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Danielle Sirek

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Article

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Our culture is who we are! "Rescuing" Grenadian identity through musicking and music education

Danielle Sirek
University of Windsor, Canada

Abstract

In this article I explore the relationships between identities and musicking in Grenada, West Indies, taking into account the understandings of community and nationhood that foreground and inform identity discourse in the Grenadian context. Through the dual lenses of music education and ethnomusicology, I analyze musicking and music education initiatives intended to "rescue" Grenadian identity and Grenadian values as articulated by an older generation of Grenadians and by governmental agencies. I argue that musicking in Grenada is intertwined with identity in complex ways, and that there is a perceived lack of transmission of folk musicking practices whose consequences extend well beyond losing musical traditions. This article illuminates conflicts of identity, the deep sense of loss of "who we are" that has occurred in Grenadian society in recent times, and controversies of music transmission.

Keywords

ethnomusicology, Grenada, identity, music education, music transmission, musicking

Introduction

In Grenada, West Indies, musicking is influential in the construction, perception, and representation of Grenadian identities (Sirek, 2013, 2016). Grenadian identities have historically been constantly oppressed, subverted, and corrupted by colonial and post-colonial hegemonic structures. The politics and discourse surrounding these structures give rise to intersecting argumentative positions between the older, culturally "authentic"[1] Grenadian population, generally regarded to be responsible for the transmission of culture, and the younger, more globalized population. These are arguments not necessarily concerning what Grenadian culture is, but rather what

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Corresponding author:
Danielle Sirek, Faculty of Education, University of Windsor, 401 Sunset Ave., Windsor, ON N9B 3P4, Canada.
Email: dsirek@uwindsor.ca

it *should be*, as well as how Grenadians can "make" it that way. Such ongoing and conflictual negotiations of identity are not neat or tidy, and often contrast profoundly with one another.

This article, the first of a two-part series, explores relationships between identities and musicking from the perspective of an older generation of Grenadians, taking into account the contested experiences of community and nationhood that foreground and inform identity discourse in the Grenadian context. Here, I illuminate controversies concerning the transmission of musicking, conflicts of identity, and the deep sense of loss that has occurred in Grenadian society in recent times, specifically through an analysis of musicking and music education initiatives that intend to "rescue" Grenadian identity and Grenadian values.[2] This research demonstrates that musicking and music education provide means by which some Grenadians can act out ideal relationships, thereby reclaiming and reinventing what they perceive as "authentic" Grenadian identity.

Musicking

Musicking, as coined and theorized by Christopher Small, reconceptualizes music as an active cultural practice (rather than a "thing"), through which "ideal" relationships are "explored, affirmed, and celebrated" (Small, 1998, p. 50). It is important to note that the word "ideal" here does not imply that the relationships are inherently good or virtuous, but rather desirable for those taking part. Small 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)

Identities, then, are displayed and understood as fixed through cultural practices and performances, which provide and display "this is who we are" moments in time—and through musicking, "ideal" identities can be constructed, presented, and perceived. Musicking, including the activities involving the transmission of musical knowledge and practice—that is, music education wherever this occurs—therefore represents and informs values, moral codes, and ethical viewpoints.

In contemporary Grenada, the musicking and relationships that are "ideal" for the older generation are often not so for young people. This has recently led to the development of various musicking and music education initiatives specifically designed to impose the "ideal" of the older people in Grenada upon the younger as a means of "rescuing" Grenadian musicking and Grenadian identities.

Contextualizing the study

Grenada's sociopolitical histories and contexts

Grenada has a tumultuous history of upheaval and disruption in which musicking has been central in various ways (Sirek, 2013). After the complete genocide of the Kalinago, Grenada's indigenous peoples,[3] by French colonizers, black Grenadians were first brought to the island in the mid-1600s from Africa as enslaved persons. In its brief recorded history, Grenada has seen rebellions, revolutions, and insurgencies as well as much conflict between its leaders and its people.

