagued with strife, and, according to Steele, instead of having 'national celebrations of its Independence on 7th February 1974 [it had] civil unrest, electrical blackouts, and political turmoil' to mark the occasion (Steele, 1995/2002). The strike would not end until March 1974, by which time, according to Holness, electricity and telephones had ceased to function, there was a total exhaustion of fuel, and taxes were not being paid. In order to control the people and end the strike, the Grenadian government sought assistance from the international community, which included two British gunboats and one

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[124] Grenada's independence was influenced by what Hutchinson deems a 'postwar political awakening' (Hutchinson, 1983, p. 72): the independence of various countries including Algeria, Botswana, Fiji, Jamaica, Kenya, Madagascar, Trinidad and Tobago, and more; and the fall of dictators in Iran, Kampuchea, Uganda, and other nations; the Cuban Revolution (1959), the Vietnam War (1959-1975), the rapid expansion of women's rights, and the growing rebelliousness of the black population in the United States and Canada.

Canadian gunboat, an 'independence gift' of more than £100,000 from the British government, loans from Jamaica, Trinidad, and Guyana totalling over £2 million, and more (Holness, c. 1975). Grenada's 'independence' would ironically lead to further oppression, domination, and tyranny under Gairy's dictatorship, and it would be years before Grenadians would identify as a truly independent people.

Although anti-Gairy sentiment became stronger during this period of disenchantment, anti-Gairy songs had been in existence for years, particularly in Carriacou and perhaps also in Petite Martinique, where people felt far removed from Gairy and his work on the mainland, and indeed were often ignored even during hardship by the Grenadian government. For example, this singer, recorded by Alan Lomax on his trip to Carriacou in 1962, protested Gairy's actions through song:

For my own labour, Gairy want to kill me (Own money)
For my own money, Gairy want to kill me,
For my own money, Gairy want to kill me,
Gairy want to kill me in de gutter[?],
For not spreading joy[?]

Margaret Henry
'For My Own Labour'[125]
(Anti-Gairy Song, 1962)

Of this song, Margaret Henry, the composer and singer, says:

> Gairy did stress me by having the occasion that I have to feel and to get money and to go and pay my tax wherein I should have get it by my labour, what I work on my garden. And I did *not* get my back pay so I made that song (Henry, as interviewed by Lomax, 1962, transcription by the author).

In spite of her labouring, Margaret Henry apparently did not receive what was fairly owed to her for her work – a perhaps not-uncommon occurrence at this time, especially in Carriacou and Petite Martinique. With little means of fighting such a scenario, the people turned to song to express their discontent, and also to feel affirmed and unified in their collective struggle by musicking together specifically in

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[125] Collected by Alan Lomax (1962) and provided on the Association for Cultural Equity website (2011); transcription by the author.

a call-and response fashion. However, anti-Gairy songs such as these were far removed from the majority of Grenadians and Grenadian political events, or were stifled by the government (as described above), and therefore had little influence on Grenadian political life and identities when compared to the influence of the pro-Gairy music and musicians that were encouraged by the dictatorship.

Conclusion

During the Gairy era, Grenadian identities were constructed and presented through the expressions of traditional and grassroots musicking which were used by the government to unify the people. This musicking evoked commonality of experience through imagined and real collective memories of slavery and oppression, represented the oppressed working class, and were artforms with which that class identified. These musical genres, once regarded by the upper class as culturally insignificant, were therefore elevated by Gairy and his government to represent Grenadian culture (despite the efforts of the bourgeoisie), and the identities constructed and represented through them became valuable and important. Such political moves, through the transmission of music, were hugely beneficial to Gairy's political career.

However, in spite of the politically-motivated focus on working class culture which propelled these musics and musicians to the forefront of Grenadian identity, some of my informants felt that 'true' Grenadian identities began to disappear during Gairy's reign, since his privileging of these artforms transformed 'authentic' Grenadian musicking into performance-based cultural events (interview with a politician and historian, 7 May 2011). As we will see in the next chapter, much more would change during the impending revolution: although calypsonians would enjoy a

new freedom (of sorts) in their calypsos, Gairyite musicians would go underground,[126] many professionals and cultural 'leaders' would migrate to other countries to escape oppression from the revolutionary government, and American and British 'colonial' and 'imperialist' music would become discouraged by some, while revolutionary musics would become tremendously popular. We now turn to what happened next, and the changing ways in which musicking influenced Grenadian identities.

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[126] This led to a sharp decline in string bands (which were strongly associated with Gairy) in particular (interview with a politician and historian, 7 May 2011).

Chapter 4: The Revolutionary Era (1979-1983)

Introduction

The 1970s brought about vast political and social upheaval to Grenada. During this time, many Grenadians sought a new leader to relieve them from the tyranny of the increasingly dictatorial Prime Minister Eric Matthew Gairy. Maurice Bishop and the New Jewel Movement (NJM), a Marxist-Leninist vanguard party created in 1973, rose to oppose Gairy and his government in the mid-1970s, and quickly gained much support. On 13 March 1979, the NJM, led by Bishop, overthrew Prime Minister Gairy in a nearly bloodless coup.

Like Gairy and his government before, Prime Minister Maurice Bishop and the People's Revolutionary Government (PRG) used music and music education in very deliberate ways to construct and disseminate a common identity for and amongst the Grenadian public. For the revolutionary government and its supporters, music functioned as a means of earning the people's trust and gaining control over them, and evidently careful decisions were made throughout this period about the formal and informal teaching and learning of music deemed 'appropriate' by the revolutionaries. They nurtured revolutionary identities by a variety of means, including encouraging music that explicitly promoted certain aims and ideologies; initiating education programmes, competitions, and festivals that stimulated the learning and performance of music that was considered acceptable to the revolutionaries; and, at times, 'reunderstanding' Gairyite, American, and British musics as promoting revolutionary values, or demonising them as vehicles for anti-revolutionary, imperialist, or colonialist ideologies. Music was therefore used as a means of propaganda, resistance, subversiveness, and control by various members of the Grenadian public, and to propagate revolutionary thinking, nationalism, and revolutionary identities during this

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period in Grenada's history. The result was a limiting of musical expression for both revolutionary and anti-revolutionary groups.

Before continuing any further, I wish to address the distinction I make between 'revolutionary' and 'anti-revolutionary'/'counter-revolutionary'. Throughout the revolutionary years, the PRG promoted a rigid Grenadian 'revolutionary' identity in pursuit of hegemony and control. Ideas of this revolutionary identity were not shared by all Grenadians nor did they exist throughout the revolution, however; certainly some Grenadians at various times were indifferent to the PRG's ideologies or were ambivalent toward its goals and rhetoric, and some claimed allegiance to the revolution only because of the power and political pressure exercised by the government. I wish to impress upon my reader that although these terms – 'revolutionary' and 'anti-revolutionary'/'counter-revolutionary' – convey the kinds of binaristic compartmentalisations that the PRG government itself, and much of the Grenadian public, favoured during this time, Grenadians in fact (as with all societies) lived on a nuanced political spectrum. Although these categorisations are evidently ideologically loaded simplifications, these were both claimed by and imposed upon the Grenadian public as a way for Grenadians to define themselves and establish a social reality, and I too use these words in this way.

As with my discussion of the Gairy era, this analysis of music during the revolutionary period functions as an historical backdrop for the chapters that will follow, providing insights into not only why certain musics are being privileged in contemporary Grenadian governmental and school initiatives, but also how music in Grenada is often seen as an intrinsic part of the political process, and how music is used, in Grenada and beyond, as a way of creating an atmosphere of affirmation in which one can feel a sense of who one is. I will also explore how Grenadians

expressed national and transnational political identities through performances of, listenings to, shunnings of, and discussions about music during the revolutionary era. This sets the stage for the political and social controversies in musicking and identities in the present day, and through these analyses I hope to show later in this thesis how and why music is bound up with attitudes of 'good' and 'bad' in contemporary times, and what musicking, in the Grenadian context, is 'right' to take part in, and when, and why – and for whom.

Historical Antecedents

The Overthrow

In the early- to mid-1970s, Maurice Bishop, a young lawyer, and the other leaders of the NJM became more and more horrified at Gairy's violence, and dissatisfied with 'democracy' as it stood in Grenada. Protests, strikes, and civilian disobedience were not uncommon during this time, and tensions escalated after six leading members of the NJM were badly beaten by the Mongoose Gang (Gairy's band of police aides who were known to be at times ruthlessly violent) on 18 November 1973 (deemed 'Bloody Sunday') in a futile attempt to avert an island-wide strike; tensions were further exacerbated by the subsequent attack on striking demonstrators on 21 January 1974 (deemed 'Bloody Monday') in which Rupert Bishop (Maurice Bishop's father) was shot and killed while protecting schoolchildren. Bloody Sunday and Bloody Monday proved to be catalytic for the series of political events which led to the overthrow of the Gairy government five years later.

In 1976, the NJM amalgamated with two other political parties to form the People's Alliance and oppose Gairy and the Grenada United Labour Party. However, despite the popularity of the People's Alliance, Gairy won the election. Civilian

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conflict immediately broke out on the island, and Gairy was accused of fraud and pre-election rigging. Maurice Bishop, now head of the People's Alliance, became leader of the opposition, and the political environment in Grenada became highly charged, since neither the People's Alliance nor many of the Grenadian people accepted the legitimacy of the election results. According to Feinberg, the NJM then 'completely gave up on elections as a way to power; they turned to a form of Leninism and formed a military wing of their party' (Feinberg, 1992). The next three years were fraught with conflict between Gairy's dictatorship and the People's Alliance, and this situation was exacerbated when Gairy was knighted as Sir Eric Matthew Gairy in June 1977.

On 10 March 1979, Bishop and the NJM received disturbing signs[127] that Gairy and the Mongoose Gang were planning a major action against them, perhaps as serious as the assassination of the NJM's leadership. Gairy left Grenada for New York at about 1:00pm on 13 March 1979, and the revolutionaries began to organise what was code-named 'Operation Apple': a *coup d'état* intending to depose Gairy. The overthrow began shortly after midnight on 13 March 1979; the revolutionary forces successfully seized control of main army barracks by 4:15am. The barracks were burned to the ground, and after a mere half-hour of conflict, the 230 soldiers had surrendered (Bishop, 1983; Collins, 1990).[128]

By 5:00am the island's only radio station had been overtaken, and the fall of the Gairy regime was officially announced by 6:15am. Later in the day, radio announcements were made over the newly-named Radio Free Grenada encouraging

[127] The homes of the six leaders had been searched, and one member, Vince Noel, had been arrested. According to the newspaper the Free West Indian, Noel was told on 12 March that 'if he wanted to save his life, he should escape from detention by nightfall' (Free West Indian, 1980, 1(23), p. 14, as cited in Meeks, 1993, p. 155).

[128] The Grenada Newsletter gives this figure as 280; two men died during the coup: Lt Philip Hyacinth Brizan, and Fire Department Corporal Godwin Pysadee (Hughes, 1979).

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Grenadians to assist in the capture of members of the Gairy Government, and also of the police stations. Meeks reports that some 3000 Grenadians were assisting the insurrectionary forces by midday, and before long, the Gairy dictatorship was completely overthrown (Meeks, 1993). Maurice Bishop successfully took over the position of Prime Minister of Grenada and won the support of thousands of Grenadians with his proclamation, 'Long live the people of Grenada. Long live freedom and democracy. Let us together build a just Grenada'.

The Revolutionary Years

The revolutionary years that followed brought advancements in education, economics, infrastructure, and living and working conditions to Grenada, affording, according to McLean, a 'new sense' of Grenadian history, culture, and society (McLean, 1986, p. 87). Over the subsequent four-and-a-half years under the rule of Bishop and his People's Revolutionary Government (PRG), there was extraordinary progress. Medical and dental care became free, medicine was provided for free or for a low cost, clinics were opened and the hospital was updated, and the number of doctors and dentists more than doubled. A free milk programme was begun, and price controls were imposed on basic imported items such as sugar and cooking oil. Advancements were also made in women's rights and worker's rights, and between 1979-1983, unemployment was reduced from 50% to 12-14% (LaDuke, 1984; Clark, 1984). Telephone and electricity systems were improved, the construction of roads, houses, schools, daycares, community centres, and an international airport began, and government expenditure on education increased from Gairy's $8.8 million EC to $13.4 million EC (Brizan, 1984/1998)).[129] Grenada's debt increased substantially, and

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[129] Bishop, a man who embraced modern educational theory, had been educated at the London School of Economics. He was an advocate of democratic education focusing on relevancy rather than certification, and, as a result of the PRG's influence, formal education became more widespread,

money was obtained from the European Development Fund, the Caribbean Development Bank, and various Arab countries' governments, as well as from Cuba[130] and other socialist countries in Eastern Europe.[131]

The PRG suspended the constitution of 1974 and banned all other political parties. They also began issuing laws by decree, called People's Laws, of which there were more than 60 by 1980. These laws repealed various decisions of the Gairy regime and also gave the People's Revolutionary Army the same powers of arrest and search as those of the Royal Grenada Police Force; that is, to arrest and hold indefinitely without bail or trial anyone deemed a threat to public safety (Steele, 2003). Under these laws, anywhere from 600 to 3500 people were interrogated and imprisoned if suspected of involvement in counter-revolutionary activities or destabilisation campaigns, or if they simply did not agree with the People's Revolutionary Government's objectives. Most were held for only a few hours or days, but at least 100 people were held (and some were tortured) with no formal charges or hearings, for sometimes over two years (and some for over 4 years) (Marable, 1987). The People's Revolutionary Army (PRA) was also increased to include a People's Militia which was established for training part-time solders, 'several hundred' of whom were schoolchildren (Steele, 2003, p. 389). Increased human rights abuses, unfulfilled promises, and the militarised environment of the PRG led in time, for many people of Grenada, to the realisation that they had exchanged one autocratic leadership for another.

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indeed, universal, and important to Grenadians. Bishop stated on numerous occasions that education must be related to production, and emphasis was thus placed upon education, production, and the relationship between these two things, and for the first time, teachers were encouraged to teach issues that were relevant to the Grenadian context and beneficial to the Grenadian economy, from a Grenadian perspective.

[130] The PRG had officially established diplomatic relations with Cuba on 11 April 1979.

[131] These funds, though substantial, would still prove to be insufficient, and the PRG would be forced to request financial aid from the International Monetary Fund in 1983 by way of a Structural Adjustment Program, as they could not generate enough income to pay their many debts.

Revolutionary Propaganda in Music

Music historically has been an integral component of revolutionary activity and is often fundamentally involved with the propagation of revolutionary thought: as a means of disseminating propaganda and ideals, as a means of teaching revolutionary values, and as a means of stigmatising people and ideologies antithetical to those of the revolutionaries. I will now explore the central role music played in constructing and representing Grenadian identities during the revolutionary period (1979-1983), examining how revolutionaries and the revolutionary government facilitated the transmission of selective musical practices in an attempt to nurture pro-revolutionary identities amongst the Grenadian public. I begin with a brief review of descriptions and analyses of these events, to 'set the scene'.

Review

To invoke Christopher Small once again, musicking during the revolutionary period was a way for revolutionaries to act out their ideal relationships amongst themselves, thereby strengthening and confirming their identities as 'revolutionary'. Bishop and the People's Revolutionary Government (PRG) attempted to cultivate revolutionary Grenadian identities in part by promoting revolutionary ideals through propaganda music; in 'appropriating and reunderstanding' (Small, 2010) pre-existing musics and using them toward new ends; and in attempting to suppress certain musics that seemed opposed to revolutionary ideologies.

Betty LaDuke, in an article on women, art, and culture in revolutionary Grenada, argues that the arts became 'an effective arm' of the revolutionary leadership (LaDuke, 1984, p. 37), and indeed, the PRG evidently used music in many ways to promote revolutionary ambitions and philosophies. Musicking announced change from the first moment; Steele remarks that, 'before the sun was very high [the

day of the revolution], jubilant crowds danced in the streets, singing, "Freedom Come, Gairy Go, Gairy gone with the UFO"' (Steele, 2003, p. 382), and into the night, according to Collins, festivities could be heard across the island, with groups of people blowing into conch shells and celebrating in the streets (Collins, 1990, p. 533). My interviews with informants and simultaneous analysis of documents reveal that throughout the revolutionary years that followed, numerous cultural initiatives began, such as the National Folk Choir, and Marryshow Theatre, the first theatre facility in Grenada. Programmes were also begun to teach Grenadian patois, folk songs and dances, and other types of music approved and endorsed by the government. According to one interviewee, commercial folk became more popular (interview with a saxophonist, April 18, 2011), and local artistes and performance groups performed extensively at political rallies and cultural events both in Grenada and abroad in the Caribbean, South America, the United Kingdom, Canada, and the United States.[132]

Gail Pool, in her analysis of how culture, language, and politics are changed after the 'creation of a revolutionary consciousness', examines how people 'felt' to be involved in the Grenada revolution, asking, 'How much did the revolution spring from Grenadian culture and how much was externally assembled?', and exploring the relationship between the 'creative force' and the 'political economy' (Pool, 1994, p. 76). She notes that few scholars have examined how much of Grenada's revolution was shaped by its culture (Pool, 1994, p. 74), despite the government's overt recognition of the importance of song and poetry, and the subsequent political exploitation of calypso and reggae in particular, and asserts that to understand Grenada's revolution, one *must* investigate Grenadian culture as used in symbol and

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[132] For example, Spice Island Youthquake, a very successful folk group that was formed in 1980 in Gouyave, St John's, toured across Europe and North America, and the National Folk Choir toured the United States and Canada.

ritual, and the revolution as a symbol of Grenadian culture (Pool, 1994, p. 80). Following this, I will therefore here provide an overview of some of the literature examining the role of Grenada's culture during the revolution.

Bishop and the NJM had first encouraged cultural activities in music and the arts in their 1974 'Principle',[133] 'Full Development of the People's Talents, Abilities and Culture' (McLean, 1986, p. 97), and had immediately begun the process of developing a postcolonial identity upon taking leadership in part by using artforms, according to Miller's account of cultural activity during the revolution (Miller, 2007). Although the PRG did not have a clear cultural policy, as they did for the economic and political systems in Grenada, the overall aim in the cultural restructuring described above was to expand the traditional and grassroots artforms (Henry, 1990), and the PRG encouraged musicians as well as 'nonmusicians' to participate in musicking that endorsed revolutionary ideologies and revolutionary identity. Drawing from an article by Grenadian journalist Alister Hughes, Pasley agrees, suggesting that the PRG placed importance on the value of Grenadian culture and encouraged activities that would develop national unity, promote socialist values and ideals, and attack cultural imperialism (Pasley, 1992). McLean further supports this, noting that although not all calypsonians 'accepted the Revolutionary [*sic*] calling', the revolution seemed to encourage 'creative talent' in music, art, and literature (McLean, 1986, p. 97). From this scholarship, which was informative for my own study, we can see that Bishop and the PRG at times privileged certain Grenadian musics, and were also keen on developing a postcolonial identity and promoting nationalism using the arts, in part, to encourage this identity.

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[133] The NJM developed numerous 'Principles' during their existence, which functioned as aims and mandates for the party.

My own analysis of documents from the revolutionary period, including newspaper articles, pamphlets and brochures, song lyrics, speeches by Bishop and others, and interviewee data, provide compelling evidence that the People's Revolutionary Government, as well as the revolutionary Grenadians, also used specific pro-revolutionary musicking explicitly and extensively to promote revolutionary ideology and identity, and this was successful on mainland Grenada. For example, in 1982, Bishop called upon Grenadians, Carriacouans, and Petite Martiniquans to understand the notion of culture anew, stating that for centuries, Caribbean culture had been 'unrecognised, unrecorded or at best viewed with contempt', both within the Caribbean countries as well as by the world at large, but that under the revolution there came about a 'cultural regeneration' born of increased self-expression and education (Bishop, 1982, speech). This emphasis on culture, according to Bishop, was to bring together the Grenadians, as well as the Carriacouans and the Petite Martiniquans, through a variety of state-sponsored events, including a cultural month, August (Miller, 2000, p. 85), and a National Day of Culture, 7 November 1982. At the opening address for the Caribbean Conference of Intellectual Workers[134] on 20 November 1982, Bishop gave a speech entitled 'For the Cultural Sovereignty of the Caribbean People!', in which he promoted the 'long-submerged' Grenadian cultural identity thus:

> For culture is the arts and the deeper processes which throw up the arts. All of our shared habits, all of our collective responses to our common situation, all of these are culture. And today in Grenada our long-submerged culture is surfacing to the light of day, but it is also growing new leaves, new flowers. We are walking in new ways that are our ways… LONG LIVE INTELLECTUAL AND CULTURAL WORKERS OF OUR CARIBBEAN, LATIN AMERICA AND THE WORLD! LONG LIVE THE STRUGGLES OF OUR PEOPLE FOR THE FULLEST CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT!

By aiming to promote 'togetherness' amongst the Grenadians, Carriacouans, and Petite Martiniquans through the nurturing of cultural practices, and by claiming that

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[134] This conference featured many performances by singers, poets, and more.

until this moment in history, Grenadian culture and cultural identity were apparently unknown, unacknowledged, or even disliked, Bishop was accomplishing two things: promoting Grenadian (revolutionary) cultural identity as being common to all Grenadians (while valorising the struggles of 'our people' in cultural development), as well as demonising those who did not recognise, record, or like Caribbean culture and those who were responsible for it's being oppressed – namely, the colonising British, and the culturally penetrative Americans.

Revolutionary Calypso

During the revolutionary years, the standard of calypsonians and calypso music rose (Searle, 1983),[135] local calypsonians enjoyed popularity, and calypsos played an integral role in promoting revolutionary ideology and identity. The muzzling that some calypsonians had faced under Gairy's rule was lifted, and many artistes wrote music with renewed vigour, integrating revolutionary propaganda into their music, embracing the 'huge uproar of nationalism' described by the interviewee below (interview with a saxophonist, 18 April 2011), and, according to Kenyan writer Ngũgí wa Thiong'o, 'seiz[ing] back the tools of their self-definition!' (Ngũgí wa Thiong'o, forward in Searle, 1984, p. xv). In exploring this newfound nationalism, many Grenadians seemed to ask 'What is *us*?' – many increasingly rejecting American and British culture, and reconstruing Grenadians and Grenadian identity as strong and autonomous, and this was powerful in ways unprecedented:

> After 1979, March 1979, you had a huge uproar of nationalism. Grenadian people, after the revolution, for the first time…people felt, 'This is mine. I fought for it. I shed blood, I stood up, I struggle, I stood for it,' whatever. So there was a huge sense of nationalism. And part of that nationalism transcended into Grenadian music – What is us? The drumming, the old [music].

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[135] For example, for the first time, Grenadian calypsos became 'road marches' (see page 1) during Carnival, rather than Trinidadian calypsos, as described to me by one informant.

In order to persuade people to identify with a revolutionary vision of
Grenadian identity, revolutionary calypsonians from all over the country sang
calypsos in support of the 'revo', with titles such as 'Revolution Song', 'We Broke
the Chains', 'Three Years Ago', 'Jumping Up in the August Rain', *Alliamanda*, and
'Stand up Dey[136] and Take the Weight of the Revo'.[137] Such songs proclaimed the
successes of the revolution, as with the calypsos below which are provided by Chris
Searle (1984); in this first one, Lord Melody proclaims that there is constant change in
Grenadian revolutionary society:

Since after the revolution
We have a change in every direction,
Look around us and you will see
The rise in our economy,
It's a miracle, some people does say,
Believe it or not we are on our way.

Grenada is moving fast
We reaching somewhere at last
Our motto we must remember
'Forward ever and backward never!'

Lord Melody
Title Unknown
(Grenada Calypso, c. 1979-1983)[138]

Another, 'Freedom Day' by Flying Turkey, went so far as to declare the revolution as
being more important than life itself; according to Turkey, no one was afraid to die if
it meant that the revolution could be successful:

'Revolution, Revolution!' They cry,
Everybody fighting, don't know who go die.
Tuesday, March 13th 1979
Is a day every West Indian will bear in mind,
When a people driven with their backs to the wall
Responded in answer to their leaders' call,
Smooth and efficient, spontaneous was their cry,
No-one was afraid then to die.

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[136] 'Dey' can mean either 'they' or 'there', depending on the context.
[137] These songs were mentioned to me by members of the SpiceIslander Talkshop in January 2013.
[138] Transcription by Searle (1984).

Flying Turkey
'Freedom Day'
(Grenada Calypso, 1981)[139]

Flying Turkey, in a 1983 interview with Chris Searle, said that:

> The people are extremely critical in these times, and it confirms that calypso is aiding the education of the masses…People want to hear you come out in defence of the Revolution [sic], people want to hear you come out and rage hostility upon imperialism, rage hostility upon Reagan and American interventionist attitudes (interview with Flying Turkey, Searle, 1983, pp. 54, 58).

Other calypsos criticised anti-revolutionary rumourmongers,[140] or described some of the more serious destabilisation attempts: the song 'Bernadette', for example, tells the story of Bernadette Bailey, a child killed in a bombing on 19 June 1980 that was intended for the PRG leadership. In these cases, music was being used not only as pro-revolutionary propaganda, but also to ostracise and vilify those who were against the revolution, or who aimed to destabilise it.

As already detailed in this thesis, the calypsonian is not simply a singer. Rather, the calypsonian is understood to be a reporter and a critic of social truths: the person society depends upon – or at least used to – to hear about and understand social and political concerns. This is observed in the calypso 'Knowledge' by Dr Dix, also transcribed by Searle (1984), which exhorts Grenadians to teach knowledge and values via the medium of calypso music:

Teach us what we want to know,
Sing it in calypso.
Education is production,
So forward this revolution!

Dr Dix
'Knowledge'
(Grenada Calypso, 1982)[141]

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[139] Transcription by Searle (1984).
[140] For example, one of my informants told me of a song intriguingly entitled 'Heavy Manners Cecilia'. I was unable to locate the text but one can imagine what these 'heavy manners' might indicate in this context.
[141] Transcription by Searle (1984).

