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CHAPTER 2

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EVALUATING VALUES IN APPLIED ETHNOMUSICOLOGY

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EVALUATING the purpose and effectiveness of applications of music, music knowledge, and ethnomusicology is currently the focus of much applied ethnomusicology research. Most applied research does not explicate values, even though they are inherent to the work. The term "values" refers here to value judgments that are epistemological in nature or that are experienced ontologically or metaphysically. There is no way that an academic can avoid having values shape what he or she studies and works on, although some social scientists would argue that one should not let values influence the conclusion of research (Weber, 1949: 112). Nevertheless, a growing number of ethnomusicologists assess the success of the interventions they make, sometimes with collaborators, thus promoting the pursuit of what they value. Others assess musical interventions that aim to correct problems such as conflict, poverty, or the erosion of intangible cultural heritage (Harrison, Mackinlay, and Pettan, 2010).

Although a number of scholars have called for further theorization of the nature of evaluation in applied work (Lomax Hawes, 1992; Titon, 1992), such theories remain underdeveloped regarding research practices. In this chapter, I argue that applied ethnomusicology projects should be evaluated in terms of how they navigate the value systems of the people they engage. Applied ethnomusicological work could be much clearer about its values. The study of these value systems—in other words, an ethnomusicology of values—should inform the design and assessment of projects. Such study would contribute to research in applied ethnomusicology and theorize the ethical stances taken in applied work. As the basis for a new model for studying value systems, I propose a return to the idea of value judgments from early ethnomusicology. I illustrate how my model might be used via ethnographic examples from my research, service, teaching, and performance projects on popular music, indigenous Canadian music, and music theater in the urban poverty context of the Downtown Eastside neighborhood of Vancouver, Canada. I also ask and answer questions about evaluating values in applied ethnomusicology. For example, whose values does applied work support?

APPLIED ETHNOMUSICOLOGY RESEARCH

Ethnomusicologists who research applications of music and musical and ethnomusicological knowledge seek to further understand those applications; any increased understanding ideally informs future applications. Such applied ethnomusicology research is undertaken by ethnomusicologists, and by ethnomusicologists together with non-ethnomusicologists, students, and practitioners engaged in the field (Araújo, 2008).

Evaluation of how applied ethnomusicology projects navigate the value systems of the people they engage can develop in various kinds of social forums. Forums of applied ethnomusicology include all sorts of public presentations (for instance, academic and non-academic publications), social interactions and networks, and the analyses of people's participation in the applications. Needless to say, applied ethnomusicology research always includes projects that engage participants.

In academic publications that present research results, many evaluations now comprise a "planning and testing praxis" that includes reflection on applications as well as relevant descriptions and analyses of cultural patterns (Keil, 1998: 303–304). Recent examples include the edited volume *Music and Conflict* (O'Connell and Castelo-Branco, 2010) and the special half-issue of the *Yearbook for Traditional Music* titled *Music and Poverty*. The former questioned how music has defined conflict differently in different circumstances (e.g., in war or after human displacement); how music can be used to promote peace; and how ethnomusicologists can mediate and resolve conflicts. The latter examined the relationship of music to poverty in Nepal, Brazil, Canada, Haiti, India, and the United States. As editor, I asked contributing authors to begin to theorize music and poverty relationships, with attention to how music may or may not influence aspects of living in poverty (Harrison, 2013a, 2013c).

Non-academic publications evaluating the use of music, music knowledge, and ethnomusicology in solving concrete problems likewise present results of research, for example, in "gray literature" such as year-end reports of nongovernmental or governmental organizations, and in end-project reports for granting agencies. On the other hand, research processes and analyses unfold in social interactions and networks, and in researchers' own analyses. These could be especially influential forums for an ethnomusicology of values. There, applied ethnomusicologists and practitioners address interventions-in-progress to a greater extent than in academic and gray literatures.

Outside academe, ethnomusicologists interact as volunteers or employees at public, private, or third-sector organizations, where they may evaluate and intervene in music's relationship to an issue or issue area. Such activities inform or shape research. For example, during the course of my research on music in the Downtown Eastside, I served on the Advisory Committee on Cultural Diversity to the Mayor and Council of the City of Vancouver. Committee members offered input to the council on whether local cultural activities, including music, taking place in and funded by the City met the needs of Vancouver's population.