The 1951–1983 period was a particularly turbulent time in Grenada's history, comprising two revolutions, independence, and an invasion by the United States. This era of political upheaval began with a social revolution in 1951, followed by a Marxist-Leninist revolution in 1979. The newly-formed People's Revolutionary Government remained in power for four years, from 1979 to 1983, and during this time Grenada saw much progress in education, health care, and infrastructure. During this period, however, there developed an ideological schism in the revolutionary government, and on October 19, 1983, a small group of government leaders led a military coup that resulted in the execution of Prime Minister Maurice Bishop and several other high-ranking government officials. In response, the U.S. army and marines, along with Caribbean forces, invaded Grenada six days later, allegedly to protect American citizens on the island and re-establish order in Grenada. The United States set up an interim government with the stated intent of restoring democracy—and, in the process, seemingly attempted to erase all memory of the revolutionary period of Bishop's rule.[4]

Throughout this article, I will broadly refer to two groups in contemporary Grenada: (1) those who have memories of the 1979 revolution and the 1983 American invasion, whom I designate the "older generation"; and (2) those who were very young or were born after these events, whom I call the "younger generation."[5] These groups are by no means fixed nor homogenous, but it is helpful to make such distinctions when analyzing present-day Grenada, since the often conflicting and controversial questions of musicking and identities in contemporary Grenada frequently (but not always) concern a perceived divide between older and younger people. This article will focus on the perspectives of the older generation; while the second, forthcoming article in this series will focus upon the perspectives and conflicting attitudes of young people in Grenada.

Grenadian traditional music

Traditional (sometimes also called "folk" or "grassroots") musics in Grenada are African- and European-based syncretic artforms[6] that were historically culturally significant to the black working-class population. They are comprised of both (1) the African customs and cultural features the enslaved retained to cope with the trauma of their situation; and (2) the European customs and cultural features that the French and British brought with them to the island. Broadly speaking, traditional musics can include folk songs and dances, hand drumming, tamboo bamboo, extempo, calypso, quadrille, parang, Hosannah bands, Big Drum (on Carriacou), steel pan, music played on the cocoa lute, and certain rhythms believed to be African in origin, such as the Jab Jab rhythm (McDaniel, 1986, 1998; Miller, 2000, 2005; Sirek, 2013).[7]

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, formalized music learning initiatives became more common, both in schools (often focusing on Western European music) and at government-facilitated cultural events (focusing on both Western European music and traditional Grenadian music). Presently, much of "authentic" Grenadian music is learned in contexts outside of the school system. That said, music (both Western European and Grenadian) is certainly still an important part of primary and secondary school life, with teachers facilitating annual Christmas concerts, Independence Day showcases, and competition performances for the Festival of the Arts.

Theoretical perspectives

The enslaved black Grenadian population was forcefully transplanted without visible presence of cultural symbols or artifacts of their own traditions. As they had no visual representations of their birth culture in this new land, it is probable that these Grenadians used aural representations of African culture both to remember and to renegotiate their identities—primarily singing, drumming, and associated dancing. Numerous notable cultural theorists have explored the importance of the connection to Africa and the desired link to the African past in diasporic communities (see, for example, writings by Edward Kamau Brathwaite, W. E. B. DuBois, Frantz Fanon, and Paul Gilroy). The immeasurable yearning for the lost homeland that often occurs in such diasporic communities affects not only the first generation of the exiled community in the diaspora, but many successive generations as well (Mosby, 2001). This can lead to a feeling of duality, a fragmented "double-consciousness," not just in the greater society but also individually (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), expresses 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 desire to reinvent oneself is perhaps best exemplified through modes of cultural production that function as a way of escaping psychological traumas of the attempted cultural erasure (and, therein, erasure of identity) in enslaved communities. This phenomenon is explored in Fanon's *Black Skin White Masks* (Fanon, 1952/2008), in which Fanon explores the identities of African Caribbean communities existing in the "absence" of African cultural heritage; and 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 are silenced in the (re)invention process.

These themes and experiences resonate in the Grenadian context. Given the legacy of slavery and colonialism, many Grenadians continue to attempt to create and recreate meaningful relationships with one another through musical expressions of African ancestry and nationhood. Examples of musicking and music education initiatives intending to promote "authentic" Grenadian identities and combat cultural fragmentation are prolific, and function to heal traumas of oppression and cultural penetration. Those responsible for such initiatives hope to construct desired communities and a sense of "authentic Grenadianness" by creating spaces for collective memory of the African past, thereby facilitating a connection to ancestry and nationhood in the present. For many Grenadians, identifying as members of the diaspora who are separated from "Mother Africa," and also embracing the musicking practices seen as representative of this, may therefore be understood as ways of constructing and expressing "authentic" Grenadian identity.