Information deployed by calypsonians is often perceived in Grenadian society as being truthful, authentic, and critical. Especially given that the Grenadian majority looked to Bishop and the PRG to bring prosperity to Grenada, the calypsos that praised the government and exalted the revolution were likely taken as truths by many people.

Revolutionary Reggae and Other Songs

Reggae, a Jamaican musical genre characterised by rhythm guitar and the 'one-drop' rhythm, often focuses on issues of social justice and politics. This genre was also popular in Grenada during the revolution, particularly with Grenada's Rastafari population. According to my informants, various reggaes were written in Grenada during these years describing the support of the 'Rastas' (Rastafari) in 'we revo', including the songs 'Dreadlocks on the PRA' and 'Natty Dread in Ah PRA'. 'Natty Dread in Ah PRA' was an extremely popular reggae by a St Patrick's-based band called The Magnificent Six (lyrics by Locksley Lobo Logie). The Governor General at the time, Paul Scoon, recalls in his memoires that the song was played with 'constant regularity' on Radio Free Grenada (Scoon, 2003). In this song, the singer sings that he has never seen such happiness amongst his people (the 'Natty Dread', or 'dreadlocked') now that Gairy (the 'obeah[142] man', or someone who uses magic for evil), who used to oppress the Rastafari, is gone and the People's Revolutionary Army, who embraces the Rastafari (or at least, did during the time of this song), is in power.[143] The chorus, 'children all rejoice', refers to the Rastafari people regarding themselves as being the 'Children of Israel':

Is a long, long time me never see Natty Dread so happy, oh-wey!

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[142] Obeah is an African-based spirituality in which practitioners use the powers of 'magic' or 'witchcraft' for benevolent or malevolent purposes.
[143] According to Campbell, more than 400 Rastafari were involved in the overthrow of the Gairy regime (Campbell, 1987).

A long, long time me never see Natty Natty so gay. Why?
Because I say de obeah man use to press Natty down in our country, yeah
But Natty up wid[144] he gun an' he dread in ah PRA.

So children all rejoice, rejoice
Children all rejoice, see de light ah come
Rastaman, rejoice, rejoice
Rastaman rejoice, I say it's de hour of de freedom!

The Magnificent Six
'Natty Dread in Ah PRA'
(Grenada Reggae, c. 1979-1983)[145]

In addition to the 'pro-revo' music being written and performed within Grenada, my informants also related that propaganda songs from foreign countries became very popular, such as the Jamaican PNP campaign song 'The Message' by Neville Martin. Various calypsonians located abroad wrote pro-revolutionary songs that proclaimed the greatness of Bishop and of the revolutionary Grenadian people as well, such as '(Wanted) Dead or Alive' (1980) and 'Grenada Under Siege' (1983) by Mighty Sparrow, and some foreign artistes sympathetic to the cause of the revolution, such as Brother Resistance and the Network Riddim Band, came to Grenada to perform.

Speaking to Patricia Moonsammy about their 'powerful experience' singing at the first Festival of the Revolution in 1980, the Trinidadian Rapso artistes Brother Resistance and the Network Riddum Band described the experience of connecting with Grenada and Grenadians and having 'hundreds and hundreds' of people join in singing the lyrics below as being the 'first time' they felt 'a sense of [their] worth' (Moonsammy, 2009, pp. 95-96):

Grenada be strong, strong,
Grenada be brave and strong,
Forward together, backward never,[146]

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[144] With.
[145] Transcription by the author.
[146] This was one of many popular slogans of the PRG.

Forward together, backward never...

Brother Resistance and the Network Riddum Band
Title Unknown
(Trinidadian Rapso, 1980)

The significance of other West Indians singing in support of Grenada's revolution

should not be underrated, as some of my interviewees explained to me that

Grenadians have sometimes been 'teased' by other Caribbean peoples (especially

Trinidadians) for being 'small islander'. This powerful experience, in which

Grenadians and non-Grenadians alike came together to affirm revolutionary ideals

and to express solidarity with the revolutionaries and their leaders, is yet another

example of acting out desired relationships (in this case, pro-revolutionary

relationships) – and the identities developed within those relationships – through

music.

 The revolutionaries appropriated many Grenadian and non-Grenadian

revolutionary songs for their own purposes, or had artistes specifically write or re-

write songs to proclaim the virtues of the revolutionary government, as with the

revolutionary song 'Forward March', originally by Jamaican Barry Chevannes about

his country and adapted by Grenadians for their revolution:

And now Grenadians have caught their vision
End misery and oppression
So we fill Grenada full with our song
Forward march, forward march
Forward march against imperialism

Barry Chevannes
'Forward March'
(Revolutionary Anthem, c. 1979-1983)[147]

 These songs functioned to promote revolutionary thought and identity, while

also articulating the goals and morals of the revolution, as described by this

interviewee:

> '79-'83 there was another transformation here, [music] was a tool, for the
> want of a better word, it was a good propaganda machinery. When you were

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[147] Transcription by anonymous; taken from The Grenadian Revolution Online (2010) and edited by
the author.

able to speak to the history and the present experiences of people, at the time, it really was able, it was well-used [by the government] in terms of expressing the purpose of the revolution, and articulating the goals of the revolution. So you have a very good propaganda machine.

<div align="right">Interview with a Ministry of Culture employee
13 April 2011</div>

Indeed, Bishop and the PRG did choose their music carefully, as this informant told me – even the motto 'forward ever, backward never!' itself was appropriated from a reggae song of the same name by Jacob Miller and the Inner Circle band, according to one informant (online correspondence with a SpiceIslander Talkshop poster, 4 January 2013) – not only as a means of propaganda and revolutionary education, but also, in effect, as a means of cultivating 'revolutionary' and 'pro-government' identities, in this interviewee's opinion:

Well, even the moral of the revolution, if you were here in Grenada and you listened to the music that was on the radio, 'throw down your arms and *come*'…I mean, they selected their music very, very carefully, to get the messages that they wanted. And to get the population in the frame of mind to respond in the ways that they wanted them to respond. And the music was powerful like that.

<div align="right">Interview with a jazz musician
28 April 2011</div>

Creating, appropriating, and recontextualising the music-as-object were not the only factors in claiming, inventing, and presenting revolutionary identities, however; in fact, music-as-revolution – not *representing* revolution but rather revolution as it happens *within and through* the musicking process – played an important role in transformations of identity as well. Ideologies of the 'revo' were therefore expressed in music representation and also within the musicking process. As one interviewee claimed, some music actually 'has a revolution when you hear it':

I think that the revolution, it was a social movement. It was a socialist adaption to the revolution and everything. There were songs that were created that *has* a revolution when you hear it. Each day that comes on the air or the radio, it was this revolutionary song. You know, that moved, I mean, there was songs composed just for revolution, you know. So that in itself is an indoctrination to a new way of thinking.

This can be interpreted in two ways. One is that there was a simultaneous cultural revolution during the political revolution, a claim affirmed by Valdon Boldeau, a Grenadian poet and singer, in his assertion that, 'It is clearly a revolution in culture too, and it's reflecting the real life of the people' (Boldeau, 1982, p. 8, as cited in Pool, 1994, p. 83). The second interpretation is that there could be a revolution in the *hearing* of the music; perhaps that there was something revolutionary in the way that the music sounded, and also, perhaps that the *act* of hearing (to once again invoke Small) was revolutionary. The idea that the act of hearing music constitutes revolution suggests, from a Smallian perspective, that in hearing, performing, or composing revolutionary music, revolutionary Grenadians were acting out desired revolutionary relationships and identities (Small, 1998).

The feeling of 'oneness' that can occur during the act of musicking, as introduced in Chapter 3, is explained by Laurence (drawing from Edith Stein (1917, 1922)) as sometimes arising from an emotional 'wave' or contagion. This nicely describes what undoubtedly happened amongst musickers at countless revolutionary rallies and indeed occurs in many instances of musicking – a widespread feeling of togetherness and collective 'rightness': this is who we are, and these actions are appropriate in representing (and constructing) who we are. Laurence elaborates, suggesting that exploiting this experience of emotion can be used to bring people together, for purposes that may not always be noble:

> Our feelings of togetherness in musical experiences can be caused by a kind of emotional 'wave' or contagion that sweeps through us, that in fact allows us to be bent to other peoples' wills, and that may actually underly this 'music brings us together/makes friends' idea…. Music can 'bring people together', for example through that emotional wave, [though] the activity of music can also alienate just as easily…'[B]ring them together and what then?'; 'bring people together but for how long'; – 'bring them together, but at whose bidding?' (Laurence, 2013a).

This illuminates the ways in which revolutionary music could be used by the government as a vehicle to propagandise Grenadians into revolutionary thinking in an extremely persuasive way, and indeed, informants described to me that pro-revolution musicking experiences did at times for some people have this 'brainwashing' effect, and certainly the results were not always 'friendly'.

The PRG and its supporters nurtured pro-revolutionary ideals through the promotion, performance, and appropriation of calypsos, reggae music, and other songs with revolutionary themes. However, the cultivation and management of musicking and ideology by the government was, just as during the time of Gairy, controversial. The efforts of the revolutionaries to indoctrinate Grenadians into revolutionary ideology and identity via propaganda within musicking was by no means an unmitigated success, and was met with resistance by some anti-revolutionaries. The government, anxious to subdue these anti-revolutionaries, supressed or appropriated and recontextualised some musics that may have been seen as counter-revolutionary as a further means of control and display of power, as we will next see.

Resistance to Anti-Revolutionary Ideology in Music

During Grenada's revolutionary period, opposition to 'anti-revolutionary' or 'destabilist' values were expressed in music in overt ways, for example, lyrical content, as well as in less obvious ways, as in deliberately refusing to perform or listen to music that was considered to be antithetical to the revolution. Music that was perceived as 'anti-revolutionary' was also at times unambiguously discouraged by the government (and indeed, by many in the general population), and sometimes those who attempted to engage with such musics were intimidated, harassed, or were prohibited from doing so, since the ideologies that these musics represented to many Grenadians were considered to be not only anti-revolutionary and but also even dangerous, as we will see. Certain music, although considered acceptable prior to the

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revolution, was therefore sometimes suppressed or stigmatised by the revolutionaries, since the delineated meanings (Green, 1988/2008) of some of these musics were antithetical to the aims and values of the revolution.

For example, radio broadcasters for Grenada's sole radio station at the time, Radio Free Grenada, apparently felt intense pressure to produce only 'pro-revo' music; although few calypsos during this time were critical of the revolutionary government, any songs that were deemed to have anti-revolutionary lyrics were banned (Pool, 1994). Revolutions and censorship have always gone hand-in-hand, and the radio was thus used as a political tool during the revolutionary years, just as it had been during the Gairy years. However, the calypsonians who had sung against Gairy's government or who had originated from 'We Tent' (a revolutionary calypso tent established by Flying Turkey and others), once prohibited, were now embraced, promoted, and played. Those from 'we tent' used their newfound freedom to criticise the violence and 'backward' nature of the Gairyites.

In addition to being exploited extensively as a propaganda tool during the revolution, music was therefore also used, both by the government and by the revolutionaries, as a means of fighting non-revolutionary ideologies: the PRG promoted music that was not just 'pro-revo', but also anti-American, anti-colonialist, and anti-Gairy in sentiment. For, as previously expressed, a society can find a common identity in a common adversary, and can affirm its own identity in asserting what it is *not*; as Mans suggests, 'I or we in relation to you or they' (Mans, 2009, p. 95). The revolutionaries accordingly at times construed people who did not sing, play, or listen to pro-revolutionary music, or who sang, played, or listened to music deemed to be 'counter-revolutionary', as having an 'anti-revolutionary' identity: effectively,

someone who was backward thinking, who was against equality and who was not ethically-minded, and who aimed to destabilise and undo the good of 'we revo'.

Anti-Americanism in Music

Grenadian-American relations were already somewhat tense prior to the revolution, and after the overthrow, these relations became significantly more strained. Despite Grenada's small size (around 100,000 people), its increasingly close relationship with Cuba represented a threat to the US's endeavours to control the 'communist menace'; additionally, the Caribbean Sea was a major channel for American oil imports. Contributing to this distrust were the five military agreements between Grenada, Russia, Cuba, and North Korea, which also facilitated Grenada's rapid build up of arms. To maintain American hegemony in the Caribbean region, the US began a number of initiatives with the intention of intimidating Grenada and its leadership into what the American government considered to be 'civilised democracy'; these included denying Grenada monetary aid and carrying out intimidating military manoeuvres.

The PRG, already adverse to American ideology, took an ever more critical view of American influence and values as the revolution went on, although this was not directed at the expatriate community in Grenada, according to one informant (e-mail correspondence with a music teacher, 10 June 2013)). In a 1982 speech, Bishop compared American media and advertising to a 'drug', and stated that the defence of Grenada's revolutionary struggle would be achieved in part by the work of a cultural army which would give the revolution significance:

> Our people can be so softened up, so drugged by the hypnosis of American television, American advertising and capitalist consumerism, that some really have no objection to becoming the backyard of the U.S. … In our view, there are at least two armies, the military army and the cultural army. The revolution must be defended; but we cannot train young comrades in the use of weapons to create and defend a revolutionary struggle unless we can also make it clear to them what is the meaning, the true nature of that struggle. This task of

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> defending and clarifying the meaning and context of a revolutionary struggle must be the task of our cultural army. And it is indispensable (Bishop, 1982, speech).

The musicians we might identify as the members of Bishop's 'cultural army' seem to have given meaning to the revolution in part through political songs of an overtly didactic character. In some cases these songs were quite obviously anti-American, and indeed, during the revolutionary years in Grenada, music (and particularly calypso) was at times used as a means of attack on American hegemony, imperialism, and cultural penetration in Grenada and the greater Caribbean region by way of anti-American lyrics, and also extra-musical features that took place during musical performances that conveyed anti-Americanism (for example, speeches, poetry, slogans, artwork, and dramatic presentations). Additionally, listening to or performing certain American music was at times strongly discouraged by the revolutionaries.

Many calypsos with blatantly anti-American sentiment were composed during the revolutionary years in Grenada. Song titles included: 'Just Come and Meet Us in the Battlefield', 'One Free Grenada', 'Feedback on Reagan', 'No Imperialism', 'AK Speaking Spanish', 'Reagan Has a Boat', 'Let Them Come', 'We Will Bury Them in the Sea', 'Four Hundred Years', 'No Bother', and 'Fedon Struggle'.[148] One calypsonian, a Grenadian living in Trinidad named Mighty Valentino, composed a number of anti-American and revolutionary songs; his calypso 'Down with the CBI', in which he accuses America of using Grenada as a pawn to get to Cuba, includes the following anti-American lyrics:

You trying to get at Cuba
So you picking on Grenada
Spreading false propaganda
You're a destabilizer [*sic*]
Your military manoeuvres
In our territorial areas

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[148] Thanks to the SpiceIslander TalkShop posters for providing these song titles.

Like you waiting to pull the trigger
As you did on Argentina

Mighty Valentino
'Down with the CBI'
(Grenada/Trinidad Calypso, 1983)[149]

In this song, the lyrics about Argentina refer to the United States' backing of the United Kingdom (rather than Argentina) during the Falklands War of 1982, in which the US prohibited arms sales to Argentina, and provided the United Kingdom with military equipment, thereby 'pulling the trigger', as Mighty Valentino says, on Argentina.

In addition to anti-American propaganda in calypsos and other songs, performing American music during the revolution was, at times, discouraged, both by the government as well as amongst the revolutionaries. Listening to certain American music was perceived by some revolutionaries as embracing American and imperialist identities and ideals. For this reason, American music was generally not performed at public events, on the radio, or sung at competitions (interview with a saxophonist, April 18, 2011), although specific types of American music remained popular amongst the public in certain contexts (one informant, for example, told me that 'we were going to boogie all night' to disco music, despite disco not being particularly representative of revolutionary ideology (e-mail correspondence with an historian, 23 May 2013).

The use of music as a means of resistance to American ideologies and values was substantiated by many interviewees with whom I discussed the role and influence of American music during and after the revolution. As an example, one interviewee told me that members of the Grenadian public were 'expected' to be conscious of not

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[149] Transcription by Rohlehr (2007).

acting 'American' or embracing American attitudes, lest there possibly be

consequences from the government or from the pro-revolution Grenadian public:

> [American music] started in the 70s, coming in. But then with the revolution thing it kinda died off because then now you started to talk about, you know, all this conscious, this and that sort of a certain things, you were anti-American, certain things you're not pushing. But then after '83, when they had the invasion and everything, and things went back to basically like it was.
> Interview with a chorister
> 26 March 2011

Thus, according to this informant, American music was at times stigmatised because

people were expected to be 'consciously' anti-American. Similarly, another

interviewee, from the Royal Grenada Police Force Band, recounted to me that he had

to be cautious about what music he played and arranged during the revolution; one or

two American songs were acceptable – so long as they were agreeable to the PRG's

ideology:

> During the revolution, because government at the time was sort of anti-American, the Police Band…had to be careful what we played. And I was an integral part, and I was arranging some of the music and all of that stuff, but we just had to be careful what kinds of songs we select. You know, but we still played one or two songs; I remember in…'82 I wrote Michael Jackson's 'Thriller'.
> Interview with a member of the Royal Grenada Police Force Band
> 25 April 2011

Other memories of anti-Americanism during the revolution were much more

serious. One chorister with whom I spoke (who was against the revolution and who

eventually fled the country to escape incarceration for his political views) gave a

description of Grenadians' opinions of Reagan, the Americans, and indeed all white

people during the revolution as follows:

> [They say] Reagan, he was what…imperialist! Racist! A fascist! …And whether or not you are Canadian, you are Scandinavian, you are American, you all come under one umbrella because of your *pigmentation*.
> Interview with a chorister
> 5 May 2011

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This informant also described to me how the white (expatriate) people with whom he sang in the Grenada Music Society were at times ostracised because of their 'pigmentation'. According to him, their whiteness led to an American and imperialist – *not* Grenadian – identity being ascribed to them.

The anti-imperialist views of the government, according to some of my interviewees, were far-reaching, to the point where people who did not share these beliefs were sometimes blacklisted, being forced to emigrate or else remain silent about their political views. There were many Grenadians, such as the informant above, who left the island during this time for fear of persecution. The 'weight of the revo' – from the government and also from the public – could be terribly powerful, and terribly dangerous. Those who did not agree risked being ostracised, incarcerated, or even attacked. Nonetheless, although the government maintained an anti-imperialist (and therefore anti-American) policy, American newspapers still were sold, American music still was played on other radio stations available in Grenada, and Grenadians still spoke with and visited friends and relatives living in the United States.

During the revolutionary years, then, was fostered a climate in which it was sometimes difficult to engage with American music without feeling intimidation from certain members of the government or members of the Grenadian public. To perform or to listen to American music could be seen as affirming American identity and ideals while rejecting, even belittling, revolutionary Grenadian identity and ideals. The revolutionary years in Grenada, then, caused a decline in the popularity of American music, although there are many layers as to why this decline occurred, and why some people still engaged with American music and media despite subscribing to revolutionary ideology.

The revolutionary government often used local cultural forms to promote 'cultural decolonisation', according to Miller, therein concomitantly devaluing Grenada's British heritage and its colonial identity (Miller, 2007, p. 21). Henry points out that colonial Grenada needed a culture that legitimated colonial authority in order successfully to maintain a ruling minority whose members controlled economic life, to keep slaves outnumbering them many times over, and to exterminate the indigenous Kalinago (Carib) population (Henry, 1990). He writes that the stratification of this system, and the cultural barriers and cultural system failures therein, gave rise to intimidation and violence, which took shape in racism, classicism, and perceived ethnic superiority. Thus, the music of the colonial slave masters, which was primarily Western classical music (McDaniel, 1998) had a multiplicity of delineated meanings (see Green (1988/2008), Chapter 1) in revolutionary Grenada (and indeed, these still exist to the present day). For the PRG and its supporters, this music represented the colonial past: imagined or real collective memories of powerlessness, racism, classism, and the cruelty of 'massa'. For some people, to endorse 'colonial' music was to endorse these things, and also to recognise the control that colonial powers had over Grenada, both pre- and post-independence.

For others, however, music from colonial times represented the power, wealth, and elite status toward which many Grenadians aspired, and this music was thus performed and appreciated by the Grenadians who understood it to have these meanings and contexts. This is still the case. Some of my older interviewees, usually from wealthier backgrounds, described to me taking classical piano lessons as children, and listening to records of classical music on Sunday afternoons; implicit here is their acceptance of the idea that classical music has an association with

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affluence and power. These interviewees also told me that they cared little for Grenadian popular music, such as soca, calypso, and steel pan, and did not participate in Carnival, although many indicated that they understood the importance of these artforms to other Grenadians, and the role these artforms had and have in Grenadian culture and identity. Although my informants did not state this overtly, it was clear that for these interviewees, colonial music remains closely associated with power, affluence, respect, and admiration for these people, whereas traditional and popular Grenadian music seem to represent the powerlessness, poverty, disrespect, and rejection they seek to leave behind. This was also made evident in the Ministry of Culture's decision to promote Western classical music rather than West Indian artforms until recently.

Although the PRG at times discouraged 'colonial' music and the values and identities therein, some Grenadians nevertheless continued to engage with this music during the revolution. On various occasions there were direct attempts to suppress this musicking; an example of this was described by a former member of the Grenada Music Society, a now-defunct musical group founded by Canadian Arthur Thompson that staged Gilbert and Sullivan productions. The Music Society was forced to change their venue mere hours before a show due to governmental pressure: the school principal, in whose auditorium the show was to take place, upon being intimidated by governmental authorities, claimed suddenly that the auditorium was going to be used for a school function. After finding a new venue, urgently renting a car and sound system to inform people of this new venue (driving around with a megaphone is still occasionally a means of disseminating information; I saw this three times during my stay in Grenada), and moving into it, my interviewee subsequently learned that on the night of the show, the original location – the school – was in fact dark; no such

function had taken place. The frightened principal had not wanted to appear

supportive of colonial music, despite the fact that, as this older expatriate interviewee

said to me bitterly, the government did not look beyond the origin of the music to the

meaning of the music itself:

> Interviewer: Why were they anti-music-society?
>
> Interviewee: Colonial. Gilbert & Sullivan. What they didn't understand was
> that Gilbert & Sullivan spent their entire careers lampooning the British
> government of the day. So it wasn't like it was something that supported
> colonialism, but nevertheless, they didn't know.
>
> <div align="right">Interview with a classical singer
4 April 2011</div>

Once again, we can see the meaning of music extending beyond the lyrics to the

delineated meanings of socio-political background, as well as the implications of the

recontextualisation of British colonial music in black Grenadian society.

Anti-Gairy Music

One of the primary objectives of Bishop and the PRG in the immediate days and

weeks after the revolution was to quell all support for Gairy and his government, for,

in spite of Gairy's violence, squandering, and eccentricities, he still had supporters on

the island even after the revolution had taken hold and Gairy was in exile. During this

time, many revolutionary calypsonians wrote anti-Gairy calypsos that promoted

revolutionary ideology and attempted to convince former 'Gairyites' to identify with

revolutionary values, including songs such as 'Freedom Struggle', 'Three Years in the

Sun', 'Free Grenada', and '(Wanted) Dead or Alive'. In the calypso 'Freedom

Struggle', for example, Gairy is exposed as a liar: a tyrant who claimed he was

fighting for freedom, but when Grenada supported him they did not, as promised,

become 'free'. Rather, they became more oppressed: a fact to which Grenadians were

blind. The calypso references arson ('sky red'), death, looting, and the wrath of the

Mongoose Gang:

In 1951, the dictator came say he fighting freedom
And he got everybody right behind he.
But all we got was sky red,
And some are [*sic*] we foreparents
Look they fall dead.
You know, we couldn't see the man,
Really blind we!

Struggle, struggle for rights,
Struggle, struggle for freedom
Through struggle we overcome dictatorship to everlasting freedom
Let justice and equality live on, live on,
Let justice and equality live on.

As sure by now you know about the crisis in '74,
Look the man was crazy,
Independence had he,
It was Mongoose Gang on the run
Governor gone, one man get gun down
Man you should see how they loot the city
And you know the man he had guts
To tell the world that we were nuts,
And now you know is he not we.

Author Unknown
'Freedom Struggle'
(Grenada Calypso, c. 1979-1983)[150]

Another song, 'Three Years Ago', likens Gairy to an 'evil king' and the Grenadian

public to his 'slaves'. The 'golden crown' likely refers to his squandering of public

funds and self-aggrandisement, and the 'rabid band' references the often violent

Mongoose Gang who operated under him:

Three years ago in our island in the sun
There reigned an evil king with a golden crown.
He broke the country down, he with his rabid band,
And men, like slaves, they crawled on knees and hands.

So the people cried out NO; that wicked man must go
They marched the streets for days and days just so.

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[150] Transcription by anonymous; taken from The Grenadian Revolution Online (2010) and edited by the author.

How many heroes fell for a land they loved so well
And bloody scars on brave men, heads could tell.

Author Unknown
'Three Years Ago'
(Grenada Calypso, c. 1982)[151]

Other calypsos, such as Mighty Valentino's 'Free Grenada', called for Gairy's

execution as punishment for his crimes. In this song, Valentino states that Grenadians

pledge loyalty to Bishop and the revolution, and proclaims that Gairy should be killed

for his corrupt leadership:

13th of March, Tuesday 1979,
Will remain in every Grenadian mind.
Was the day the people made their motion,
And the nation supported the revolution.
Like how L'Overture free up Haiti,
And Castro free Cuba,
On that Tuesday,
Maurice Bishop free Grenada.

So long live the People's Revolution!
Thanks to Castro, the friendly Cuban,
The cry of every patriotic Grenadian,
'Eric Gairy must face an execution'
We pledge our loyalty to comrade Bishop,
For destroying a system that was corrupt.
We pledge our loyalty to comrade Bishop,
Forward ever, onward you never stop.

Mighty Valentino
'Free Grenada'
(Grenada/Trinidad Calypso, 1980)[152]

Perhaps the most accusatory was Mighty Sparrow's '(Wanted) Dead or Alive', in

which Gairy is compared over and over to tyrants such as Idi Amin, the Shah of Iran,

Bokassa, Ali Bhutto, General Somoza, and others:

The rule of the tyrants decline
The year, 1979
From Uganda to Nicaragua,

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[151] Transcription by anonymous; taken from The Grenadian Revolution Online (2010) and edited by
the author.
[152] Transcription by the author.