Inside academe, academic institutes, networks, and conferences facilitate applied ethnomusicology research and related analysis. At the symposia of the International Council for Traditional Music (ICTM) Study Group on Applied Ethnomusicology, for example, so-called talking circles discuss applied interests of symposium speakers. These circles are efforts to raise the level of scholarly discourse on topics of applied ethnomusicology research and practice by providing a forum for the cross-fertilization of ideas, finding a common ground of shared meanings and experiences, and formulating pertinent questions and issues for further research.

What ethnomusicology professors identify as applied ethnomusicology for their mentees and students influences the future of the field (O'Connell and Castelo-Branco, 2010: 250). Teaching can be an intervention that stimulates applied research in students. For instance, when I gave, as a Ph.D. student, a guest lecture on indigenous music in the Downtown Eastside for Jeff Todd Titon's world music class at Brown University, he told me that I was doing "applied ethnomusicology research."

Other examples of applied ethnomusicology research, and their social forums, are not easily classifiable as academic or non-academic, or as research results or processes overall, except in specific cases. The "head work" of applied researchers, which produces critical evaluations and research processes and results, falls into this category. Other examples may include an evaluative part of a musical performance, of a recording (including liner notes as well as the music), of teaching music or about music, or of a museum exhibit—when research lies behind the evaluation.

THE ROLE OF VALUES IN ETHNOMUSICOLOGY AND APPLIED ETHNOMUSICOLOGY

Applied ethnomusicology scholars have claimed that the field is reflexive, including in the field's social forums and in research. Titon stated in 1992 that applied ethnomusicology attempts the

> reflexive theorizing of practice that is aware of the consequences of situating ethnomusicology both inside the academy and outside of it, one that, in the words of Habermas, "investigates the constitutive historical complex of the constellation of self-interests to which the theory still belongs across and beyond its acts of insight," yet one that "studies the historical interconnectedness of action, in which the theory, as action-oriented, can intervene" (1974: 2).
>
> (Titon, 1992: 319)

Explicating values that are relevant to applied ethnomusicology, which heretofore have been implied, would benefit self-reflection in applied ethnomusicology scholars as well as in other cultural workers making relevant applications.

In the following, I explicate some values of applied ethnomusicological work on musical sustainability. Through this and a second example, I argue for a fuller consideration of values in applied ethnomusicology research. This would include reviving the idea of value judgments from early ethnomusicology.

Efforts and evaluations toward musical sustainability focus mostly on musical sounds, tools, practices, and people (Titon, 2009). Such undertakings include, for example, sound archive projects (e.g., Thram, 2014), museums including musical content and instruments, audiovisual documentation works aimed at preservation (e.g., Simon, 1991), or businesses that make traditional musical instruments (e.g., African Musical Instruments in South Africa; http://www.kalimba.co.za). Some research also theorizes what sustains musical expressions (http://soundfutures.org; http://sustainablemusic. blogspot.com).

Musical sustainability initiatives and evaluations pursue the values—although ethnomusicologists usually do not identify these as such—of sustaining musical genres and instruments and people making music, rather than, for example, respectively censoring, destroying, and discouraging them. These opinions may seem difficult to disagree with, but they do not acknowledge the value systems of all people who either cause a need for, or undertake, sustainability activism and scholarship.

A main limitation of the implicit valuation in applied ethnomusicology today is that it sometimes risks shutting out other valued approaches, even though they may be engaged by the project. This critique can be made of much applied work that takes one particular perspective on an issue—for example, of minority rights or conflict—and tries, through applying music, musical knowledge, or ethnomusicology, to work toward resolving the issue.

My second example—which its author does *not* identify as applied—is Steven Feld's project *Jazz Cosmopolitanism in Accra*, which refers to a book (Feld, 2012), and to the recording of 15 DVDs and CDs between 2005 and 2010.[1] Nonetheless, ethnomusicologists often identify the production and dissemination of recordings as actions of applied ethnomusicology (e.g., Seeger, 2006: 223; Sweers, 2010). I use this example to suggest that future work in applied ethnomusicology could theorize values more inclusively as well as more thoroughly.