Methodology

In this exploration, I join a growing number of music educator–researchers who engage in ethnographic study using a theoretical framework that incorporates ethnomusicological fieldwork as well as qualitative research techniques (Feay-Shaw, 2002; Veblen, 1991; Waldron, 2009); and/or are writing theoretically about using current ethnomusicological trends and methodologies to inform their research (Green, 2011; Mans, 2009; Stock, 2003). The study was conceived as a qualitative ethnomusicological case study, in which I employed historical study and fieldwork, the latter encompassing non-participant and participant observation, interviews, and "e-fieldwork." In endeavoring to privilege the hermeneutically-based, constructivist–interpretivist approach I used to frame my research, I approached analysis through "crystallization"[8] (Richardson, 1997), rather than "triangulation," of qualitative data.

For 11 months, June 2010 to May 2011, I lived and worked in Grenada, West Indies, just outside of the capital city of St. George's. During this time, I took a "participant observer" approach as a musicker in the community: singing, teaching, and attending countless festivals and performances over the course of my stay. The participants with whom I conducted formal semi-structured interviews and/or focus groups were 67 adults, ages 16–85, and 28 children, ages 4–15. My informants were male and female, of all socioeconomic statuses, Grenadian and non-Grenadian,[9] and were varied in terms of musical interests and perceived abilities: for example, soca singers and calypsonians, officials from the Government of Grenada and from the Grenada Carnival Committee/Spicemas Corporation, community choristers, church musicians, gospel singers, conductors, jazz musicians, reggae singers, folklorists, historians, members of the Royal Grenada Police Force Band, traditional drummers, steel pan players, and a panmaker. I interviewed this wide array of people not only to provide a wide-ranging picture of music and identities in Grenada, but also to give my study depth and breadth. After my data collection, I listened to these interviews-as-stories again, and transcribed relevant sections for analysis. I then identified and interpreted emergent themes, always considering the possibilities of tension, misrepresentation, and my presence as both an outsider and as a privileged, white researcher.[10]

Findings and discussion

The discourse in Grenada surrounding identity involves an ongoing negotiation undertaken in part in the course of music transmission and education. Many informants, regardless of age or background, directly or indirectly referred to the ubiquitous presence of musicking in conceptualizations of identity, as discussed by Small (2010), and spoke of the importance of culture in defining the Grenadian people. Wendell,[11] a Ministry of Culture employee, said:

> Our culture is who we are! … You know, so it's important for us to keep our identity of who we are [in order] 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 [and] keep our uniqueness. We do that through our culture.

Many older informants expressed proud ownership of "true" Grenadian culture and identity. Interviewees often articulated this ownership in conjunction with feelings of sadness, regret, or disdain toward younger Grenadians for seemingly not embracing this "true" culture and identity. One such informant, a music teacher named Renelle, told me that this lack of transmission of music resulted in younger Grenadians turning to music and other cultural forms outside of the island, something she finds problematic. Renelle further said that when she teaches music to youth, she privileges Grenadian traditional music, in order to cultivate "a more Grenadian consciousness" amongst young people, suggesting that youth have very little or no real "Grenadian consciousness." According to Renelle, artforms evidently represent and constitute "who we are," and therefore should be *taught* to young people as a way of counteracting this professed lack of transmission and loss. She said:

> We kind of built up that kind of identity; you have to be proud of what you have. And that's the challenge. I used to try to cultivate … a more Grenadian consciousness in terms of history, art, culture … They [the students] 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.

Several informants pointed to the American invasion and its aftermath as being one catalyst for this perceived lack of transmission. Raymond, a calypsonian, told me that after the American invasion, certain Grenadians became self-conscious of both themselves and their culture, which led to a self-imposed cultural stifling:

> They [Americans] didn't want anything to do with the traditional culture. [It] made people both conscious of theyself[12] and the society they coming from.

Others indicated that the most problematic issue in matters of preserving and promoting “authentic” Grenadian musicking and cultural identity was what several older informants referred to as “cultural penetration”—the increasingly pervasive influence of outside countries, in particular the United States. However, some of my informants regarded American cultural influence after the invasion as positive and “freeing.” Marcus, a member of the Royal Grenada Police Force Band, told me that, after the invasion, Grenadians were finally able to play and sing the American music that was suppressed during Bishop’s revolution:

> There is a big demand for it [American music]. 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 [in 1983], 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.

Nevertheless, others, especially from the older generation, regarded this influence as primarily negative—even describing this as another form of “invasion.”

The older generation is acutely aware of the younger’s connection with American culture. Many of these informants expressed 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 and ideals. Renelle said:

> In my music appreciation class, when I ask them, “Do you all like calypso?” “No, Miss, we don’t like calypso” … Of course I’ve brought in [calypso music by Mighty] Sparrow[13] [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.