It's bombs and bullets all the time.
So they corrupt, so they vile,
So it's coup after coup all the while.
Human rights they violate
They think they too damn great
So in disgrace now, they live in exile!

Gairy is a wanted man,
Idi Amin is a wanted man,
Shah of Iran tried so hard to survive
He too was wanted dead or alive…

Gairy is a wanted man,
Bokassa is a wanted man,
Ali Bhutto tried so hard to survive
He too was wanted dead or alive.

Grenadian Mongoose was bad and so brave
They send the old Bishop straight to his grave
After that, well, Gairy skip town
With his diary and him obeah gown,
No more people to enslave.

Mighty Sparrow
'(Wanted) Dead or Alive'
(Grenada/Trinidad Calypso, 1980)[153]

From these anti-Gairy calypso lyrics, the message can be gleaned that the Grenadians,

who once lived under the corrupt, oppressive tyranny of a dictator who was mad, or

used witchcraft, or both, and who was responsible for squandering money and for the

violence, looting, rioting, and arson that took place during his reign, now, through

their musicking, and other cultural practices, can claim an identity as a free and

democratic people. Having overcome their struggle against Gairy for freedom, justice,

and equality, they were now willing to do anything to keep their revolutionary

Grenada moving 'forward ever, backward never'.

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[153] Transcription by the author.

Appropriation and Reunderstanding

During the revolutionary years, the government recontextualised the folk artforms that had previously been supported by Gairy and his government (see previous chapter) as 'revolutionary'; Bishop and the PRG therefore nurtured revolutionary Grenadian identity by obliging Grenadians to sing and play traditional music that had previously been associated with Gairy, now adopted and reconstructed as representative of revolutionary Grenadian ideals. In a recent article entitled *Misunderstanding and Reunderstanding*, Christopher Small (2010) discusses the appropriation and 'reunderstanding' (as Small would say) of musical works, illustrating his points with the recontextualisation of the song 'If I Had a Hammer' by supporters of the ultra-right-wing Republican Tom 'The Hammer' DeLay. In this discussion, Small laments the failure of musicologists to understand that the meaning of a song extends beyond the 'text on the page'; the text is, as he says, 'just the beginning of it' (Small, 2010). Since musical meanings are neither unchanging nor everlasting, it is only when a song is performed and understood *in each new context* – that is, the 'reunderstanding' of the work – that the 'multiple layers of meaning' within a musicking experience are able to be uncovered and explored. It is for this reason that music can be so influential (and also so dangerous), particularly during revolutionary times: with each situated and positioned performance, different meanings are conveyed and understood, and different relationships are, as Small puts it, 'explored, affirmed, and celebrated' (Small, 1998). Within these relationships, identities are created, developed, nurtured, or perhaps even abandoned.

As already discussed, memory, community, and sense of self impact the ways in which Grenadians may 'reunderstand' musicking experiences, and how they may perceive music as being appropriate and 'right' (or inappropriate and 'wrong') to take

part in, in light of the identities that they wish to construct and represent. Therefore, many varied understandings would simultaneously be in play for revolution-period musicking performances. For example, a performance of Michael Jackson's 'Thriller' by the Police Band for a Grenadian audience during the revolutionary years might represent, conceivably, 'black power' to one person, 'American imperialism' to the next, or even 'black power' *reunderstood* as 'American imperialism' to a third.

The PRG attempted to transform music associated with the Gairy era to articulate a new, revolutionary version of nationalism and Grenadianness. In this process, the musics whose meanings were less transformable, for whatever reason, declined substantially; indeed, some 'Gairyite' music (such as string band music) became all but lost when the culture of fear instilled by the PRG became so extreme that 'Gairyite' musicians went underground to avoid persecution, as explained to me by a Grenadian historian who was and is also a patron of the arts:

> After Gairy came the revolution. And people, people were so scared, that they did not want to be identified as a Gairyite. So they stopped performing and playing and everything…If they did, that culture was identified with Mr Gairy. During the revolution they all went underground. They did not play, they did not sing, they did not dance.
> Interview with a Grenadian historian and supporter of the arts
> 19 April 2011

We can see here that music and other cultural forms were indeed perceived as powerful tools in reconstructing Grenadian identity. The transmission of musics popularised during Gairy's era, and now, recontextualised, was thus important not only as a means of propaganda, but also as a means of controlling and diminishing the popularity of Gairy and his government.

In addition to the reunderstanding of Gairyite music, various interviewees described to me the endeavours of the revolutionary government, as well as of the schools, to recontextualise Christian hymns as 'revolutionary'. This was

accomplished by singing traditional hymns at the beginning of NJM political rallies; in some cases, according to one informant, these hymns were actually rewritten with revolutionary or nationalistic themes and then taught to children to sing in schools (interview with a music teacher, 26 April 2011). The singing of Christian hymns at political events was significant not just as a means of propaganda, but also as a means of gaining and exerting control over the Grenadian public.

Hymns, and their religious context, were and are meaningful to many Grenadians.[154] By reconstruing these hymns as 'revolutionary', the PRG was appropriating a type of music that spoke to Grenadian religious identity – arguably one of the most important facets of one's identity, tied as it is to basic morals, ethics, worldviews, and beliefs. A second function of appropriating and recontextualising this music was to undermine the power of the various churches,[155] since their ideologies were in some ways challenging to those of the revolutionary government, which frequently privileged science over religion; indeed, some PRG members sought to supplant the churches in their role as moral and ethical authorities.

In spite of these kinds of pressures, there were countless instances of Grenadians 'continuing on as before' – hymns were still sung at Sunday mass, American recordings were still purchased, and old calypsos were still played instead of revolutionary songs, in various times and at various places. Indeed, according to Lewis, many 'stubbornly remained Grenadians', only attending propaganda and party meetings if necessary (Lewis, 1987, p. 44). However, these were at times dangerous actions, since those deemed to be 'anti-revolutionaries' or 'destabilisers' for any reason risked being arrested and incarcerated, possibly for years.

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[154] The majority of Grenadians are Catholics or various other denominations of Christian faiths.
[155] To see a more extensive description on the relationship between the churches and the PRG, please see Pasley (1992).

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Music and Young People in the Revolutionary Era

Throughout the revolution the government privileged the involvement of young people, and young people in Grenada were thus instrumental in the success of 'we revo': for this reason, the revolution was commonly known as a 'young people's revolution', even if just by virtue of the fact that the majority of Grenada's population was under the age of 25 (65.6% in 1979, according to the Central Statistical Office in Grenada, as cited in Pool, 1994). Not only did young people by and large thus constitute the Grenadian majority, they were, arguably, the most impressionable, and the population that identified most with the revolution and its ideologies. According to Pool, the involvement of young people, of whom many had participated in the struggle against Gairy, was purposefully done so to demonstrate that the future 'belonged' to the younger generation, and that young people would be instrumental in the success of the revolution (Pool, 1994). To further this focus on young people, the PRG concentrated heavily on education, making 1980 the 'Year of Education and Production' and 1983 the 'Year of Political and Academic Education'; initiating youth programmes, such as the National Youth Organisation (NYO) and the Young Pioneers; and in general using the language of the youth (Pool, 1994).

The revolutionary government's ideologies substantially influenced the music being developed and taught in Grenada, as described by one interviewee:

> During the time of the revolution, well 1979, a transformation took place…the revolution was still kind of transforming itself and the form of education and you know, indoctrination, way of thinking, you know, influenced the type of music that would evolve around that time. Revolution, social movement, all that, changes your way of thinking.
>
> Interview with a steel pan player
> 20 April 2011

Officials of the revolutionary government such as Jacqueline Creft, who served for part of the revolutionary era as Minister of Education, appear to have attempted to

shape music and music education to fall in line with political goals:

> Jacqueline [Creft] – Jackie – would be very much interested in promoting music, because of her rural and grassroots involvement. And she would use it, insofar as she could, to aid the politics of the time.
>
> <div align="right">Interview with a politician and historian
7 May 2011</div>

The PRG thus initiated various school music programmes, music competitions, cultural festivals, and other undertakings geared specifically at young people, to teach and transmit pro-revolutionary music as well as to promote their role in the revolution and develop a revolutionary identity amongst them.[156] According to one schoolteacher, revolutionary songs were often played and sung at school instead of the Grenadian national anthem (although some teachers who opposed the revolutionary government apparently remained silent in protest), and children learned songs written (often by the teachers themselves) to promote revolutionary values, such as 'March 1979' (interview with a music teacher, 26 April 2011). One former music teacher, only half-jokingly, told me that if she had refused to teach the songs she might have been put in prison:

> Interviewee: Late seventies we had the revolution. And certainly, I mean, certainly they encouraged a lot of competitions. Local competitions. Because many people wrote songs supporting the revolution. And yours truly had to teach them in the schools.
>
> Interviewer: So you were told to –
>
> Interviewee: Yeah!...
>
> Interviewer: What if you had chosen not to teach these songs?
>
> Interviewee: Ha! I dare not! I might have been put up in the prison! (Laughs)
>
> Interviewer: That serious?

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[156] In the Carriacouan context, Miller notes in her thesis that at least since the 1960s, youth groups with a focus on sports and/or culture existed in Carriacou, and presumably also on mainland Grenada. She mentions that although according to some scholars, youth groups during the revolutionary era are viewed as an attempt by the revolutionary government as a means by which Bishop and the PRG could spread political propaganda to the youth, many Carriacouans with whom she spoke strongly disagreed (Miller, 2000).

Interviewee: Mmm, well, I don't know. I really don't know about that. I mean, you just really had to do it because you were told that it was all for country. And I have to say that the country was the most important thing.

<div align="right">Interview with a music teacher
26 April 2011</div>

Indeed, during the revolution, education and cultural activities, and in particular music, were done 'all for country'. Many songs were written or appropriated specifically for and by Grenada's children and youth to promote the revolution and to cultivate revolutionary identity. These included, for example, 'This Land Belongs to We', a song adapted by the Mount Gay National Youth Organization from a ballad of the same name by Dave Martin and the Trade Winds. The lyrics of the song, provided for me by a member of the SpiceIslander Talkshop, suggests that the airport, which was a highly contentious building initiative since the Americans perceived it to be a soviet military base rather than a means of increasing tourism, is as important to Grenadians as the mountains and the sea:

We ain't giving up no mountain,
We ain't giving up no sea,
We ain't giving up the airport,
That belongs to we!

Mount Gay National Youth Organization
'This Land Belongs to We'
(Grenada Revolutionary Song, c. 1979-1983)[157]

In another song, young people proclaim their place in revolutionary Grenada; their identity as 'revolutionaries' means that they are valuable, useful, and that they have purpose, namely to fight together for change:

We are children of the revolution,
Hear our song,
Our freedom song,
We will fight, fight,
Fight for our rights.

---

[157] Transcription by a member of the SpiceIslander Talkshop.

Pro-Revolutionary Song
Title Unknown
(Anonymous, c. 1979-1983)[158]

The lyrics in this song present a group of young people who have banded together in 'we-ness' (*we* are children of the revolution), exhorting others (adults) to listen to their message, and avowing that they (like adults) will fight for their rights.

Revolutionary music was further promoted through music competitions, festivals, and award ceremonies (sometimes called 'emulations'), which became commonplace and functioned as a way of teaching and disseminating revolutionary thought and propaganda through musicking, as the music teacher interviewee above described. One such event, the Festival of the Revolution, established in March 1980, celebrated the revolution through a variety of cultural displays. In sponsoring competitions and festivals, the government successfully created an atmosphere of friendly rivalry, which stimulated the performance of revolutionary music and other cultural forms. This competitive atmosphere was yet another manoeuvre by Bishop and the PRG to nurture revolutionary identities amongst the Grenadian people, and the youth in particular, and was effective in bringing together Grenadians to sing and play music that the government felt was suitable for revolutionary Grenada.

Chris Searle, in reflecting upon the involvement of children and adolescents in these cultural competitions during the revolutionary years, states that young people across the country were writing 'more and more' revolutionary calypsos for cultural competitions as the revolution went on, such as the song 'Teacher, Teach the Children' by 13 year old Mighty Switch:

This education, this education
Is the foundation of our new nation,
It's serving as a fuel for our liberation.
Children of this society

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[158] Transcription by anonymous; taken from The Grenadian Revolution Online (2010).

Take this advice from me,
The teachers around will not be for long
Take what they teach you now.

The children of today
Will be the leaders of tomorrow
If we don't teach them
Tomorrow will be sorrow
We have to mould them
We have to scold them,
We have to love them
We have to teach them –
Teacher, teach the children,
Make sure the children learn!

Mighty Switch
'Teacher, Teach the Children'
(Grenada Calypso c. 1979-1983)[159]

This calypso, written *by* a young person *for* other young people, proclaims education

as the foundation for and driving force behind revolutionary liberation, and warns that

if the youth do not take what teachers have to offer, the future will evidently be

dismal. Mighty Switch ends with a plea to educators to 'make sure the children learn',

thereby promoting a new, educated, free, forward-thinking, leadership-driven identity

for the youth of Grenada, both represented and propagated through pro-revolutionary

music.

Conclusion

During the revolutionary years, the People's Revolutionary Government and their

supporters used music as a powerful tool to convey their revolutionary ambitions and

philosophies. Musicking set up social boundaries, and through the teaching and

learning of the revolutionary music that was promoted by the government (and the

subsequent suppressing of music that was perceived as counter-revolutionary)

revolutionary identities were both constructed and represented.

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[159] Transcription by Chris Searle.

Through the (sometimes forcible) teaching of revolutionary music, and by appropriating and reunderstanding certain traditional artforms as revolutionary propaganda, Grenadians were thus able also to abandon identities associated with Gairy, with colonialism, and with American imperialism. By singing and playing music with pro-revolutionary lyrics, or by singing and playing reunderstood music that was historically significant to them (such as folk artforms or hymns), revolutionary Grenadians used music to express a sense of what was *theirs* and what was *right*. Revolutionary values, ideals, music, and culture therefore came to occupy a prominent place amongst identities during this time period in Grenada's history, and it was particularly through music that revolutionaries were able to promote and propagate a revolutionary, pro-Grenadian identity: one that was 'forward ever, backward never', that was socialist, and that was independent. Revolutionaries thus used experiences of musicking as a means by which they could embrace common cultural identities, and celebrate their relationships as revolutionary Grenadians together.

PART THREE
'Sing the chorus louder! Tell them 'bout Grenada!':[160]
Competing Musical Understandings of Present-Day Grenada

Introduction

It is a week before Carnival, about 10:00pm, and I am standing in a panyard. People mill around on this warm summer night, talking and laughing, some playing little motives on their pans, as they get ready for one of the last practices before Panorama,[161] which takes place the Thursday before Carnival. 'Good night everybody! Let's get started!' shouts Aubrey.[162] A drum kit gives four beats, and at once the chatter and laughter is replaced with running melismas played at breakneck speed; a virtuosic introduction played by Aubrey and the other tenor pannists that echoes across the field. The rest of the ensemble joins in, and the sound is incredible.

At break, around 11:30pm, we sit and eat chicken, rice, and peas together. I am amazed at the structure of the rehearsal – everyone just somehow knows what to do and when to start, and my classically-trained mind can't fathom how they remember all of the last-minute changes so late at night without notating a single thing, nor how they can figure out where and when to come in after Aubrey's instruction of, 'Start at the da-ba-da-ba-da, da-ba-da-ba-da' – no one seems lost, or confused, or worried...or even tired, for that matter. The rehearsal finishes shortly after 2:00am, and I am, to say the least, exhausted. I am incredulous to see that as I leave, more people are just arriving to help make costumes in the band house. The incredible amount of hours that many devote to preparing for Carnival – usually without recognition or pay – seems to indicate that there is a great love for Spicemas, and that the transmission of Carnival and its artforms are of great importance to many.

<div align="right">

Field Notes Reflection
3 August 2010

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<div align="center">

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I begin this fieldwork section of the thesis with an account introducing the reader to a

scene in present-day Grenada. In this scene, pannists are preparing for Panorama,

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[160] 'Sing the chorus louder! Tell them 'bout Grenada!' is a lyric from Ajamu's calypso 'My Grenada' (Ajamu, 2011).
[161] Officially called *Pantastic* for the 2010 year; however, it was still popularly referred to as Panorama.
[162] Name has been changed.

which is the biggest steel band competition of the year. I had been invited to this particular rehearsal by one of the bandleaders whom I met through the music school where I was employed.

Immediately upon climbing out of the car, and throughout the rehearsal, my perception was that steel pan must be extremely popular, at least around Carnival time: the grassy area was chaotic with cars and people, and cacophonous talking and pan playing saturated the night air. This perception would change dramatically merely days after this rehearsal, however.

<div align="center">***</div>

We arrive early at the National Stadium, wanting to get good seats for the Panorama show. Given the rehearsal I had witnessed not long before, I was sure it was going to be busy, and although it seemed unlikely that the 16,240-seat stadium would be sold out (given that this is more than 10% of Grenada's total population), I wanted to make sure that we would be in an optimal location so that I could take everything in.

We walk inside, and the stadium is nearly empty, save for us, and a few (white) tourists. I am flabbergasted.
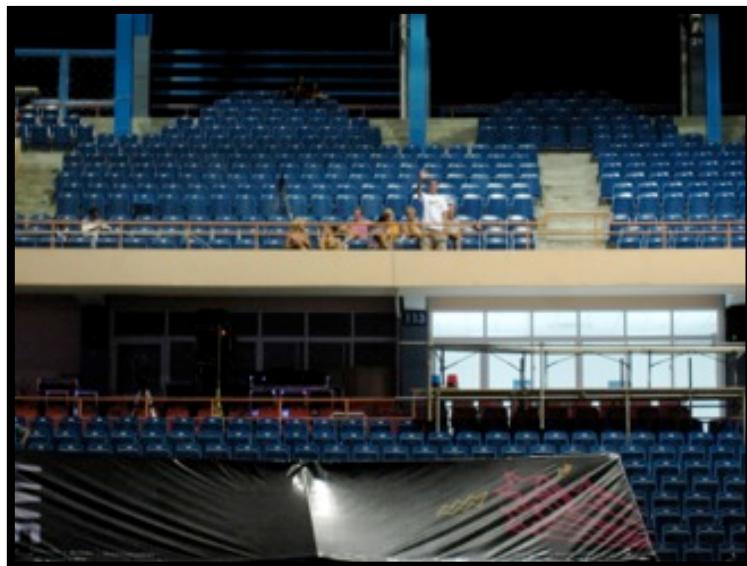
My friends and I choose the front row of the second level. We sit, and wait…and wait…and wait. We, the other white people, and a handful of Grenadians who seem to be parents of one of the Junior pan groups. Where were all the people? Had we missed something?

Some Grenadians do eventually trickle in after a time – mostly older folks and parents – and the pan show finally begins about 45 minutes after the official start time. I begin to realise that this is not just a matter of 'island time'. The turnout, even by the middle of the show, is fairly dismal. Why? Only days ago I had been sure that the love of pan was alive and well; that pan was a strong expression of Grenadian identity and culture and that it was being taught and learned to that end. Now, I am not so sure.

<div align="right">Field notes Reflection
8 August 2010</div>

<div align="center">***</div>

My original intent in my doctoral research had been to carry out a study on music education in Grenada, specifically looking at leadership roles in Grenadian music ensembles. This had been my premise for attending the steel pan rehearsal. However, over the course of Carnival week (approximately 6 weeks after my arrival in Grenada), my experiences at Panorama (just described), J'Ouvert (see introduction to Part 1), Soca Monarch (to be described in Chapter 5), Fancy Mas, and other events prompted me to reframe my research as an ethnomusicological study on musicking and identity, through the eyes of a music educationalist and with the aim of informing broader music educational research. Although I had known from previous reading that artforms popular amongst older generations were becoming increasingly less popular with young people, many of my assumptions about the role of musicking in Grenadian culture were challenged over the course of this week.

Throughout these fieldwork chapters, I will revisit the research questions I outlined in Chapter 1 (see Overview of the Study), examining the role of musicking and formal and informal music education in the construction of Grenadian identities; and the impact of perceptions of identities on musicking and its transmission in

Grenada. Building on the previous two chapters, I will return to the themes of African ancestry and nationhood, reunderstandings of music, global influence, folk music performance and authenticity, generational differences, the influence of religious belief, governmental initiatives, local social crises, the role of musicians, and the commodification of music; as well as the conflicts and controversies evident in all of these areas. In particular I will look at recent governmental initiatives concerning both traditional and popular musics, the apparent intentions behind them, and the tensions they generate. I will also consider which local traditions (folk and modern) are being targeted, and to what ends, and what seem to be the implications of these for Grenadian identities. We will now proceed to my fieldwork experience, and to an examination of musicking and identity in Grenada in the present day.

Chapter 5: The Present Day

Introduction

Many cultural events and initiatives in contemporary Grenada focus on traditional and grassroots musicking, emphasising commonalities such as nationhood and African ancestry. Yet generational tensions surround these musics and initiatives: young people often reject them, embracing instead modern black American and pan-Caribbean music such as hip hop, soca, dancehall, and reggae. Some older Grenadians, and Grenadians who belong to certain religious groups,[163] find the musics popular amongst young people to be highly problematic – in part because they perceive them to be overtaking traditional and grassroots artforms, and in part because they perceive them to represent and perpetuate problematic moral standards. Controversies of the transmission of these musics are therefore interconnected with conflicting notions of what cultural forms 'should be' representative of Grenadian identity.

In this chapter, I will examine and discuss how and why many in the older generation feel that young people are mostly uninterested in traditional and grassroots musicking. I will go on to explore the genre of soca, taking into account its themes of partying, alcohol, and sex; its enormous popularity amongst the younger generation, who claim it as 'their' music; and why many older and strictly religious Grenadians find this genre to be controversial. Important to this account is the impact that American and global culture has had on this island of just over 100,000 people since the American invasion of 1983 and the resulting conclusion of the revolutionary period in Grenada. As with chapters 1, 3, and 4, I will first give the reader an overview of the historical background to this era, detailing the end of the revolution

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[163] This will be discussed more thoroughly in the next chapter.

and the American invasion, both utterly tumultuous and profoundly traumatic events

in themselves, inevitably impinging deeply upon subsequent generations.

Historical Antecedents

In October 1982, when the revolution was in its third year, Deputy Prime Minister

Bernard Coard resigned from the Central Committee (CC) of the People's

Revolutionary Government, stating that the leadership was operating contrary to

Marxist-Leninist principles. In so doing he created an irreparable schism between

Bishop and what became known as the 'Coard faction'. Disputes continued

throughout the year, and the Central Committee, in an effort to make peace,

recommended a power-sharing agreement between Bishop and Coard, a

recommendation to which Bishop first agreed, and then rejected. On 12 October 1983,

Bishop was expelled from the Central Committee and placed (illegally) under house

arrest, along with Jacqueline Creft (a government official with whom he had a

romantic involvement and who was purportedly pregnant with his child), under the

'pretext of a threat to the Coards and other CC members' (Williams, 1996, p. 188).

News of Bishop's detention spread across the island quickly. For the Grenadian

people, according to Lamming, to arrest Bishop was to arrest 'the revolution itself', as

the PRG 'belonged' to the people, and Bishop was a 'symbol' of the people

(Lamming, 1983). By 18 October, popular pro-Bishop demonstrations were

proliferating, and schools had to be closed due to the large number of secondary

school students who were protesting, 'No Bishop! No School!'. The public

demonstrations reached their apex the next morning: by 9:00 a.m., shops, offices, and

schools had all been closed in solidarity with Bishop, and approximately 15,000

Grenadians had assembled in St George's Market Square (Williams, 1996). Of these

demonstrators, three or four thousand (of whom many were children) marched toward

Bishop's home (Williams, 1996, pp. 209-210). Upon realising that the guards had

been ordered not to shoot the public, the people stormed the house and discovered

Bishop and Creft, restrained and weak.

Bishop asked to be taken to Fort Rupert, the main military installation near St

George's and the PRA's headquarters, instead of to Market Square, where the crowd

was waiting to hear him speak. The decision to occupy Fort Rupert would prove to be

the catalyst that would instigate the events of 'Bloody Wednesday'. The

demonstrators were given the keys to the armoury, and the distribution of arms to

'trained' civilians commenced (Brizan, 1984/1998, p. 439). Marable gives the

following account of what happened next:

> About one o'clock, a troop carrier and two Soviet-built armoured cars descended on the fort. There is conflicting evidence whether the PRA or the crowd fired first, but the fact that heavily-armed soldiers were sent indicates that the Coard faction was fully prepared to crush all resistance. After the firing began, Bishop ordered his supporters to surrender. But in only minutes, several PRA soldiers were killed and over one hundred civilians, including many children (Marable, 1987, p. 261).

In cruel likening to both the Kalinago resistance and the Fedon rebellion (described in

Chapter 1), some among the crowd ran up the highest section of the fort and threw

themselves off of a wall more than 50 feet high, rather than be caught in the slaughter.

Those who survived hid in the tunnels of the fort, only to be found and shot (Steele,

2003). Bloody Wednesday culminated with the execution of Bishop and many of his

close associates,[164] despite their having surrendered in order to avoid a massacre.[165]

At 9:00pm that night, General Hudson Austin announced in a radio broadcast

that, effective immediately, Grenada would be governed by the Revolutionary

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[164] This included Minister of Foreign Affairs Unison Whiteman, Minister of Education, Youth, Social and Women's Affairs Jacqueline Creft, Minister of Housing and Construction, Norris Bain, Trade Union leaders Vincent Noel and Fitzroy Bain, Evelyn Maitland, Keith Hayling, and Evelyn Bullen.
[165] Bishop's body, like that of revolutionary Julien Fedon before him, was never recovered.

Military Council and would be under curfew for the next four days; those who broke

curfew risked being 'shot on sight':[166]

> Anyone who seeks to demonstrate or disturb the peace will be shot. All day and all night curfew will be established for the next four days…No one is to leave their house; anyone violating this curfew will be shot on sight…all schools are closed and all work places except essential services until further notice (Austin, 1983).