Jazz Cosmopolitanism in Accra approached recording and values through Feld's notion of acoustemology. Acoustemology refers to the "epistemology of sound" and "sound as a way of knowing and knowledge production" (Feld, 2013). Values locate within epistemologies. I will focus further on one CD, *Bufo Variations*, described in the book. This recording features master drummer and jazz experimentalist Nii Otoo Annan, who improvised—on diverse melodic and percussion instruments, including xylophone, guitar, drums, and bells—12 tracks while he listened on headphones to a looped recording of toads croaking. The CD concept emerged after Feld, when walking in Accra one evening, heard *Bufo regularis* toads singing in the polyrhythm of 3:2:4:6. Feld wondered whether this acoustic environment could have influenced the polyrhythms of Ghanaian music. Before Feld recorded Annan to the track of the toads croaking, he also played to him Bach's *Goldberg Variations* (Annan, 2008; Feld, 2013).

Feld stimulated a cosmopolitan music not only inspired by the experience of nature in the world, but also by human experiences of sound and music across culture, place, and time, of immediately known and unfamiliar beings, human and not human. Feld's approach to research and action on acoustemology includes the *possibility* of diverse acoustemologies, and therefore values and value systems, which is what I would like to highlight here.

How can applied ethnomusicologists begin to better understand the different values engaged by their projects? Reviving the idea of value judgments, pioneered by early ethnomusicologists, especially Alan Merriam, provides a basis for addressing the question. In *The Anthropology of Music* (1964), Merriam wrote that early ethnomusicologists made sets of judgments derived from the sound structure studied, unless the culture they were studying already had an elaborated theory of musical sound. In *Enemy Way Music*, for example, David McAllester (1954) had summarized how Navajo music both reflected values across generations and led to value formation. Just after Merriam published his book, Charles Seeger published "Preface to a Critique of Music" (1965). This essay, which elaborates the basic idea found in Merriam (1964), outlined the sorts of human relationships that inform the value-inclinations of the musicologist, as well as the tools that the musicologist used to assert values, which Seeger identified as speech and, less often, music. Seeger also described sources of evidence for value judgments about music—individual taste, collective taste (general and musical), history (general and musical), sciences (non-musical and musical), and law—with the aim of theorizing the criteria and modalities of critiques made about music in musicology.

While Seeger worked with value judgments on a theoretical level, Merriam wrote about methodology. After observing that ethnomusicologists had neglected folk theories about music, Merriam encouraged them to undertake "folk evaluation" as well. Folk evaluation referred to "people who create things and ideas. . . assign[ing] values to their actions" (Merriam, 1964: 31). The idea of value judgments also gave rise to ruminations by future ethnomusicologists about how ethnomusicology methods might approach values. The work tended to identify values as "issues" (Nettl, 1983) within culture, but did not recommend empirical approaches to researching values.

Empirical research, including the possibility of reflexivity, could be especially useful for achieving more comprehensive understandings of values of applied ethnomusicology today. The research, in a larger sense, would also promote better understandings of the processes and effects of applying music, musical knowledge, and ethnomusicology.

Yet such research may seem complicated to do. In applications, different values may be engaged: those of an ethnomusicologist; those of the people applying the music, music knowledge, or ethnomusicology, if different; those of other people possibly participating in applications; those of people affected by applications; and those of institutions financing and otherwise supporting applications. Because applied work can involve so many parties, many possible values can be present. Think also of the huge variety of applied ethnomusicology projects and activities, all variously relating to valued local, societal, national, or global processes (see Seeger, 2006). Thus, research methods need further consideration.

A New Model for Applied Ethnomusicology Research on Values

There are many solutions to what I see as a need to study how applied ethnomusicology engages values explicitly and empirically, and to develop this approach in the field's interrelated research contexts of public presentations and associated feedback, social interactions and networks, and analyses by academics and practitioners. Some approaches might study in depth one topic of valuation by different actors. Others might find ways of defining the multiplicity of values in action among different people putting music, musical knowledge, and ethnomusicology into practice. Value systems may even be studied.