Renelle was incredulous that her younger students did not claim to like calypso, an artform that she believed was hugely representative of Grenadian identity. Several older Grenadians similarly expressed that in pushing away calypso and that which is represented within calypso music, young people are also pushing away their elders, effectively saying, “this is *not* who we are.” Many also articulated 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 identity and associated values that calypso, and other traditional artforms, represent.

Those Grenadians who fought American imperialism and saw their country invaded by Americans conceivably feel that the “American dream” has let them down. They thus often perceive the younger generation’s much-professed love of American music and culture as a rejection of “authentic” Grenadianness, and by extension the older generation who fought for it. Annie lamented:

> The children, for instance, they’re all interested in Rhianna and all those modern music. But—it’s a big world now … so we’re kind of stifled out.

Annie was patently concerned that the media and culture of the “big world” stifles Grenadians, their culture, and their music. The word “stifle” is very powerful particularly in the context in which it is used above: Annie 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. For Annie, the silencing of music is in fact a silencing of the self. The implication of losing “our” music evidently concerns much more than just music.

Two opposing manifestations of Grenadian identities are therefore taking shape in present-day Grenada. The first of these is the identity held mainly by the older generation, which embraces traditional music and culture, and views cultural penetration as potentially "stifling out" Grenadian identity. The second is the identity held by the younger generation, which largely embraces globalization, seeks to adopt globalized characteristics that demonstrate a willingness to look beyond Grenada, and views cultural penetration as a way for Grenadians to integrate appropriately into the wider world.[14] This is not to say that older people in Grenada deny technology, modernity, and development, but rather that the younger generation has a different relationship to these things than older people. For the older generation, these help propel Grenada forward economically and socially but can also be seen as overtaking "authentic" Grenadian identity. The musicking that is representative of and 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—exemplifying the desire to reinvent oneself and one's culture when confronted with cultural fragmentation (Brathwaite, 1973; DuBois, 1903/2007).

"Rescuing" Grenadian culture: music education initiatives

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 events, festivals, and music education in Grenada. Wendell told me that the current aims of the Ministry of Culture are threefold: (1) to preserve and promote Grenadian culture; (2) to develop Grenadian culture through training and education; and (3) to develop cultural industry. Wendell also expressed that these things need to be *taught*, 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 U.S. 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. So from that perspective, to fight back cultural penetration and cultural imperialism, we must *teach* our kids.

Official governmental propaganda and media releases also articulated similar sentiments.[15] To that end, the Ministry has begun creating and re-instituting various initiatives that privilege the preservation and teaching of traditional music and culture—what they feel authentically represent Grenadian identities.

One such initiative is a folk song teaching project, which involves recording audio files and the notation and digitization of scores of Grenadian folk songs. The Ministry of Culture's intention within this project is to develop teaching modules within schools to accompany these materials. The project stems from the teachers' perceived lack of knowledge and lack of resources needed to teach Grenadian folk songs, particularly the patois lyrics that may accompany them.[16]

Another initiative spearheaded by the Ministry of Culture involves sending music tutors into schools. One such tutor, a violin teacher named Angel working in more remote northern areas of the island, told me that the Ministry places a strong emphasis on teaching Grenadian traditional music in the schools that receive this tuition:

> All the different dance, drama, [we're] mainly focusing in the folkloric aspects … 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 … 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 … [is] give that feeling for your culture where your country [is]—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, patriotism, your country … your songs, your instruments, your pieces of drama, literature. Even if you don't like it, at least you know it.

Angel's focus on "rescuing" values suggests that more popular "outside" 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. Angel also seemed to hint that if Grenadian people don't internalize Grenadian music and culture—the things that constitute what Grenada *is*, as she says—at an early age in school, that associated Grenadian values will never be passed on, and 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, globalized artforms.

There was an almost palpable sense of loss here. Many informants appeared to feel that their traditional culture *is* their people; it's something *of them*—and it is dying. According to them, "we"—our sense of self and what we know to be authentically "us"—are therefore also dying. Annie, a singer, said:

> 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.

In Grenada, this sense of loss has contributed to a recent thrust to develop initiatives that promote the transmission of Grenadian artforms: in seeing that Grenadian traditional culture was increasingly becoming regarded as irrelevant to the youth of Grenada, the Government of Grenada and other cultural bodies have facilitated numerous initiatives to "rescue" it. These efforts are also seen as rescuing "authentic" Grenadian identities—that is, the Grenadian identities that the older generation wishes to instill and nurture in the younger (regardless of young people's interest). Many music education initiatives in contemporary Grenada thus focus on traditional music transmission, such as the school music programs and the folk song project just described.