With Maurice Bishop and his allies dead, Bernard Coard and his supporters now in

charge, and the nation under 24-hour curfew, the Grenadian people were conceivably

terrified.

The US-Led Invasion and Operation Urgent Fury

At 5:00am on 25 October 1983, 6 days after Bishop's execution, the United States,

along with troops from Jamaica, Barbados, Antigua, Dominica, St Kitts and Nevis, St

Lucia, and St Vincent, invaded the tiny island of Grenada under President Ronald

Reagan, in what would become the first major American operation since the Vietnam

War, the first American occupation of a Caribbean nation since 1965, and the first

major foreign event of the Reagan administration (Feinberg, 1992). The reasons given

were:

1. To protect innocent lives, including up to one thousand Americans whose personal safety is, of course, my paramount concern.
2. To forestall further chaos.
3. To assist in the restoration of conditions of law and order and of governmental institutions to the island of Grenada, where a brutal group of leftist thugs violently seized power… (Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States, Washington, D.C.: Office of the Federal Register, National Archives and Records Service, 1983, p. 1505, as cited in Dougal, 2001/2002, p. 95).

The justifications given, however, seem to have been an afterthought to maintaining

American hegemony, and the invasion was criticised heavily by the Thatcher

administration in the United Kingdom, by Trinidad and Tobago, and by Canada, as

well as by the United Nations, who condemned it as a 'flagrant violation of

international law'. After four days of fierce resistance, the small People's

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[166] Although Austin read this speech, it is unknown if he was the author, nor if he was coerced.

Revolutionary Army and Cuban soldiers on the island surrendered, and by 2

November, the invasion was pronounced to be over.[167]

The US installed a temporary government that remained in power until nine

months after the intervention, ended their four-year economic boycott of Grenada, and

proceeded to help re-build the country through the US Agency for International

Development (USAID) (Meeks, 1993; Sharpe, 1993). By mid-December 1983, most

of the United States occupying forces had been withdrawn, and the Governor General

had placed an advisory council in charge. This advisory council remained until

December 1984 when elections were held, and Carriacouan Herbert Blaize was

placed in office after winning 14/15 seats for the New National Party (NNP). Blaize

and the NNP would remain in power, albeit with a reduced majority, until 1989.

After the American invasion, Grenadian identities would undergo another

drastic transformation, as people changed political affiliations; as technology,

globalisation, and American influence began to have increasingly prolific roles in

daily life; and as Grenada struggled to redeem itself on the world stage.

Musicking after the American Invasion

I turn now to a discussion of musicking in present-day Grenada. As already described,

during the interviewing process all of my interviewees communicated directly or

indirectly to me that there has been, in Grenada's recent past, a loss in the

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[167] The haste with which 'Operation Urgent Fury' was planned led to several errors during the mission; the soldiers were not well-briefed, were given poor maps, and were not very knowledgeable about the post-coup situation in Grenada. Four soldiers perished at sea when their drop zone location was missed, and their bodies were never recovered. Two hundred St George's University students were at a second campus, unbeknownst to the US forces, and were not 'rescued' for hours (there is also some dispute here whether the students actually needed rescuing). A bomb was accidentally dropped on a psychiatric hospital in St George's, killing 21 patients (Dougal, 2001/2002). Additionally, the Navy SEALs responsible for rescuing Governor General Paul Scoon left their satellite communications gear on the helicopter, and once their radios ran out of batteries, they were forced to use the landline telephone from within Scoon's house to call for support. The casualties of combat included 18 Americans, 16 Grenadians and 24 Cubans; the wounded included 113 Americans, 280 Grenadians, and 57 Cubans. Troops from other countries did not see combat.

transmission of traditional and grassroots musicking practices. As I will show, these

perceptions of loss have significant implications for how Grenadian identity is

manifested and represented, which I will now examine.

During my fieldwork, several of my interviewees pointed to the American

invasion, just described, and its aftermath as being one catalyst for this perceived loss.

Many of them indicated to me that the most problematic issue in matters of preserving

and promoting 'authentic' Grenadian musicking and cultural identity was what they

referred to as 'cultural penetration' – the increasingly pervasive influence of outside

countries, in particular the United States – and the perceived loss of culture (including

both music and ideals) that accompanied it. For example, one informant told me that

after the American invasion, certain Grenadians became self-conscious of both

themselves and their culture, which evidently led to a self-imposed cultural stifling or

a reaching out to American culture and ideals:

> Interviewer: Do you think that there was a specific time that [the perceived
> loss of Grenadian identity] began? I mean, I know you mentioned migration,
> and outside cultural influences, but –
>
> Interviewee: To me, after the revolution…everything sort of turned off and
> falling apart, so you have to come from scratch. And then, with the Americans
> coming to Grenada… They [the Americans and the 'local puppets'] didn't
> want anything to do with the traditional culture…[it] made people both
> conscious of theyself and the society they coming from.
>
> <div align="right">Interview with a calypsonian
25 April 2011</div>

Some of my informants regarded American cultural influence after the invasion as

positive and 'freeing', however. After the invasion, Grenadians were finally able to

play and sing the American music that was suppressed during the revolution, as this

member of the Royal Grenada Police Force Band told me:

> There is a big demand for it…Grenadian culture is very, very much aligned
> with American culture, in terms of music…When the Americans came in, and
> the invasion happened, and the government was overthrown, there was a
> strong American presence. Obviously, the rock, and the pop, and everything,

came with the soldiers. And so it played on the radio and all the people who weren't able to play a lot of the American songs that they would have liked to play back then for the few years the revolution were in power for, were set free. And they played the music. So yes, there was an increase [in American music after the revolution].

                    Interview with a member of the Royal Grenada Police Force Band
                                                                    13 April 2011

Nevertheless, many others, especially from the older generation, regarded this influence (immediately after the invasion as well as in the present day) as primarily negative – as cultural penetration and even another form of 'invasion':

As time go on, most people might say it's a 'cultural invasion', as people became more exposed to genres of music and I would say, the intervention of what I would call now the quote-unquote 'TV influence'.

                                    Interview with a Ministry of Culture employee
                                                                    13 April 2011

The power of foreign television to change Grenadian youth and Grenadian culture was also discussed in many other conversations, including this interview, in which the first informant was from the older generation, and the second was from the younger:

Interviewee 1: The culture has changed a *lot*. And I think it's because of –

Interviewee 2: TV.

Interviewee 1: This TV that came to Grenada.

                          Interview with a former school principal and a music teacher
                                                                    14 April 2011

Indeed, American music and popular media, in the words of one informant, 'seriously influences all of us' (interview with a choral singer, 5 May 2011). I myself observed this influence on numerous occasions and was also told as much by many informants.

The younger generation's connection with American culture, which is sometimes seen as stronger than their connection with Grenadian folk culture, is acutely felt by many members of the older generation in Grenada whom I interviewed. These people believe that young Grenadians seem to associate more with American culture than with 'their own', and that there is pressure from peers to be

engaged with American music, television, and ideals. This has led older people in the community to lament that young people 'don't know their own culture' and that they seemingly have a lack of interest in traditional Grenadian culture and music, as we can see in the following two separate group interviews with adult choristers:

> Interviewer: Why do you think that is? Why do you think there's not much interest in the younger generation?
>
> Interviewee 1: Because they have TV and that is not what is pushed on TV – what we gettin'? All we gettin' is the American shows!
>
> Interviewee 2: That's right…they are more into the American music, the American shows. And the stations that bring out these videos.
>
> Interviewee 3: That's what they're showing.
>
> Interviewee 2: Because even in my music appreciation class, some days when I ask them, I say, 'Do you all like calypso?' 'No Miss, we don't like calypso.'
> <div align="right">Interview with music teacher and choristers
26 March 2011</div>

The first interviewee's use of the term 'pushed' is interesting for its connotation of American culture being forced upon Grenadian youth – as if they (and also the older people) have no choice but to absorb American cultural and ideological influence. The second interviewee is incredulous that her younger students do not like calypso, an artform which is so representative of her idea of Grenadian identity; however, she tells me resignedly that this is the way it is, and that it is not going to change: the phrase, 'No Miss, we don't like calypso' conceivably being both meant and understood as applying also to calypso's associated values, ideals, and identities. This is perhaps even more painful, since, as recently as the 1990s, 'calypso was king' in Grenada (e-mail correspondence with an ethnomusicologist, 20 June 2013). In pushing away calypso and the things represented within calypso music, young people are also effectively pushing away their elders, saying, 'this is *not* who we are'.

Many older Grenadians feel that this situation has reached such an extreme that young Grenadians not only 'don't know' their culture, but that they don't *want* to know their culture: in essence, it has gone from more than simply not liking calypso music to not *wanting* to like calypso music, or, apparently, the things calypso represents (see Chapter 3). For example, the music teacher from the older generation quoted above lamented in the same interview that when she tries to teach her students calypso, they are not only uninterested, but in fact have no desire to learn about calypso music or what it stands for: they don't enjoy or want to learn about what she calls 'our' culture. The younger generation, who are ambivalent toward or even strongly dislike calypso, reject it as someone *else's* culture (that of the older generation), and instead embrace American music, culture, values, and ideals:

> Of course I've brought in Sparrow[168] [to music class], and played it for them, because it does sadden me to hear the, 'Oh! I don't like calypso' when this is part of our culture, right? This is our culture. But they're hooked onto the American music.
>
> <div align="right">Interview with a music teacher
26 March 2011</div>

Some older Grenadians, who fought American imperialism, saw their country invaded by Americans, and conceivably feel that the 'American dream' has let them down, see the younger generation's love of American music and culture as a rejection of 'authentic' Grenadianness, and of the older generation who fought for that reality.

Another conversation pinpoints again this rejection of Grenadian folk music and the accompanying switch of musical loyalty:

> Interviewee 1: The children, for instance, they're all interested in Rhianna and all those modern music…so they're not hearing the local or the other folks are not singing like before, they're not having those local groups or those local get-togethers where they used to sing the folk a lot. Everybody's working in the same so-called big world culture. But- it's a big world now…so we're kind of stifled out. You know? And so our music is going to be sort of stifled out

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[168] Mighty Sparrow; a famous Grenadian-Trinidadian calypsonian.

because they're into the big world music now too. Whatever that is.

Interviewee 2: Yeah, it's a serious problem eh? Very serious.

<div align="right">Interview with two choristers
28 April 2011</div>

Here, younger Grenadians are presented as only interested in hearing contemporary foreign music, rather than Grenadian folk (which might not even be happening anyway, as she articulates above). This interviewee, in stating that young people are not hearing local artforms clearly does not consider local soca, reggae, hip hop, rap, and other popular youth-oriented musical genres to be authentically Grenadian – even though they are created, performed, and listened to by Grenadians.

This informant and her fellow interviewee are extremely concerned that the media and culture of the 'big world' 'stifles' Grenadians, Grenadian culture, and Grenadian music. The word 'stifle' is very powerful particularly in the context in which it is used above: my interviewee immediately equates stifling 'our music' with stifling 'us', indicating clearly enough that one's sense of identity is at risk when the music perceived as embodying it is silenced; that the silencing of music and of one's voice is in fact a silencing of the self. The vast implications of losing 'our' music evidently concerns much more than just music, and this is perhaps especially so of artforms such as calypso, as suggested by several informants.

Two opposing manifestations of Grenadian identities are therefore taking shape in present-day Grenada: broadly, the identity held mainly by the older generation, which embraces 'our' traditional culture, and views cultural penetration as 'stifling out' authentic Grenadian identity; and the identity held by the younger generation, which embraces modernity, technology, and development,[169] and views

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[169] This is not to say that older people in Grenada deny technology, modernity, and development; rather that the younger generation has a different relationship to these than older people. For the older generation, these things help propel Grenada forward economically and socially but can also be seen as overtaking traditional culture and Grenadian identity.

cultural penetration, principally from the United States, as a way for Grenadians to integrate appropriately into the wider world, and to adopt an identity that demonstrates this willingness to look beyond Grenada. The musicking that is representative of and that constitutes these two opposing, and indeed at times conflicting identities, is taught and learned within these groups as a means of redefining what each sees as Grenadian identity. On the one hand are traditional artforms of the older generation such as calypso music; on the other is the music of the younger, which includes global musical forms (particularly black American music), and also soca music, which has decisively become a site of contested ideas of Grenadian identity and which embodies many of the ideas I have described above, as we will see.

Soca Music

Adam[170] and I enter the National Stadium, and discover that we are two of the only people there – on time means early, once again. We take a couple of seats close to the front, chat, drum our fingers, and try to look inconspicuous and not uncomfortable, if this is even possible: we are overheated, we are white, we are outsiders, and since we haven't been on the island that long, we don't know much yet about Grenadian soca concerts.

We sit politely, hands in our laps, and watch contenders vie for the Groovy Soca Monarch[171] title. After the Groovy competition is done and the judges have tallied their scores, floods of people begin to pour into the National Stadium. I realise that Groovy Soca Monarch, like Panorama, does not hold much interest for the younger generation (and, as I later realise, neither does calypso) – most arrive only for the Soca Monarch competition, ready to jump, wine, and wave to the up-tempo 'power' soca songs.

The stadium floor is suddenly so packed that it seems as though the entire island has come out to see who will be crowned the next Soca Monarch, and we move up a level to escape the crowd. The air is ripe with excitement and sweat: a sense of corporeal abandonment and visceral enjoyment as people, jammed against one another 'jump up',[172] fete,[173] dance, and wine[174] to the music, waving their flags and their rags, and

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[170] My husband.
[171] Groovy soca music is a slower-paced soca that frequently has romantic themes.
[172] Dancing and revelry in a group.
[173] To 'party'.

responding with cheers and shouts every time the artistes rev up the crowd by singing, 'Anybody from Trinidad? Anybody from St Vincent? Anybody from…GRENADA?' The energy is infectious and I find myself totally caught up in the 'jump and wave' of it all, singing along to choruses I don't know, pumping my rag to the beat, and cheering loudly when the artistes call out to people from St George's. In that moment, it doesn't matter that I'm white, an outsider, different: here, I am nobody. A body, with other bodies, moving to the beat, being and thinking of nothing except the music.

Field Notes Reflection
7 August 2010

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Soca Monarch takes place the Friday night before Carnival and is hugely popular amongst young people, attracting thousands of spectators from across the island and abroad to the National Stadium to see who will be crowned the Soca Monarch 'King' (or, less likely, 'Queen'). Soca music receives the most radio airplay in Grenada of any Grenadian genre and generates thousands of dollars in revenue at concerts, and Soca Monarch can also provide a route to international exposure for the more fortunate Grenadian musicians, some of whom enjoy popularity in other Caribbean countries, as well as the United States, Canada, and the United Kingdom.

Soca, which originated in Trinidad and Tobago, is the music of the youth in Grenada. It represents freedom from the oppressions of adulthood, and from monetary, occupational, and moral restraints: the 'message' of soca music exists in the beat and in the body, and it seems that nothing matters except this sense of abandonment and escape from reality – the here and the now: this place, this dance, these people, and this experience. This focus on the corporeal, in many ways, contrasts with calypso, which, as we saw earlier, tends to prioritise lyrics and the

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[174] An erotic dance move; see page 1, footnote 5.

mind, the former often foregrounding political discourse (see Chapter 3). Lyrics and performance style in soca, however, represent youth identities and emphasise the 'freedoms' of partying, sex, and alcohol, and help to construct such identities through textual content and audience participation, which takes the form of jumping, wining, waving flags and rags, singing along, and shouting and cheering to support the artiste or as a response to verbal and musical engagement. More broadly, the distinction between those who engage with soca music and those who do not both reflects and constitutes social distinctions between young and old, colonised and free, and secular and religious.[175]

Soca music is regarded by a number of older Grenadians, as well as Grenadians from certain religious denominations, as being an inappropriate or even dangerous representation of Grenadian culture, and as in fact eroding 'true' Grenadian culture and identity. For various informants, soca, and its attendant party culture and focus on the sexualised, alcohol-consuming body, is seen as promoting irresponsibility, immorality, and a lack of intellectualism. It therefore grates against the moral sensibilities of many Grenadians of certain religious denominations, for whom it represents sinful behaviour. It also alienates many older Grenadians, who see soca as a move away from music that is lyrically meaningful and that promotes examination and critique of contemporary political and social concerns. One interviewee, for example, dismissed soca as follows:

> No substantial lyrics, you must have your flag and your rag, wave… To me, it's eroding the real calypso.
>
> Interview with a music teacher
> 26 March 2011

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[175] This is not to say that young people are not religious; in fact, many young people in Grenada are devout Christians, some of whom relate to and listen to soca music, and some of whom do not (usually because of their religious beliefs).

This disdain for soca music is not only an expression of musical like or dislike, but also a manifestation of what this interviewee felt was representative (or not representative) of 'authentic' Grenadian culture: the 'real' calypso. This informant clearly values music that emphasises lyrical content (which for this particular interviewee, whom I knew quite well, entailed social critique or the glorification of God), and feels strongly that engaging in the 'jump and wave' is not only unnecessary, but also perhaps in fact *erodes* the music that represents and promotes what is important. There is a sense that the erosion of calypso is also an erosion of social concern and values in Grenada. An older participant at the same group interview also lamented that instead of playing calypso, with lyrics that deal with social issues, radio stations only play the 'stupidness' that is soca music:

> These days you don't even hear those, like what you call social commentary. You don't even hear those calypsos being played…They play all the stupidness for the Soca Monarch, and the Groovy whatever-whatever,[176] and the songs that are supposed to be sung for the Calypso Monarch for the night, you don't know them because you hardly hearing them. Because those are like, lyrical songs that talk about things that are happening, issues that are happening, social issues and so, in the community and with the government, and you know, you could come down and tell the government, 'this is what's going on', da da da. But you hardly hear that!
>
> <div align="right">Interview with a chorister
26 March 2011</div>

The perceived emptiness and 'stupidness' of soca music by the older and religious demographic in Grenada stems from two points: that lyrical themes, which usually revolve around wining, rum, and 'horn' (arousal and sex), are perceived as frivolous, superficial, or even harmful; and that the associated partying and drinking leads to sexual promiscuity. There is a broad divide, then, between those who enjoy soca music, who are generally younger and who, even when religious, embrace the secularised world; and those who do not, who are generally older or who are strictly

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[176] Groovy Monarch, as described above.

religious. Those who do not enjoy or relate to soca frequently designate soca-loving

Grenadians as apathetic regarding social and political matters, obsessed with sex,

unconcerned with religious and moral interests and authorities, and addicted to

alcohol and/or drugs and therefore unreliable, dangerous, and indifferent to

responsibility. These characterisations are widespread, as I learned through

discussions with informants, in watching Grenadian news, and reading literature.

For example, one document on engaging youth at risk in Trinidad and Tobago

– prepared by scholars at the University of the West Indies and found on the Trinidad

and Tobago Parliament website – identifies soca music (which in part is analysed

comparatively to calypso music) as very likely linked to crime amongst youth:

> While the calypso as an art form has been influential in drumming up social awareness of
> issues, the impact of calypso has since declined. What has been happening in the last two
> decades is a massive shift to Jamaican genres which have eroded the popularity of other
> Caribbean music…In making [a] link between musical culture and violence in Trinidad and
> Tobago's music, what seems to typify the music of this society is that it is fast paced and
> driven by a frenetic energy that is at the same time mindless, yet controlling of the emotions
> and energy of the crowd. The themes in the music of Trinidad tend to be rather repetitive,
> associated with sexual prowess and pushing sexual boundaries on stage or off, with issues of
> tabanca[177] and complaints about the lack of control over one's woman…While it is impossible
> to draw a definitive correlation between the violence or explicitness of lyrics and the level of
> criminality of youth, the lyrics of popular Soca hits in 2012 do tend to support the idea of a
> contemporary youth culture that is very consistent with the rebellious behaviour of previous
> generations of youth…We need to examine the relationship between the current musical
> culture of youth and its relationship to violence and criminality and its potential for co-
> optation by the seedier elements of society that draw young impressionable minds (Ryan et
> al., 2013, pp. 47-48).

An online commentary by Kent State University professor emeritus Kwame

Nantambu also attributes soca music as a cause of what he calls 'moral decadence' in

Trinidad and Tobago. Nantambu's attack on soca and the associated 'surpass[ing] the

nadir of [the] bottomless pit' of immorality and sexual vulgarity depicts soca music as

demeaning and dehumanising, particularly toward women (Nantambu, 2008, online).

Interestingly, although Nantambu writes that calypso contains many of the same

smutty themes as soca, he and others of his generation are more accepting of the

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[177] Heartbreak.

former. Nantambu argues that while calypso music is intended to be listened to for its storyline and enjoyed rather passively, soca and its lyrical content 'precipitate and bring out the publicly lewd, explicit, sexually immoral, vulgar, pelvic gyrating behavior…Nothing is left to the imagination' (Nantambu, 2008, online). It seems that although texts in both soca and calypso music can be lewd and misogynistic, soca songs are considered by some as particularly dangerous for the overt nature of their lyrics (as opposed to the double entendres or 'hidden' messages in calypso) and the blatantly sexual movements that accompany them. Calypso, being more passive, is considered benign.

I now turn to a closer look at the soca musical form. Present-day Grenadian 'power'[178] soca music is a verse-chorus song form created by artistes who sing up-tempo melodies in 4/4 time on top of sparsely-textured, pre-recorded digital 'riddims' that are fast, driving, and highly repetitive; and assembled using drum machines, synthesisers, sequencers, samplers, digital multitracking, and autotune. The melody, which is also generally highly repetitive, is frequently narrow in range and may have many repeated notes and words, which can contribute to a consistent 'beat' and create an entrancing effect. Texts, as just described, include themes of feting, drinking, love, arousal, and national pride – although lyrics are de-emphasised and also often difficult to discern given soca's digital, amplified nature. Dudley, writing in 1996, makes the point that the soca singer, even nearly a decade ago, functions 'almost as another instrument', intending to create a 'groove' for partying and dancing. This 'groove' (more commonly known as the 'beat'), with its digital, amplified sound, and highly repetitive, pounding rhythms and texts, lends itself to almost hypnotic movement and dancing. Dudley argues that the reduced emphasis on lyrical content is in part due to

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[178] As opposed to 'groovy' soca or 'chutney' soca, for example.

soca's international marketing and popularity, since the texts that may be appropriate

for a Trinidadian audience may not be so for an international audience (Dudley, 1996,

p. 294). I would remind the reader that this textual de-emphasis contrasts with the

way calypso melodies and rhythms are constructed: these promote clarity of text, as

described in chapter 3. This is one immediate example of how calypso and soca

differ, and how the values that they represent and perpetuate can also differ, within

the musical materials themselves.

A good example is the 2012 Soca Monarch song 'Psycho' by Lavaman,

which, with its pounding rhythm, exhorts the crowd to dance, jump, and wave

'psychotically', 'gyal and man' together, embracing the fete without care:

(Maniacal laughter;
Voice: 'Breaking news! Breaking news!
A patient has just escaped from the mental institution!')

Show me any fete an' I say
Once we see gyal an' ah[179] man dey[180]
Ah say is more people in here
Mash it up,[181] dey go, dey go
I'm a psycho! (If dey feel they mad and dey troublesome)
I'm a psycho! (I eat ah hand grenade, ah lime, an' ah plum)
I'm a psycho! (I take of me shoes an' ah run it down)
I'm a psycho, tell them I'm a psycho, yes, I'm a psycho!
Over dey so, psycho, over here so, psycho
All across so, psycho, all where we go, psycho
Man on woman, psycho, steelpan and iron, psycho
Jab[182] and big band, psycho
Everybody, wave like a Grenadian, if yuh[183] feeling like ah Vincentian
Wave like a Trinidadian, if yuh feeling like ah Barbadian
Wave like a Antiguan, if yuh feeling like ah Jamaican
Wave like ah, wave like ah!

Lavaman
'Psycho'
(Grenada Soca Monarch, 2012)[184]

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[179] 'A', 'I', or 'of', depending on the context.
[180] 'There' or 'they', depending on the context.
[181] Generally, to dance, consume alcohol, and party with others in a venue where loud music is being played.
[182] Jab Jab (see page 252).
[183] You.

Right at the beginning of the song, Lavaman sets up a focus on the corporeal, incorporating pre-recorded maniacal laughter accompanied by a mock news bulletin that warns the audience of an escaped mental patient, who presumably is dangerous and who lacks the mental capacity to do anything except, apparently, fete, be 'troublesome', and compel onlookers to join him in 'mashin' up de place'. The repetition of 'psycho' sends the message that the singer is immersed and submerged in the movement and music that he creates and by which he is surrounded, unable to see or do anything else because of his own madness. The song might, from some perspectives, be heard to address an audience of young Grenadian 'psychos', caught up in the visceral sociability of feting and resistant to discourses of responsibility, religious devotion, and political engagement associated with an older generation.

The 2012 Groovy Soca Monarch song, although less overt, also ultimately focuses on the 'freedoms' of partying ('play a mas'), alcohol consumption ('drink some rum'), and sex ('we got ladies, sexy ladies, gorgeous ladies...Good waistline, oh how dey could wine') within the broader themes of Grenadian nationalism and pride:

Buckle up, take that trip
Go Grenada for the summer time, yes man
Play ah mas, drink some rum
Smell some spice and free up your mind
(You will see how we do!)

A gem in the Caribbean so unique, yeah
Sceneries to sweep you off your feet, tell yuh
Friendliest people you'll ever meet
Great food and calypso music
Time of your life, we surely guarantee that

We got ladies, sexy ladies, gorgeous ladies
Yes, they all so fine, yes man
Got boom boom, like zoom zoom
Good waistline, oh how dey could wine, ha!

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[184] Transcription from the *Island Lyrics* website (2013) and edited by the author.

Shortpree
'Spice Island Summer'
(Grenada Groovy Soca Monarch, 2012)[185]

On the surface of this soca, it appears that Shortpree sings about Grenada's scenery,

aromatic spice-filled scent, friendly people, and wonderful food and music. Obliging

foreigners to 'buckle up and take that trip' to visit this 'gem in the Caribbean',

Shortpree paints a picture of Grenadian culture and cultural identity to both

Grenadians and the outside world: partying, drinking, and sex, yes, but not in the

'psychotic' ways depicted in 'Psycho': instead, this scenario is coloured with

sunshine, palm trees, and the ocean, delicious food, and easy-going music and dance.