In order to stimulate thinking in the latter direction, I shall present a new model for ethnographic research on value systems: my adaptation of a model proposed by Joel Robbins toward developing the anthropology of the good (Robbins, 2013a). Robbins suggests that empirical and ethnographic research can be used to elaborate the value tendencies that have been identified in political philosophy. Philosophers have identified so-called monists who believe that all values are reducible to one supervalue, such as pleasure, in that each sub-value, for example entertainment, then contributes to the overall supervalue. Pluralists assert that more than one value exists. Sometimes these values conflict with one another, and pursuing one means not pursuing others (Lassman, 2011). Other social formations do not have any hierarchy of values. Robbins, when addressing the practicalities of how to do research, takes inspiration from some of anthropologist Louis Dumont's observations about the nature of values (Dumont, 1980, 1986). Robbins's model maps four key points in what he calls a "continuum of configurations" (Robbins, 2013b) between more monist and more pluralist social worlds in order to argue that all societies include tendencies toward both value monism and value pluralism (ibid.).

I will illustrate Robbins's categories of value systems with examples from indigenous music programs and multi-ethnic music theater and popular music jams in the Downtown Eastside of Vancouver, where I have spent 15 years studying, performing in and organizing formal music programs offered by organizations, often supported by a combination of funds from the public, private, and third sector. In the three poorest sub-areas of the Downtown Eastside (total population: approximately 6,500), 84%–85% lived below Canada's low-income cut-off dollar amounts in 2001 (Statistics Canada, 2011). Music programs aimed at the poor, especially in music therapy, popular music, and indigenous music, addressed problems that often accompany urban poverty, such as ill health (including addictions) and crime. Over the years, gentrification has intensified in the neighborhood, bringing in affluent residents and displacing the poor. Related performing arts projects have emerged that aim to develop creative industries, consumed by people who can afford them, including festivals and music theater productions.

My data suggest a slight but possibly significant elaboration of Robbins's model. I will briefly explain one origin of this suggestion before giving my musical examples—another inspiration for my elaboration. Robbins illustrates his model with distinctive cultural groups from different parts of the world with strong traditions of value, referenced below. This highlights, possibly unintentionally, historically continuous and separate value systems.

Music groups in the Downtown Eastside, however, do not have the same degree of continuity or value separation. Formal music programs have emerged as unique local formations in my indigenous cases only 10–15 years ago. The popular music programs developed over about 25 years. Different value systems exist side by side in different music groups; individuals can usually participate in the different music groups and their value systems.

Table 2.1 traces the four different value systems that occurred in musical examples from the one neighbourhood of the Downtown Eastside, within cultural subgroups. The two columns on the right point out that my examples of multiple values involved more than one time period, or individuals participating in more than one type of musical group. I shall consider indigenous music groups, popular music jams, and music theater productions. Each type of music group tended to have one dominant value, but individuals participating in numerous group types over time created additional subgroups and value systems.

The first point on Robbins's continuum is *strong monism* in the Dumontian sense. This refers to "a monism that does not fail to recognize values other than its paramount one, nor to assign them levels of their own, but which appears wholly to subordinate all these other values and their levels under a single paramount one" (Robbins, 2013b: 106). Robbins gives the example of Hasidic Jews in Brooklyn who predominantly value the redemption of Jews. Hasidic male activities of worship and studying religious texts support this supervalue.

Even though Robbins's ethnographic examples (2013b) come from relatively bounded cultures, Dumont's work includes value systems and relationships between domains of social action in society as small as the family. In other writings, Robbins states that he does not limit the identification of values and value systems to bounded cultural contexts, but embraces the study of values in all social formations, large and small (Robbins, 2014). The openness of Robbins's model to "dimensional complexity" (Robbins, 2013b: 112) makes it useful for various ethnographic approaches to values, including subgroups like those I discuss. Subgroups are rarely studied ethnographically and explicitly in relation to their values in anthropology (Robbins, personal communication, July 9, 2014) and (applied) ethnomusicology.

Strong monism existed in "cultural healing" programs for indigenous Canadians that I researched in the Downtown Eastside. Through the singing and drumming of powwow and hand drum music, these programs seek in part to address a Canada-wide situation in which drug and alcohol addictions disproportionately affect indigenous people compared to non-indigenous people. Their musical sounds combine musical heritages of a diversity of indigenous peoples living in Vancouver. Like parallel pan-indigenous Canadian and American musics, they insert local styles into types of music disseminated throughout North America. For instance, the powwow music (Browner, 2002)