Numerous informants expressed to me the importance of teaching not only the music-as-object, but also the *ways* in which Grenadian traditional music is "properly" sung, played, danced, dramatized, and experienced so as to transmit "our" cultural values and this Grenadian "we"-ness to children—again hearkening back to Small's (1998) concept of musicking. Claudette, an historian and avid folk music supporter, offered:

> You 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 [on] but there is a lot of kinds of music that accompanies the traditional masquerade … 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.

Teaching "our" music "our" way is perceived as one means of educating children about Grenadian values and ideals, and, according to Claudette, it is not simply the musical materials that are involved in this teaching, but also "knowing how" to do this musicking in a "properly" Grenadian way. This was echoed by Hamid, who also discussed the inclusion of traditional artforms in school music curricula as a means of fighting cultural penetration and "bringing back" and preserving Grenada's culture and form of expression:

> 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. [It's] 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.

In addition to the various school music programs that are run through the Ministry of Culture, governmental and cultural agencies have (re)introduced several musicking and music education initiatives outside school for Grenadian youth. These include, for example, the Junior Calypso Monarch competition, Kiddies Carnival, various steel pan youth programs, and the Royal Grenada Police Force Band apprenticeship program. Multiple musicking initiatives for Grenadians of all ages have also been (re)established under the auspices of various "traditional" cultural festivals in recent years as well, such as the Tivoli Drum Festival, the Prime Minister's Best Village Competition, the Traditional Mas Exhibition and Competition, and the Camerhogne Folk Festival, of which I will now highlight the latter. 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, 2011). The Camerhogne Folk Festival in particular focuses on the ritual sharing of cooked food at a Saraca,[17] as well as displays of folk music and 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, 2011), and a call for all Grenadians to identify as "one" through musicking, acting out ideal relationships (Small, 1998) 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 evidently know, understand, and take ownership over "true" Grenadian musicking and representations of identity.

Evidently, then, the prevalence in initiatives designed to preserve and promote aspects of Grenadian identity through the transmission of musicking is pervasive. This suggests that the legitimate fear of losing traditional musicking, and the identities and values that are intertwined therein, are in part responsible for the recent surge in traditional musicking and music education initiatives in Grenada.

Conclusions

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, and the subsequent and deliberate cultural penetration of this island have evidently left identity perceived as fractured—the sense of "who we are" fragmented and torn. In these events, musicking and music education initiatives have provided specific ways of negotiating identity, and locating and relocating oneself in society. In this article, 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 musicking and music education. Such initiatives attempt to fulfill the desire of many older

Grenadians to connect with past and present Grenadian culture, and to represent and construct "authentic" Grenadian values, ideals, and identities.

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Notes

1. I use quotation marks around "authentic" because this term could conceivably be misunderstood to mean that there is one "true" or "accurate" conceptualization of Grenadian identity.
2. Although it would be foolhardy to say that all Grenadians share the same values, Christian and socialist ideology play a prominent role in defining personal values for many Grenadians.
3. 'Caribs' in colonial documentation.
4. 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).
5. 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."
6. Grenadians often refer to musical genres or cultural forms as "artforms" (usually spelled as one word rather than two); i.e. the calypso artform.
7. For an overview of these musics, readers can refer to my doctoral thesis, *Musicking and Identity in Grenada: Stories of Transmission, Remembering, and Loss* (Sirek, 2013).
8. Laurel Richardson offers "crystallization" as an alternative to the concept of "triangulation," which, she suggests, problematically assumes that there is a fixed point or goal that can be triangulated (Richardson, 1997).
9. 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.
10. As a teacher 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 not be concerned with "pleasing the researcher." 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. Indeed, 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 (personal communication, 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 left unsaid for political or personal reasons.
11. All names have been changed.
12. 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).
13. Mighty Sparrow; a famous Grenadian–Trinidadian calypsonian.
14. This will be explored in the second article of this series.
15. Such as this statement by Senator Arley Gill in his 2011 Christmas message: "To lose or to destroy our culture, is tantamount to losing the essence of *who we are* as a people" (transcription by the author).
16. Particularly since there are very few Grenadians left who are fluent in Grenadian patois.
17. A ritual feast in which food is left for the ancestors and there are also libations; also spelled "salaka."

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