Since soca artistes tend to put out new releases every year, the music often

seems disposable to less sympathetic listeners (interview with a classically-trained

singer and former calypso judge, 11 April 2011); it can also seem homogeneous, since

many artistes compose songs that deploy the same 'riddims' (underlying pre-recorded

tracks, as described above), such as the songs 'More Fete' by Soca Ray and 'Burst de

Wood' by Kennedy, which are both set to the *Problem Wine Riddim*:

Plenty food an' plenty drinks,	What a problem!
Soca music jammin' still	Havin' ah wood burst, ah, eh!
Sexy girl winin' down low,	I met some women in Grenville
Man no easin' up at all.	They havin' problem
Mr Bacchanal,	They say that they want to light they wood
Keep the liquor flowin'	People, nobody helpin' them
We don't have behaviour	They say they are wood to burst
Inside, that is fete tonight!	And they need some help
	But all the young men, they check they
Soca Ray	wood and lef' all the wood for
'More Fete'	theyself
(Grenada/Carriacou Soca, 2013)[186]	The first woman that I meet,
	She say she name was Brenda.
	She gave me ah fire, gave me ah axe,
	Tell me follow her
	She took me up to de hills, right up

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[185] Transcription from the *Island Lyrics* website (2013) and edited by the author.
[186] Transcription by the author.

where she livin'
She tell me all ah de the wood I see, she
want me to start cuttin'
The woman want me to burn de wood
So I burn de wood!
The woman tell me to burn de wood
So I burn de wood!...
Oh, oh, oh, I bursted wood.
I bursted wood!

Kennedy
'Burst de Wood'
(Grenada/Carriacou Soca, 2013)[187]

Soca music privileges the masculine experience, and this can be seen clearly

in the two songs above. The first song, 'More Fete' by Soca Ray, is relatively overt in

its lyrical meaning, which assures that no one has to worry about anything, for there is

'plenty food and plenty drinks', and evidently, plenty 'sexy girls' willing to wine. The

second song, 'Burst de Wood' by Kennedy, makes use of more enigmatic language in

its message of sexual freedom. 'Burst de Wood', which employs double entendre (a

common compositional device in calypso, and also – though less so – in soca), tells

the story of a man who travels to Grenville, the second largest city in Grenada. Upon

arrival, the man finds that all the girls are left wanting, since no man will help them

'light they wood' (provide them with sexual satisfaction). The singer follows when

one of the women beckons him 'up to de hills', and obliges when she beseeches him

to 'burn de wood' (to have sexual intercourse). The singer, however, has 'a problem':

he 'burst de wood' early, a euphemism for premature ejaculation. Like 'More Fete',

'Burst de Wood' emphasises male power and male sexual experience (its lyrics are

'literally' phallocentric) albeit through modes of satire and self-deprecation.

In addition to lyrical content such as that above, the focus on the masculine

and male sexual desire in soca music can be seen in titles of soca releases for the 2013

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[187] Transcription by the author.

Soca Monarch competition, such as 'Gyal Me Want Yuh', 'Geh She The Thing', 'Wine Dat Waist', 'Wine', and 'Every Girl'. It is also exemplified in extramusical materials and in experiences that occur within soca performance. For example, partner wining, in which the female is positioned compliantly in front of the male partner who holds her around the middle and gyrates into her backside, displays soca's direct focus on the man's sexual pleasure and dominance. These movements emphasise and privilege Grenadian masculinity and simultaneously denigrate the female and promote female identity as that of a sexual object.

Soca's focus on the dominant male extends to the very way that soca is developed and promoted. As with calypso, male soca artistes frequently use sobriquets that connote machismo and male strength and supremacy, such as 'Mighty Terror', 'Mr Killa', and 'D Hammer.' Soca music is disseminated all year round via male-dominated competitions as well as via radio and digital releases (particularly in the months leading up to Soca Monarch and Carnival), through which soca artistes promote their music. The presentation of the self both online and onstage by means of sexual dancing and hip-thrusting, displaying strength by jumping and waving, wearing provocative clothing, and generally exuding confidence and prowess in both movement and attire, both live and also in videos or pictures, further promotes male power and male privilege.

Trinidadian Ras Shorty I (Garfield Blackman, formerly called 'Lord Shorty'), recognised as the 'Father of Soca', stated in a 1994 interview with Harold Pysadee on the CultureShare television programme that the very name he gave to the genre symbolised movement:

> I name[d] it [the fusion of African and East Indian rhythms] s-o-k-a-h, [the 'so' was from 'calypso' and] the 'k-a-h' was to reflect the East Indian influence into the music because 'kah' is the first letter in the sanskrit alphabet; it represents movement, and soca is the *power* of movement (interview with Ras Shorty I, 1997, transcription by the author).

Soca's emphasis on movement, corporeality, and abandonment can be found in older soca songs, such as 'Soca Chick' by Temple, in which Temple implores the female 'dancing partner' to 'shake her waist' erotically:

Ay-yai-yai,
We dancin' soca!
Shake yo' waist,
We dancin' partner!

Temple
'Soca Chick'
(Grenada Soca, c. 1987)[188]

This also occurs in contemporary soca songs, which by and large wholly embrace and promote the 'wine, rum, and horn' ethos said to be characteristic of the younger generation. As much is evident in some of the earliest soca releases of 2013, which included titles such as 'Partying', 'Whinning [*sic*] All Night', 'Pour it Up', and 'Wine Inna D Middle'; and also in the following lyrics about partying during the Christmas season by Johnny Morain and Denis Branch, which proclaim that 'feting' is not just a *part* of Grenadian culture, it *is* Grenadian culture:

Tellin' you, fetin' is we culture!

Johnny Morain & Denis Branch
'Enjoy the Christmas'
(Grenada Soca, 2011)

Soca artistes invite the feting and abandonment that is so important to the artform onstage by jumping and dancing energetically, enticing women to wine, and encouraging audience participation, for instance in the form of waving flags and rags. In so doing they engage in gendered displays of power: physical, sexual, and charismatic. Movement and performance that emphasise masculinity and masculine experience are thus integral parts of soca music.

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[188] Transcription by the author.

Soca Music and the Feminine

The performance of male-centric values in soca music poses critical questions about gender roles in soca. Soca music can be seen as marginalising women's voices and experiences, and as delimiting the use of the female body as only for male pleasure. However, when closely analysed, gender roles in soca music and performance are much more complicated. Although musical manifestations of gender in soca have traditionally emphasised masculinity and male experience, some contemporary female soca artistes, through textual content and performance, seem to be claiming sexual agency and (from their point of view) fighting denigration of the female body through their musicking, as can be seen in various 2013 soca songs by female artistes such as 'Permission Granted', 'Rock Your Body', and 'Man Have Them So'.

For example, the soca artiste Shanda, in her soca 'Man Have Them So', embraces her sexual objectification, and sings about the power of this sexuality over men, who, upon seeing her walking (presumably wearing an outfit that accentuates this sexuality), cannot help but have a mental (daydreaming about her) as well as physical (gyrating, 'coming', leering) reaction to her:

You see me walkin' past, and
Then you started beepin', beepin'
Just wait and I am lookin',
Then you started daydreamin'!
Then you started wining, coming,
All over yo' body jumpin'
Look, all yo' teeth are skinnin'[189]
Hey!

Shanda
'Man Have Them So'
(Carriacou Soca, 2013)[190]

Susan Harewood argues that it is 'vitally important' to always place the lyrical

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[189] Leering.
[190] Transcription by the author.

content of soca music in context of other performance elements, and that this is particularly critical when examining female soca artistes and their music (Harewood, 2006a, p. 30). The role and image of the sexually powerful female in soca music constructs and informs conflicting feminine identities for the women and girls who embrace soca, since there exists in Grenada a stigma, particularly amongst older and strictly religious Grenadians, against promiscuity in women – which female soca singers, with their tantalizingly revealing clothing, seductive lyrics, and sexual dancing, are seen as embodying. These sexual narratives are contrasted with the perception amongst young people that the women and girls who engage with soca have identities that are 'free', uninhibited, in control, and exciting.

Female soca artistes are often at once both submissive and powerful in their musical content and onstage; for example, they are submissively postured and accepting of the male's sexual advances in partner wining, while simultaneously powerfully controlling the male with erotic movements and confidence, sometimes even taking on an 'instructive' role in showing men how to properly wine or provide pleasure. This identity of the sexually powerful female is so desirable for some young women that the associated identity of promiscuity, though unwanted, seems to be considered acceptable, within limits: young women who enjoy soca are therefore constantly carefully negotiating feminine sexual identity, attempting to promote corporeal freedom and power over men through soca music, while at the same time often being careful not to express identities of promiscuity (interview with college students, 27 April 2011).

It is conceivable that although many young women listen, party, and dance to soca music, one reason why few have made the leap into soca performance is because

of this stigma of promiscuous behaviour.[191] For many, the public and permanent

nature of soca performance and soca sound recordings step over the boundaries of the

'free and powerful female' identity that accompanies the temporary nature of listening

and dancing to soca in the privacy of one's home or at a public fete or concert, to the

'slut' or sinful identity, and perhaps also family shame, that can accompany actually

recording or publicly performing soca as a female, which intrinsically involves

singing sexually explicit lyrics and being seen in a revealing costume while dancing

or posing erotically *for* other people rather than doing these things *with* other people,

as would be the case at a fete or while patronising a concert. It is perhaps largely

because of the public 'display' and permanent nature of recording and performance

that soca music has thus remained a male-dominated genre.

Meaning in Soca

Balliger, in her ethnographic study on soca music, observes that although soca is often

considered to be less serious or intelligent, it relates directly to the experiences of

young people (Balliger, 2000). This sentiment is also stated by Moonsammy, who

suggests that soca is a musical expression of 'lived experience' for youth, and as such

is a 'legitimate form of national culture and identity' (Moonsammy, 2009, p. 251) –

affording young people, through the repetitive beat and 'jump up' party atmosphere, a

'freeing' experience of mental release and corporeal abandon, as I described above.

This is not to say that there are not soca songs that overtly address social and

political issues through lyrical content. For example, in 2012 a man was brutally

beaten to death by Grenadian Police in St David's, an event that brought the nation (in

which violent crimes are relatively scarce) to a standstill. Some soca artistes released

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[191] Historically, Grenadian women were not generally involved in public performance, particularly in calypso and string band music. This lack of involvement could also inform soca's male-dominated nature, according to one informant (e-mail correspondence with an ethnomusicologist, 20 June 2013).

recordings calling for justice in this horrific event, such as Ghage Maddis' 'No

Brutality' (2012) and Dymez' 'Police Beating Man' (2012). Other soca songs, such as

RSK's 'Saltfish' (2011), highlight the increasing cost of staple Grenadian foods:

Saltfish,
The price too high! (x6)
Saltfish!
Thirteen dollas ah poun' ah saltfish!

RSK
'Saltfish'
(Grenada Soca, 2011)[192]

Papa Jerry's 'Aids' [*sic*] (2005), another soca in which the lyrics emphasise social

concern, highlights the AIDs crisis in Grenada:

I don' want to catch it,
I 'fraid I catch it,
I 'fraid I catch it,
An' I'm talkin' about de AIDs!

You don' know who have it,
That gyal does have it,
See, gyal does have it,
They could put you inside de grave!

Papa Jerry
'Aids'
(Grenada Soca, 2005)[193]

However, soca songs that overtly discuss politics, economics, health, and other social

issues are few and far between – they generally do not make an appearance in

competitions such as Soca Monarch, and despite frequently having the same 'sound',

are less favoured than the soca songs that have themes of drinking, partying, and sex.

Although many of my interviewees said that soca music could be heard as

having no meaningful content, one informant articulated that it still provides

commentary on the Grenadian context and experience, especially amongst the youth.

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[192] Transcription by the author.
[193] Transcription by the author.

This interviewee felt that Grenada's soca has more similarities to calypso than differences; that it comments and reports on the 'lighter side':

> If we're gonna speak of the songs, it's reporting, so you can hear from the social and political commentaries where we are, as an island nation, and what would have happened over the last year. Our socas, unlike that of Trinidad, in themselves are social commentaries. Very much closer to the traditional calypso than the soca genre is to in Trinidad. Our soca songs…have more of a storyline. And a capturing of a situation, than the contemporary soca that depends purely on a hook and hype. And that – *all* good songs – I will argue, must have a storyline …The calypso, in terms of what it says about us and our society, soca also does but reports more on the lighter side, I will argue. As well as provide an opportunity to dance, to jump, to wine – because we're not shy to wine! That's a part of our culture. And that, too, is a challenge, because you have persons who, and I wouldn't call them 'conservatives', really, I would even say they are hypocrites, because they would object to the wining of a child, wining of persons at Carnival Monday and Tuesday, but if you look at the Big Drum dance, it's about the hips. It's about the hips. So our tradition about utilising that part of our bodies to respond to music is there, it's who we are, as a people.
>
> <div align="right">Interview with a member of the Grenada Carnival Committee
27 April 2011</div>

This interviewee, who is a member of the former Grenada Carnival Committee and thus has an invested interest in the success of events like Soca Monarch, compares soca and its associated dancing to calypso and Big Drum (see page 23), thus linking these artforms and their values and patrons. He argues that wining, which some see as not being 'meaningful' or as being 'meaningful' in only harmful ways, is integral to Grenadian culture, and that using the body as a response to music extends beyond dancing: it is rather a manifestation and embodiment of *who they are* – historically, as with movement in the Big Drum, and also presently. These movements, erotic or not, are an intrinsic part of Grenadian identity, so much so that it is acceptable – to some – for even young children to engage in dancing that is usually perceived as sexual in nature. The historical aspects of the wining that accompanies soca, according to this interviewee, take precedence over any negative sexual connotation. This puts wining in a completely different light – not as meaningless and empty, but rather, as using the

body as a means of heralding a sense of self and a sense of collectivity in African-based movement. Here he links the old with the young, and the traditional with the modern, ostensibly attempting to place soca and its values in a context that is more palatable for those who find it objectionable.

Another interviewee, a professor at St George's University, suggested that soca could, in fact, be a means of expressing where society is at a specific point in history: values, responses to social crises, and more – even if not overtly:

> People could see [social commentary] in calypso, but the modern music has all sorts of things, and people don't see that…You know, like soca, people will say, that's not like calypso, it's not serious, it's pure noise. And repetition. And instructions. But then you need to ask yourself, why has this form evolved, and what is [it] that is driving it? Because it is obviously popular, what is driving it? What…makes people crave it? Is it something about the beat? Maybe, you know what it is, and can you do both? Can you still be able to say something serious? Even under the 'jump and wave'? ...Or even the values that they are propagating in the songs, so you can listen to them and say…what is it they sing about, society at that point…It could be even attitudes about how your, you know, how you respond to social crises, and political ineptitude, all of these things are there.
> Interview with a professor at St George's University
> 26 April 2011

It is evident that although soca music seems repetitive, lyrically unsubstantive, and as generally only promoting drinking, erotic dancing, and sex, it is nonetheless extremely popular, pervasive, and influential. Soca speaks to a generation of Grenadians who are living in a vastly different world than that of their parents and grandparents: a Grenada that is global, technological, and advancing, but at the same time still financially dependent; a Grenada that is democratic, enfranchised, and independent, but still suffers from systematic oppression on a local and global scale; a Grenada that has free education but not enough resources and little recognition of home life responsibilities, parental involvement, and their effects on children's schooling; a Grenada that has contemporary public health care and a medical school, but unequal access to doctors and medicines; and a Grenada that lacks neither the

drive to workers' rights and independence that existed in the Gairy era, nor the optimism and advancement of the revolution.

Grenadian youth thus turn to the 'jump and wave' of soca music, having perhaps given up on calypso's intellectual critique of economics, systematic oppression, education, and health care – the problems associated with them seeming far too vast and far too unattainable. This is also discussed by Ho, who argues that soca and its accompanying 'party' culture is largely a retaliation to the 'empty promises' and 'propaganda' of calypso and the older generation (Ho, 2000, p. 11, as cited in Moonsammy, 2009), suggesting that the difference between soca and calypso 'symbolizes the generation gap between an older generation who overthrew colonialism, and the youth who are painfully aware that "massa" is still thriving in the postcolonial era'; as well as by Balliger, who examines representation of older and younger generations within calypso and soca music thus:

> …calypso represents the generation who successfully fought colonialism, but for whom independence also meant succeeding in the terms and values of Western modernity – the importance of speech being central – speech as a sign of intellect and power in an emerging post-colonial, public sphere. To briefly extend this structural analysis, calypso/soca represents national/transnational, old/young, mind/body, civilized/savage… (Balliger, 2000, p. 22).

Calypso, and its tradition of political and social commentary on governmental corruption, inequality, and immorality, therefore seems out of touch with the perceptions, values, and lived experiences of the youth.

Soca Music Education

Soca is therefore one prominent way by which secularised young people construct identities that distinguish them from the older and more strictly religious population in Grenada, and it can be argued that it sets up social boundaries that distance and alienate traditional musics and ideals. Soca provides those that enjoy it with the 'problem-free' identity that they *wish* to embrace (for they are all too aware of the

aforementioned problems that do indeed exist), rather than the identity of the older

and religious population, which in fact is perceived as not just representing but also as

perhaps *constituting* these problems. The teaching and learning of soca musicking,

despite the associated identities of immorality, apathy, promiscuity, and

irresponsibility, is important to these people, since it represents and, for some,

constructs, corporeal and intellectual freedom.

The teaching and learning of soca music is also important to some older

people, such as the interviewee above from the former Grenada Carnival Committee.

Since soca music is incredibly popular, particularly amongst young people in the

broader Caribbean region, the Grenadian government and the Grenada Carnival

Committee/Spicemas Corporation (GCC/SC) have recently placed an emphasis on the

teaching and learning of soca music. For example, in 2011, the GCC/SC introduced

Soca Thursdays, at which soca artistes had the opportunity to perform their socas; the

purpose of this initiative was to popularise the artistes and their songs, and to prepare

for the Soca Monarch competition in the weeks leading up to Carnival, for audiences

who pay a nominal fee. In 2011, the GCC/SC also facilitated the first ever secondary

school Soca Monarch competition at the National Stadium. To promote and prepare

for this competition, facilitators went into secondary schools to run clinics on writing

and performing soca music, and there were prizes offered for the winners and their

representative schools, as reported by Abigail McIntyre on the Grenada Information

Service (GIS) on 12 May 2011 (McIntyre, 2011).

A few days prior to this report, in a press release on 8 May 2011, also on the

GIS, Senator Arley Gill, the Minister responsible for culture, had described this

particular competition as 'fall[ing] in line with the Ministry's thrust to groom the

young ones in participating in cultural events'. This comment conceivably was neither

appreciated nor embraced by many Grenadians, for whom, as described above, soca represents a rejection of morality and responsibility and for whom soca is therefore an inappropriate and inaccurate representation of Grenadian culture, and should be regarded as especially so for Grenada's young adolescents, as articulated to me in many conversations with informants. Indeed, for some, soca music is at the very least trivial and superficial, but for many, it is morally reprehensible – and according to them, it has no place whatsoever in the school. For these people, the thought of the government and the schools promoting soca music for the youth by way of a fancy competition at the National Stadium, with prizes not only for the adolescents who perform well but also for their representative schools, is imaginably an appalling one. Nonetheless, the competition was certainly embraced by many young people and their school administrators, again pointing to the many layers of controversy involved in soca music and its values.

Conclusion

The foregoing discussion suggests that the increasing prevalence both of American music and of soca music brings the identities of secularised young people to the forefront of Grenadian identity, as perceived both within Grenada as well as beyond. The perceived and ascribed associations of these musics – globalisation, freedom, and independence, and at the same time, apathy, promiscuity, inauthenticity, and irresponsibility – are at the heart of controversies of musicking and identities in Grenada. Certain Grenadians feel that 'real' Grenadian identity is thus being smothered and that young Grenadians have lost interest in their 'own' culture; while many from the younger generation feel alienated from traditional folk forms, seeing them as being far removed from their lived experiences. But, it is not quite as clear-

cut a situation as it might appear at this stage; younger people *do* in fact sometimes want to know and want to feel connected to these folk forms, as we will indeed see in the next chapter.

The transmission of music-as-identity in present-day Grenada is thus multifaceted and multicontextual. American and soca music promote, according to some, an *anti*-Grenadian identity, with young people effectively rejecting the 'real' Grenadian identity that older persons struggled to create during the Gairy era and the revolution. In the eyes of many young people, traditional Grenadian musical practices seem to represent and signify an identity that is still bound to colonialism, oppression, and sexual and corporeal restriction. There are, then, profoundly conflicting ideas as to what music should represent Grenadian identity, and the transmission of musicking in Grenada is duly affected by these ongoing negotiations of identities and the values they represent.

Chapter 6: Cultural Education and Carnival in Grenada

Introduction

During the months of April and May, as I neared the end of my fieldwork, I visited

the Ministry of Culture a number of times to interview the people who are largely

responsible for cultural initiatives and cultural education in Grenada. One interviewee

told me that the current aims of the Ministry of Culture are threefold: to preserve and

promote Grenadian culture, to develop Grenadian culture through training and

education, and to develop cultural industry. This interviewee went on to say that these

things need to be *taught*; that they cannot be taken for granted, since foreign

influences are pervasive:

> First of all, [we want] the foresight to preserve and promote Grenadian
> culture…Secondly, we want to develop the culture. Develop the artform
> through training and so on, to refine the skills of the performers and that sort
> of thing. Thirdly, I would say to develop the cultural industry…I think it needs
> to be taught…because we cannot take it for granted. With the cultural
> penetration from the West, Canada, the US and so on, which we all know is a
> real thing, we have to ground our kids in school, we have to *fight* cultural
> penetration and cultural imperialism. Because the cultures of the West, in
> some cases, is not progressive culture; is not good for our kids. Some of the
> things that they see on television and the Internet and so on. So from that
> perspective, to fight back cultural penetration and cultural imperialism, we
> must teach our kids.
>
> <div align="right">Interview with a Ministry of Culture employee
5 May 2011</div>

There is evidently a strong sentiment here that some of the foreign music and culture

seen on television and on the Internet is not progressive, and that it is thus not 'good'

for the children of Grenada. This was also evidenced in official governmental

propaganda, such as this statement by Senator Arley Gill in his 2011 Christmas

message, in which he said that Grenadian culture is interconnected with the 'essence

of who *we* are' (italics mine):

> To lose or to destroy our culture, is tantamount to losing the essence of who we are as a people (Gill, 2011, transcription by the author).

The Ministry of Culture, then, is evidently in part privileging the teaching of 'traditional' music and culture – what they feel authentically represents Grenadian identities. I was told by one informant that this focus on culture is new – it previously having been on Western art music – and was only instituted when Thomas Matthew became the Chief Cultural Officer.[194] For example, one initiative spearheaded by the Ministry of Culture involves sending tutors into schools to teach music, usually specifically for festivals or competitions (e-mail correspondence with a music teacher, 11 June 2013). One such tutor (a violin teacher) whom I interviewed told me that the government places a strong emphasis on teaching folk music in the schools that receive this tuition:

> Interviewer: What kind of music does the Ministry of Culture like to focus on when teaching students?
>
> Interviewee: Mainly folkloric…
>
> Interviewer: Really.
>
> Interviewee: Yes.
>
> Interviewer: Is that a new thing, or has it always been that way, within the government?
>
> Interviewee: Well, I have only been within the government for three years. Since I'm here, yes. All the different dance, drama, mainly focusing in the folkloric aspects. It includes other things, but mainly it is to enhance…I think the main thing is just to rescue the values and don't lose the identity of the country, as it is. You know, there's the influence of other bigger countries, America especially, the UK, and all the rest of the…bigger countries. You take it, you can't help it, it just takes over. So what we try to do, since we have the opportunity to work directly with the schools, at an early age, at least…give that feeling for your culture where your country, the things, the different aspects of the arts, in your country. Then after that, when we can't reach them, that's it! …We did our best to educate them on what is Grenada,

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[194] This informant also told me that Matthew was the first in this position to have completed graduate work in a Caribbean country (in this case, Jamaica), rather than England (e-mail correspondence with a music teacher, 11 June 2013).

patriotism, you know, your country…your songs, your instruments, your pieces of drama, literature…Even if you don't like it, at least you know it.
Interview with a violin teacher in the Ministry of Culture
12 April 2011

I found these statements to be interesting for a number of reasons: the interviewee's focus on 'rescuing' values – indicating, conceivably, that more popular contemporary musics are potentially not passing on the values of Grenadian culture, or worse, that they are passing on less desirable or undesirable values and identities. It also seems as if there is a feeling that if Grenadian people don't internalise *Grenadian* music and culture – the things that constitute 'what *is* Grenada', as this interviewee says (italics mine) – whatever that may be, at an early age, that associated Grenadian values will never be passed on, that people will never be 'reached'. The metaphor here of 'reaching out', through music, implies that the older generation has the best, truest, and most authentic cultural knowledge and that this must be bestowed upon the younger generation, who may or may not be willing to accept it, and who may or may not feel as though *they* are culture-bearers in their own right, whether in 'traditional' Grenadian artforms, or in modern, globalised artforms.

In this final chapter, I will discuss why older persons often feel a sense of culpability for the evident lack of interest in folk and grassroots artforms amongst young people, why some young people feel that the older generation *should* be held responsible in many ways for this perceived lack of transmission, and also why young people themselves often do not feel a sense of connection to traditional Grenadian musicking, despite usually viewing it as an integral part of their cultural heritage and identity. I will also examine cultural initiatives that have sprung from the feeling of responsibility to 'rescue' the young people in Grenada, taking into account perspectives from various younger informants, and analysing why some informants (particularly young people) feel that such initiatives are 'inauthentic' and superficial. I

will conclude the chapter with an examination of Grenada's largest cultural festival, Carnival, and the conflicts and controversies that exist therein – primarily those of commercialisation, financial gain, and representation of Grenadian identity in J'Ouvert morning.