Table 2.1. Robbins's Value Continuum Applied to Music

Type of Value System	Definition	Musical Examples: Indigenous, Music Theater and Popular Music Groups in Vancouver's Downtown Eastside	Time Period(s) (#)	Type(s) of Music Groups Participated in by Individuals (#)
Strong Monism	All values support one paramount value or supervalue	Indigenous Canadian "cultural healing" groups using music value well-being re substance misuse	1	1
Monism with Stable Levels	Two values are hierarchically ordered, but each value is sovereign within its confines	One cultural healing group at one organization values different stages of well-being re substance misuse during the music, at different times: people able to abstain from substance misuse, thus being somewhat "healed," in 2003 versus people on drugs or alcohol seeking valued "healing" in 2007. Officiating elders always recognized and valued each stage of recovery, but placed them differently in a value hierarchy.	2	1
Stable Pluralism	More than one value exists and the values are stable* or not in conflict	Usually without conflict, different supervalues exist in the cultural healing programs and in the music theater productions involving indigenous people**	1	2
Unsettled Pluralism	Two value systems conflict	Different supervalues exist in popular music jams and music theater productions. The values conflict in a larger class conflict.	1	2

* "Relatively stable pluralism" refers to the values being unstable or conflicting only sometimes.

** Any occasional, minor conflicts of value resulted in relatively stable pluralism.

combines local and regional Pacific Northwest Coast First Nations singing timbres and microtonal systems and melodies with dominating musical techniques and repertoires from the Plains.

Elders who supervise music making in the organizations typically have the agency to choose a value system to facilitate. I have documented how elders used powwow and hand drumming to encourage indigenous people in the Downtown Eastside to replace what some of my interviewees called a "culture" of drugs and alcohol there, with spiritual and cultural norms associated with the music. In prayer circles that always preceded music making, the officiating elder burned sacred plants, and participants took turns speaking about how a hybrid type of spirituality guided "healthy" identifications. The spirituality combined Christianity together with indigenous spiritual elements indexed by musical sounds, songs, instruments, and ritual paraphernalia (Harrison, 2009). I do not mean to suggest that the idea to replace, via music, one value system with another is not complex, problematic, or even, at times, unfeasible. It can be all of these things. I intend only to point out that as rituals, the cultural healing programs stressed a supervalue of well-being (specifically, experienced absence of addiction). In general, a lot of rituals are monist (Robbins, in press).

The second point on Robbins's value continuum is *monism with stable levels*. Monism with stable levels refers to a system in which two values are hierarchically ordered in a social group, but each level is comfortably sovereign within its confines. Monism with stable levels can mean that people experience monistic commitments to different values at different times, and that these different values do not conflict in the same individuals (Robbins, 2013b: 107–108).

In my next field example, I show that the valuation of well-being in cultural healing took two forms at two times in recent history, yet occurred in one music group at one organization. In 2003, the officiating elder tended to prevent people who were drunk or on drugs from singing or drumming. This elder highly valued the "healed"—or those well into addictions recovery—over addicts seeking "healing." By 2007, a different elder led the music group. He allowed active addicts to sing and drum together with people who were able to abstain from substance misuse. Healing, not having healed somewhat already (or being able to abstain), became the supervalue.

Some people sang and drummed from 2003 and after 2007. They experienced monism with stable levels in the two contained fields of ethics. These ethics did not conflict because they happened at different times. Robbins cites an example of people experiencing stable monism: Priestless Old Believers in the Russian Urals, who devote the beginning and end of their lives to religious values, but middle life to the worldly pursuit of producing and exchanging material goods.

The third point in Robbins's value continuum is *stable pluralism* (ibid.: 109–110), in which more than one value exists and the values are stable. Robbins's example comes from the Avatip community of Papua New Guinea's East Sepik province. Generally, in pre-contact Sepik societies, a men's initiation cult highly valued a specific ritual hierarchy. Its religious structure valued adult men above women and younger men, who in turn ranked higher than enemy neighbors. A secular sphere of Avatip life, though,

involved an equality marked by sensitivity to others and the goal to achieve equivalence through reciprocity. Robbins questions whether this configuration has changed post-contact, but finds no reported evidence of substantial change, hence its relatively stable pluralism.

In the Downtown Eastside, when indigenous people participated in not only cultural healing but also other sorts of music events in the neighborhood, they experienced relatively stable pluralism. The other events included multicultural theater productions that aimed at developing creative industries through trying to improve participants' socioeconomic situations and artistic skills. One performing arts company, for example, offered mentorship in acting and singing during rehearsals for theater productions that paid actors and sold tickets. The main value was (professional) showmanship. The music theater contributed to the highly conflicted process of gentrification, as I shall discuss further about unsettled pluralism.