Blame, Responsibility, and Culture

Numerous young people, in feeling that the older generation holds them responsible for the lack of transmission of folk artforms (and undeniably many do, as discussed with multiple informants), expressed to me that it was rather the older generation's responsibility to transmit these things, and thus that older persons should be blamed for any loss in traditional Grenadian musicking. There was also a feeling that generally the transmission of folk culture was not done in a way that was meaningful to the youth, and that traditional Grenadian musicking therefore currently holds little significance for many young people, or is only meaningful in very specific contexts or at very specific times. One interviewee explained to me that young people can only do what they see and learn; according to this informant, the older generation didn't 'take the time' – implying that they *could* have, but chose not to – to transmit folk artforms, and yet now (unfairly) blames the younger generation for a lack of transmission in traditional Grenadian music, dance, and folklore:

> I think that most old persons don't give us the benefit of the doubt. I think that they tend to blame us – 'Oh, these young people,' – but they have to understand that we only do what we see, what we learn. If they don't take the time to pass it down, then we won't know.
>
> Interview with a chorister
> 27 April 2011

This response was echoed by another young singer, who commented that the transmission of traditional artforms was the responsibility of older people, and also indicated that if the older generation had 'cultured them' – indicating conceivably that

this was more than just a matter of formal teaching and learning but rather of doing it

themselves in an authentic way – there perhaps would not have been a loss in

transmission of traditional musicking:

> It was their responsibility to pass on what they knew. So it's not that we didn't
> want to learn, we wasn't really cultured in that way, of knowing what to sing
> and knowing the music. Like, *they* knew it.
>
> <div align="right">Interview with a gospel singer
27 April 2011</div>

This sense of blame was also expressed to me by some informants of the older

generation. One informant with whom I spoke claimed responsibility on behalf of the

older generation for not transmitting traditional cultural practices, thus creating a

divide with the younger generation:

> I am not one to blame young people for not engaging and embracing our
> culture, and the traditional aspects of our culture. I actually blame us as adults.
> If we have not shared it, they don't know it. There is a disconnect.
>
> <div align="right">Interview with a Ministry of Culture employee
27 April 2011</div>

Another interviewee, a music teacher, also pointed to this notion of disconnect and

alienation in discussing music education in Grenada, faulting technology and parental

obligations for the lack of transmission:

> Interviewee: I would like them to – I really think I would lean the folk way,
> you know. Get our folk music, get them to sing them more, and to develop
> that somehow…Because I know, because I realise that it's dying. The other
> day they asked me to help with the folk festival. I go into the school and I say,
> 'Surely you know this!' 'Noooo, never heard!' You know? I thought, why
> aren't parents handing down these folk songs to them? You know? Just that. I
> feel our folk is our people. It's something of us, you know? And if that's lost,
> well, that's sad. *I* think.
>
> Interviewer: Why do you think the parents aren't passing them on?
>
> Interviewee: The parents are too busy. The parents aren't spending enough
> time with their children I think. Too much television? Too many attractions
> out there? So that simple life, that simple homely life, is gone. People used to
> play stone games, they would gather on an evening and tell Nanci stories[195]
> under the moonlight, and sing these songs. I don't think there's that sort of

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[195] Short for 'Ananci'; see page 13, footnote 19.

> thing happening now…Some of our kids do *not* know any of the patois songs, because they haven't been handed down! You know?
>
> <div align="right">Interview with a music teacher
26 April 2011</div>

We can see here very directly that this interviewee unambiguously links musicking with a sense of collective identity, and that there is a strong connection of how identity is being challenged, or even destroyed, with the 'death' of traditional musicking practices. There is an almost palpable sense of loss here: our folk is our people; it's something *of us* – and it is dying. *We* – our sense of self and what we know to be authentically 'us'; what we fought for through eras of political turmoil, colonialism, imperialism, racism, classicsm – *we* are therefore also dying.

This is perhaps why there has been a recent thrust in Grenada to develop events that promote the transmission of traditional and grassroots Grenadian artforms, and the ways in which these are done: in seeing that the folk culture unique to the island was becoming increasingly seen as irrelevant to the youth of Grenada and beginning to die out, the Government of Grenada and other cultural bodies (such as the Spicemas Corporation) have facilitated numerous initiatives to 'rescue' them especially in recent years, thus also rescuing 'authentic' Grenadian identities – that is, the types of 'our' Grenadian identities that the older generation wishes to instil and nurture in the younger (regardless of young people's interest). Within many of these initiatives, successful or not, is a focus on not just learning but also *understanding* the significance of these traditional, 'authentic' Grenadian artforms: why they were done historically, and why they are important (at least, according to some) to Grenadian identities presently.

'Rescuing' Unique Grenadian Musicking

Very little music, if any, was considered by my interviewees to be 'unique' to

Grenada, with the exception of the cocoa lute (see page 107), Jab Jab music (see page

252), certain folk songs or variations of folk songs, and some Carnival characters,

such as the Jab Jab (see page 252), Vieux Coux (see page 109), Wild Indian,[196] Juju

warrior,[197] and Shortknee[198] (Phillip, 2011). In an interview on GIS Spice Mornings,

Claudette Joseph of the Spicemas Corporation said that there are currently initiatives

in Grenada to revive some of these 'unique' Grenadian artforms; the preservation of

which is often a topic of conversation on Grenadian talk shows and news

programmes, as I myself witnessed, particularly around Carnival and Independence:

> …one of the things we're doing as the Spicemas Corporation is to try to revive some of the
> artforms, like the cocoa lute, and the tamboo bamboo, and some of the ones that we haven't
> seen yet. But we know that they are part of Grenadian cultural heritage, we're trying to get
> people more interested, and to find some of the older folks before they leave us, to pass on the
> knowledge of these dying arts (interview with Claudette Joseph, 2012, transcription by the
> author).

The concept of uniqueness is an interesting one: What is unique? What isn't? Can

something still be unique while being shared? Many of my interviewees told me that

although they did not consider much (if any) of Grenadian music to be distinctive

from other West Indian countries, they felt that the way Grenadians *do* music is

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[196] Dressing up and dancing as aboriginal peoples.
[197] Characters who wear grass skirts, painted silver facial markings, and carry swords or hatchets.
According to Liverpool, 'Ju-Ju' is a West African term for artefacts used in witchcraft (Liverpool,
1993).
[198] The Shortknee character, according to Taylor, is a 'pulsating portrait of…Caribbean hybridity'.
Taking its roots in the European character Pedrolina (which evolved into the Pierrot character in the
Caribbean), the Shortknee is dressed in breeches, stockings, and a bodice with long sleeves made of
brightly coloured fabric and decorated with tiny 'protective' mirrors that reflect one's enemies, a wire
screen mask that covers the talcum powder-whitened face, a piece of thick fabric on the head made to
look like a hood, and bells called 'wooloes' on the feet. The Shortknee bands, following the band
leader, dance and stomp rhythmically, singing songs of satire, scorn, or bravado in a call-and-response
fashion. They use these songs to accuse members of the community of moral wrongdoing. The
Shortknee, who, through his masking 'sees himself as a stand in for a visiting ancestor' (for, according
to Taylor, 'the presence of a mask always signify [*sic*] the visit of an ancestor'), throws talcum powder
on friends and spectators who give donations, and may be violent toward those who do not. To deny
the Shortknee 'ancestor' a gift is considered a great offence (Taylor, 2009, online).

distinct – the unquantifiable 'Grenadianness' of musicking, and the interactions that

take place within this musicking – as one interviewee said, the *expression* of it:

> One of the things indigenous to us, *I* think, is expression. In any shape, form,
> or fashion.
>
> Interview with a Ministry of Culture employee
> 13 April 2011

Another younger informant put it to me as simply, 'the way *we* do it':

> See, we won't sing folk songs like St Lucians sing folk songs. It is just the
> way *we* do it. We would do it a different way. This is *our* way of doing it.
> Even if it's the same folk songs it's different. …We could take rap and do it
> our own way, and it *could* be Grenadian.
>
> Interview with a gospel singer
> 27 April 2011

The way *we* do things, according to many of my informants, must be passed on. This

was seen by many as more important than the musical materials themselves: truly,

music-as-identity; the way *we* 'musick'. Within this 'we-ness' is the feeling of

belongingness and of collective identity through which one has the sense of *I am*: the

sense of self, of culture, and of nation; the sense of past, of present, and of future; and

also the sense of what I am *not* or we are *not*, through the 'doing' of music. Anything,

according to the interviewee above, *could* be Grenadian, both signifying and adding

to collective Grenadian identities, and it is the 'doing' of it that is the most important

– which again hearkens back to Christopher Small, as this interviewee, an American

who has been teaching music in Grenada for over 20 years, saliently observed:

> I was reading some of Christopher Small's things. I wanted to see where you
> were coming from. I was reading just to see you know, is there anything about
> this that I think relates to Grenada. And one thing that jumped out…the *doing*
> is the most important part. And that struck me because I thought, 'that really is
> very Grenadian'.
>
> Interview with a music teacher
> 8 May 2011

The quotes from the preceding interviews clearly indicate that my informants feel that

musicking and identities are interrelated in Grenada: the way *we* do things, the way

we sing this song, the way *we* play this tune, the way *we* listen to, dance to, and experience music.

Numerous informants expressed to me the importance of teaching the ways in which musical folk forms are sung, played, danced, dramatised, and experienced – 'properly' – so to transmit 'our' cultural values and this Grenadian 'we-ness' to children, such as this informant:

> …[Y]ou start with [the folk songs] first, the dances, the steel band, and things like the music that accompanies Carnival, now we need to say calypsos and so but there is a lot of kinds of music that accompanies the traditional masquerade. For example, the Shortknee bands originated as they sing satire. And they sing the Chantuelle and chorus. Where somebody calls out the chants and the body of the Shortknee answer. The children must know how to do this properly, and that goes with each traditional masquerade because Chantuelle have one rhythm, the Vieux Coux will have another rhythm, and so on. So children – these rhythms are a part of their culture.
> Interview with a Grenadian historian and supporter of the arts
> 19 April 2011

Teaching 'our' music 'our' way is one means of educating children about Grenadian values and ideals, and according to this informant, it is not simply the musical materials which are involved in this teaching, but also 'knowing how' to do this musicking in a 'properly' Grenadian way.

Two choristers with whom I spoke also stressed the necessity of including folk artforms in school music curricula as a means of fighting cultural penetration and of 'bringing back' and preserving Grenada's unique culture and form of expression:

> Interviewee 1: I think maybe if we keep the folk as part of the curriculum it can maybe help to preserve this, so we don't lose it totally. And maybe even bring it back in a way. I mean, we used to have folk singing competitions between the schools, when we were in primary school. We had the folk choir and they would compete against each other.
>
> Interviewee 2: But like I said, it's because of the competition of the big world out there. Listen to the children, and all they're doing is on the TV show and the Wii and the computer games – and the computer stuff, what's on those systems? We're all Americanised.
>
> Interviewee 1: But the point I'm making is, that makes it even more necessary

for us to ensure that our folk music is a part of whatever music curriculum that we have. So that we don't *lose* totally part of *our* culture, *our* form of expression, to something that is totally foreign. We can help to preserve it.

> Interview with two choristers
> 28 April 2011

Many informants, young and old, considered these things to be especially important since the older generation (who *know* these artforms – what they are, how to do them, and their significance) is getting older and dying, as articulated by this younger interviewee in discussing children's music education in Grenada:

I think I would push a lot more for folk, and probably even a bit of calypso, to an extent, a bit of reggae, those things that are Caribbean, and push more for that. Yes, we do other music because, if we're teaching music, why just teach one set of and not teach everything? But I think I'd push more for the local stuff so that we'd learn to appreciate that 'cuz, if we really pay attention we'd hear a lot of American music on the radio and yes, that is what we like, but, the next generation come, they like that, so it's like, when you really think about it, the local tradition kinda melting away, so I think I'd push more for that. So if they learn it from when they are smaller, you know, when they grow up they would teach…'cuz what I learn, that's what I'm going to teach my children…so we would reintroduce, so it would continue to live on. Because as you can see, like, the old persons in the tradition stuff, they're dying, they're going.

> Interview with a chorister
> 27 April 2011

There are many interesting ideas being expressed here: the idea of 'pushing' musicking that is seen as authentically Grenadian and that represents and teaches this authentic Grenadian identity to children: in this case, folk, calypso, reggae – the 'local' stuff – but also the idea that since her generation likes American music, the next generation will too, so why not teach everything? After voicing this opinion, however, the interviewee became reflective, even sad, coming to a realisation that the folk artforms are slowly disappearing as American and global influences continue to pervade Grenadian culture, and as the older generation passes on. This was also expressed by many other informants in the 18-35 age group, who told me that although they wanted primary and secondary school children to learn 'everything' in

school music (once again taking a global perspective), that it was crucial to teach (or to reintroduce), children to traditional Grenadian musicking while they are young so that they would learn to appreciate it and to identify with it, and in fact, teach it to the generation after them: that it is important, as this teenage interviewee said, to reclaim this aspect of Grenadian culture:

> Especially because as we are young, we tend to stretch forth our hands for people away, and we lose what we have…It's important for us to get back what we had.
>
> <div align="right">Interview with chorister and pianist
April 26 2011</div>

Evident in the phrase 'it's important for us to get back what we had' is the implication that something meaningful is lost, and indeed, we need to perhaps get it back before it is gone forever. Many young people, then, although often not engaging with Grenadian folk artforms, still clearly feel a sense of connection to them, and experience the imagined past through traditional Grenadian musicking.

Recent Initiatives

The ambition of the older generation to preserve, promote, and develop uniquely Grenadian culture (musical materials as well as the ways in which 'we' engage in musicking practices) and cultural industry as a means of both passing on societal values and desired Grenadian identities and also as encouraging economic gain is, as we have just seen, viewed by many as extremely important. This is evident in the recent (re)introduction of various cultural events and formalised learning initiatives for which governmental and school officials are responsible, such as the Tivoli Drum Festival, the Prime Minister's Best Village Competition, the Camerhogne Folk Festival, and the Traditional Mas Exhibition and Competition. The aim of many of these initiatives, as will be discussed, is to instil and nurture the older generation's idea of 'authentic' Grenadian identity in young people through the transmission and

performance of traditional Grenadian artforms. The younger generation, often identifying more with popular musical and cultural forms as described in the previous chapter, sometimes shuns these efforts (despite generally thinking them important, as just discussed), finding their teaching and performance superficial.

I will now examine a number of recent initiatives in Grenada designed to promote the teaching and learning of traditional artforms so as to 'rescue', instil, and nurture 'authentic' Grenadian identities, taking first a folk song digitisation project, which involves notating scores and recording audio files of Grenadian folk songs.[199] The Ministry of Culture's intention within this project, according to my informants, is to eventually develop teaching modules within schools to accompany these scores and recordings.[200] The project stems from the teachers' lack of knowledge and resources needed to teach Grenadian folk songs, particularly the patois lyrics that may accompany them (especially since those few who know the patois language are dying out), as this music educator who teaches traditional Grenadian music and dance said:

> Things like the old lance and the heel-toe, those had already pretty well died out. There was just special groups that would get together and do that. Because even by the time *I* got into Arts Festival,[201] they were having a hard time with patois categories. Because there was not enough patois speakers left, to help them with the patois folk songs.
>
> <div align="right">Interview with a music teacher
8 May 2011</div>

Indeed, there has historically been a lack of documentation with regard to Grenada's history and cultural heritage, as this interviewee observed:

> One of the challenges that we have had in Grenada is lack of documentation. I mean, here you are doing a study on Grenadian music. There aren't many studies on Grenadian music, one. And two, Grenadians have not been documenting and studying Grenadian music…We are challenged, as a

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[199] Many of these folk songs, as explained to me by my informants, may not have originated in Grenada but are still considered 'Grenadian'.

[200] As such, all the schools in Grenada have a copy of a book and a CD of Grenadian folk and patriotic songs.

[201] The Festival of the Arts is a judged competition for children showcasing music, dance, poetry readings, and more. It takes place every other year.

country, in terms of documenting our history and heritage.

<div style="text-align: right">

Interview with a member of the Grenada Carnival Committee

27 April 2011

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However, there is a desire in contemporary times to preserve and teach folk artforms and to get them 'right'; many interviewees articulated this sentiment, including this Ministry of Culture employee:

> Most of the time when Independence come around, schools always tend to be asking the Department of Culture for songs and patriotic songs and folk songs, etcetera, etcetera. So this is why we did it [the folk song digitisation project], we said, 'Well, we'll give it to them so they can use.' And I think also to get correct. The children of course…So if we get it correct with that generation by the time the next 4-5 generations would be correct. So that's the reason we decided to do it and make sure that the schools have it first.
>
> <div style="text-align: right">Interview with a Ministry of Culture employee
5 May 2011</div>

My informant stresses that singing folk songs 'correctly' is important – feasibly because he feels that 'incorrect' singing is a result of not knowing one's culture, which is constitutive of much more than singing but also of values, ideals, and sense of self.

In addition to initiatives such as the folk song digitisation project and the various school music programmes that are run through the Ministry of Culture (such as teaching traditional Grenadian folk music by sending out music tutors to the schools, described at the beginning of the chapter), there are a number of musical events and opportunities that exist to promote cultural education, preserve cultural heritage, nurture 'authentic' Grenadian identities, and stimulate financial gain, such as the Junior Calypso Monarch competition, Kiddies Carnival, various steel pan youth programmes, and the Royal Grenada Police Force Band apprenticeship programme. The government and cultural groups have also established various 'traditional' cultural festivals in recent years, such as the Camerhogne Folk Festival and the

Traditional Mas Exhibition and Competition, the significance of which will now be explored.

The Ministry of Culture established the Camerhogne Folk Festival in December 2010 in finding that traditional artforms were not being passed on because of the limited number of 'trained' people in traditional music and dance, and the lack of financial and technical support (Government of Grenada website, 2009). This was confirmed by one of my interviewees who works at the Ministry of Culture, who said:

> We are…aware that over the past few years the tradition [and] the traditional practices in music, food, dance, has slowly been dwindling. There's a big generation gap. So now we've been introducing platforms for the exposition and sharing of that. We just recently did an initiative in December, which we called a folk festival, where we bring communities' people together, to have an exposé. People come in, food, the music, the dance, associated around the life of Grenada, over the past 50 years.
>
> Interview with a Ministry of Culture employee
> 13 April 2011

The Camerhogne Folk Festival, which takes its title from the original name of Grenada as given to it by the Kalinago (Caribs), in particular focuses on the ritual sharing of cooked food at a Saraca[202] (a ritual feast in which food is left for the ancestors and there are also libations; for a description, see Collins (2012)), as well as displays of folk dance. The theme of the Camerhogne Folk Festival is, significantly, *Remembering Our African Tradition: Old Grenada, New Grenada – One Grenada*. It is a calling to 'remember' and to be 'connected' to African ancestors, traditions, and ways of being (Depradine, 2011a), and a call for all Grenadians to identify as 'one' through musicking, acting out ideal relationships as articulated by governmental agencies. This has interesting implications for the power structures that exist in Grenadian cultural spheres: that some are callers, and others, called – and the callers

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[202] Also spelled 'salaka'.

evidently know, understand, and take ownership over 'true' Grenadian musicking and representations of identity.

Like the Camerhogne Folk Festival, the Traditional Mas Exhibition and Competition, established in 2011 by the Grenada Carnival Committee and held in the town of Victoria, St Mark's parish, (which is considered to be the 'home of traditional mas'), focuses on the preserving, teaching, and documenting of traditional Grenadian culture, as well as on bringing economic benefit to the island. Traditional mas, which occurs during Carnival, is 'playing' (i.e. embodying through dress and action) various folkloric characters, such as Vieux Coux, Shortknees, Mud Mas Players, Wild Indians, Apache Indians, Moko Jumbies, Maypole Dancers, and Juju Warriors.[203] According to Traditional Mas Committee Chair Claudette Joseph, it is paramount to ensure the preservation and documentation of traditional mas characters, lest they may die out. She believes that the best way to do this is by exposing and teaching them to the youth 'in a manner that will guarantee its sustainability':

> We have lost too much of our history and our culture…As leaders, we have a responsibility to ensure the preservation and documentation of our culture. We cannot allow the Juju Warriors, the Maypole and others to suffer the same fate as our patois. We need to employ strategies to expose our youth to these cultural artforms and teach it in a manner that will guarantee its sustainability (Spicemas Grenada website, 2011, online).

Spicemas Corporation Chair Colin Dowe, in interviews on 12 May 2011 and 15 June 2011 on the Grenada Information Service's Spice Morning talk show programme, also expressed this, stating that the intent of the Traditional Mas Exhibition and Competition was to bring the focus of Carnival 2011 on the preservation, promotion, and transmission of traditional mas. In the interview, Dowe asserts that Grenadians 'must not let [traditional mas] die', and that it is important to document and *teach* the uniqueness and significance of Grenadian traditional mas:

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[203] To observe some portrayals of these at the 2011 Traditional Mas Exhibition and Competition, see the 'Grenada Traditional Mas in Victoria 2011' video (Various, 2011).

> [Traditional mas and traditional mas characters] are all unique not only to Grenada but unique to this style of Carnival...It's important for us to document. Where did Shortknee come from? What is a Vieux Coux? How do you make the costumes? What is Shakespeare Mas?[204] And *teach* that to our people (interview with Colin Dowe, 2011a, transcription by the author).

This is because, according to Dowe, these things keep Grenadians grounded. Such commentary again highlights that outside cultural influences might perhaps be perceived as taking Grenadians away from their 'roots', and that traditional culture is a means of experiencing and expressing collective belonging and 'real' Grenadian identity:

> [Traditional mas] keeps us grounded as a people (interview with Colin Dowe, 2011b, transcription by the author).

Evidently, the prevalence in the media of preserving and promoting aspects of traditional Grenadian culture and identity through the transmission of musicking is pervasive, indicating that the legitimate fear of losing traditional cultural forms, and the identities that are represented and constituted within these, is in part responsible for the recent surge in cultural initiatives by the older generation in Grenada.

Perspectives from the Younger Generation

Many Grenadians, particularly younger ones, find cultural initiatives such as those described above to be somewhat artificial, since they seem to focus on the performance aspects of culture rather than on the social and historical meanings of Grenadian musicking and rituals, in spite of the best intentions of those that conceive and organise them. Knowledge of traditional Grenadian artforms, according to some of my informants, is therefore often seen as dependent on artificial 'cultural education', wherein Grenadians (and particularly children in schools, according to some of my interviewees who recently graduated from secondary school) are often

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[204] For more information on Shakespeare Mas, please see Fayer & McMurray (1999) and Dionne (2008).

are taught the words, the melodies, and the dances, but crucially, *not the meanings*.

This is also often done within a very short timeframe, as this informant wrote to me:

> Most tutors are given only 2 or 3 weeks to prepare the kids for the 'show'. So, of course, the education is shallow, and it is quite understandable that the youth feel it is 'just for show' and not part of daily life. Dept of Culture is limited in what in can do in schools because the Min [*sic*] of Education refuses to make room in the weekly curriculum for music.
>
> <div align="right">E-mail correspondence with a music teacher
11 June 2013</div>

School and Ministry of Culture initiatives are thus often criticised for, as one older interviewee said, 'wanting the harvest before they plant'. This informant was one of many to tell me that such initiatives frequently were about spectacle and lacked in meaningful education as to the 'why' of what they are doing:

> There's no consistency, always trying to bring culture back so it comes and then it falls, comes and falls.
>
> <div align="right">Interview with a calypsonian
12 April 2011</div>

These initiatives are therefore regarded as being superficial, like wearing a carnival mask – pretty on the outside, but underneath remains the same. 'Culture', according to these interviewees, has become a show put on for national celebrations and for tourists, and many of the youth in particular whom I interviewed feel little connection between the traditional or grassroots cultural practices they do with the cultural practices of older generations, identifying instead with popular culture, media, and values.

Many from the older generation certainly felt that it was because of this reason that there was a sense of disconnection with the younger generation – that they don't want to learn folk culture because they don't connect with it, and they don't relate to it. One informant, speaking as a member of the National Folk Choir, a performance group that presents Grenadian folk music, explained it thus:

> [The National Folk Choir does] classics, we do patriotic songs, which is songs
> of your country, we do calypso, which is again songs that you make up and
> you sing about your country, your people. [We] do folk; folk dances as well as
> the music. Calypso, patriotic, folk, classics…negro spirituals…Most of [the
> older people] would have[205] moved on to other areas or left the country or
> whatever. And the younger people of today, they are not really *committed* to
> this kind of a thing, you know? So I guess that's the reason why it's
> fluctuating [in popularity]. Because they would come, new members were
> coming in but they just don't stay long. They come, they go, they come, they
> go, they come...I don't think it reaches the younger people too well.
>
> <div align="right">Interview with a chorister
29 March 2011</div>

This indeed resonated with my younger interviewees, of whom many felt that

traditional and grassroots Grenadian musicking is not relatable because it has not been

passed on in an 'authentic' way; rather, it is now often taught as staged performance.

This also reflected my experience at the steel pan rehearsal and Panorama, described

in the introduction to Part 3 – it seemed that young people came out to play pan

during the Carnival season because Carnival season is 'the time of year to play pan';

however, the small audience attendance at Panorama seemed to suggest that pan

performance generally was not popular amongst or relatable to young people.

However, the perception that young people don't know, and don't want to

know, 'their' traditional culture was a complex and multifaceted issue; many

informants in their late teens and 20s whom I interviewed, despite not often engaging

with traditional and grassroots musicking, seemed to be strongly aware not only of

'their' culture, but also of the perceived loss that has taken place. Many maintained

that this apparent loss stems both from Grenada's globalisation as well as from a lack

of communication and transmission between the older generation and the younger, as

just described. Many also expressed to me that they felt a desire to 'hold on' to certain

traditional aspects of their culture, particularly in recognising the influence of foreign

cultures, even if they aren't 'very good' at it:

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[205] In Grenadian English, 'would have' often simply means 'have' or 'had'.

In the Caribbean, we're kind of bad when coming to holding on to that…I think seeing as we were so influenced on other types of societies and cultures, it kinda makes us want to hold on, to grab on to certain aspects of our culture. We really, really, really are influenced by Jamaican music, and which is like Vybz Kartel and dancehall, and American music, R&B, the rock, a lot of the rock is on the rise, everybody wants to listen to rock, and that kind of music; rap is like, is so present in Grenada.

<div align="right">Interview with a gospel singer
27 April 2011</div>

Nevertheless, younger interviewees generally felt that embracing global cultural forms was a 'good thing' since it represented globalisation, integration, and one market; it was a manifestation of Grenada's 'development', politically as well as economically:

Interviewee 1: In a sense I believe it's a good thing because we say we believe in globalisation and integration and this and that…that shows us that we are one step closer to becoming in a sense, one market. One step closer to becoming further developed, because if we weren't developed, then we wouldn't have heard this music, because there was no way to get this music. So, in a sense hearing this music tells us that we are, in a sense, becoming more and more developed.

Interviewee 2: That's true, but in a sense, listen, we have all this music and t'ing right? And our own music, we're not hearing it…on the radio, if you put it on, they will say like, 'that's *boring* man, I would rather to listen to the hip hop!' You know? And that's kinda, being the mainstream now, kinda like forgetting the culture a little bit.

Interviewee 3: I think we were cultured that way, into liking American music, and foreign music, 'cuz we were growing up in such a way that even on the television, most of us who had cable TV, would listen to BET, we'd listen to MTV, and our channels, GBN[206]…there's so much things to put in. From TV shows, Prime Minister's speech and stuff that there's no time to put in two songs, that there may be one or two which we kinda grew up on, but what you know is American music. Although she was saying [it] could bring us closer, if we want integration, closer to development – to me it kinda allows us to forget our own. Because the type of songs I would write, it would not be what basically like calypso, folk, it would not be like, it would be R&B, sometimes reggae, it would be funk, it would be hip hop, rap, it's like that really, really influences how we develop basically, musically.

<div align="right">Interview with three choristers
27 April 2011</div>

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[206] BET is 'Black Entertainment Television', an American television station that shows Black American television and music videos; MTV is 'Music Television', an American television station that shows popular music videos; GBN is 'Grenada Broadcasting Network', a Grenadian television station.

For these young people, embracing global musics means embracing modernity –

globalisation, technology, and consumerism. It means that Grenada has moved

beyond its third world status; that the 'backward' days of their parents are in the past.

Nonetheless, many young people in Grenada – including nearly all of my

interviewees in this age group – still evidently feel a sense of connection to traditional

Grenadian musicking, and want to be able to engage with it in a way that is

meaningful for them.

A Case Study of Controversies of Musicking and Identity in Spicemas

I will now analyse some of the controversies I have been examining in the context of

Grenada's largest cultural festival, Carnival, which takes place annually in August.

Grenada's present-day Carnival, called 'Spicemas', comprises traditional Carnival

components such as mas, steel pan, and calypso alongside more contemporary

components, such as the Soca Monarch competition and Monday Night Mas.[207] Many

indicated that Carnival was a way for Grenadians to showcase their particularity –

who they 'really' are – conveying to me that perhaps if one does not experience

Grenadian culture (whatever that may be), one does not *really* know the Grenadian

people. This was articulated by even some of my youngest interviewees, such as this

fifth grade student:

> Carnival tells us that Grenada is very special and unique. And it's [*sic*] people
> like to show their true colours. And make themselves proud and show the
> world what they really are and how wonderful Grenada is.
> <div align="right">Grade 5 student journal entry
22 March 2011</div>

In investigating the various aspects of Carnival and their significance, I found

that Spicemas is perceived as intimately linked to Grenadian identities, and that this is

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[207] A large outdoor party the Monday night of Carnival at which it is popular to wear brightly coloured clothing and dance with glow sticks.

manifested in a host of ways: in claiming 'African' identities and connecting with

ancestors in traditional mas and folk artforms, in constructing or inventing identity

through representations of self-as-other in masking and costuming, and in presenting

a global, technological identity through modern genres and approaches, for example.

Some Grenadians also purposefully abandon identities with which they do not,

cannot, or will not relate through a rejection of Carnival's artforms, as we will see.

Carnival in Grenada thus simultaneously reinforces and challenges Grenadian

identities through the values, ideologies, and cultural meanings expressed and

constructed in traditional artforms such as calypso and pan, as well as in more

modernised events such as Soca Monarch and J'Ouvert.

Christopher Small says that people act out and experience desired

relationships through the gestural language that occurs in ritual, affirming their

community. He elaborates thus:

> Ritual is a form of organized behavior in which humans use the language of gesture, or
> paralanguage, to affirm, to explore and to celebrate their ideas of how relationships of the
> cosmos (or of a part of it), operate, and thus of how they themselves should relate to it and to
> one another. Through their gestures, those taking part in the ritual act articulate relationships
> among themselves that model their relationships of their world as they imagine them to be and
> as they think (or feel) that they ought to be… During the enactment of the ritual, time is
> concentrated in a heightened intensity of experience. During that concentrated time,
> relationships are brought into existence between the participants that model, in metaphoric
> form, ideal relationships as they imagine them to be. In this way the participants not only
> *learn about* those relationships but actually *experience* them in their bodies. They explore the
> relationships, they affirm and they celebrate them, without having to articulate them in words;
> indeed, no words can adequately express the relationships as they are felt at that time. (Small,
> 1998, pp. 95-96).

Grenadians thus use the rituals in Carnival as a means of both representing and

constructing 'Grenadianness', but there are certainly, as we will see, conflicting ideas

as to which rituals 'explore, affirm, and celebrate' the 'right' kinds of relationships

and the 'right' kinds of identities.

Carnival, which takes its root in Southern Europe as a Roman Catholic appropriation of the pagan feast Saturnalia,[208] was originally a festival of eating, drinking, and merry-making the Monday and Tuesday before Ash Wednesday and the commencement of Lent.[209] Initially a festivity of the elite, in which the white population would dress as members of the European aristocracy[210] and feast, Carnival was introduced to the African slaves in the Caribbean by French settlers in the late 1700s. The African community, upon observing the elaborate and ornate masked balls held by the French upper class, began to have their own private celebrations fusing the French traditions with African rituals after Emancipation, when they were permitted to participate more openly in Carnival activities. These celebrations included reciting folktales, dressing up and mocking the plantation masters, stick-fighting, and cannes broulées, as well as emulating characters from West African folklore. It was at this time that Carnival quickly became dissociated with the white upper class and instead became principally a celebration of the ex-slave population, who appropriated it as their own both as a means of resistance against European culture as well as a means of survival in retaining their own traditions (Liverpool, 1993).[211]

Grenada's Carnival has over the years increasingly become institutionalised and commercialised – indeed, even the change of date from pre-Lent to August was done to promote tourism – transitioning from a traditional festival in which every village 'played mas' to a national, money-driven tourist attraction that takes place in the main town of St George's. In order to understand the significance of this

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[208] A mid-winter Roman Feast deeply rooted in the pagan community.

[209] The forty days of fasting and pious behaviour which occurs six weeks before Easter in the Roman Catholic Church calendar.

[210] For example, kings, queens, knights, dukes, and barons.

[211] Rohlehr (1985) notes that after the African appropriation of Carnival, Europeans abandoned the festivity for nearly eight decades; appalled at the behaviour displayed at Carnival, and often calling for its abolition.

institutionalisation and commercialisation, I offer De Jong's discussion of 'folklorisation'. De Jong defines folklorisation as:

> …a process, common to many contested cultural fields, that takes locally held and practiced cultural forms and standardizes, homogenizes, and places them into the public domain beyond the control of the local community (De Jong, 2012, p. 80).

The 'modernisation', folklorisation, and commercialisation of Carnival has led to tensions over what constitutes 'Carnival' and of how Carnival is representative of Grenadian culture – for Carnival, in many respects, has become exactly what (white) tourists expect and is now far-removed from what it once was, according to some. While many are pleased with the economic benefits of Carnival, numerous interviewees expressed sadness, anger, and distaste with the ever-growing commercialisation of Spicemas, which include advertisements promoting alcohol consumption, the prevalence of recorded and amplified soca music, and more. One interviewee, an older female calypsonian who had grown up in a rural area in Grenada, gave me a particularly poignant description on the effects of commercialisation in Carnival:

> But what you see happen now, is they commercialise it. Since they commercialised the Carnival, they lost the original traditional mas…With the commercialisation of Carnival, and everything culture and everything, everything coming together, you find these things are different, we lost, we're sort of a lost; losing. Instead of we holding on to ours, we let the others take over within. Instead of you giving me mines and I giving you yours; instead of that we try to leave ours which is so unique! You know, take on the other kinda cultures and that is really bad… I think you must treat your culture like yours and treat it really high and in high esteem. And it must be, when you identify, when people see you stand there, you must identify with your culture. It's not standing like in the next man's boots.
>
> Interview with a calypsonian
> 20 April 2011

This commercialisation, according to some informants, creates an atmosphere in which many Grenadians are increasingly feeling unable to identify with Carnival – the focus on money and the marketing of Carnival for tourists renders Carnival more of a business than a traditional Grenadian expression of culture. Some musicians even

feel they have a responsibility to 'perform' their culture for tourists, as this Grenadian

artiste said on an episode of the television show Meet the Artist:

> When people leave Canada and New York and all over the world to come, they come to see the artistes perform, they come to see mas, they come to see music, they come to see our culture. And we're responsible for taking that culture to them (interview with Sean Felix, 2011, transcription by the author).

In 'performing' their culture, according to the following informant, artistes also

increasingly feel the need to be paid as performers rather than musicking simply for

personal or societal benefit:

> They [the musicians] don't want to make no contribution to nothing. These days, nobody does nothing for free. Gone are the days when it used to be Carnival was a thing and, because you really like the artform…they have to get something in return. They're not seeing the benefit that it gives to other people.
>
> Interview with a chorister
> March 29, 2011

Another concern in culture-as-performance is that there arises from this a

notion of 'good' and 'bad' musicking, in which excellence in traditional musicking

should be seen and experienced and poorly-performed musicking should not.

'Professional' musicking experiences therefore in some ways bear little resemblance

to the original folk traditions, which were done just 'for their own sake'. Small, in his

analysis of Western music as a commercialised, commodified artform that exists in

capitalistic and imperialistic societies, argues that in Western cultures, the emphasis

on the buying and selling of the musical object, and the accompanying standard of

'excellence' – rather than on the social aspect of the musicking process – excludes,

disempowers, and even prohibits those without 'musical aptitude' from musicking,

and renders music a pastime for the elite and 'talented' (Small, 1987). Therefore,

those who are not 'talented' are made to feel as though they *shouldn't* music; that they

are not 'good enough' and do not have the 'right' to music. As time goes on, only

those who identify as 'musicians' will music, while 'non-musicians' will increasingly

become silent. This means that, inevitably, the music that comes to the forefront of Grenadian identities through the process of commercialisation is limited to the music that is 'performed' by the 'musicians', rather than the folk artforms that are (or were) not 'performed' as such, but rather are integrated into the routines and rituals of everyday life.

In reducing music to simply an object which one can buy and sell, the music that is privileged by those with disposable income and by those who have been indoctrinated into the capitalist way of thinking – in this case, the American-influenced, consumerist younger generation and the tourists – will become the most popular, and will come to the forefront of Grenadian identities along with music that is privileged by advertisers who want to promote and sell to these populations, perpetuating the presumed or imposed values and identities of the consumers. These values and identities can be contrary to the preferred values and identities of certain Grenadians, since, for these people, consumerism can be associated with undesired, inauthentic, and even immoral identities.

J'Ouvert

…The darkness enshrouds the Jab Jab devil characters, blackened with tar and old oil, as they dance grotesquely, wearing horned helmets and carrying chains – a cry back to emancipation from slavery…As the dawn breaks, brightly coloured paint is splattered over everyone, everything. 'We playin' a wicked jab!' shouts a J'Ouvert reveller…The rhythms enter my body with pulsing vibrations and deafening bass beats, and I join in the dancing, the singing…

<div align="center">***</div>

To effectively market Spicemas as a Carnival that is unique and appealing to young people and to tourists, the then-GCC (Grenada Carnival Committee) chose as the themes for Spicemas 2010 and Spicemas 2011 *We Playin Ah Wicked Mas*, after Tallpree's popular song 'We Playin Ah Wicked Jab' (Tallpree, 2009), and *Uniquely*

Rooted in Our Rich Ancestral Traditions. Spicemas: Home of 100,000 Jab Jabs,

respectively. These tourist- and youth-oriented themes – which evoke the Jab Jab

'devil' and J'Ouvert's 'devil mas' wining, drinking, and body painting – were

extremely controversial in Grenada, especially for the memberships of certain

Christian churches. In this section, the thesis will explore why, exactly, these themes,

J'Ouvert morning, the Jab Jab character, and the musicking and identities associated

with them, are so controversial in present-day Grenada.

J'Ouvert[212] begins in the early-morning hours of Carnival Monday with the

Jab Jab,[213] Jab Molassie,[214] and devil mas bands[215] 'on the road' wearing nearly

nothing apart from horned helmets, and dragging chains and other objects

symbolising slavery. Jab Jabs, with their bodies stained black with paint, motor oil,

grease, molasses, or mud, aim to horrify spectators with their grotesque appearance

and lewd dancing, while soca music that is infused with the Jab Jab rhythm[216] booms

out of trucks piled high with huge speakers, as described at the very beginning of this

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[212] J'Ouvert (pronounced 'joo-vay'; from the French *jour ouvert*, meaning day opens, or daybreak), takes its origin from the folktale about a soucouyant who, after shedding its skin at midnight, flies through the air to suck the blood of an innocent victim. Before the soucouyant can re-enter her skin at daybreak, someone sprinkles salt on it, preventing her from taking her original form. Upon finding her skin, she cries, 'jouvay, jou paka ouvay?' ('daybreak, or no daybreak?') (Hill, 1985).

[213] 'Jab Jab' is Grenadian patois for the French, 'diable diable' ('devil devil').

[214] Jab Molassie, patois for 'devil molasses', was the original form of Jab Jab. Since molasses was readily available on the plantations, it was used to colour the skin dark. When the plantation system collapsed, the participants began to use oil. The difference between the Jab Jab and Jab Molassie has become blurred over time; like the Jab Jab, the Jab Molassie colours his or her body black or other colours, may be carrying chains or other paraphernalia representing slavery, and will gyrate and dance grotesquely.

[215] In addition to the people 'playing jab', you can see the Ole Mas bands on J'Ouvert morning, in which people wear satirical costumes and placards that contain double entendre and social commentary.

[216] Jab Jab music (music that has the Jab Jab rhythm), which has a distinctive and repetitive blaring conch shell and fast drumming, was considered to be uniquely and authentically Grenadian by a number of my interviewees, and is also described as such on the Spicemas website:

> Jab Jab…is the most glaring indigenous, locally made artefact of Grenada's carnival [*sic*] (Depradine, 2011b, online).

It was popularised through Tallpree's soca song, *Old Woman Alone* (1999), which received international recognition; now, many soca songs in Grenada employ the Jab Jab rhythm, especially around Carnival time.

thesis. In Grenada, the most popular mas to play at J'Ouvert is 'colour mas',[217] which

involves 'chipping and wining'[218] down the road with a band while covering one

another in hues of red, green, blue, yellow, and orange, and drinking rum or Carib

beer dispensed by street side vendors or from the trucks 'on the road'.[219] J'Ouvert

morning is one of the most popular Carnival events, and many aspects of it are unique

to Grenada, including the Jab Jab character and the Jab Jab rhythm. 'Playing Jab',

with its drinking, wining, loud music, and general sense of abandon and revelry, is an

extremely controversial representation of Grenadian identity.

> Of J'Ouvert, Grenadian historian and educator Nicole Phillip says:

> > [Our African ancestors] displayed their interpretation of their former slave masters in the form of Jab Jab. The cruelty they had undergone during slavery was aptly expressed in their representations of their masters as evil, and dressed in black. In their minds, anyone who has made them suffer such unspeakable atrocities could only be portrayed as being evil (Phillip, 2011, online).

Thus, through embodying and evoking imagined memories of their enslaved African

past, consciously or unconsciously, Grenadians in contemporary times are 'exploring,

affirming, and celebrating', as Small (1998) would say, relationships that emphasise

identities which are manifested in the imagined collective memory of what they are

(African; former slave; Grenadian) and what they are not (white; master; other).

The use of the 'devil' image as representative of Grenadian identities and

imagined pasts is, however, highly problematic for countless Grenadians: many reject

the musicking and associated values and ideals of J'Ouvert, despite these being a

significant part (to some) of Grenadian history and culture, as observed by this

informant:

> Persons find it difficult to identify with that devil image that is the Jab Jab. And hence, the challenge. Because…no one would want to know about the

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[217] According to one informant, the use of paint has only occurred in the past 5 years because the Ministry of Health published and promoted documents and media on the health hazards of using motor oil (e-mail correspondence with a music teacher, 11 June 2013).
[218] See page 1, footnotes 4 and 5.
[219] A figure of speech; literally on the road, and also participating in Carnival.

> devil, because the devil is bad. But, it is a part, it is a portrayal. And we're not *promoting* evil, but that unique aspect that occurs on J'Ouvert morning.
>
> <div align="right">Interview with a Ministry of Culture employee
27 April 2011</div>

This was also observed by Nicole Phillip in a continuation of the quote above:

> The Jab Jab is a representation, therefore, of our history. It is a representation of what our African forefathers thought of their European masters. Anyone who has studied slavery…will understand why they saw their masters in that light…[C]elebrating and recognizing one's history does not mean or is not synonymous with being non-Christian (Phillip, 2011, online).

The idea that the Jab Jab 'devil' character, the associated Jab Jab rhythm, and the accompanying drinking, wining, and recklessness that take place on J'Ouvert morning represent Grenadian identity is troubling for some. Many Grenadian Christians view drinking, sexual dancing, and portraying the devil as sinful, even if they know and appreciate the historical basis of J'Ouvert. Controversially, the theme (*Uniquely Rooted in Our Rich Ancestral Traditions*) and tagline (*Spicemas: Home of 100,000 Jab Jabs*) for Grenada's 2011 Carnival does not ask, but rather tells and insists that all Grenadians are Jab Jab 'devil characters':[220] that they *all* take part in the revelry that occurs on J'Ouvert morning, including engaging in partying, sexual dancing, and drinking, and that these are the things that all Grenadians are 'rooted' in: historically in their 'ancestral traditions', as well as in the present day. In fact, many people in Grenada strongly do *not* identify with the symbolism, the history, or the values that accompany J'Ouvert and Jab Jab music – and thus, cannot 'explore, affirm, and celebrate' (Small, 1998) relationships with other Grenadians through them. By insinuating that all Grenadians 'play a wicked Jab', the Grenada Carnival Committee stripped many Grenadians of certain identities and enforced other, unwanted ones upon them – identities that stand in conflict with religious belief, with values, ethics, and morality. For some, these ascribed identities were unacceptable; as much was stated in the press release below by the Alliance of Evangelical Churches:

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[220] The population of Grenada, according to the 2011 census, was 104,890 people.

[The theme is] distasteful and disrespectful of the sensibilities of Grenadians who subscribe to Biblical Christianity…[Jab Jab is] a celebration and worship of Satan who was cast out of heaven in the first place because of his ambition and desire to claim God's prerogatives (Government of Grenada, 2011a, online).

Some interviewees, when asked about Carnival, J'Ouvert, and these controversies, questioned where their personal identities fit in the Grenadian context, if they do not associate with 'Grenadian' music and culture. Interestingly, it is not just the lyrics that they find troubling – it is also the rhythm or 'beat'. Certain informants described it as a 'double culture' of sorts, in which one is 'Grenadian', but musically, they are something else, such as in the opinions of these two Seventh Day Adventist choral singers:

> Interviewee 1: In our culture, at least when I say 'our culture', it's like a double culture, the 'Grenadian' culture plus the '[Seventh Day] Adventists in Grenada' culture. Calypso and soca and those rhythms associated with it, are not seen in a positive way, based on my experiences. It's kind of like, frowned upon. Irregardless of the lyrics, they, at one time they used to call it what? Gospelypso?

> Interviewee 2: But we still have that, we still have gospelypso here.

> Interviewee 1: Yeah. But you know, some persons, especially older members of the church – I guess maybe because of the history behind it maybe when they were growing up, the kind of persons who got involved, I don't know the whole story behind it, but it was frowned upon. I think now it's kind of like, a little more accepted?

> Interviewee 2: Well, to me I, I don't accept it. Even though I mean, I'm a young person! I believe that gospel is supposed to, to lift your soul and you know give you peace and make you think about Christ, but gospelypso just make you want to wine!

> Interviewer: So it's not just about the lyrics, it's also the beat, it's the rhythm.

> Interviewee 1: No! It's *never* just about the lyrics – music is *never* just about the lyrics! Because I can be saying something, and you know have no beat to it, no music, then it doesn't make a difference, it doesn't reach you.

> Interviewee 2: I believe that gospel should be about praise, about *praise*. And if when you're praising your hips are moving in ways that will distract from the message, it can't be praise, it can't be praise…In these gospelypso songs it's not any kind of transportation, it's how much you 'wuk up yuhself'.
>
> Interview with two church choir singers
> 5 May 2011

The 'beat', for these informants and for many other Grenadians, is therefore just as overtly representative of ideologies, values, and identities as lyrics, and if the rhythm sounds a certain way, the message is deemed almost irrelevant. Even some of my youngest interviewees readily discerned 'good' music (church music) from 'bad' music (soca 'party' music):

> Interviewee 1: My daddy plays bad musics.
>
> Interviewer: What about other members of your family? Anyone else in your family make music?
>
> Interviewee 1: Nobody.
>
> Interviewer: Nobody? How about you, Renelle?[221]
>
> Interviewee 2: Miss, my auntie makes music and my mommy, my cousin, my grandpa sing; sing bad people songs.
>
> <div align="right">Interview with two grade 1 students
1 March 2011</div>

The 'good' music and the 'bad' music are intricately linked to 'good' identities and 'bad' identities, and therefore, being associated with the 'bad' music – lyrics and music as well as rhythm – assigns undesired 'bad' identities upon those who are engaged with musicking these musics. A forced association with the Jab Jab character, Jab Jab music, and the Jab Jab rhythm would consequently ascribe identities that are, by many, perceived as 'sinful': Satanism, drinking, and sex.

The GCC/SC thus privileges musicking that is representative of and constitutes values and ideologies that are adverse to the values and ideologies of many in the older generation and those who subscribe to certain religious beliefs. Carnival brings these 'unwanted' (by some) values and ideologies to the forefront of Grenadian identities both within Grenada and to the world, causing a rupture in relationships between those who embrace this musicking and these identities, and those who do

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[221] Name has been changed.

not. Especially insofar as Spicemas is the most popular cultural event on the island, the transmission controversies that accompany Carnival are extremely significant in discourses concerning musicking and identity in Grenada.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have examined the role that formal and informal music teaching, learning, and performance plays in fulfilling the desire to connect with one's past and present culture, and in the representation and construction of Grenadian values, ideals, and identities. The musicking promoted by the Government of Grenada and cultural organisations such as the GCC/SC, and the relationships and identities that are both represented and constructed within this musicking, are informed by conflicting ideas of authenticity; the notion of traditional culture 'rescuing' young Grenadians; the lack of relatability of folk artforms to young people; the increasing prevalence of performance-based rather than spontaneous cultural events; the commercialisation and commodification of traditional artforms; and the popularity of musicking that contains within it what some consider to be undesired or immoral behaviour. There are, then, many controversies that exist in contemporary cultural initiatives in Grenada.

In the conclusion that follows I will give some final thoughts upon musicking in Grenada, reflecting upon these controversies and their meanings. I thus now turn to my concluding remarks, in which I will undertake a final exploration of the significance of the findings of this study.

Conclusion: Musicking, Identity, and a Sense of Loss in Grenada

...As the last mas band passes us, I notice an older woman standing off to the side, unpainted. She says, to nobody in particular, shaking her head, 'It did not used to be this way. What is this stupidness, nah?' My interest is piqued...

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'It did not used to be this way': I heard this over and over during my time in Grenada, almost always spoken by someone middle-aged or older, and almost always spoken with a note of remorse; grieving for a perceived loss of culture, loss of identity, and above all, loss of sense of nation and self; almost – it seemed at times – akin to the loss of a loved one:

> I don't know when we lost it, when we lost it, when. When we became so not interested in ourselves. You know. But it happened, so – here we are.
>
> Interview with a former calypso judge
> 11 April 2011

In the same vein, younger people also expressed a sense of deep loss, but for different reasons: loss for what seemingly could have been, and loss of connection to the culture of their ancestors. I now feel that I have some sense of the deep dimensions of loss that lay behind the remark of the older woman in the narrative above that 'piqued' my interest and in fact guided me to the rich and complex world I have been exploring since that day.

I stand back now and reflect upon my experiences in Grenada, and this sense of loss as expressed to me by my informants – although I must confess that at the moment of writing it feels nearly impossible to do so, since my experiences in Grenada were so powerful, and indeed life-changing, and these narratives of loss seem almost beyond articulation. Nevertheless, I shall try my best here to put into

these final words the stories of transmission of Grenadian musicking and identity, and remembering and loss, which became known to me throughout the course of my fieldwork.

When I first went to Grenada to study music educational practices there, I had no inkling that issues of the transmission of music would be so incredibly complex. What began as a study of music teaching and learning in Grenada turned into a study of people – many people – and their stories. Stories of their musicking, yes, but at the same time much more than that: stories of *who they are*. Or, as Small would say, of 'who they think they are – or who they would like to be, or even what they would like to be thought of as being' (Small, 2010, pp. 6-7). These stories were at once proud, painful, controversial, and nostalgic, containing within them many messy layers, tensions, and conflicts. I spoke earlier of my conception of the idea of 'rhizomatic' identity (see page 29), in which our identities are constantly in process and always in motion with many connecting points of varying strengths; as time went on during my fieldwork this concept became more appropriate than I could have imagined. One example that immediately comes to mind here is an informant who plays with the Tivoli Drummers: a young person who often takes part in traditional African drumming and dancing and Grenadian folk forms, but who also frequently engages with hip hop, R&B, and gospel music. The many identities and values represented and constructed within these differing musical genres – and the many relationships explored within this musicking – points to the rhizomatic nature of identity, in which one can move back and forth and across who one 'really' is, even if these things are perceived to be in tension (by some) to one another.