Why do I say that indigenous people participating in both the cultural healing and arts development experienced value pluralism? Indigenous showmanship may not seem the opposite value to healing, but certainly it can be enjoyed in such a way that contradicts some elders' teachings during cultural healing. Gary Oleman, a Salish elder, often talked about the need to "love people not power" (Harrison, 2009). Conversely, gaining training in the arts if it ends in professional or paid artistry means gaining socioeconomic status, which by definition refers to social positions within hierarchies that include music as well (Harrison, 2013b).

And why relatively stable pluralism? I could see no pressure for cultural healing programs to give up their values for those of arts development or vice-versa. Both types of initiatives, undertaken concurrently by different organizations, welcomed indigenous people to participate because they were indigenous. The same individuals could access each type of initiative, and participate for free, or for pay for instance in the theater production, although arts development performances typically had the gatekeeping process of auditions. Indigenous characters were in high demand; indigenous people were typically granted onstage roles, even if these possibly amateur actors did not learn lines or attend all rehearsals. I call the situation relatively stable pluralism because if an indigenous performer auditioned for a back-up band without also auditioning for an acting role, he or she (like a performer of any ethnicity) was rejected, for instance, if life circumstances did not allow for regular attendance of band rehearsals. This tendency did not accommodate, for example, musicians who did not have enough money to buy food, and had to stand in a food line for hours, therefore missing rehearsal, or people who slept on the street and had more pressing concerns, like getting a bed for that night at a local shelter. The musician was forced to choose which was more important to him or her: making music or surviving physically. Producers of music theater, for their part, wished to professionalize as many production values as possible, starting with musical accompaniment, lighting, staging, and costumes, but working toward professionalizing acting and onstage singing.

The fourth point in Robbins's value continuum is *unsettled pluralism* (Robbins, 2013b: 110–111). Unsettled pluralism refers to when a person or people—Robbins tends to

discuss social and cultural configurations more than personal experiences, but he would not preclude the latter (personal communication, July 8, 2014)—experience two different fields of values but these values conflict. Robbins offers an example from his research on Urapmin Christians of Papua New Guinea. Urapmin people define Christian salvation as something that they must attain on their own by avoiding sinful thoughts and behaviors. Robbins defines the primary value of Urapmin Christian experience as one of individualism whose goal is the saved individual. However, individualism played little if any role in traditional Urapmin life, which centered on the production and maintenance of relationships—in other words, relationalism. Urapmin Christians who also have ties to traditional lifeways experience extreme value conflict (ibid.). In my research material, extreme value conflict did not exist in the options for indigenous people.

However, unsettled pluralism existed if I shift my view to people of all ethnicities and cultures who participated in popular music jams as well as music theater. The values of these two types of music groups conflict. On the one hand, the music therapy sessions and popular music jams had healing from addictions as their supervalue too. I conducted research in five music therapy practices that prominently encouraged addictions recovery for active addicts using the contestable approach of behavior modification via music. I also investigated, and participated as a violinist, in numerous popular music jams offered at community centers, health centers, and festivals. Most of these events discouraged or prohibited drug and alcohol use. On the other hand, the music theater productions—which include pop operas or theater productions using locally popular songs—have the supervalue of showmanship or professionalization.

Popular musicians who make up the poorest of the poor, but who successfully audition for music theater productions (most successfully in singing and acting roles), experience conflict for one main reason tied to gentrification: the Downtown Eastside increasingly turned into an arts district. As this happened, the popular music jams and music therapy programs closed as their funding dried up. The closures rarely targeted indigenous programs. At the same time, performing arts projects like music theater aimed at generating creative industries received funding from pro-development private and public sectors. This gave birth to class conflicts between the poor, who valued addictions recovery through popular music, and the proponents of gentrification, who valued professional arts productions supported in part by affluent new residents. Both collaborated in the music theater productions.

At this point, I can suggest an elaboration of Robbins's model to suit applications of music in complex society, of which the Downtown Eastside provides a case study. Even though Dumont, Robbins writes, intended "to capture and help explain what can be seen as the routine existence of both monist and pluralist tendencies in all societies" (ibid., 103) and Dumont ended up describing "domains of social action" (ibid., 112), what this all means for taking social action remains unexplored.