Conversations with informants about musicking frequently came back to themes of its utter cruciality within Grenadian culture, and its ubiquitous presence in

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any discussions of Grenadian identity. This was also clear in Grenadian media; the theme of *remembering* one's (Grenadian) identity being constantly and prominently featured in the news and on talk shows and websites – the word 'remembering' indicating here that something known has been lost, and perhaps needs to be reclaimed through cultural practices. The recent and distant historical past in Grenadian society – the profound trauma of slavery and then more recently the political events of the last 60 years, in which there have been oppression of various kinds, revolutions, and an invasion by the most powerful nation in the world upon this tiny island of 100,000 people; and the subsequent and deliberate cultural penetration by this nation have evidently left identity perceived as fractured – the sense of 'who we are' fragmented and torn. In these events, musicking has provided specific ways – that is, specific to this population in Grenada – of renegotiating identity, and locating and relocating oneself in society. In this process, there is a constant constructing and representing of social boundaries: in these, not only who we *are* (or want to become), but also who we *are not*.

Salient here is Bowman's argument that the very focal point of all musicking is an awareness of collective identity, which powerfully influences individual identity and 'who we are (becoming)' both as individuals and as a collective (Bowman, 2007, p. 109). It is perhaps in this 'becoming' that musicking in Grenada is often a site of fundamental tension, of negotiation, of nostalgia, and above all, of loss, since there are – as we have seen – conflicting ideas as to what 'real' Grenadian musicking and Grenadianness is, and what it is not; these boundaries created by cultural practices can be solidified, altered, subverted, or eroded, intentionally or unintentionally. For some, Grenadian musicking and what it constructs and represents – indeed, what it *means* to be Grenadian – is fast disappearing because of these shifting social boundaries.

Frith believes that music constructs, rather than reflects, our identities '…through the direct experiences it offers of the body, time and sociability, experiences which enable us to place ourselves in imaginative cultural narratives' (Frith, 1996/2007, p. 309). When these delineated communities and cultural narratives, and our place within them, change, and boundaries become blurred, cultural practices lose their inclusivity, and thus, may also be perceived as losing their 'authenticity'. From this there can arise a deep sense of loss, and of nostalgia for what we think to be true about ourselves and the world around us. In present-day Grenada, negotiations of these boundaries, of inclusivity, and of authenticity reveal conflicting attitudes between generations which have specific and profound significance within this society. Some Grenadians cling to cultural practices in which traditional music is central, in order to combat cultural and social fragmentation and to find a sense of inclusive Grenadianness in a Grenada that has undergone constant upheaval in recent decades, and that is also constantly bombarded with music and media from other countries, in particular, the United States. Just as robustly, other Grenadians embrace the musics from 'away' (such as foreign or local soca and hip hop music), and pay little credence to these traditional and grassroots musics except perhaps at certain times of year or in certain contexts – even in these contexts, this musicking is often viewed as inauthentic and as having little significance in day-to-day life.

In this thesis, I have argued that musicking in Grenada is intertwined with identity in complex ways unique to this society, and that there is a lack of transmission of traditional musicking practices whose consequences extend well beyond losing musical traditions to a profound sense of loss of *who we are*. This has prompted attempts at reclaiming and reinventing this 'who we are' in the Grenadian context through cultural teaching and performance initiatives. As Stokes points out,

however, performance does not simply convey cultural 'knowns'; rather, it 'reorganises and manipulates everyday experiences of social reality, blurs, elides, ironises and sometimes subverts commonsense categories and markers' (Stokes, 1994a, p. 97), bringing people together in 'specific alignments' (Stokes, 1994b, p. 12). This can reaffirm the imagined or real past, bringing it to the present (see Bithell, 2006), but – as I have found so many times, as with the encounter with the older woman at that first Carnival – it can also *alienate* those for whom this past or present is not imaginable or ideal.

Before the mid-20th century in Grenada, singing and dancing were integrated into everyday life while cooking or attending to chores, through events such as the Maypole or Saraca, or simply took place when gathering together – every village had its own festivals and variations on traditions of singing, dancing, and telling folktales. There was a certain homogeny to the musicking within the black Grenadian population, and therefore to the senses of identity being fostered through it. But now, many cultural happenings are no longer incorporated into daily activities but rather take place in the form of paid performances, and this excludes those who cannot afford such things or who are not 'good' at such things. 'Culture' now thus frequently takes place in venues such as the Spice Basket theatre and at hotels (both largely catering to tourists), or at community-based indoor or outdoor venues (such as the Grenada Boys' Secondary School auditorium, the National Stadium, or the Tanteen hard court). Such 'performances of culture' are seen as 'inauthentic' by many, and some, particularly younger people, find it difficult to find meaning and belongingness in these displays. Schisms appear between old and young, 'authentic' and 'inauthentic', and traditional and modern, for example, and these delineations at once delimit and alienate those who – by way of their musicking – do not belong; as

David Elliot argues, '…musical works are crucial to establishing, defining, delineating and preserving a sense of community and self-identity within social groups' (Elliott, 2005, p. 9) – to musical works I would add 'musical practices'.

DeNora's argument that music has an unique ability to be used both reflexively in the 'remembering/constructing [of] who one is' and as 'a device for the generation of future identity and action structures, a mediator of future existence' (DeNora, 2000/2003, p. 62) offers further insights in theorising how Grenadians use certain types of musicking to construct and present who they are and who they are not – and how they want future generations to construct and present who they are and who they are not:

> The sense of 'self' is locatable in music. Musical materials provide terms and templates for elaborating self-identity – for identity's identification. Looking more closely at this process highlights the ways in which musical materials are active ingredients in identity work, how respondents 'find themselves' in musical structures (DeNora, 2000/2003, p. 68).

DeNora's emphasis on the contribution of musicking to the 'sense of self' brings an immediate focus to the materiality of music and its affectation – the musical structures that provide not only culturally-relevant meanings, but also the ways in which one can 'identify identity' (DeNora, 2000/2003, p. 69). For example, in the Grenadian context, calypso music and soca music are both directly used to 'identify identity'. Broadly, calypso music is the music of what I have termed the 'older generation' in Grenada. Its lyrics are privileged over musical content, and texts discuss and critique issues of social and political concern. Conversely, in soca music the 'beat' is privileged over lyrical content, and texts generally are minimal and concern corporeal pleasures such as sex, drinking, and wining. While certain persons, generally in the older population, are able to 'explore, affirm, and celebrate' (Small, 1998) what for them are desired relationships and identities through calypso music, calypso alienates just as easily, since the ideas it promotes seem to be unrelatable to many within the younger

generation in Grenada, for whom these ideas of social and political concern seem vast and unsolvable. For them, instead, soca music promotes freedom from corporeal, moral, and intellectual restraints; but at the same time, as I have shown, many older people in Grenada disassociate themselves from soca, since its themes of partying, sex, and alcohol both represent and construct apathetic, immoral, and dangerous ways of being. These diverse ways of musicking map out social boundaries that tell Grenadians who they *are* and who they *are not*; and to invoke again Bowman's 'becoming' – whom they may or may not become. The whole discourse about calypso and soca, so central to my findings and to the Grenadian people who use these forms of music, might therefore be seen as a crucible in which are worked out the understandings between the relationships of musicking to the themes of identity, and loss, and how musicking can function to bring people together or alienate them.

Coda: Using Ethnomusicology to Enable Meaningfulness, 'Really Knowing', and a 'Being With' in Music Education

I am back home, in Windsor, Ontario. It is over a year since I left Grenada, although thanks to the Internet, it sometimes feels like I never left – I use e-mail and Facebook to talk to friends and former colleagues, I check out new soca releases on YouTube, and I listen to the GIS[222] news hour to keep up with current events. During the 2012 Olympics, I watch Kirani James win Grenada's first Olympic medal: a gold. Grenadians are ecstatic; celebrating in the streets, shouting 'GRENADA TO DE WORLD!' at the tops of their lungs. It is indeed a moment that will be inspiring to Grenadians for generations to come. The success is so much more than a gold medal: it is showing the world the tenacity and the dynamism of the Grenadian spirit.

Watching this scene of Olympic victory, I reflect upon my experiences in Grenada: memories of singing, teaching, dancing, listening all converge in my mind. The memories are so vivid I can almost taste the salt air on my tongue.

How can I take these experiences that were so meaningful and inspiring to me, and use them in my own teaching research and practice?

<div align="right">

Field Notes Reflection
7 August 2012

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My time in Grenada inspired new ways of thinking about how I teach and approach my practice, and I ask now, again – how can I bring my experiences and understandings of Grenadian musicking and its transmission to my own teaching and research?

Throughout my study, I was able both to observe and to experience the multiplicity of ways that musicking is done in Grenada, and explore to what ends music is taught and learned there. In Grenada, as everywhere, music is transmitted for very specific reasons, including perpetuating and passing on knowledges, values, and

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[222] Grenada Information Service.

identities. This transmission of music is facilitated in formal ways in contemporary Grenada, such as in governmental and school initiatives, and in informal ways, such as in learning popular musics or how to take part in certain rituals. Musicking, including the activities involving the transmission of musical knowledge and practice – that is, music education wherever this occurs – impacts and informs values, moral codes, and ethical viewpoints. As much is evident in Chapters 3, 4, 5, and 6 of this thesis, in which we saw that musicking in Grenada is inexorably intertwined with politics, positions of power, conflicting representations of culture and authenticity, religious and moral views, and social ideologies. We saw in Chapter 6 how children and young people have a keen understanding of how musicking represents and constructs different values for different people. I reflect now that acknowledging the values and identities of our students, preserving the integrity of their voices, and giving them agency are important things in all societies, and that we can facilitate these through our collective musicking.

I am not alone of course in stressing the importance of acknowledging and 'lifting up' the musicking of our students, which is so intertwined with their identities and the sense of who they are, and the constructions and representations of their cultural, ethical, social, and political values and ideologies (as outlined in Chapter 2); but from my immersion in the musicking of this other culture, where musicking has such a profound significance in a context of trauma and uncertainty, I can begin to see more clearly the significance of this shift to *really* taking the perspectives of 'my' own young people into account – and how perhaps I can get to 'really know' them, a concept which I introduced in Chapter 2 (see page 51). I would like to tentatively offer some possibilities for implementation in the classroom here – acknowledging, of course, that every student, teacher, and class dynamic will be different from the rest –

so to hopefully provide others who may endeavour to do the same with a starting point or springboard from which he or she can facilitate this 'really knowing'.

We can begin to 'really know' our students by firstly asking the students themselves about the musics they find meaningful – or not – and *why*, and then by showing them, as much as possible, that each of these musics are important, worthy, and cherished *because* they are important to them. This would potentially mean quite a radical departure from normative teaching practice and the imposition of the curriculum, in that we are 'lifting up' the musics of our students – not just to appeal to them or to attract them to our classrooms, but because we *respect* them and acknowledge the many ways that their values, opinions, and identities are formed and informed by these musics – something not often discussed or done in music educational research or practice. Such an approach may appear to give away teacher control, but it can lead to dialogic and democratic teaching and learning and enable a 'being with' one's students, a further idea discussed in Chapter 2 (see page 64), in a way that 'traditional' curriculum/teacher directed teaching does not.

In the beginning of my study, I reflected upon the increasingly multicultural nature of many Canadian classrooms, especially in my home region of Southern Ontario (see page 3). Having now studied so intensively the music of this other culture and coming to a deep understanding of music's interconnectedness to identity, I realise just how empowering this approach to music education could be for certain children, particularly those of ethnic minorities or those who are 'outsiders', for whatever reason, in the school community. In working with a culture whose identity was constantly precarious, and seeing just how central musicking was to holding on to that identity, I learned to see with a much sharper perception what music might mean to our students for whom identity is also precarious or beaten down – whether this be

ethnic identity, gender identity, socioeconomic identity, or countless other identities. This is not to say that every song, artist, and genre beloved by our students must make it into our curriculum (and some would say this indeed would be detrimental; that certain musical genres 'lose something' when they enter the classroom – indeed, this has been a critique of bringing pop music into the classroom, and also of the pop-music based pedagogy established by Lucy Green and others) but simply that by ignoring, and worse, diminishing them would completely ruin any quest to 'really know' our students.

Approaching the teaching and learning of music from the perspective of values, identities, and relationships, rather than from that of the still pervasively prioritised musical excellence in the Western classical canon, throws new light upon the ways I think about the teaching and learning in my own classroom in the Canadian context. Even in 'formal' teaching settings, music is often learned in informal ways in Grenada; for example, rote learning and settings in which group leaders play along with their ensembles are commonplace, as I witnessed in the steel pan practice described in the introduction to Part 3 and in various other rehearsals. The informal learning methods frequently used in Grenadian music ensembles enable a 'being with' (see page 64) one's students that is not conventional in North American and European classrooms, and I would argue that it is in this 'being with' that the boundaries between teacher and student can be blurred, leading to a more egalitarian and democratic community in the classroom. In breaking down these power structures, we can begin to 'really know' our students as much as possible, and their values and identities, which in themselves are created and represented through the musicking process, and which of course may themselves also be in conflict.

A 'being with' one's students can begin to occur when the teacher attempts to

create a space in which all learning initiatives are seen as worthy and in which no one is constantly held above the rest, including the teacher. In this view, the teacher assigns to herself or himself a different role: she or he may still be a guide, but is willing to be more democratic, more reflective, and more questioning of her or his positionality. Enabling a 'being with' can potentially be facilitated through experiences of informal and self-directed learning in which the teacher does not dictate; experiences where the teacher is a beginner learner and the student(s) are experts; and musical exercises that allow for mistakes and promote vulnerability, risk-taking, and process over product. To these, I would add the suggestion that the teacher constantly strive to be reflexive, exploring his or her changing positionality, biases, and fears through teacher diaries, discussions with others (teachers and non-teachers), and discussions with the students themselves.

Of course, these ideas about lifting up the musics of our students and enabling a 'being with' them in our classrooms already exist in music educational discourse. Specific insights and depth of knowledge from this ethnographic study, however, bring us to this endeavour of 'really knowing' – approaching these already existing ideas from another direction, and taking into account a particular listening to our young people and a consideration of our own positionalities, biases, and experiences as teachers.

I reflect too that as teacher-researchers, we can potentially make school music experiences more significant to our students by approaching classroom-based research in an ethnographic, context- and process-oriented way. We might come to know our students more deeply where we privilege their voices, and those of teachers themselves; using, for example, interview and participant observation, as I have done in this study (see Chapter 2). When this research is done in a co-constructive,

reflexive way it not only provides a richer picture of what is being investigated, but becomes more applicable and accessible to the teachers for whom this is so crucial. Indeed, in the recent volume *Masterclass in Music Education: Transforming Teaching and Learning* (Finney & Laurence, 2013), teachers themselves carry out qualitative, ethnographic research that is based on field study rather than the 'status quo' of quantitative measurement or designing research based on inference, as policy-makers often do. In these investigations, the teacher-researchers bring their own immediate life stories and contexts, all the time embracing these as meaningful and contributory to their research, and put themselves *right into* their field of study in as open-minded a way as possible, and then reflecting on their experiences. This is what I have been doing in this study; listening as carefully as possible to stories, and to controversies and tensions within these stories and then reflexively considering my own experiences, stories, and biases in relation to these and how my own positionality influences what I was hearing, seeing, and interpreting. This reflexivity is another point of relevance in music education and research: the constantly evaluating, problematising, and re-evaluating.

Creating communities of trust and having an ethic of care for our students can only be possible when we enable – as much as possible – spaces of inclusivity. It is in such inclusive spaces that students (and teachers) can explore their thoughts and practices, take risks, be vulnerable, and feel less afraid to make 'mistakes', and this has the potential to lead to moments of authenticity and 'realness', whatever that might mean for each individual person. In this way, ethnographic study of our students – exploring *for enough time* and *with* them who they are and what they value – and informal learning settings in which the teacher is also a student and in which mistakes are valued as part of the musicking process, can potentially bring us to these

moments together.

In order to make school music meaningful and relevant, we must also provide our students with musicking experiences that are, as much as possible, *in context* – not just the materials themselves but the ways in which these are learned, and why. This was made clear to me particularly when speaking with younger informants, as can be seen in Chapter 6 in which I found that young people felt alienated and disconnected even from musics which they found to be important, because they saw these musics as being taught in an 'inauthentic' and superficial way. This method of teaching and learning may indeed contradict and even subvert the curriculum, and can evidently be problematic for teachers who work within strict school policies, or for whom these musics and contexts are foreign. I would argue here that ethnographically-based ethnomusicological research can further provide modes of considering how and what we teach, taking into consideration what it means, *ethically*, to 'teach to the curriculum', and how we can give our students authentic and contextual musicking experiences, bringing to bear the social, the political, the moral, and the ideological.

Teachers can facilitate this 'authentic' context, as already detailed, by adopting the teaching and learning styles of that genre, by exploring meanings and values within the music, and by analysing social, political, and historical settings in which this musicking takes or has taken place (see page 55): for example, bringing students (in 'real life' or virtually) to experiences of teaching, learning, and performance of the musical style through concerts or guest musicians/music teachers (YouTube in particular is a wonderful, free resource for this); by having students themselves lead music activities in which they are 'expert' (for example, a student or group of students teaching a rap song not familiar to the teacher or the other students);

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by embracing rote learning and informal learning contexts true to various genres (for example, learning a folksong completely by ear); by learning about that particular music's role in culture through discussion, literature, and media about or from the place or time of origin (for example, taking in news broadcasts, fictional novels, or movies – this would indeed be particularly useful in cross-curricular initiatives). It is of crucial importance that teachers should not attempt to 'Westernise' or 'make appropriate' these 'other' musics – for, as already described, when music is taught, learned, and performed in inauthentic, decontextualised contexts (particularly if the teacher has rendered it this way purposefully in an attempt to make it 'appropriate' for his or her classroom), it will often be perceived as inauthentic and as lacking significance, as we saw in Chapter 6.

From this study on musicking and identity in Grenada, I emerge then with a deeper understanding and also a compelling motivation to engage my students in a deeper way: to value *their* musics, knowledges, values, and identities; to privilege a 'being with' them; to be constantly reflexive – assuming, doubting, questioning – about my own teaching, learning, and researching. In these things, for us as teachers, perhaps there lies the potential to lead our students to, and experience ourselves, moments of knowing who we – all of us – are, and of feeling connected to others.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Consent Forms

Music and Identity Perception in Grenada, West Indies:
A Music Education Perspective

Participant Information Sheet

5 February 2011

You are being invited to take part in a research project. Before you decide, it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully and discuss it with others if you wish. Ask me if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information. Your decision to participate is voluntary and appreciated. Thank you!

Danielle Sirek, PhD Candidate
danielle.sirek@gmail.com
418-5340
Supervisor: Dr. Felicity Laurence

Purpose of the Project: Grenada is an island exceptionally rich in musical culture, having not only an abundance of different musical styles but also a high ratio of people who partake in musical activities, such as singing, dancing, playing instruments, or listening to music recreationally. My doctoral thesis seeks to illuminate some aspects of the influence of 'musicking' activities in Grenada, West Indies, upon the Grenadian perceptions of self identity and nation identity.

Why Have I Been Chosen? Participants will be "musickers" from all over Grenada (the majority from the largest area of St. George's), male and female, of all ages and socio-economic statuses. Participants will include native-born Grenadians as well as immigrants to Grenada, and people who have written extensively on Grenada.

Benefits to the Study: Whilst there are no monetary benefits for those people participating in the project, it is hoped that this work will highlight the significance of music with respect to perceptions of identity, and could perhaps be used to illustrate the importance of music education in Grenada.

What Do I Have to Do? Participants are asked to attend one small group interview of approximately 1.5 hours in length at a date and time that is convenient. The interview will take place either at the researcher's home, or at a church or public building. Some participants may be asked to come to a second one-on-one interview of approximately one hour in length so that the researcher may ask more specific questions. At any time during the research, you may verify information being recorded about you to ensure accuracy, and after the research is complete you will have full access to a copy of my dissertation.

Ethics and Confidentiality: This project has been reviewed by the Royal Northern College of Music's Research Ethics Committee (REC), and overseen by the Research Committee. All information which is collected about you during the course of the research will be kept strictly confidential on a password-protected computer. Any information about you that is disseminated will have your name and address removed so that you cannot be identified by it, and your name will be anonymised.

PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM

Music and Identity Construction in Grenada, West Indies:
A Music Education Perspective
Danielle Sirek, PhD Candidate, Royal Northern College of Music

1. I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet dated
   5 February 2011 for the project in which I have been asked to take part
   and have had the opportunity to ask questions.

2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw
   at any time without giving any reason.

3. I understand that my responses will be anonymised before analysis.
   I understand that all personal data (interviews, recordings, pictures)
   about me will be kept confidential.

4. I understand that the data being collected during the course of the
   project may be used for additional or subsequent research including,
   but not limited to, research papers, books, and conferences.

5. I understand that the investigator(s) must adhere to the Ethical Code of
   Practice set down by The British Psychological Society.

6. I agree to take part in the above research project.

_____   _____   _____
Name of Participant   Date   Signature

_____   _____
Phone Number   Email

_____   _____   _____
Researcher   Date   Signature

Dear Parents,

We hope that you all had a wonderful and restful Independence Day with your families. We have many exciting things planned for your children at the Meridian School this term, and we can't wait to see the progress each child will make.

In particular, one event that we would like to highlight is that a study is being done on the Meridian School. As many of you know, the Meridian School added Mrs. Danielle Sirek, a music teacher from Canada, to its teaching staff in November. She is currently doing her PhD at the Royal Northern College of Music and is looking at music in Grenada. As a part of her research, Mrs. Sirek will be working with our kids closely in a variety of writing, speaking, and music activities that will benefit the children in a variety of ways.

The study will include creative writing and journal writing, interviews and public speaking, music writing and performance, and reading. We look forward to beginning this project with the students and giving them an academic advantage through these activities.

Please initial the boxes, sign the following page, and return to the school no later than **Friday, 11th February 2011** to have your child take part in this wonderful opportunity. Do not hesitate to contact the school or Mrs. Sirek personally if you have any questions.

Sincerely,

Danielle Sirek
Music Teacher
danielle.sirek@gmail.com
(473) 418-5340

Music and Identity Perception in Grenada, West Indies:
A Music Education Perspective

Participant Information Sheet for Children Under 18

Your child is being invited to take part in a research project at the Meridian School. Before you decide, it is important for you to understand why the research is being done, what it will involve, and why it will benefit your child. Please take time to read the following information carefully and discuss it with others if you wish. Ask me if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information. Your decision to have your child participate is voluntary and appreciated. Thank you!

Danielle Sirek, PhD Candidate
danielle.sirek@gmail.com
418-5340
Supervisor: Dr. Felicity Laurence

Purpose of the Project: Grenada is an island exceptionally rich in musical culture, having not only an abundance of different musical styles but also a high ratio of people who partake in musical activities, such as singing, dancing, playing instruments, or listening to music recreationally. My doctoral thesis seeks to illuminate some aspects of the influence of 'musicking' activities in Grenada, West Indies, upon the Grenadian perceptions of self identity and nation identity.

Why Has My Child Been Chosen? Participants will be "musickers" from all over Grenada (the majority from the largest area of St. George's), male and female, of all ages and socio-economic statuses. Participants will include native-born Grenadians as well as immigrants to Grenada, and people who have written extensively on Grenada.

Benefits to the Study: Your child will benefit both creatively and academically through this study. He or she will have the opportunity to improve his or her writing skills, reading skills and musical skills through participating. The children will engage in various music activities including singing and composing, will keep journals to improve writing skills, and will read aloud to the class to improve reading skills.

What Does My Child Have to Do? The study will consist of interviewing, video recording, and journal analysis of children describing their "musicking" habits (singing, playing, listening, dancing, etc.) inside and outside of the home as well as that of their family. These activities may be done one-on-one or in a group. All activities will take place on school grounds in open-access classrooms, and most if not all will occur during school hours as a small part of their regular classes, and at recess. There will always be at least one other adult present at the school (though not necessarily in the room) during the study. At any time during the research, you may see information being recorded about your child, and after the research is complete you will have full access to a copy of my dissertation.

Ethics and Confidentiality: This project has been reviewed by the Royal Northern College of Music's Research Ethics Committee (REC), and overseen by the Research Committee. All information which is collected about your child during the course of the research will be kept strictly confidential on a password-protected computer. Any information about you that is disseminated will have your name and address removed so that you cannot be identified by it, and your child's name will be anonymised.

PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM

Music and Identity Construction in Grenada, West Indies: A Music Education Perspective
Danielle Sirek, PhD Candidate, Royal Northern College of Music

Please initial box

1. I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet dated
    8 February 2011 for the project in which my child has been asked to take part
    and have had the opportunity to ask questions.

2. I understand that my child's participation is voluntary and that I am free to
    withdraw him or her at any time without giving any reason.

3. I understand that my child's responses will be anonymised before analysis.
    I understand that all personal data (interviews, recordings, pictures)
    about my child will be kept confidential.

4. I understand that the data being collected during the course of the project
    may be used for additional or subsequent research including, but not limited
    to, research papers, books, and conferences.

5. I understand that the investigator(s) must adhere to the Ethical Code of
    Practice set down by The British Psychological Society.

6. I agree that my child may take part in the above research project.

_____
Name of Participant

_____   _____   _____
Name of Guardian   Date   Signature

_____   _____   _____
Researcher   Date   Signature

This is to confirm that the application made by Danielle Sirek to the Royal Northern College of Music's Research Ethics Committee was APPROVED.

Project title: Music and Identity Construction in Grenada, West Indies

Date approved: 2 February 2011

Signed: *Jane Ginsborg*

Dr Jane Ginsborg (*Chair of Ethics Committee*)