When examining the model from the perspective of social action taking place through music or applied ethnomusicology, it can be elaborated as follows. In complex society, individuals have the possibility to access different value systems. In the best case—that is, absent cultural rights violations—individuals can choose to participate in
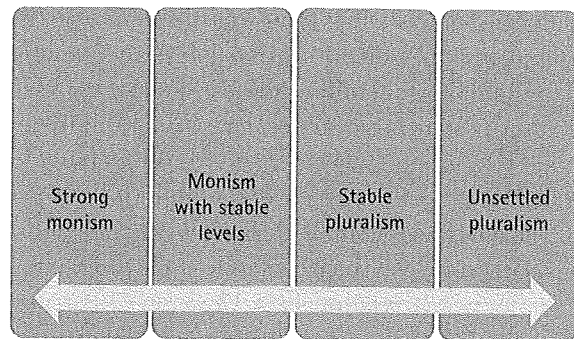
FIGURE 2.1 Musical value systems exist in a continuum in complex society (elaborating Robbins, 2013b). The arrow represents the possibility of individual musicians to choose between different value systems, and the possibility of groups of musicians to move between value systems.

one, or more than one, value system. Individual musicians, then, can choose between different value systems that musical activities and groups support, create, and articulate. Yet groups of individuals can also move between value systems, which can happen at one point in time when groups of individuals participate in different music groups that support different value systems. Over time, a musical group also can change the type of value system engaged (see Figure 2.1). Reflecting on such an empirical study of value systems that exist where an application has taken place, or is to take place, can help to make future interventions more precise in terms of intended and actual result.

WHICH VALUE SYSTEM SHOULD AN ETHNOMUSICOLOGIST SUPPORT?

When making an application of music or ethnomusicology, which value system or systems does an ethnomusicologist choose to support? I have faced such decisions when applying music and ethnomusicology in the Downtown Eastside. For example, in the applied ethnomusicology course that I taught at the University of British Columbia in 2009 and 2010, I arranged, with a student, for Gary Oleman to offer an indigenous Canadian singing workshop that emphasized healing. In our workshop, the elder enacted the supervalue of healing that I described as being present in my example of monism with stable levels. On another occasion, I honored a request from organizers of a music theater showcase to involve my students. The students, all training to be arts professionals, became singers in a choir and musicians in a band of otherwise hired musicians for the DTES (Downtown Eastside) Music Theatre Showcase. Students took on the roles of audio technician and assistant stage director. Several film majors made a documentary that aired on local TV. I felt glad about arranging work experience

placements at a time when government funding cuts to the arts made hiring professionals difficult for performance organizers. Yet I despaired that our arrangement still left no places in the band—even minor roles—for instrumental musicians who could not attend rehearsals regularly due to poverty.

After I reflected with the students on the values that we supported, I felt frustrated by my inability to confront value systems that my politics did not support. I had problems with going along with the unsettled pluralism of the music theater showcase.

In addition, my reflection confronted me with unintended consequences of one applied project. It actually changed value systems (my examples of strong monism and monism with stable levels) supported by my politics—mostly because I did not think through the valued consequences and ask the right questions of collaborators beforehand. The value shift resulted from spin-off activities, made possible by Oleman's singing workshop. The idea for the workshop emerged when a Ukrainian choir director, who knew that I researched indigenous Canadian music, asked me to link her with a local indigenous singer because she or the community center where her choir was located—I did not ask which one beforehand—wanted to enhance indigenous collaborations. I connected her with Oleman, but also asked if one of the students could help her—hence our workshop. The workshop, her idea, was for her choir members.

Subsequently, the community center and choir director invited Oleman to offer more workshops, and, with the choir director, to perform in concerts with workshop participants at the community center. These events, though, impacted the overall value system across Oleman's music offerings—which always involved cultural healing values—due to rules for entering the Carnegie Community Centre. The center prevents anyone drunk or on drugs from entering its building, monitoring the building entrance closely with security guards. This institutional context "forced" the supervalue of Oleman's practice to shift from valuing the participation of active addicts to including only people abstaining from drugs and alcohol. Several indigenous people participated from day to day in music making facilitated by Oleman, at various organizations in the Downtown Eastside that did and did not ban people drunk or on drugs. Their music making toggled between the supervalues of healing and healed detailed earlier (see my paragraphs on monism with stable levels). I worried if these contrasting values ever caused any value conflicts or unsettled value pluralism for participants. I routinely heard about addicts staying sober in order to take part in music at the Carnegie Community Centre, but I also heard that they found that difficult. People undertaking applied work with music must not only limit their analysis to which values they support, but also investigate which values and value systems their efforts change and contest, as well as the consequences.

CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I have called for more work on values in applied ethnomusicology research, which has the possibility of opening up discussions and practices of method

and evaluation relevant to applications. Such work would emerge in the current social forums of applied ethnomusicology research—public presentations, social interactions and networks, and analyses of scholars and practitioners. It has the possibility of complementing the previously implicit approaches to values in applied ethnomusicology.

I also have introduced the possibility of an ethnomusicology of values that revives the idea of value judgments from early ethnomusicology. Through empirically investigating values systems of music, such an approach could produce new understandings relevant to applications. Adjusting a model for research on values from the anthropology of the good (Robbins, 2013a), I have emphasized that music groups over time, and individual musicians (forming other subgroups) in complex society, can and do move between value systems that musical practices support, create, and articulate. I have detailed how one can research value systems of music and applied ethnomusicology, and have provided examples.

In closing, I shall ask what further use is empirical research on values and value systems for ethnomusicology and applied ethnomusicology. For instance, an ethnomusicologist can use such research to identify value systems by asking questions like Which value systems are present in social groups in a given worksite? In complex society, for instance, where do value systems overlap? How do individuals engage them via music?

When applying music, and musical and ethnomusicological knowledge, it also is important to think critically about the *choice* of a value option of music. It is also important to analyze critically those situations that block value choices. I discussed what was relative about my example of relatively stable pluralism, which involved indigenous people accessing cultural healing yet also auditioning for music theater roles in arts development programs. Those who could act and sing generally got onstage roles; if they auditioned as instrumentalists for a back-up band but could not attend rehearsals, they were turned down.

Identifying and evaluating the value systems of a given application and application context can promote critical reflection, for instance, on whether one would choose a similar course of action for a future application. An ethnomusicologist can therefore ask, does an application support, change, or contest what certain social groups (and which ones?) consider good and valued? What are the implications and politics of the applications' value content? Answering such questions can result in future applications that are better informed as to their value content and probable effect.

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NOTE

1. When I e-mailed Feld that I wanted to mention his work in this chapter, he reflected that he has not called his work "applied" due to negative connotations of applied anthropology, which serves as a basis for some types of applied ethnomusicology (Harrison, 2012: 506–507). He admitted, though, "all of my recordings are implicit and explicit forms of advocacy, i.e., forms of representation that are made collaboratively, and that principally benefit (financially as well as otherwise) the musicians or communities rather than solely benefit researchers and commercial organizations" (Feld, personal communication, December 26, 2013).

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CHAPTER 3

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CULTURAL ENGAGEMENT AND OWNERSHIP THROUGH PARTICIPATORY APPROACHES IN APPLIED ETHNOMUSICOLOGY

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TAN SOOI BENG

INTRODUCTION

MANY applied ethnomusicologists engage in action research, a methodology that aims at solving concrete problems rather than hypothetical ones. Besides conserving folk traditions, applied ethnomusicologists have been involved in other areas of action research, such as conflict mediation (O'Connell and Castelo-Branco 2010; Pettan, 1998, 2008), intellectual property rights (Seeger, 1992), post-disaster reconstructions (Fisher and Flota, 2011), ethics and indigenous rights (Ellis, 1994; Newsome, 2008), representation of minority cultures (Hermetek, 2010; Zebec, 2004), and peace building (Tan, 2008, 2010).

In the developing countries of the Global South, where large sections of the population still live in poverty, ethnomusicologists work with local nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), performing and visual artists, educators, and communities, applying their musical skills and training to challenge social and cultural inequality, monolithic representations of national cultures, and other development-related issues (Dirksen, 2012). The conservation of traditions, including music, in these places often intersects with the struggle for basic rights such as indigenous identity, health, education, housing, land, and other issues. Through social engagement, ethnomusicologists have had to reassess their research methodologies and adapt from other relevant disciplines. Collaboration among the ethnomusicologists, NGOs, and other stakeholders has also